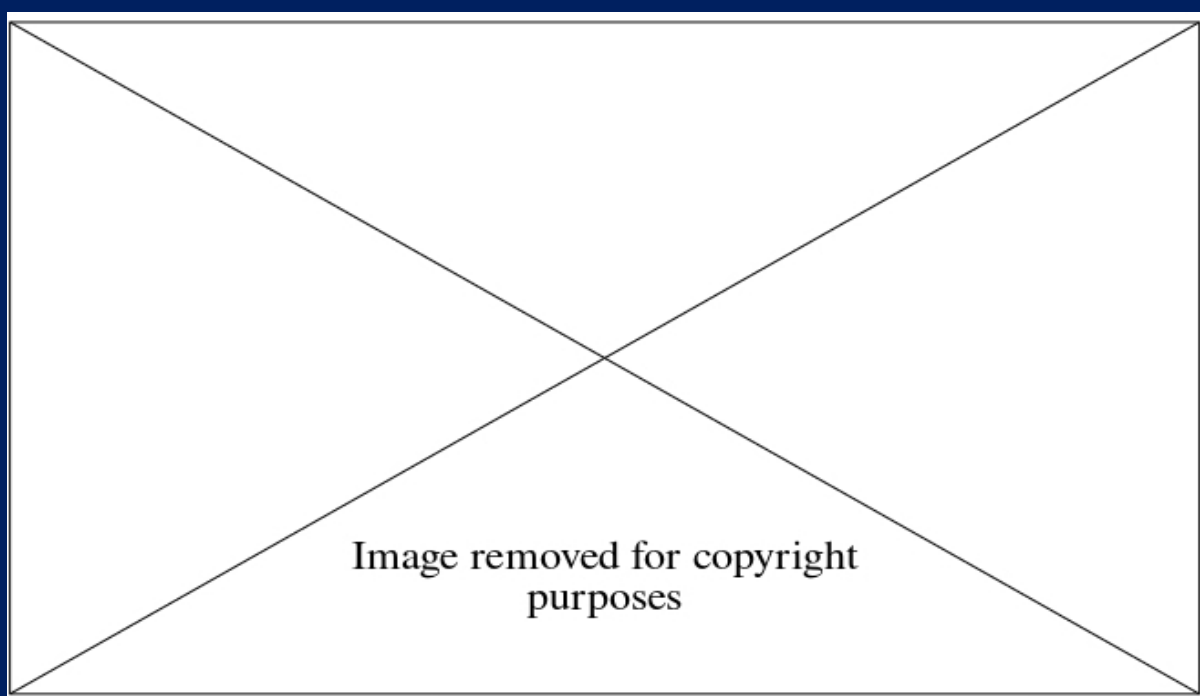




Island Interactions



The Mycenaean Presence at Phylakopi on Melos in the Late Bronze Age

Christopher Nuttall **MA Thesis: 200528143**

Word Count: 21,583

September 2013

Statement

Dissertation submitted for the Masters| degree in Archaeology (SAMA) by Christopher Nuttall

"I certify that (i) any material in this dissertation which is not my own work is properly identified and acknowledged, (ii) the dissertation complies fully with the University of Liverpool regulations on plagiarism and collusion, (iii) no part of the dissertation has ever figured in material successfully submitted for the award of any other degree"

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| List of Figures | iii |
| List of Abbreviations | iv |
| Acknowledgements | v |
| Chapter 1. Introduction | 1 |
| Chapter 2. Gazetteer of Mycenaean Presence | 5 |
| 1. Late Cycladic I: Phylakopi III-i | 5 |
| 2. Late Cycladic II: Phylakopi III-ii | 7 |
| 3. Late Cycladic III early: Phylakopi III-iii | 8 |
| 4. Late Cycladic III middle: Phylakopi III-iii | 13 |
| Chapter 3. World-Systems and Mycenaean Trade | 14 |
| 1. World-Systems and Trade | 15 |
| 2. The Aegean World-System | 17 |
| 3. The Mycenaeans and LBA Trade | 19 |
| 4. Trade and Mycenaeans at Phylakopi | 21 |
| 5. Discussion | 25 |
| Chapter 4. Endogenous Change and Mycenaean Culture | 28 |
| 1. Peer-polity Interaction and Culture Change | 28 |
| 2. Agency and Culture Change | 30 |
| 3. Indigenous Developments? | 31 |
| 4. Discussion | 34 |
| Chapter 5. Hostile Mycenaeans | 37 |
| 1. Well-greaved Achaeans? | 37 |
| 2. Migration and the Archaeological Record | 41 |
| 3. Migration Motivation | 42 |
| 4. Moving Mycenaeans | 44 |
| 5. Discussion | 48 |
| Chapter 6. Discussion | 51 |
| 1. Mycenaean Identity and Phylakopi | 51 |
| 2. The Archaeology of Identity at Phylakopi | 53 |
| Bibliography | 57 |

List of Figures

- 1.1 Map of Aegean: By Author.
- 1.2 Map of Cyclades: By Author.
- 1.3 Map of Phylakopi Coastline: By Author, after Whitelaw, 2004: 150, FIG. 13.1.
- 2.1 Phylakopi Mansion: Barber, 1987: 166, FIG. 117.
- 2.2 LM IA Pottery: By Author, after Mountjoy, 2007: 324, FIG. 8.13.
- 2.3 LH I Pottery: By Author, after Mountjoy, 2007: 325, FIG. 8.14.
- 2.4 LH IIA/LM IB Pottery: By Author, after Mountjoy, 2007: 327, FIG. 8.15.
- 2.5 Plan of Megaron: *Phylakopi*: 56, FIG. 49.
- 2.6 Map of Phylakopi: Renfrew, 1982: 42, FIG. 4.3.
- 2.7 LH IIIA1 Pottery: By Author, after Mountjoy, 2007: 337, FIG. 8.19.
- 2.8 Reconstruction of West Shrine 1: Renfrew, 1985: FIG. 9.5.
- 2.9 Assortment of male and female figures: French, 1985: 212, FIG. 6.2; 226, FIG. 6.12.
- 2.10 LH IIIB Pottery: By Author, after Mountjoy, 2007: 342: FIG. 8.21.
- 2.11 Plan of Shrine Complex: By Author, after Renfrew, 1985, 77: FIG. 3.1.
- 3.1 ArcGlobe image of Phylakopi's position in the Aegean, By Author.
- 4.1 Peer-polity interaction: Renfrew, 1986: 7, FIG. 1.5.
- 4.2 Comparison of Megara.
 - Gournia: Werner, 1993: FIG. 77.
 - Menelaion: Werner, 1993: FIG. 69B.
 - Phylakopi: *Phylakopi*: 56, FIG. 49.
- 5.1 Warlike Mycenaeans.
 - Dagger: Betancourt, 2007: PL. 8A.
 - Stelai: Taylour, 1983: 125: FIG. 116.
 - Battle Fresco: Betancourt, 2007: 175: FIG. 8.25.
 - Dendra Panoply: Crowley, 2008: PL. 11.10.
 - Cushion-Seal from Mycenae: Crowley, 2008: PL. 11.2.
- 5.2 Migration Model: By Author, after Anthony, 1997: 900, FIG. 1.
- 5.3 Comparison of Megara.
 - Pylos: By Author, after Betancourt, 2007: 168, FIG. 8.15.
 - Tiryns: By Author, after Betancourt, 2007: 166, FIG. 8.12.
 - Mycenae: By Author, after Betancourt, 2007: 164, FIG. 8.10.
 - Phylakopi: By Author, after *Phylakopi*: 56, FIG. 49.
- 5.4 Reconstruction of West Shrine 2: Renfrew, 1985: FIG. 9.6.
- 5.5 'Lady of Phylakopi' and 'Reshef' Figure: By Author, after French, 1985: 214, FIG. 6.4; PL. 70.
- 6.1 Pylos Megaron Reconstruction: Betancourt, 2007: PL. 8B.

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|-----|-------------------------|
| MBA | Middle Bronze Age |
| LBA | Late Bronze Age |
| MH | Middle Helladic |
| MC | Middle Cycladic |
| MM | Middle Minoan |
| LH | Late Helladic |
| LC | Late Cycladic |
| LM | Late Minoan |
| | |
| WSA | World-Systems Analysis |
| PPI | Peer Polity Interaction |
| ESM | Early State Module |

Acknowledgements

There are many people to whom I am indebted for their support and advice throughout my studies, among them friends, peers and academics (the boundaries are often blurred!). I am particularly grateful for the help and advice provided by Dr. Matthew Fitzjohn, Dr. Duncan Garrow and Dr. Matthew Ponting of the University of Liverpool and Dr. Gina Muskett of National Museums Liverpool. Above all, however, I am appreciative of the input of Professor Christopher Mee for his enthusiasm, advice and provoking a passion for Mycenaean Greece.

I am thankful for the support of Wendy Healey for convincing me to undertake a postgraduate degree. I'd also like to thank my peers at the University of Liverpool, most notably David Macdonald, Becka O'Sullivan and Ian Crawford for lively discussion and exchange of ideas (often at the local...).

Last but not least, I owe a great deal to my family for the support during postgraduate studies, both moral and financial.

This work is dedicated to the memory of Patricia Nuttall

Chapter 1

Introduction

"In every island of the Aegean Sea are found abundant traces of a vast prehistoric empire."

James Theodore Bent

The Cycladic Islands reflect a great degree of interaction and contact with the Greek mainland (hereafter 'mainland') and Crete. Lying between the mainland, Crete and south-western Anatolia, they are well positioned to act as receivers and transmitters of foreign culture (FIG. 1.1.). Especially pertinent is the permeation of Mycenaean influence across the Cyclades in the Late Bronze III period (LB III). The LB I Cyclades exhibit Minoan influence in arts and material culture (Barber, 1987: 195), though by the start of LB III, Mycenaean influence replaces Minoan. The timing of this shift coincides with the institutionalisation of the mainland palaces, which has led some scholars to write of a 'Mycenaean Cyclades' (Barber, 1987), whilst others play down the extent of Mycenaean influence (Mountjoy, 2008: 469; Schallin, 1993). The nature of island archaeology has led to a dichotomy in interpretation. Each island, whilst linked via inter-island contact networks, has distinct local archaeologies that reflect different levels and intensities of interaction. Whilst the archaeologist must be aware of the interconnectedness of the archipelago, disparities in the balance of material and extent of archaeological exploration means that each island should be considered individually before making comparison. Prominent in the LBA Cyclades is the settlement of Phylakopi on Melos, which has an extensive stratigraphy dating from the Early Cycladic period (EC) to the very end of the Late Cycladic (LC).¹ The settlement was also the recipient of a panorama of Mycenaean cultural traits. For this reason, this MA thesis will focus upon the culture change perceptible at Phylakopi during the LC II-III period.

1. PHYLAKOPI

Phylakopi is located on the northern tip of Melos on a promontory, though erosion has led to the loss of much of the north and west of the settlement. In the Bronze Age, there may have been a harbour to the south-east of the settlement which silted up in antiquity (*Phylakopi*: 2).

¹ The local dating system, e.g. LC, will be used throughout, with the exception of references to pottery styles from elsewhere, e.g. the mainland (LH) and Crete (LM).

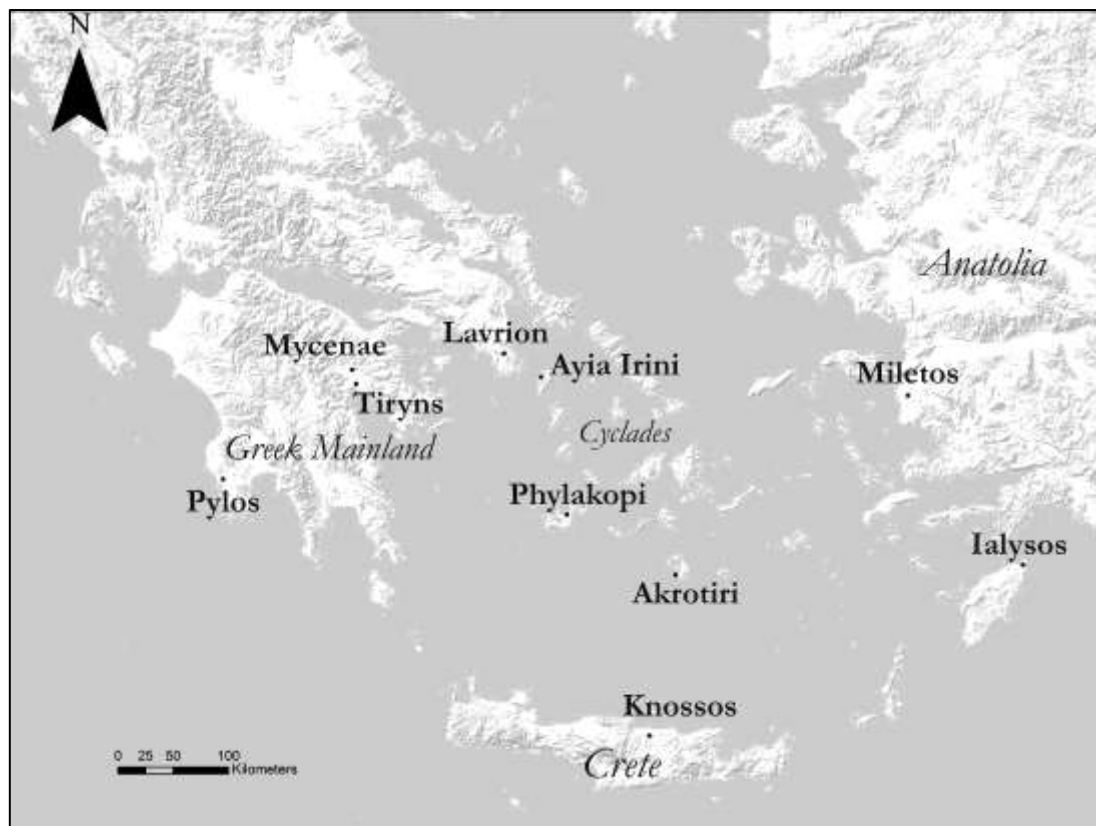


FIG.1.1. Map of the Aegean and key LBA sites.

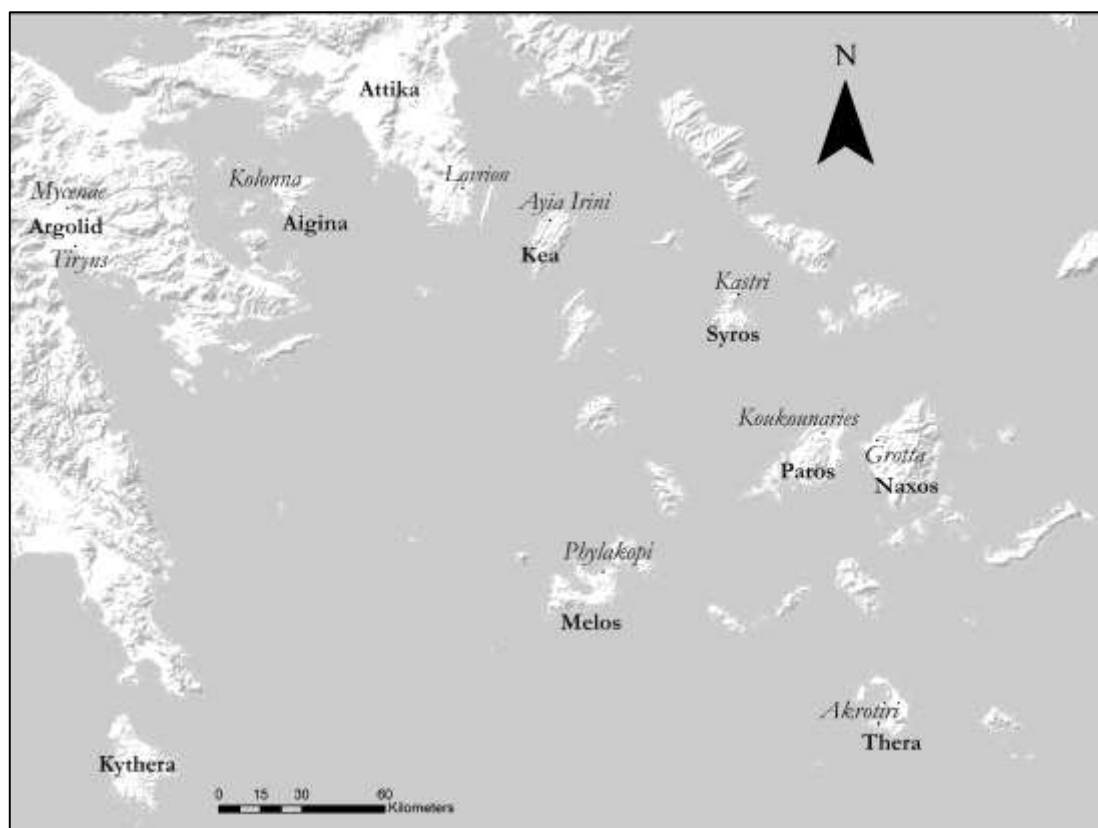


FIG. 1.2. Map of the Cyclades.

The settlement, therefore, may have had access to a well sheltered bay (FIG. 1.3.), which has been confirmed by geomorphological exploration (Davidson & Tasker, 1982: 94). There was also a necropolis near to Phylakopi, however looting has left little to allow interpretations to be made (*Phylakopi*: 2).

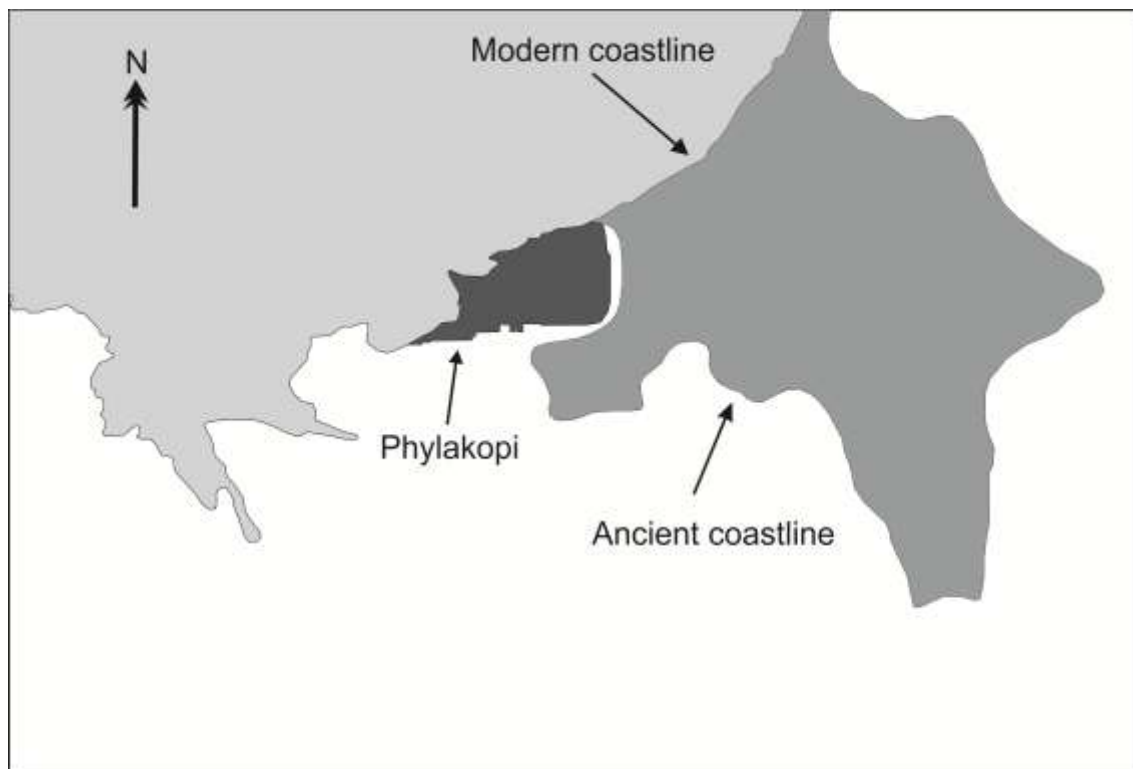


FIG. 1.3. Phylakopi Coastline in Bronze Age.

Excavations began in 1896 under a British team, after initial explorations of classical Melos proved unsuccessful (*Phylakopi*: 2). The results were published in *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*² (1904) and, though some find spot details are absent, the excavation and publication set a high benchmark of archaeological research for the late 19th century. Phylakopi was re-excavated by another British team in 1910, the results of which were published in *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos* (1910-11). Though excavation and publication have oft been regarded as sub-standard (Renfrew, 2007: 21), investigation related specifically to the ceramic history of the site rather than its architecture. The most recent excavations at Phylakopi were directed by Colin Renfrew, with results published in two volumes: *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos: 1974-77* (2007), which focused on the settlement and *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (1985), for the sanctuary.

² The 1904 *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos* will be cited in-text as '*Phylakopi*' throughout.

Archaeology at Phylakopi has shaped interpretations of the Bronze Age Cyclades, often utilised as the type-site, due to its comprehensive stratigraphic sequence. Excavations at Ayia Irini (Cummer & Schofield, 1984) and Akrotiri (Doulas, 1983) have added considerably to our knowledge of the LC III period, though Phylakopi is still prominent.

2. RESEARCH AIMS AND LAYOUT

Culture change at Phylakopi will be investigated through theoretically informed analysis of the archaeological data. There are a number of key interpretations of Mycenaean influence at Phylakopi, ranging from Mycenaean invasion in the Cyclades (Barber, 1987), Mycenaean control of trade (Marthari, 1988) and, finally, the emulative adoption of Mycenaean culture by the islanders (Schallin, 1993). These hypotheses are investigated in the subsequent chapters. It is, however, not enough to consider these interpretations without also gauging their applicability to prehistoric culture change, archaeological interpretations require the application of theoretical frameworks, in order to validate the interpretation.

This thesis will therefore consist of five chapters. The second chapter will lay the infrastructure in the form of a gazetteer of Mycenaean influence at Phylakopi, from LC I-III,³ allowing the following chapters to discuss theoretical concepts. Consideration of the periods prior to LC III will concentrate on developments that relate directly to events in LC III. Chapter three will investigate whether Mycenaean presence was a result of trade, by applying world-systems analysis, which will also serve to gauge the validity of the argument. The fourth chapter will scrutinise the local adoption hypothesis through the application of the peer-polity interaction model, as well as agency theory. Chapter five will examine the possibility that culture change was the result of an invasion or migration of Mycenaeans, therefore migration theory will be considered in the analysis. The final chapter touch upon the issue of the ethnicity of the Mycenaeans and Melians, before discussing the validity of the preceding three chapters' perspectives.

³ Mycenaean presence from the LH IIIC period will be omitted, as post-collapse is a different phenomenon.

Chapter 2

Gazetteer of Mycenaean Presence at Phylakopi

This chapter presents the corpus of archaeological evidence from Phylakopi related to Mycenaean presence. It is divided by chronological phases, so that trends and changes are more visible. LC I is a period of Minoan influence, therefore architecture and pottery of this period is mentioned, to provide a backdrop for later developments.

1. LATE CYCLADIC I: PHYLAKOPI III-i

Minoan influence was strong across the Cyclades, leading to the suggestion they came under a Minoan “thalassocracy”.⁴ At Phylakopi this period was principally a period of Minoan influence, though the level of influence has been doubted (Branigan, 1981: 30).

1.1.LC I MANSION

During the 1974-77 excavations, a substantial structure was discovered and called ‘the mansion’ (Renfrew, 1982: 39). This LC I mansion (FIG. 2.1.) was found below the later LC III megaron. The mansion measures ca. 20 x 12m and, with the discovery of a Linear A fragment in the structure’s stratigraphy (Renfrew & Brice, 1977; Renfrew & Brice, 2007: 456), a special function – perhaps administrative – was proposed (Renfrew, 1982: 39; Barber, 1987: 164).

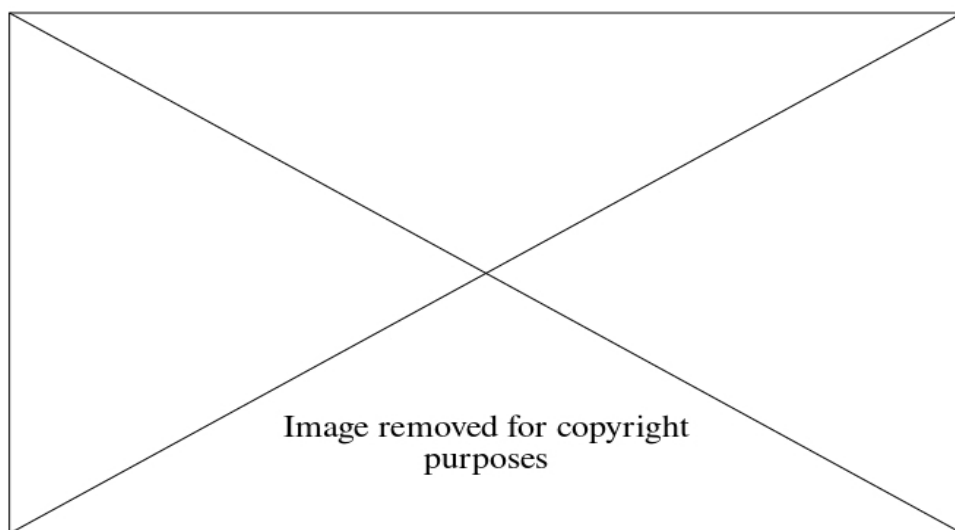


FIG. 2.1. Phylakopi Mansion.

⁴ Thucydides I.4

1.2. 'STRONG' WALL

Excavations undertaken by Atkinson *et al* (*Phylakopi*: 30-5) describe a LC I 'strong' wall extending from east to west. The wall consisted of large, roughly-dressed rhyolite boulders in a dry-stone technique. It was constructed at a time when LM IB pottery was being imported (Renfrew, 1978: 403).⁵ The wall was composed of two parallel cross-walls filled with spolia, at about 6m wide and 100m long. Additionally, there is another wall that follows the line of the main wall. This is only one course thick and has been interpreted as marking the boundary of a parallel ditch (*Phylakopi*: 33).

1.3. LC I & LM IA POTTERY

LC I Pottery (F IG. 2.2) from Phylakopi mixes "traditional" and "innovating" styles (Davis, 2007: 266). The 'innovating' style imitates LM IA designs, particularly the red-and-black style (*Ibid*), as well as the replacement of light-on-dark by dark-on-light (Mountjoy, 2007: 323). The 'traditional' style sees black-and-red style bird jugs (Barber, 1974: 34-5). Furumark (1950: 199-200) suggested that Phylakopi had been conquered by Crete at this point owing to the influx of Minoan motifs, though the continuation of Cycladic styles alongside Minoan suggests that Davis' and Cherry's (2007: 303-4) argument – that Minoan pottery was locally made, because it would sell – seem more likely.



FIG. 2.2. LM IA Pottery.

⁵ A late MC date should not be discounted (Barber, 2012 *pers comm*).

1.4.LH I POTTERY

Small quantities of Mycenaean pottery (FIG. 2.3.) have been found at Phylakopi, alongside other mainland pottery styles, such as Minyan, Matt-painted and Polychrome (Mountjoy, 2007: 325). LH I pottery is not common at the site, and mostly consists of small vessels, such as Vapheio cups and hole-mouthed jars (*Ibid*).

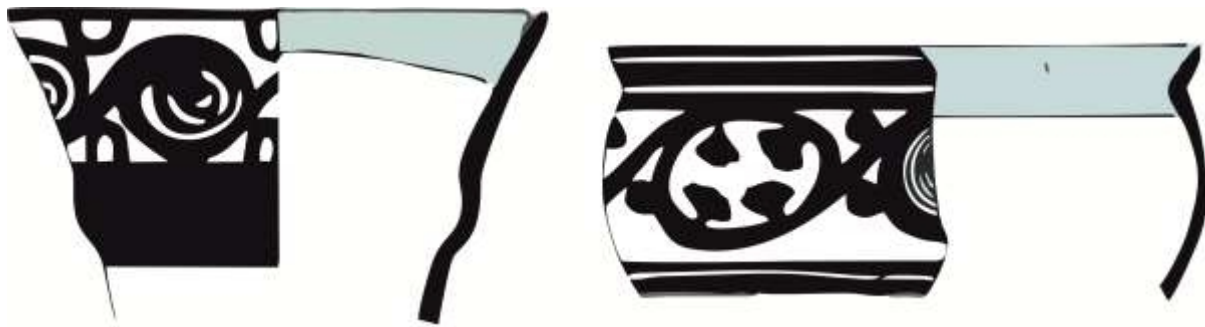


FIG. 2.3. LH I Pottery.

1.5.CULT

Evidence for LC I cult is limited, the only possible cultic focus being the Pillar Crypt. No cult paraphernalia comparable to that from the LC III shrine complex was found there, though an ivory ring depicting a woman in a flounced skirt and the Minoan horns of consecration suggest a cult scene of Minoan influence. Terracotta bull heads and a figurine depicted in the MM Kamares style may also link to an existing cult practice, with a Minoan character (Renfrew, 1985: 376-7).

2. LATE CYCLADIC II: PHYLAKOPI III-ii

The LC II period sees the regression of Minoan influence, undoubtedly due to the eruption of the Thera volcano at the end of LM IA (Barber, 1987: 222). At Phylakopi, evidence from this period primarily takes the form of imported pottery, with a marked increase in Mycenaean types in comparison to the LC I period.

2.1 POTTERY

The LH IIA/ LM IB period accounts for much pottery (FIG. 2.4.), mostly found during the 1896-9 excavations. Cups and jars (piriform and stirrup) are most common and visual analysis of the pottery's buff clay suggests that they may have been produced on the mainland (Mountjoy, 2007: 326). Vases in the Minoan Marine Style, Alternating Style and Reed Style are found in this period, as well as Domestic pottery, which owes much to the LH

I pottery styles. Additionally, Palatial pottery was found, which was mainland produced, but Cretan inspired. The marker 'LH IIA/ LM IB', therefore, must be utilised owing to the similarity during this period of the two styles. Mountjoy argues (2007: 326) that Furumark (1950: 199-200) was wrong in his assertion that the LC II was a period of Minoan influence, as the pottery displays strong mainland contacts.

The LH IIB/ LM II period, alternatively, yields little pottery. Mountjoy (2007: 333) argues this may be due to the relative lack of understanding of LH IIB/LM II pottery. The goblet is the most common shape found in this period and pottery from this phase seems mostly imported (*Ibid*).

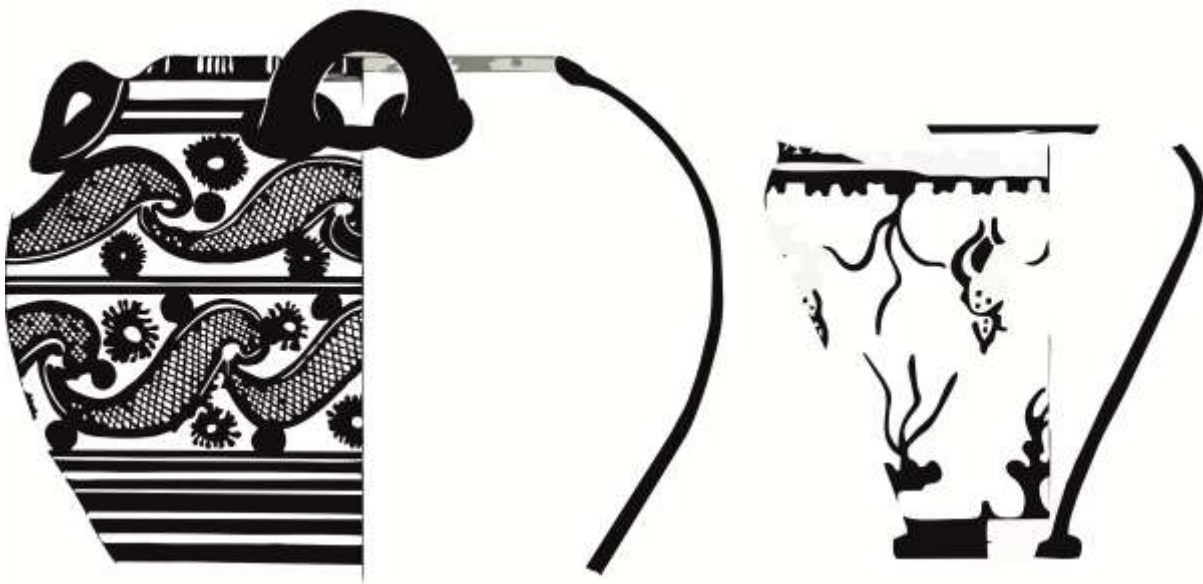


FIG. 2.4. LH IIA/LM IB Pottery.

3. LATE CYCLADIC III EARLY: PHYLAKOPI III-iii

LC III sees the arrival of full Mycenaean influence, in the form of imported Mycenaean pottery throughout the Cyclades and tholos tombs appearing on Mykonos, Tenos and Naxos (Barber, 2010: 165). Phylakopi is no different, pottery is stylistically Mycenaean and there is evidence for Mycenaean-style architecture (see 3.1) as well as a shrine complex after the destruction of the Phylakopi III-ii phase town.

3.1 MEGARON

The structure was called a megaron due to its similarity to mainland palatial architecture (FIG. 2.5.). Consequently, the structure has been the focus of multiple excavations, in 1911 and 1974-7, leading Darcque (1990: 29) to argue that this attention has caused erosion of the

structure and endangered the amount of evidence left for interpretation. Renfrew *et al*'s excavations, however, conclusively proved the successive construction of two structures on the site (2007: 36).

The building comprises an inner hall measuring 7.4x6.0m area, entered by a doorway from the portico, which was approximately 6.0x4.6m in size. There are passageways either side of the central unit, the left of which leads to a large subdivided room, whilst the right leads to a series of smaller rooms (Barber, 1987: 232).

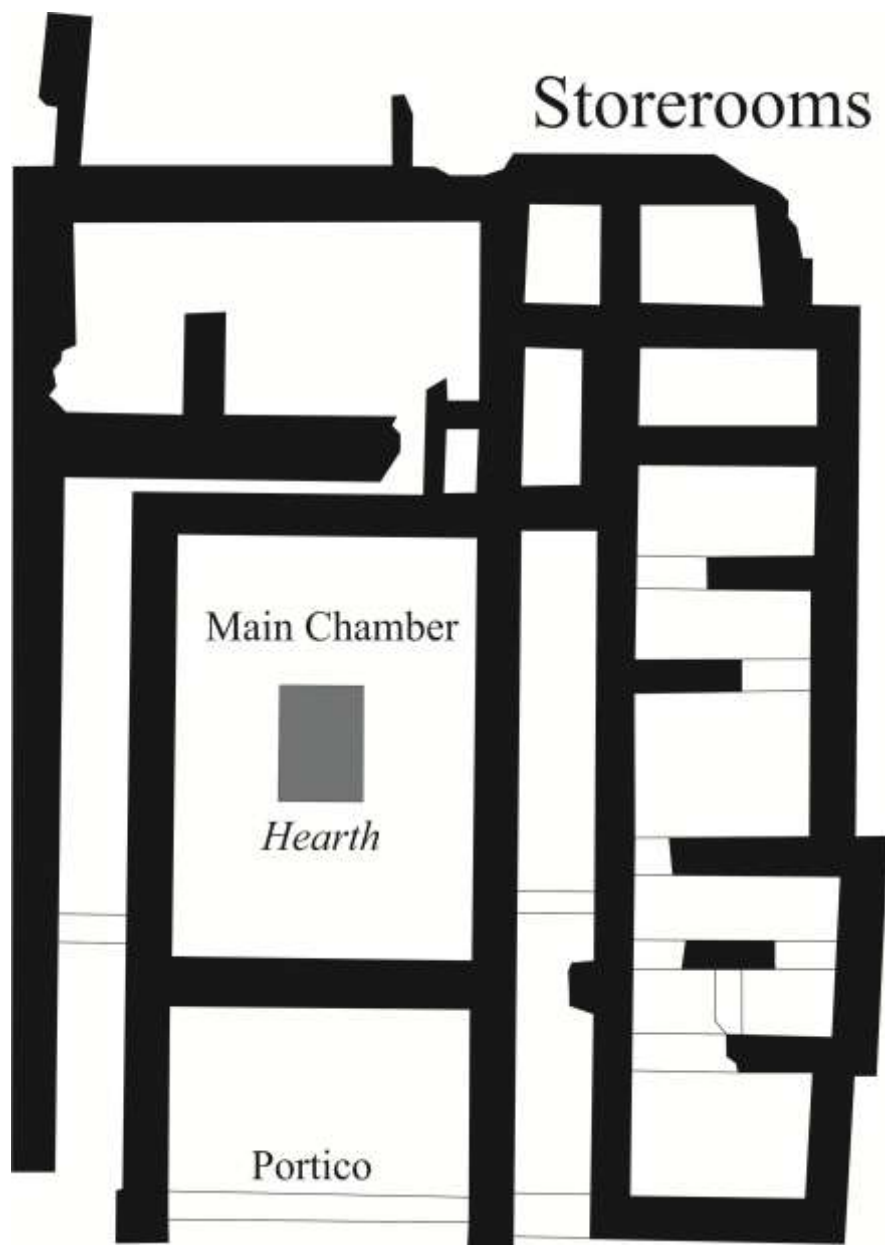


FIG. 2.5. Megaron plan.

Excavations revealed a discolouration in the centre of the chamber, interpreted as a hearth. This was un-cemented, unlike the rest of the floor deposit. Hogarth (*Phylakopi*: 19) argued that, although there were no ashes, a hearth stone had originally been in place but was removed at a later date. Beyond the portico is a courtyard, which was lined with terracotta cylinders on the west side (*Phylakopi*: 58). Excavations under Renfrew dated the construction of the megaron securely to the LH IIIA 1 period (Renfrew *et al*, 2007: 23). Tephra samples were also taken, which confirmed the presence of volcanic ash below the floor, suggesting that the megaron was constructed after the Thera eruption (*Ibid.*, 23).

Further investigation of the structure revealed its huge size, leading to the label ‘palace’ (*Phylakopi*: 15). Dawkins and Droop also believed the structure to be a ‘palace’ (Dawkins & Droop, 1911: 4). Renfrew avoids passing judgement on what the succession of mansion to megaron could indicate about politics at Phylakopi, though he does ascribe the LC III phase of the site to “an era of Mycenaean influence” (Renfrew, 2007: 486). Barber (1987: 224) similarly argues the similarities between the Phylakopi megaron complex and the mainland palaces. Additionally, he argues for an administrative function to the megaron (Barber, 2010: 164). Schallin (1993: 175) alternatively argues against a Mycenaean ‘palace’, regarding the structure as a response to architectural fashions of the period and competition between local elites.

3.2 POTTERY⁶

LH IIIA1 pottery is highly uniform, owing to the establishment of the Mycenaean *koine* during the palatial period. Much of the material (FIG. 2.7.) was recovered during the 1911 excavations, with cups, piriform jars and goblets predominating. All of the pottery is imported (Mountjoy, 2007: 335).

In LH IIIA2, there is much less recovered pottery. Kylikes are most common, as well as bowls (deep and stemmed) and Rhyta. Much of the pottery is imported, with the exception of one stemmed bowl (Mountjoy, 2007: 338). LH IIIA 1 motifs are much less prominent and the goblet is replaced by the kylix (*Ibid*).

⁶ Unfortunately, the monographs covering successive excavations at Phylakopi have not published the coarse wares in any detail, therefore they cannot be included as evidence in this thesis.

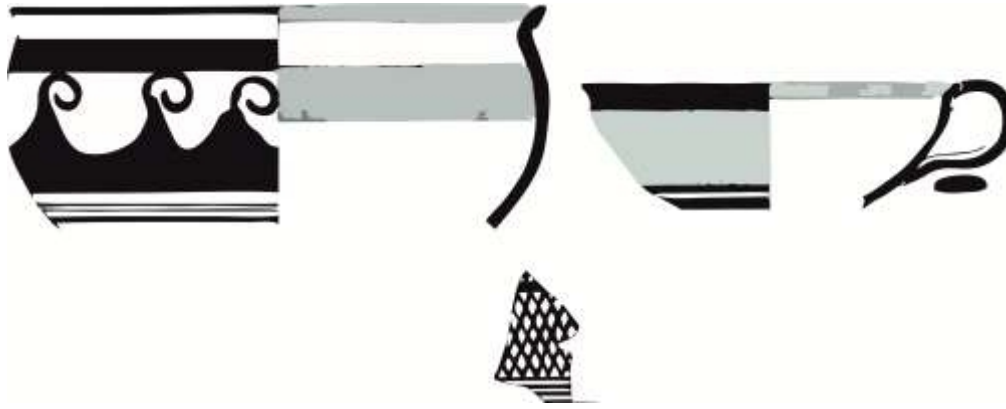


FIG.2.7. LH IIIA1 Pottery.

3.3 CULT: WEST SHRINE

The shrine complex consists of two connected shrines. Pottery from the early floor levels of the West Shrine indicate it was constructed in the LH IIIA period. The initial structure measured 6.0x5.8m. The interior was probably plastered and covered by a roof, whilst the east entrance would have directed the entrant to a doorway that linked the main room to smaller rooms A and B. Either side of this doorway were platforms (FIG. 2.8.), upon which cult paraphernalia was placed, as well as two niches allowing for communication with Rooms A and B (Renfrew, 1985: 369).

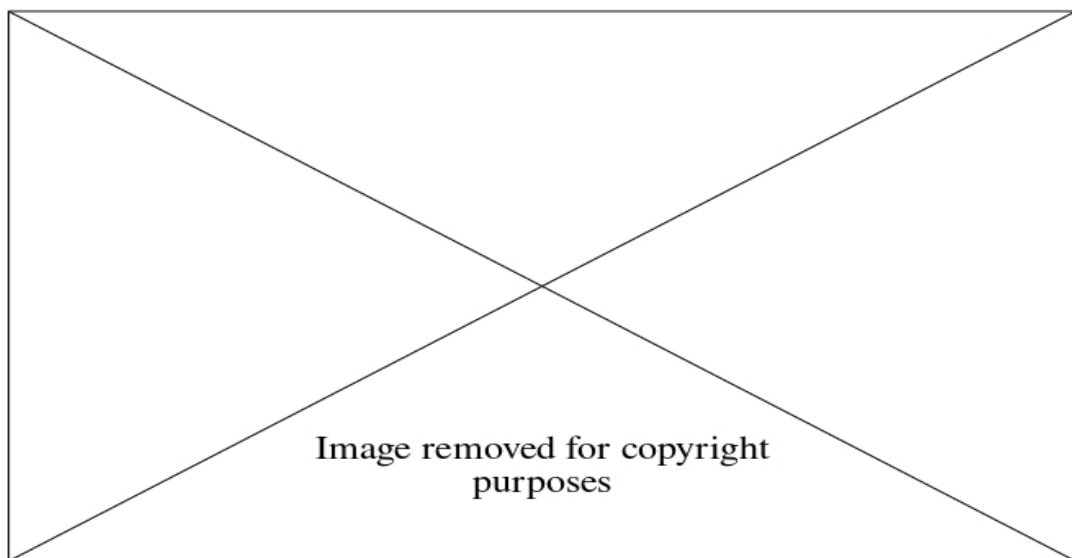


FIG. 2.8. Reconstruction of the West Shrine with Platforms.

The West Shrine appears to have been associated with anthropomorphic figures and figurines (FIG. 2.9.), as well as animal and chariot figurines (Renfrew, 1985: 370-1). There are differences in the usage of the West Shrine's platforms. The north platform seems to have

been associated with male and chariot figures, whilst the south platform was linked with female and bovine figures and figurines (Renfrew, 1985: 371).

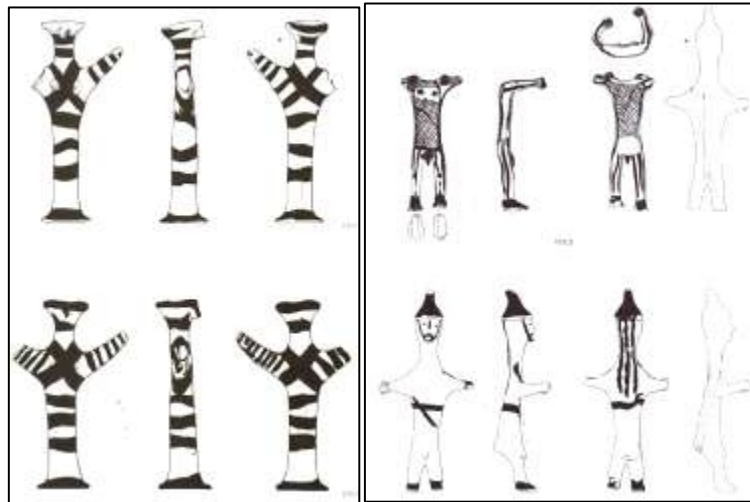


FIG. 2.9. Female figures (left) and Male figures (right).

4. LATE CYCLADIC III MIDDLE: PHYLAKOPI III-iii

This period is marked by a distinguishable reduction in mainland contact (Barber, 2010: 165). The fortification wall at Phylakopi is strengthened, a move which was paralleled at Grotta on Naxos (Lambrinoudakis & Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou, 2001), Ayios Andreas and Koukounaries (Barber, 1987). Barber (2010: 165), therefore, argues for growing instability in the Cyclades, perhaps linked to the political situation on the Greek mainland in LH IIIB (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008: 387-390; Iakovidis, 1983).

4.1 LH IIIB WALL

By LH IIIB, the build-up of refuse deposits against the LC I wall (perhaps remnants of destruction layers) compromised the usability of the defences. Soon after, a new fortification wall was constructed out of large beach boulders, situated 3.5m north of the LC I wall (Renfrew *et al*, 2007: 64). The wall was clear in the trenches cut for the sanctuary and Renfrew *et al* (*Ibid*) was able to obtain a date via a pit containing LH IIIB 1 pottery outside the wall and a floor level containing LH IIIB1 pottery inside the wall. Barber argues that there are chronological uncertainties about the fortification system at Phylakopi, though argue that there were substantial changes to the LC I system in LC III (Barber, 1987: 234).

4.2 POTTERY

There is scant LH IIIB pottery at Phylakopi (FIG. 2.10.) Open shapes are the most common however (Mountjoy, 2007: 341), in particular kylikes and bowls (deep and deep conical). The LH IIIB pottery is imported (*Ibid*).

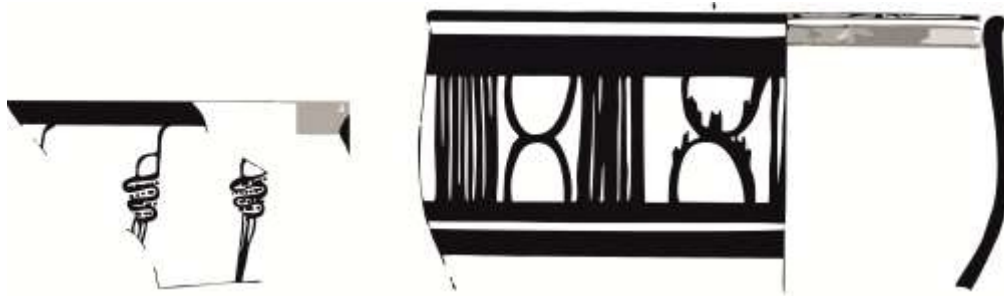


FIG. 2.10. LH IIIB Pottery.

4.3 CULT: EAST SHRINE

The East Shrine was added to the shrine complex in LH IIIB 1 (FIG. 2.11.), and was approximately 4.8x2.2m, with the floor 0.3m above the floor surfaces of the West Shrine and street. Access was provided by a doorway in the southwest corner, whilst a low platform was located in the northeast of the structure, upon which cult paraphernalia stood (Renfrew, 1985: 370). In contrast to the West Shrine, the East Shrine appears to have been associated with bovine and animal figures, with no human figures or figurines (*Ibid.*, 370).

Also relevant is the courtyard area linking the two shrines. A stone 'baetyl', 0.47m high and 0.5m wide, was located in the middle of a paved courtyard. The discovery of broken pots located in the courtyard has led to the suggestion that the pots were used in direct association with the courtyard and may indicate the pouring of libations (Renfrew, 1985: 374).

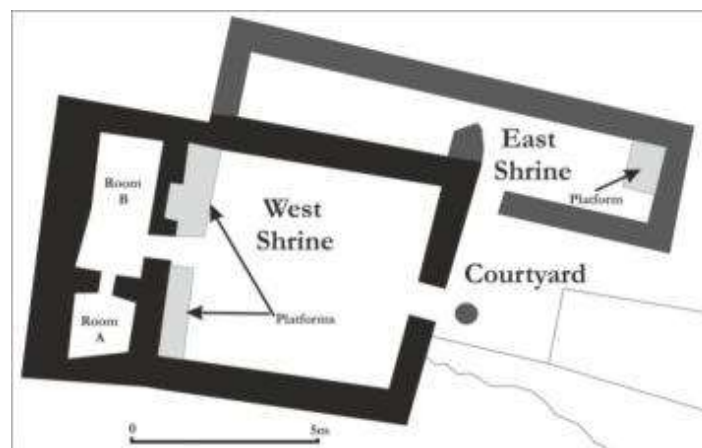


FIG 2.11. Plan of Shrine Complex.

Chapter 3

World Systems and Mycenaean Trade

"The long-haired Achaeans bought wine, some with bronze, some with gleaming iron, some with hides, some with whole cattle and some with slaves and they assembled a rich feast"

Homer, Iliad: 2.115-476

This chapter is written to follow a specific interpretation of Mycenaean presence at Phylakopi as a result of trade. Marthari (1988: 56-7) suggested that Phylakopi had close economic ties with the mainland. This did not include political dominance, however the traditional interpretation is that of a maritime "trading empire" (Furumark, 1950: 262-71; Immerwahr, 1960: 4). Meanwhile, Mee (1982: 83) has seen the appearance of Mycenaeans on LH IIIA 1 Rhodes as motivated by trade. A distinction must be made between whether the Mycenaean polities assumed control of the island for trade, without actually invading, or whether independent Mycenaean merchants settled there, in order to facilitate trade. To explore these hypotheses, world-systems analysis (WSA) will be employed as a theoretical framework to better understand the range of possible economic interactions between Melos and the mainland. The theoretical framework for WSA will be presented and critiqued, before the wider evidence for Mycenaean involvement in LBA trade is presented. Evidence supporting the hypothesis is then presented, before discussing the validity of the theoretical model and its interpretation.

A summary of the argument follows that the Mycenaean *core* expands and takes control of trade activities in the Aegean and Cyclades, accounting for the increase in Mycenaean material culture at Phylakopi after LC III. Melos and other Cycladic islands are *semiperipheries*, who can choose to opt in or out of this economic relationship with the mainland. Prior to LC III however, Melos and the Cyclades were the *semiperipheries* of Crete, though the Minoan *core* collapsed following the Thera catastrophe, after which, the Mycenaeans become the *core* of the Aegean world-system.

1. WORLD-SYSTEMS AND TRADE

Trade has long been used by archaeologists as a vehicle to explain culture changes perceptible at settlements during their occupation. Initial culture change research had imperialist overtones and relations between peoples were viewed in terms of domination or

“civilising”, of a “submissive” culture. Childe (1925: 302) is symptomatic of the time, as he argued that culture change could be explained by interaction between “lower” and “higher” cultures. Interaction, as Childe no doubt envisaged, was more akin to the colonial ventures of the European empires, with a wholly capitalistic trade element. With specific reference to the Aegean Bronze Age, this led to the visualisation of the LBA cultures such as the Mycenaeans and Minoans as essentially colonial powers, with ‘thalassocracies’.

Since then, dialogue has distanced itself from this perspective and the nature of culture interactions have been questioned. Such a shift in the conceptualisation of the ancient economy was provoked by use of Max Weber’s theories that the ancient economy was essentially agrarian, rather than commercial. Another leading influence has been Polanyi (1957), who stressed that ancient trade was dissimilar to the market-driven modern economy; it was integrated into economic processes and institutional arrangements. Such interactions, therefore, took place in the form of gift-exchange (reciprocity), administered trade (redistribution) and market-exchange. These ideas were adopted by neo-evolutionary anthropologists, who took different types of interactions as indicators of different stages of societal development (Hodges, 1989: 185-9). Reciprocity was thus indicative of tribal societies, whilst redistribution evidenced chiefdoms and early states. Polanyi and Weber’s ideas play down long-distance trade and have been adopted in syntheses of Mycenaean development. The decipherment of Linear B and absence of any references to long distance exchange have led some to argue that long-distance trade was not important to palace economies (Finley, 1981: 206), whilst others have regarded the Mycenaean economy as dependent upon redistribution (Bintliff, 1977: 115-6). Such minimalist views, however, do not agree with the archaeological evidence, both in Mycenaean Greece and overseas.

How can we better integrate theoretical concepts of the ancient economy and trade with the archaeological record? ‘World-systems analysis’ (WSA) is a concept which has been used by prehistorians to greater understand the nature of interaction between cultures. Originally applied to proto-capitalist Medieval Europe, Wallerstein’s (1974) theory details the interactions between a *core* and *periphery*. The elites of the *core* extract labour and surplus from the *periphery*, whilst the *periphery* receives status goods and financial incentives from the *core* (Champion, 1989: 6). The *core* is an area of strong state machinery, though lacks in natural resources, whilst the *periphery* has weak state machinery, but possesses natural resources.

In its original incarnation, WSA was criticised as too neo-diffusionistic and economic, with emphasis on exogenous change (Renfrew, 1986: 6). However, many

critiques often take the concept in its original form, rather than incorporating recent modifications, which remove some of the original theory's emphasis on capitalist modes of exchange (see Hall *et al*, 2011). For example, Wallerstein's original thesis insisted on the importance of bulk goods in *core/periphery* interaction, whereas Schneider (1977) suggests that precious goods formed a crucial component of such interactions. Also questioned was the manner of involvement in a world-economy, which Wallerstein treated as particularly one-sided in favour of the *core*. Hall (1986) argues that *peripheries* had an active role in resisting or joining world-economies. The main conclusions of these studies was that greater emphasis should be placed on local conditions of the *peripheral* societies, as complete domination of a *periphery* by a *core* was technologically impossible in the ancient world (Sherratt, 2001: 222-3).

Kohl (1989: 222-31) critiqued the primitivist standpoint of Finley (1981) by citing examples of price-fixing and inflation, stressing the complexity of the ancient economy. Kohl (1989) noted that, unlike modern *peripheries*, ancient *peripheries* avoided under-development and exploitation due to the lack of colonisation and the portable nature of ancient technologies. This enabled a *periphery* to maintain a greater degree of autonomy and influence how the *core* regions developed.

The monolithic focus on contact via trade has also been critiqued. Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997) argued that interactions can manifest in four forms: a *bulk goods network*, consisting of low value goods; a *political military network*, consisting of political or military interactions; a *luxury goods network*, which consists of high value items and, finally, an *information network*, consisting of cultural, social and factual information.

The final modification to WSA presented here is the concept of a *contested periphery*. Originally proposed by Allen (1997), and adopted by Cline (2000), the *contested periphery* is a region that is prized due to its strategic location or resources. Such competition may be economic or political, though *contested peripheries* are often zones of innovation (Hall *et al*, 2011).

2. THE AEGEAN WORLD-SYSTEM

The Bronze Age Aegean has seen numerous applications of WSA in syntheses of both economic and political development. Sherratt (1993: 44) described the Aegean as one of several linked marine exchange zones in the Mediterranean, which saw a swing from trade in luxury commodities to trade of bulk commodities concurrent with the emergence of palatial administration. This brought the Aegean cycle from the status of Near Eastern *periphery* to a

more equal partner in exchanges (Sherratt, 1993: 45), creating a *multi-centred* Mediterranean world-system. The Mycenaean role in the Mediterranean world-system has been debated: Kristiansen (1998: 360) argued that the Mycenaeans rose to prominence as transmitters and receivers of new influences between the East and Central Mediterranean, forging a niche by providing useful goods to both parties (Kristiansen, 1998: 360). These goods were originally small scale luxuries, such as gold, tin and amber, which were obtained from their northern *periphery*. Later in the LBA, there was a shift to large-scale bulk trade (Kristiansen, 1998: 361). Kristiansen also makes the case for two Mycenaean peripheries. There is a *closer periphery* which was integrated into the Mycenaean economy, reflected by the distribution of homogenous LH IIIA-B pottery and a *secondary periphery*, where Mycenaean armour and metal craft was adopted, primarily in the northern Balkans (Kristiansen, 1998: 389).

Particularly relevant is Berg's (1999) analysis of the southern Aegean world-system. Her analysis starts in the MBA, a period in which the peer-polities of the system interacted without hierarchy, via active trade. In the LBA, this system became more hierarchical and the southern Aegean developed into an economic battlefield of the two strongest powers; Crete and the mainland, which resulted in the marginalisation of the other islands in the Aegean (Berg, 1999: 481). The main tenet of Berg's analysis is that the islands were active participants in this system and, due to the competition between the two major players, the smaller islands could negotiate their level of involvement in the system.

Kardulias (1999) argues that this world-system consisted of three levels of exchange. The first was the *internal system*, typified by the exchange of low value goods between the various early state modules (ESM) and likely to have been carried out by independent agents (*Ibid.*, 188-9). The second tier was the *intermediate system*, denoting the interchange of material between islands (*Ibid.*, 190). A key example of this was the 'western string' route, by which the Minoans and Attika entered into a relationship based on lead and silver, which also involved Kea, Melos and Thera. Such movement saw the distribution of Minoan pottery to these islands due to their roles as safe ports *en route* to Lavrion. The final level was the *long-distance system*, concerning the trade of goods not abundant in the Aegean (*Ibid.*, 192). Kardulias (*Ibid.*, 192, 195) singles out the metals trade and its importance to the Aegean economy, stating that Mycenaean and Minoan palaces depended on the metals trade to such an extent that it was the prerogative of their elites to facilitate access. Kardulias (*Ibid.*, 195) also argues that, with the exception of the Mycenaean occupation of Knossos, Aegean *core* polities did not establish residences for settlers on the Aegean islands, as the extraction of raw materials was locally controlled.

It is clear that the mainland was a LBA *core*, particularly with the onset of palatial organisation in LH IIIA1 and the need to procure raw materials not available on the mainland. What remains is to deduce the status of the Cyclades and, in particular, the island of Melos in this system. Berg's (1999) analysis of the southern Aegean infers that there is no evidence of *peripheral* regions (Berg, 1999: 478). Phylakopi, therefore, is regarded as a *semiperiphery*, with the actual *periphery* being the hinterland it used to exploit resources. Also, whilst interactions between the Minoan *core* in LC I and the mainland *core* in LC II-III predominate, Berg (*Ibid*) investigates regional trade and stresses that the islands had their own regional exchange networks and partners, noting that throughout the LC period all of the *semiperipheral* networks shrink in terms of the distribution of items that can be traced back to the islands. This is seen as evidence of the 'peripheralisation' of the Cyclades and other islands in the Aegean, indicating a process called *peripheral exploitation* by a *core*. Such exploitation, however, is not a given; *peripheries* and *semiperipheries* can manipulate *cores* to their advantage (Stein, 1999: 153-4) and even renounce former exchange agreements if relations with the *core* are more beneficial (Berg, 1999: 480). Berg argues that Melos specifically experienced the greatest degree of marginalisation, as the influx of Mycenaean imports and withdrawal from international trade shows (Berg, 1999: 482). It seems prudent, therefore, to consider Phylakopi as a *semiperiphery*, integrated into the regional networks of Crete in LC I-II and the mainland in LC II-III.

3. THE MYCENAEANS AND LBA TRADE⁷

For the Mycenaeans, exchange was a key aspect of society. Mycenaean pottery is found across the Mediterranean in a range of contexts, from Italy to the Levant, in settlement and funerary contexts (van Wijngaarden, 2002). This has led to suggestions that the distribution constitutes a Mycenaean 'commercial empire' (Immerwahr, 1960: 4). Though, analyses of LBA trade systems have since tended to downplay the presence of Mycenaeans where Mycenaean pottery is found (Bass 1967: 164-5).

The presence of Mycenaean pottery throughout the Mediterranean suggests that the Mycenaeans were actively involved in international trade (Smith, 1987), though Bass (1967: 164-5) has argued that trade may not have been dominated by Mycenaeans, rather it may have been handled by Levantines. Evidence from shipwrecks suggests that even if the Mycenaeans were not controlling trade, they were at least participants. Around the Aegean

⁷ This section does not intend to be a comprehensive study of the LBA trade network; see Cline (2009) and Sherratt & Sherratt (1991).

there are three LBA shipwrecks: the Cape Gelidonya and Uluburun shipwrecks off the southern Turkish coast, as well as the Point Iria shipwreck, in the Gulf of Argos. Of the three, the Uluburun shipwreck contained a large quantity of metal ingots and goods that could be considered luxury items (Bachhuber, 2006: 347). The ship dates to the LH IIIA period (Pulak, 1998: 214) and analyses of the cargo indicate a wide range of potential origins. Personal effects indicate that two Mycenaeans may have been on board the vessel (Bachhuber, 2006: 354), though it seems unlikely to have been a Mycenaean trading vessel. Leading interpretation of the Uluburun vessel is that of a major trade vessel containing a mix of cargoes, which may have had a specific destination, perhaps Greece. The Cape Gelidonya shipwreck had far less cargo, including a small quantity of tin and various bronze scrap items (Bass, 1991: 69). It is, therefore, interpreted as a vessel sailing from port to port, purchasing spare bronze items for resale or repair. Among personal possessions were Mycenaean pots, indicating, similarly, that a Mycenaean was on board at the time of sinking. By the same token, the Point Iria shipwreck's small cargo of pottery (Lolos, 1999: 43) suggests that it may have been used for small scale journeys in the Aegean. These shipwrecks, therefore, indicate that the Mycenaeans were at the very least involved in LBA trade.

The Linear B texts, however, present a different picture. It has been suggested that the absence of any references to long-distance exchange means that trade was not important to palatial economies (Finley, 1981: 206). Trade references in the Linear B texts are rare, with the exception of a consignment of cloth sent from Mycenae to Thebes (Palaima, 1991: 281). There are, however, indirect references to imported foreign goods, such as gold, ivory and spices, as well foreign workers (presumably slaves), such as the textile workers at Pylos with Anatolian names (Palaima, 1991: 279). This has led to the suggestion that international trade may have been undertaken by state-sponsored merchants acting on behalf of the state, such as those mentioned at Ugarit (Knapp, 1991: 48),⁸ who left no official record of their activities. Alternatively, trade may have been the realm of independent merchants, accounting for the lack of palatial records.

The Linear B texts, however, do shed light upon Mycenaean personal names indicating links to maritime activities. To name a few: *na-u-si-ke-re-[we]* 'ship-famous' (KN X 214), *o-ti-na-wo*; 'ship-starter' (PY Cn 285.14) and *e-u-po-ro-wo*; 'fine-sailing' (PY Jn 601.2) (Palaima, 1991: 284). Such personal names suggest that even if trade was not

⁸ It is possible that Mycenaean palaces were sufficiently armed for trading expeditions (Cline, 2009: 85), though interpretation undecided whether such ventures were state-sponsored or episodes of 'gift exchange' (Cherry 1986: 41; Liverani, 1987: 67; Zaccagnini, 1987: 57).

undertaken by palaces, there were Mycenaean who had connections to the sea. Though these connections are not enough to imply mercantile activity, the fact that some Mycenaeans appear to have had an affinity with the sea makes it more likely that there were Mycenaeans who undertook voyages, perhaps exchanging goods in the process.

Mycenaean interest in trade must have been facilitated by the lack of natural resources on the mainland, though, in order to obtain these materials, it would have to have desirable commodities to trade in return. Greece has raw materials in the form of copper and silver at Lavrion, though Linear B texts suggest that the Mycenaean palaces were heavily involved in the production of textiles, whilst the movement of Mycenaean closed vessels overseas suggests that palaces were involved in the production and export of perfumed oil (Sherratt & Sherratt, 1991: 371). Cline (1987: 22) has suggested that rival centres developed particular trade partnerships with other localities, based on Egyptian objects at Mycenae and Cypriot objects at Tiryns (Hirschfield: 1993: 315). It is likely that many trade goods were perishable and now are archaeologically invisible. Among them may have been wine, grain, timber, spices and dyes (Cline, 2009: 95).

It seems difficult to suggest that the Mycenaeans dominated trade in the Mediterranean, though the wide spread of Mycenaean pottery suggests that the Mycenaeans were influenced by the tastes and desires of other economies (Sherratt, 1982: 183) and were at least participants in LBA international trade.

4. TRADE AND MYCENAEANS AT PHYLAKOPI

Phylakopi is an obviously preferential destination for several reasons. The volcanic island has natural obsidian resources, which have been found in LH I contexts on the mainland, both in the shaft graves at Mycenae (Mylonas, 1966: 102) and during surveys around Messenia (McDonald & Hope-Simpson, 1969: 130). It seems access to the sources was unimpeded (Torrence, 1986) and workshops have been identified across the Aegean, particularly at Phylakopi (*Phylakopi*, 218). Whilst the widespread use of metals in the LBA reduced demand for obsidian, it is argued that its use continued into the later Bronze Age (Runnels, 1982), supported by the finds of the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project surveys (Parkinson, 1999: 77). Exchange of obsidian could be equated with Kardulias' (1999: 188) *internal exchange system* for utility goods, though there is more to Phylakopi than obsidian. Prime motivation for interest in Phylakopi is likely to have been its location beside the sea (F IG. 3.1.), with a sheltered bay. Additionally, sea currents in the area facilitate year-round sea



FIG. 3.1. ArcGlobe image of Phylakopi's interconnectedness.

travel (Papageorgiou, 2008: 11). Melos, therefore, would have been one of the last safe anchorages for merchants moving east through the Cyclades (Mountjoy, 2008: 468), being only 100km away from Laconia, and close to the entrance of the Argolic Gulf. Moreover, the 'western string' network (Davis, 1979: 143-57) would have been key, due to its role in the movement of lead and silver from the Lavrion mines (Mountjoy, 2008: 467), an observation supported by the discovery of Lavrion metals objects in the Cyclades and on Crete (Stos-Gale & Gale, 1990: 72-89; Gale & Stos-Gale, 2008: 387-408).

There is evidence to support a hypothesis of trade-based culture change at Phylakopi and, in particular, the use of WSA in interpretation. LH I pottery is present on Phylakopi, though is not common (Mountjoy, 2007: 325). LC II at Phylakopi is suggested to have been a period of overwhelming Minoan influence (Furumark, 1950: 199-200), though this has been contested by Mountjoy (2007: 326). She argues that many of the examples of this period owe more to Mycenaean than Minoan styles and may well have been imported from the mainland, which has been confirmed by chemical analysis (Mountjoy & Ponting, 2000: 141-84). Both the Palatial and Domestic class are imported, as well as a large quantity of Marine Style pottery, which has led Mountjoy (2008: 471) to suggest that Phylakopi played an important role in pottery exchange with the mainland. This is supported by the fact that the imported pottery at Phylakopi follows mainland trends, suggesting direct contact with the mainland.

By LH IIIA₁, Mycenaean pottery is found in relatively large quantities (Mountjoy, 2007: 335). The most common of the LH IIIA₁ pottery types is the piriform jar, particularly FS 19, 23 and 31 (Mountjoy, 2007: 335), which are suggested to have had a role in trade (Tournavitou, 1992: 186-7). Though piriform jars have a function in the storage of foodstuffs, the wide necks of the vessels would not have been air tight (Tournavitou, 1992: 186-7) and, therefore, may have been traded for themselves, rather than the goods they contained. This implies that inhabitants at Phylakopi wished to obtain Mycenaean for its stylistic properties.

It seems that in such relations, prestige goods, such as Mycenaean pottery, played a significant role. Moreover, in a consideration of the local conditions at Phylakopi, the pottery-yielding clays on the island were not conducive to producing fine-ware pottery, which meant that the island was dependent on the pottery trade for its supply of fine-wares (Mountjoy, 2008: 469). This has led Mountjoy (2008: 469) to suggest that the abundance of Minoan pottery in the LC I and Mycenaean pottery in LC II-III need not be evidence of anything more than a solution to a pottery problem. Using WSA parameters, this suggests that the inhabitants of Phylakopi, as a *semiperiphery*, actively chose to participate in the Aegean world-system to obtain fine-ware pottery. It could be argued that such interaction

took place via the *luxury goods network*. Shifts in the prevailing pottery styles from LC I to LC III could also indicate that Phylakopi was a *contested periphery*. The relatively small amount of LH I pottery in comparison to LM IA pottery suggests control of the Phylakopi *semiperiphery* by the Minoans in LC I, though in LH IIA/LM IB, amounts of Mycenaean pottery increase. It could be advocated that LC II was a period of consolidation of Mycenaean control, demonstrated by increasing amounts of Mycenaean pottery. By LH IIIA 1, the Phylakopi *semiperiphery* is no longer contested and Mycenaeans appear to have complete control over the trade activities at Phylakopi, represented by the domination of imported LH IIIA1 pottery.

The strong Mycenaean element in LC III figures from the Shrine Complex (French, 1985: 279) could also support a trade hypothesis. It must not be ignored that votives could have been introduced by passing Mycenaean merchants, for whom Phylakopi was *en route* to their destination. The sanctuary would have allowed visiting merchants to make offerings for safe passage and worship their own deities. The suspected Near Eastern influence in the ‘reshef’ bronze figurine (Renfrew & Cherry, 1985: 303) serves to strengthen this notion, as Anatolian or Levantine merchants could have introduced aspects of their ritual practices at the sanctuary. Such an undertaking would be akin to the later cult of Isis introduced at Piraeus in the Hellenistic period (Pachis, 2003: 98). Such a development would have required interaction via the *information network*, which makes a case for frequent contact between the polities through trade.

Domestic architecture, however, remains distinctly Cycladic throughout the LC period, suggesting that interaction between the Mycenaean *core* and Phylakopi *semiperiphery* was limited to the adoption of cult via the *information network*. It cannot, however, be discounted that a small number of Mycenaean merchants may have settled at Phylakopi. It could be tentatively suggested that a wealthy Mycenaean merchant might have acquired the area around the LC I mansion and constructed a megaron, perhaps to facilitate exchange, as an open area in front of the megaron could have hosted mercantile activity. Alternatively, as Berg (1999: 480) suggests that the Cycladic islands could ‘opt’ in or out of interaction, the inhabitants at Phylakopi may have wished to involve themselves in interactions with the mainland to such an extent that they constructed a Mycenaean-style megaron, in order to curry favour with the Mycenaeans. This ‘marginalisation’, as Berg (1999: 482) puts it, could represent a total ‘buying into’ of the Mycenaean connection.

5. DISCUSSION

WSA is an informative tool to aid interpretation of the relationships between past cultures in a geographical region. More recent developments in the theory have allowed for a greater applicability to the ancient world and the varying types of coterminous interactions. There are, however, a number of issues to be raised. Despite the revisions to the concept, WSA still prioritises an economic explanation of culture change, elucidating little about the adoption of cultural traits. The exploitation of a *periphery* or *semiperiphery* is a process described as a two-way interaction. Whilst it is clear that the *core* gains access to raw materials or favourable anchorages, the *semiperiphery* however is assumed to passively absorb the culture of the *core*. Though recent developments go some way in addressing this, WSA leaves little room to account for the actions of individuals in society. Perhaps ideology, culture or the activities of agents are behind these decisions to 'opt in' or out of a world-system, though as a model, WSA does not allow for such details. In essence, WSA is a systemic analysis of culture, which ignores the individual strategies of different groups that may have been present at Phylakopi. Though it may have been the prerogative of some elites to adopt Mycenaean culture due to intensive economic interaction between Melos and the mainland, it is difficult to suggest that this would have been applied unilaterally across all of the social groups at Phylakopi. Moreover, it is unlikely that the Mycenaean core could effectively control all trade to an island like Melos, which in the ancient world would have been technologically impossible (Sherratt, 2001: 222-23).

That being said, there is little doubt that Melos was a *semiperiphery* of Crete in LC I, a *contested zone* between the mainland and Crete in LC II and a mainland *semiperiphery* in LC III. Cretan trade activity dwindled after the Thera catastrophe and the increasing frequency of Mycenaean pottery in the LC II period suggests that Cycladic ports were opened to Mycenaean trade. The LC III period sees a greater quantity of Mycenaean goods and ideas pervading Cycladic culture, which may suggest that trade routes in the Cyclades were controlled by Mycenaean merchants.

WSA is additionally applicable to discussions of urbanisation in the Cyclades during the LBA. At Phylakopi, there are three indicators of urbanism (Cowgill, 2004: 538): a central political authority, such as the mansion/megaron; lesser elites, such as the religious community of the LC III sanctuary and non-elites, as evidenced by domestic architecture. This urbanism, developed between the late MC and during the LC period, is likely to have been the result of the Phylakopi *semiphery's* interactions with first the Cretan *core*, then the

mainland *core*. Interactions with complex political and social institutions (especially the early Cretan palaces) are likely to have led to the development of such institutions elsewhere in the Aegean, though it is difficult to see such relationships as anything other than unequal. An example is the possible adoption of Linear A script at LC I Phylakopi in association with the mansion (Renfrew & Brice, 2007: 456), which suggests that interaction with the Cretan *core* led to the adoption of Cretan script, either in an attempt to imitate or to facilitate the existing contact between the *core* and *semiperiphery*. This is mirrored later in the LC period by the influx of Mycenaean pottery in order to meet a demand in local fine-ware pottery, perhaps to reinforce the complex social relationships of the elites at Phylakopi.

The role of Melos as a *semiperiphery*, however, can only explain so much of Mycenaean presence. Whilst it is possible that passing Mycenaean merchants influenced the cult at Phylakopi, the sanctuary is *predominantly* Mycenaean. Phylakopi is approximately 2 hectares in size (Renfrew, 1972: 237)⁹ and Wagstaff and Cherry (1982: 140) have argued for a potential population of 2,000-3,000 inhabitants. For the ritual belief system to have become so heavily Mycenaean in character seems to belie a situation in which Phylakopi was not subject to a considerable influx of Mycenaean. A handful of merchants passing by would not have been enough to influence the sanctuary to be so characteristically Mycenaean.

The existence of a megaron at Phylakopi, whilst having alternate explanations, is highly suggestive of Mycenaean influence on the island. The construction of a megaron overlying a LC I mansion is laden with symbolism and unlikely to have been allowed by locals, unless force or coercion was utilised. The LC I mansion was by far the largest structure at Phylakopi prior to the construction of the megaron and it is difficult to argue that such a construction could have resulted from the activity of merchants. The idea that merchants or travellers from Melos could have gone to one of the palatial states of the mainland and imitated megaron style structure seems farfetched. Added to the fact that it is highly unlikely that mainland centres could have sustained long-term control over Melos or the Cyclades in prehistory, the evidence suggests that there must be an alternate explanation for the culture change at Phylakopi. It is clear that the Mycenaean presence was heavily influenced by trade and exchange, though it is not sufficient to argue that the degree of “Mycenaeanisation” seen could be solely due to trade. Trade would have been an important factor for Mycenaean interest in Melos, as Phylakopi was well positioned to facilitate trade, though it is this fact that would have made it a known location and potential destination for Mycenaean.

⁹ Though an unknown amount of the site has been eroded away by the sea since prehistory.

In summary, this chapter has investigated the possibility that the culture change at Phylakopi in LC III was a result of intensive economic interaction between Melos and the mainland. WSA was applied to the archaeological data and, whilst there is some evidence that could be interpreted in light of a trade hypothesis, the aggregate of Mycenaean influence at the settlement is too great to have been solely a result of trade and exchange. Prudent analysis of the megaron and Mycenaean-style ritual suggest that they are unlikely to have been transmitted via economic interaction over such a short space of time. Additionally validity of economic interaction in the adoption of cultural traits must be questioned.

Chapter 4

Endogenous Change and Mycenaean Culture

"No man is an island, entire of itself, every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main"

John Donne

It has been suggested that Mycenaean presence at Phylakopi resulted from interaction between polities in the Cyclades and Aegean, with islanders desiring to adopt Mycenaean culture (Schallin, 1993: 175). Additionally, Mee (1982: 84) has suggested the possibility of local adoption of Mycenaean identity for LH IIIA 2 Rhodes. This chapter analyses the validity of culture change at Phylakopi being an internally driven process, achieved by establishing a theoretical framework of peer-polity interaction and agency to better understand the adoption of foreign cultural traits. Archaeological evidence that may support the view point is then presented and the wider evidence discussed, before a conclusion on the validity of the hypothesis is made.

1. PEER-POLITY INTERACTION AND CULTURE CHANGE

Peer-polity interaction (PPI) is used to investigate the range of interactions between autonomous socio-political units in a close geographical proximity to each other (Renfrew, 1986: 1). In contrast to WSA, the theory avoids assigning roles of dominance and subordination to actors and examines societal structures, such as political and ritual institutions, which are referred to as "structural homologies" (Renfrew, 1986: 1). Distinction is drawn between early states modules (ESMs) and fully formed states. ESMs exist in clusters sharing similar cultural characteristics, though are politically independent. They are typically assumed to be chieftain societies, though one may rise to prominence and dominate the others. The "structural homologies" result from the interactions between ESMs over a prolonged period (Renfrew, 1986: 5). PPI takes a middle ground approach between exogenous and endogenous change, by considering the effects of interactions outside of an autonomous polity, but still emphasising internal interactions (FIG. 4.1.). Renfrew (1986: 7) sees this internal level as important to investigating cultural uniformities and ethnic formation, proposing five general trends of PPI:

- 1.) Firstly, where a *polity* is recognised there will be other neighbouring polities of analogous size and organisation.

- 2.) When a *polity* undergoes change, for example an increase in sociopolitical complexity, neighbouring polities will often undergo similar transformations.
- 3.) Changes in complexity are often accompanied by other developments, such as the emergence of prestige good systems, monumental architecture, as well as developments in burial and ritual systems.
- 4.) Crucially, these changes will have developed within several polities around the same time, rather than having a singular point of origin.
- 5.) Developments towards complexity will be accompanied by intensification of production and further development of hierarchical structures (Renfrew, 1986: 5).

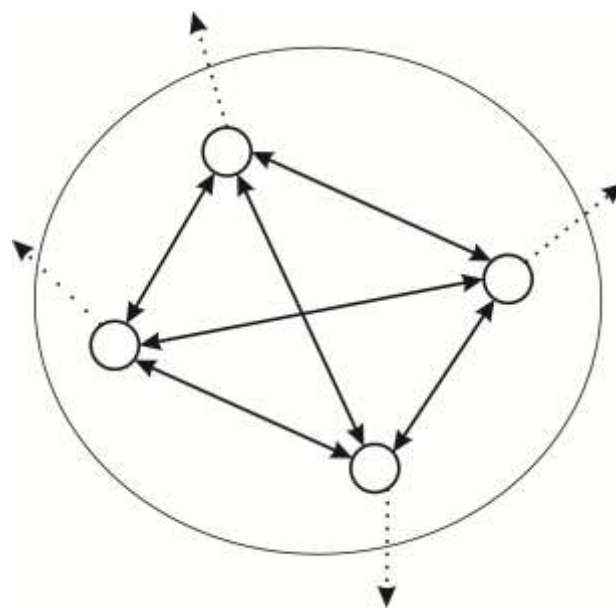


FIG. 4.1. Peer-polity Interaction.

Cross-polity interaction can take many forms. Warfare can stimulate the emergence of hierarchical institutions, whilst competitive emulation sees the expenditure of wealth in an attempt to garner prestige. Such expressions provoke similar responses in neighbouring polities. Another form of interaction is *symbolic entrainment* (Renfrew, 1986: 10), where elaborate cultural structures are adopted by less developed systems in order to fulfil a functional role, such as the adoption of script in administration. Innovation alternatively, is viewed through widespread acceptance of the technology in society, rather than the initial development of the technology. Such developments are not deemed diffusionistic, as peer-polities exist as equal partners.

A final form of interaction is the exchange of objects. Increased demand for products may allow for economic intensification, which may support a shift towards craft

specialisation under elite patronage, with a concurrent development in socio-political complexity. Increased interaction between peer-polities would facilitate the development of commonalities material culture (Sherratt, 1972: 525; Hodder, 1978). The degree of similarity can be influenced by the efficiency of the person-to-person contact between polities and the extent and continuity of contact (Clarke, 1968: 414), whilst local specialisation and differences in material culture are indicative of the relative isolation of the groups (Cohen, 1977: 82).

2. AGENCY AND CULTURE CHANGE

Agency in archaeology is a response to structuralist notions of human nature (Robb, 2010: 495). Prominent are the works of Bordieu (1977) and Giddens (1979). Bordieu (1977: 3-10) argues that the social sphere is formed and duplicated by *social actors* through their agentic strategies, rather than being the result of a predetermined structure. Giddens (1979: 69) argues that the structuration approach exists in a duality between action and structure, where action is the outcome of rules, which it effectively shapes. Agency, essentially, considers the thoughts and choices of individuals in the archaeological record, rather than considering past peoples as “automatons” (Wobst, 2000: 42). Agentic strategies are motivated consciously or unconsciously by the desire to acquire status or power, which acts as a vehicle for social change (Flannery, 1999: 14-5). It is assumed, in any society, there exist more politically minded individuals, who have the means or will to achieve their strategy (Robb, 2010: 496).

Alternatively the dialectic concept emphasises that structure allows and channels actions, whilst actions recreate the structures (*Ibid.*, 498); people act according to social structures, but are not entirely limited by them. Agency, therefore, is not characteristic of just individuals, but representative of the relationships between peoples, thus there can be multiple and collective agencies (Robb, 2010: 504). Ehrenreich *et al.* (1995) have suggested that complex societies are made up of a heterarchy of distinct agencies, existing in balance, tension and contradiction, rather than a hierarchy of singular agency, of which some have a higher degree of power. This relates to culture change due to the nature of the internally driven strategies of agents which can drive social change and culture change.

Archaeologically, agency is only traceable through material remains that represent the strategies of past *social actors* (Robb, 2010: 507). It is difficult to understand the symbolism an object is imbued with, however the appeal of an object can be linked to social constructs, particularly with reference foreign objects (Knapp, 1998: 195). The role of objects in agentic relationships has been the focus of debate, since Bordieu (1984: 170) argued that meaning is

given to by social actors in a conscious or unconscious fashion. Gell (1998) suggests that if people can attribute intentional personhood or meaning to an object then it has imbued social agency (Barth, 2002). Another argument follows that agents and materials do not shape the course of events, rather it is the duality of agent and object that creates agency (Latour, 2005). Alternatively, it has been argued that objects create actors and strategies (Gardner, 2007: 9) as well as having an 'active' part in some social strategies (Barrett, 2001: 152).

3. INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENTS?

The Phylakopi megaron may not have been viewed as a Mycenaean phenomenon; building in a megaroid plan may have been an Aegean-wide adaptation. Similarities between the megaron at Phylakopi, 'House H-e' at Gournia (Preziosi, 1983: 183) and Mansion I at the Menelaion (Werner, 1993: 116) could imply peer-polity contact. Mansion I at the Menelaion has a megaroid unit, with a non-Mycenaean plan, which could be of Minoan influence (*Ibid*, 124). Additionally, Gournia has a megaron-inspired unit introduced through Mycenaean contact, though it also exhibits native Minoan influence (*Ibid*, 124). The similarities between the three megaroid structures (FIG. 4.2.) may imply a substantial Minoan as well as Mycenaean influence in their designs. PPI between the mainland, Cyclades and Crete could have facilitated exchange of architectural influences at Phylakopi.

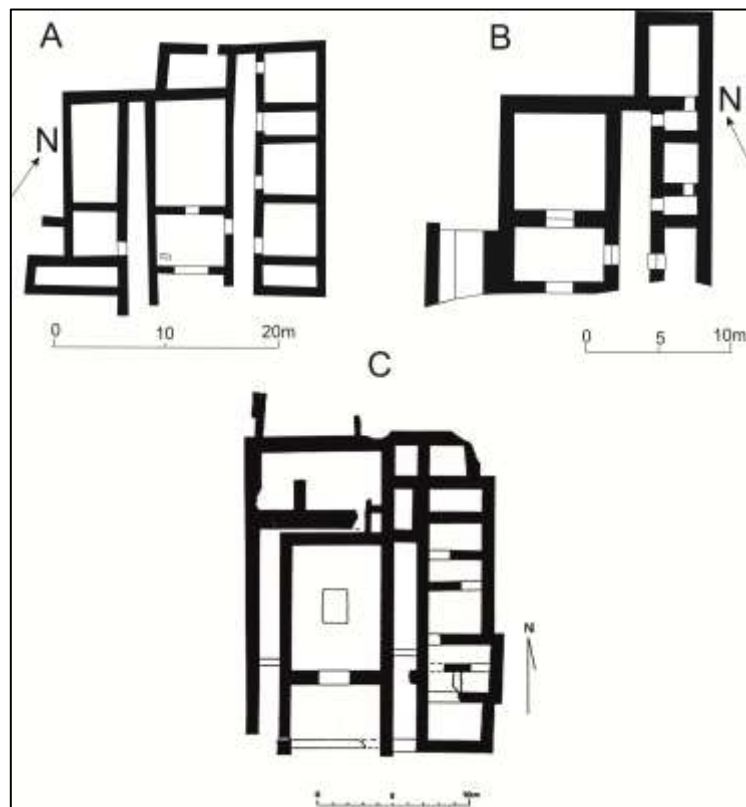


FIG. 4.2. Comparison of Megara. Menelaion (A), Gournia (B) and Phylakopi (C).

ESMs of analogous environmental and socio-political development may share similar cultural adaptations that evolve independently, in response to similar concerns. From the perspective of inhabitants, the megaron offered privacy for the adjoining main chamber, in winter, the hearth kept the structure warm, though the division into ante-chamber and chamber would have kept the structure cool in summer. Larger megara served to impress visitors, facilitated by the ornate decoration of interior walls, with the added theatre of restricted access to the main chamber (Werner, 1993: 129). Monumental architecture could have been transmitted via the *information exchange network* in peer-polity contact between the mainland and the Cyclades. It is possible that the construction of a megaron indicates increasing complexity, in which the Phylakopi-polity competitively emulated Mycenaean status architecture. It must be said, however, there is little evidence for an increase in production at LC III Phylakopi that is often synonymous with increasing complexity.

Alternatively, agentic strategies potentially responsible for the megaron's construction include a local chieftain or clan legitimising their rule by competitively emulating an established mainland power structure (Schallin, 1993: 189). In this case, the structure has an active role in shaping social strategies. The choice of Mycenaean style reflects the changing fashions of social aspiration, a shift from Minoan to Mycenaean.

Peer-polity contact with a competitive or war element would have necessitated the construction of city defences. To not have fortifications would leave the settlement vulnerable to attack; thus endangering the leading clan/chieftain's legitimacy. The construction of a wall dating to the LC I period (Renfrew, 2007: 64; Barber, 1987: 234) suggests that fortifying the settlement was a pre-Mycenaean concern, indicating that PPI took place between Aegean ESMs before the indicators of Mycenaean power arrived. At approximately 6m thick and at least 4m high, without the mud brick superstructure, (*Phylakopi*: 50), the wall represents an effort to impress and deter attackers (Loader, 1998: 160). The wall was constructed using local sea boulders and could be explained in terms of increasing social complexity brought about by warfare and competitive emulation. The construction of a LC III cyclopean fortification at Phylakopi (Hope Simpson & Dickinson, 1979: 314; Barber, 1987: 68) and the strengthening of the existing LC I wall, could be analogous phenomena. The need to refortify in LC III may indicate increased internecine warfare in the Cyclades, whilst the choice to construct cyclopean fortifications was a new development which may have been transmitted to the Cyclades via peer-polity contact with the mainland and Anatolia (Iakovidis, 1983: 108). In a similar fashion, constructing fortifications demonstrates culture change through agency. Local elites could have

constructed fortifications to legitimise their control over the settlement. The decision to refortify in LC III would have been influenced by the silting of the bay, as leaving the settlement undefended would have damaged the leading clan/chieftain's standing. The choice to build Cyclopean walls implies changing fashions and developments in defensive architecture, as well as a desire to emulate Mycenaean palaces.

The fact that the architectural character of Phylakopi does not alter extensively between LC I to LC III (Barber, 1987: 229) may result from a situation similar to Bordieu's (1993) *habitus* concept. If the culture change at Phylakopi is taken as caused by local agency, then the *internal domain*, such as domestic architecture, should reflect a degree of conservatism, which it does. The *habitus'* *external domain* would be more susceptible to cultural manipulation. This theory suggests that there was something to gain by 'being Mycenaean' (Feuer, 2011). Continuity in domestic architecture may suggest that Phylakopi's upper strata "controlled" access to Mycenaean culture, which was restricted and adopted in social strategies. This is reflected in the construction of the Mycenaean megaron, which would have been a considerable undertaking, whilst the remainder of the town remained considerably unchanged.

The proliferation of Mycenaean fine-ware pottery in LC III through exchange and contact may be indicative of its social acceptance in the Cyclades. This would have been caused by intensification of interaction between the Cyclades and the mainland, particularly after the Thera eruption. Shifts towards complexity may have led to an increased demand for Mycenaean pottery, as pottery may have been considered prestigious (van Wijngaarden, 2002: 29) and reflect the desire of some at Phylakopi to obtain prestige. As pottery is portable, it can be obtained relatively easily and in great quantities. This could have led to a 'trickle-down' effect, as low-status individuals sought to improve their social standing by obtaining Mycenaean fine-ware. Importing foreign fine-ware suggests that pottery was socially significant at Phylakopi. The individuals importing the wares however, could have been either Minoan, Mycenaean or island agents, attempting to meet demand at Phylakopi.

Interaction between the Phylakopi-polity and mainland polities could have led to ritual homology. If aspects of power architecture, such as a megaron, bestowed legitimacy upon the ruling elite, then changes in ritual may represent similar developments, as interaction increased between peer-polities. Schallin (1993: 186) argues that ritual may have been a commonality between polities, with only minor regional differences. In competitive emulation, the existence of a sanctuary at Mycenae (Mylonas, 1981) may have required a similar development at Phylakopi in order for its ruling elite to maintain legitimacy.

Moreover, the outlined model suggests that similar developments in structural homologies are seen in the peer polity system around the same time. Alternatively, the introduction of Mycenaean-style cult at Phylakopi may represent the total “Mycenaeanisation” of the population through the emulative strategies of social actors. Mycenaean-style ritual may have been perceived as exotic and adopted on the strength of this notion. Otherwise, Mycenaean-style ritual could have been a facet of the adoption of Mycenaean cultural identity and fostered relations between social actors at Phylakopi and the mainland.

4. DISCUSSION

Application of the peer-polity interaction model would suggest that interaction between ESMs over a significant period of time led to cultural homologies (Renfrew, 1986: 5) in the forms of architecture, material culture, belief systems and politics. These homologies formed through sustained contact, competitive emulation, warfare and exchange. The hypothesis discounts the need for any dominant party in culture change and views the polities of the Cyclades, such as Phylakopi, as analogous in power to the mainland polities, such as Mycenae. The apparent increase in Mycenaean influence on Melos, therefore, results from adoption and development of outwardly Mycenaean-like culture that materialised across the Aegean at a similar time, brought about by increased contact.

PPI is a widely used theoretical model for the investigation of culture change, though there are a small number of pertinent criticisms. The geographical limits of PPI are often difficult to discern archaeologically. It is designed specifically to consider change brought about through local interaction, though it does not define any maximum or ideal spatial limits. For example, it can be taken that PPI is applicable in a geographical region such as the Cyclades, but does this mean that interaction with the mainland is outside of the scope of PPI and more akin to directional interaction between different geographical and cultural units? In addition, the designation of socio-political power between polities in PPI as “more-or-less equal” (Renfrew, 1986: 7) seems to belie natural factors such as the emergence of politically minded individuals, controllable resources and space. In the Bronze Age Cyclades, a hierarchy of polities must have formed due to the natural advantages of each island. Melos had obsidian resources, which would have brought it more into contact with further afield polities at an earlier date, whilst an island such as Naxos would have had more space from which polities could form; to suggest an equal system would thus be difficult. A final consideration is the lack of agency in the process of culture change. Whilst the focus upon systemic polities allows for the narration of broader trends, it must be considered that within

a given culture there are any number of agents with their individual (and often competing) social strategies, who may have appropriated material culture for their own ends. In short, the infiltration of Mycenaean presence in the LC III Cyclades seems to contradict a neutral process of acculturation through interaction and be more indicative of an asymmetrical relationship between the Melos and the mainland.

If PPI is systemic approach, then agency theory is its antithesis, as it is preoccupied with 'putting the faces back on people of the past' (Robb, 2010: 1). In applications of agency theory, culture change would be understood through local choice to adopt Mycenaean culture. As with PPI, such change is not the result of domination, rather it is self-driven. If the social aggregate of culture is not a consequence of pre-conceived processes but formed by the strategies of social actors, then it seems that the emergence of the Mycenaean states and the increased contact with other Mediterranean polities, led to the adoption of Mycenaean culture through social actors' strategies. The social boundaries at Phylakopi must have been especially permeable to foreign cultural traits, perhaps linked to the role of Phylakopi as a port. Van Wijngaarden (2002: 29) argues that Mycenaean pottery found abroad is indicative of consumption, rather than colonisation. Mycenaean pots constituted a perceptible foreign element within the contexts of the cultures they were found in, rather than representing acculturation. This 'foreign' denomination would have been granted by the object's role in maritime trade. Such pottery could be used in indigenous social strategies, wholly outside the intended functions and meanings of the objects to the original culture (*Ibid.*, 29). Some inhabitants at Phylakopi may have adopted Mycenaean cultural traits in order to advance their own social strategies, whilst others emulated them. Access to Mycenaean culture, therefore, may have been socially restricted and dependent upon access to maritime connections; those who could better control access to Mycenaean imports advanced their own power.

For all its considerations, however, agency theory doesn't account for *why* Mycenaean cultural identity was adopted. On the mainland, such an identity arose from MH cultural tradition in response to certain environmental conditions, accelerated by the explosion of wealth visible in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae (Dickinson, 1977). On Melos there are no analogous developments. Whilst it is imperative to consider the culture change from the perspective of the islanders, describing culture change as an entirely self-driven process plays down the role of the Mycenaean in Aegean socio-politics; The expansion of the Mycenaean states (whether by migration, conquest or trade) enabled Mycenaean identity to carry currency in the Aegean. Without the existence of Mycenaean at Phylakopi, it is

difficult to see the benefit of the islanders becoming “Mycenaeanised”. Particularly relevant here is the LC III shift towards mainland style cult (French, 1985: 279). Ritual can be perceived as part of either the *external* or *internal domains* of the *habitus*. However, even if cult were an outward display open to manipulation, it is difficult to see what islanders would have had to gain by adopting Mycenaean cult if there were no Mycenaean present.

The two theories presented in this chapter are ultimately complimentary. Peer-polity interaction takes a systemic approach to polities, whilst agency theory bridges the gaps between polities and accounts for variability caused by the competing strategies of social actors. It is, however, difficult to ascribe the shift towards Mycenaean presence at Phylakopi in LC III as entirely self-driven. PPI accounts for the contact between polities in the Aegean through war, diplomacy, exchange and competition. Here, the balance of power between the Phylakopi polity and the mainland polities were not equal and Phylakopi was surely a peripheral to the mainland. This fact, however, does not downplay the role of the islanders in self-determinative strategies, as these agentic strategies account for the “Mycenaeanisation” at the settlement. However, the initial stimulus is likely to have been the arrival of Mycenaean, which the next chapter investigates.

Chapter 5

Hostile Mycenaeans

"Sons of Atreus, and other well-greaved Achaeans, to you may the gods who have homes upon Olympus grant that you sack the city of Priam..."

Homer, Iliad: 2.115-120

This chapter investigates the movement of Mycenaeans in the Aegean and whether this caused culture change at Phylakopi in LC III. There are two alternate hypotheses: that the Mycenaeans invaded and controlled the island (Barber, 1987: 224)¹⁰ or Mycenaeans migrated across the Aegean at the start of the LB III (or earlier) forming independent polities (for Dodecanese: Mee, 1988: 304). In order to better understand these processes, the hostile nature of the Mycenaeans will be discussed, before migration theory is presented and debated. Supporting evidence for the theory will be presented, before a discussion of the merits of migration theory and the validity of the invasion hypothesis.

1. WELL-GREAVED ACHAEANS?

It has been suggested that the Mycenaeans had a strong warlike ethos (Georganas, 2010: 305), on the basis of weapons and armour found in the shaft graves (Schliemann, 1878; Mylonas, 1966: 102), combat scenes on grave stelai (Taylour, 1983: 125) and seal rings (Higgins, 1981: 78), Mycenaean military or warrior personal names in Linear B texts (Deger-Jalkotzy, 1999: 122-123) and frescoes such as the 'battle' fresco from Pylos, in which, warriors wearing boar tusk helmets engage in combat with men wearing animal skins (FIG. 5.1.). Warfare was clearly an important component of early Mycenaean society (Acheson 1999: 102; Deger-Jalkotzy, 1999: 120-131), one which may have led weaker elements to attach themselves to those displaying power, for protection or out of fear. Success in war brought wealth and power, which reinforced social positions (Acheson, 1999: 102). As a result, warfare became entrenched in Mycenaean society and is discernible in later

¹⁰ As well as the Cyclades (Barber, 1987).

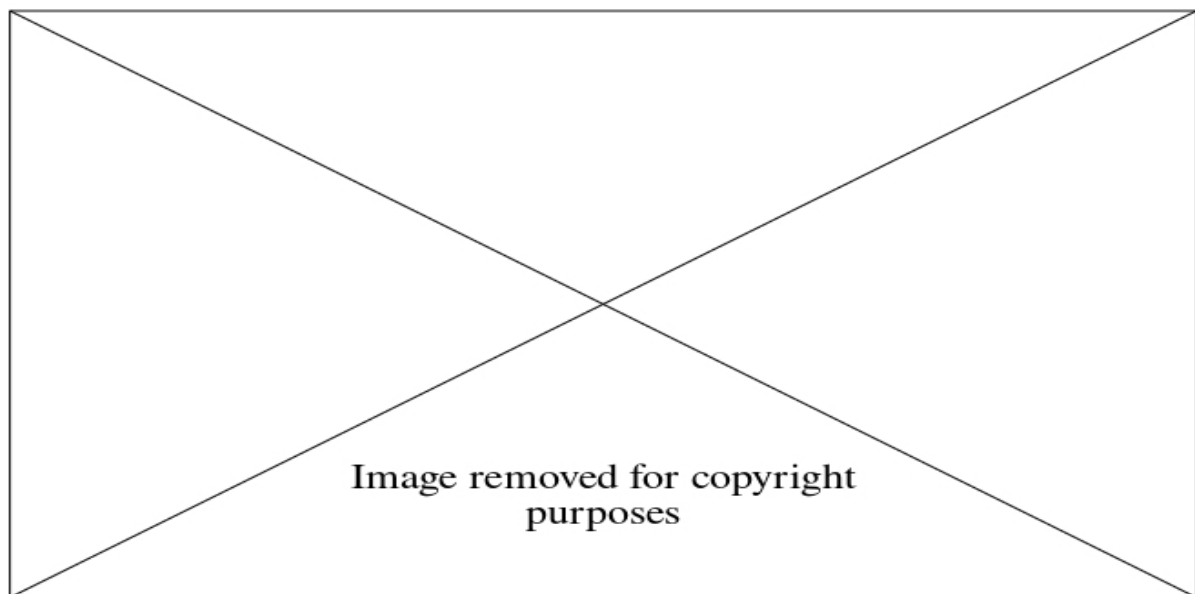


FIG. 5.1. Representations of warlike Mycenaean culture.

hierarchies evident in Linear B texts, such as the militarised *e-qu-ta* (*hequetas*) class (*Ibid*, 102).

If the ethnic marker “Ahhiyawa” equates to “Mycenaean” (Bryce, 1989), then Hittite texts provide a fascinating insight into the militaristic nature of the Mycenaeans. The Ahhiyawa are initially mentioned in the late 14th century BC annals of Mursili II, when the Ahhiyawa, Arzawa and Millawanda (Miletos) formed an alliance against the Hatti, who responded by destroying Millawanda (Bryce, 1989; Niemeier, 1999: 150). The Ahhiyawa are again mentioned in texts from the reign of Muwatalli II, which mention a man named Piyamaradu, who apparently conducted his activities from Miletos. It appears Piyamaradu defeated the king of the Seha river land, an ally of the Hittites (Bryce, 1998: 245-6) and attacked Lazpa/Lesbos prior to the arrival of the Hittite army. Piyamaradu kidnapped craftsmen from Lesbos and it took the intervention of Atpa, the Ahhiyawa representative at Miletos, to avoid a serious conflict by handing the craftsmen back to the Hittites (Niemeier, 1999: 151). An intriguing reference is the Tawagalawa letter, which addresses the king of Ahhiyawa as “My Brother Great King, my equal”. The text again refers to Piyamaradu, who ambushed a Hittite army. Also mentioned is Tawagalawa, a representative of Ahhiyawa in western Anatolia (Bryce, 1989: 301) and brother of the king of Ahhiyawa. Tawagalawa had a Mycenaean Greek name: *e-te-wo-ke-le-we* (Eteokles). A final mention comes from the Milawata letter which documents the seizure of Miletos from the Ahhiyawa (Bryce (1985: 21-2). Niemeier (1999: 153) connects this event with the Hittite Sausgamuwa treaty, in which the Hittite king originally listed the king of Ahhiyawa as an equal, though the Ahhiyawa were later erased (Bryce, 1989: 304-5). These Hittite texts have a bearing on the interpretation of inter-state violence in the Aegean. Niemeier (1999: 154) argues that the Ahhiyawa had a foothold in south-western Anatolia, from which they interfered with Hittite affairs. Are the activities of the Ahhiyawans the activities of an aggressive Mycenaean vassal or state? If so, it seems likely that the Mycenaeans controlled the Cyclades, which are considerably closer and would have been easier to control, due to the lack of other major regional powers after LH IIIA1.

Linear B tablets reinforce this image of Mycenaean aggression. Bennet’s (1995) analysis of Pylian geopolitics sheds some light on the expansion and incorporation of territory during state formation. It seems that LH IIIA1 Pylos had a substantial military force and controlled much of the area west of the Aigaleon mountain range (Bennet, 1995: 600). Integrating text with archaeological evidence from Nichoria, it seems that the palace at Pylos extended its power over the Aigaleon range in LH IIIA 2, after which the Megaron at Nichoria

goes out of use (Bennet, 1995: 601). This newly acquired territory was referred to as the 'further province', whilst the base territory was referred to as the 'hither province'. This is suggestive of an expansionist Pylian state, which may be mirrored in other Mycenaean states.

Such a militaristic background to Mycenaean culture has led numerous scholars to argue for Mycenaean expansion or migration. Mee (1988) is convinced that Mycenaeans settled the Eastern Aegean, motivated by the political pressure of state formation in Early Mycenaean Greece (Dickinson, 1977: 108). Mee argues (1988: 304) this is likely to have been achieved through coercion, rather than cohesion, leading to disenfranchised Mycenaean elites forging their own fiefdoms (Mee, 1988: 304). LM IB/II destruction layers on Crete have also been suggested to be the result of a Mycenaean (Barber 1974: 52), supported by finds from the LM II layers from the 'Unexplored Mansion at Knossos' (Popham & Sackett, 1972/3: 58-9). The validity of the theory, however, has been questioned in light of the proto-palatial nature of many Mycenaean sites in LH II (Hallager, 2010: 153).

Barber (1981: 10; 1987: 224) argues that the Mycenaeans administered the Cyclades. The motivation was to secure eastern trade routes in the search for raw materials. In doing so, the Mycenaeans systematically secured and colonised places formerly dominated by Crete, leading to Mycenaean influence replacing Minoan across the region. This Mycenaean occupation is visible across the Cyclades in the destruction layers at Ayia Irini and Phylakopi in LH II/LM IB,¹¹ the fortification walls at Ayia Irini and Phylakopi, as well as the arrival of tholos tombs on Mykonos and Tenos (Barber, 1999: 133). The process seems to have begun in LC I with the arrival of small amounts of Mycenaean pottery in an area culturally dominated by the Minoans, however Mycenaean ceramic influence expanded by LC II, at the expense of Minoan styles. This laid the foundation for widespread Mycenaean cultural dominance in LC III (Barber, 2010: 161). The Thera fresco - though not necessarily set in the Cyclades - shows an awareness of and involvement in warfare (Barber, 1999: 133). Barber does, however, concede (1987: 228) that life under the Mycenaeans was not significantly different from preceding periods, though Mycenaean tastes in artefacts and architecture are sufficient to argue the case for Mycenaean control of the Cyclades.

Warfare seems to have been central to Mycenaean society, fuelling interpretations of a militaristic and expansionist Mycenaean state. Both Mee (1988) and Barber (1999) argue Mycenaean expansion is likely to have been the result of several independent polities sharing Mycenaean culture. Unlike Mee, Barber (1999: 138) claims that some states may have

¹¹ Destruction of Phylakopi III-ii has been interpreted as a result of the expansion of Mycenaean power in the Aegean in LC II, prior to the flourishing of the palaces (Barber, 2010: 164)

collaborated, citing interconnections in the degree of uniformity in LH IIIA-B culture. It seems unlikely that there was a Mycenaean ‘empire’ and, whilst Mycenae could have been a capital, it seems more likely that the Greek mainland consisted of regional polities that shared a similar culture through peer polity interaction. This group of polities may have allied or gone to war with each other, though it is highly unlikely that they acted as a unified entity. The fact that Hittite documents refer to the Ahhiyawa as a unified Aegean kingdom reveals more about their piecemeal knowledge of the Aegean than the socio-political organisation of the Greek mainland.

2. MIGRATION AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

Migration has been viewed as a simplistic explanation of culture change and, until more recent developments, was used as a ‘catch-all’ solution to culture change. Prehistoric migrations are difficult to detect archaeologically, as well as difficult to explain the causes and effects of. It is argued to be too informed by modern migrations (Chapman, 1997) and the social context of the archaeologist (Härke, 1998: 24). Developments since the 1980s, however, have reinvigorated this theory and dialogue has allowed frameworks to be devised, in order to better understand this complex social phenomenon.

A major problem in the detection of past migrations is the ambiguity with which taxonomies of artefacts are attributed to particular groups, with the range of interactions that are blurred by such a method (Lightfoot, 2005: 210). Dommelen (2005) argues that these signatures are in a “hybrid” state, due to the simultaneous existence of different modes of interaction, which often leave a similar archaeological imprint. Stein (2005:13-4) however argues that trade, emulation and migration leave different archaeological signatures, with trade being evident through the preponderance of transportable items at a settlement. Archaeologically, Stein’s argument would seem to be valid, though changes in portable items such as pottery can be explained by other means. An example is the historically documented case of Dutch potters shipped to the Cape Colony, in order to make pottery for the local Dutch garrison, who refused to use local pottery (Jordan, 2000: 116-7). Such an example, however, predicates that we can infer the cultural origin of the material remains. Jordan (1985, after Burmeister, 2000) suggests that during colonisation of the Americas, immigrants chose aspects of their culture that could readily be adapted to new environments. The Alpine and Germanic settlers built simple barns due to their functionality, whilst their culture’s more ornate houses were not constructed. Such a line of enquiry, according to Burmeister (2000: 542), is central to detecting migration archaeologically. A valuable concept is Bordieu’s

habitus (1993, after Burmeister, 2000); the idea that a group's internalised structures influence their thoughts, perceptions and actions. Burmeister (2000: 542) argues that of the two domains of the *habitus* - the *internal* and *external domains* – the *internal domain* is likely to have more proof of a foreign element to the population. The *external domain*, in contrast, is adapted according to social and cultural conditions. Stylistic traits and burial practices communicate specific symbolic meanings, which are susceptible to manipulation. Therefore, it has been argued that functional aspects of culture, such as domestic architecture and domestic pottery, are naturally culturally conservative and, thus, a better indicator of ethnic change (Stark, Clark & Elson, 1995).

3. MIGRATION MOTIVATION

It is insufficient to merely consider the effects of migration; understanding of the phenomenon requires consideration of motivation. These motives can be divided into macrotheoretic explanations, which focus on systems, and microtheoretical explanations, which focus on the individual and small social units (Burmeister, 2000: 546). Anthony (2000: 556), however, has urged caution in attributing agency to individuals independent of their kin and social system, when making decisions about migration.

Stenokhoria or population pressure has been cited as a major motive, however density-dependence is culturally defined and intrinsically linked to local resources therefore it is not a temporal or spatial constant. Instead, Anthony argues for *push* and *pull* factors (FIG. 5.2.) in the migration decision-making process (1990, 1997: 22-4). *Push* factors include, but are not limited to, overcrowding. In some African societies, social structures prevent younger males from advancing socially and gaining prestige (Kopytoff, 1987:18-9), a path reserved for their elder brothers. The younger brother's best option for social advancement is to migrate to a new region; migration offers the prospect of an improved lot for the socially disenfranchised (Anthony, 1997: 23).

Syntheses of past migrations primarily consider the act of leaving a region, rather than what attracts people to settle in another (Anthony, 1997). Important *pull* factors include knowledge of transportation costs, geography and travel routes (*Ibid.*, 23-4). These form the *information-exchange network*, which is represented archaeologically by shared cultural traits. Transportation costs vary with distance, which is a major factor in the migration decision-making process (Ravenstein, 1972, after Burmeister, 2000). They are also influenced by potential conflict along the migration route (Anthony, 1997: 24). Social networks connect migrants with nonmigrants and allow for the gathering and transmission of

information (Boyd, 1989: 641), which can provide data on local conditions and socio-politics prior to migration. Such connections can foster a new start for the group as a migrant group together on foreign soil (Ostergren, 1988: 184-7).

The theoretical classifications for migration are numerous, though in prehistory, only two of these are relevant. *Chain migration* details the activities of migrants, following earlier migrants to a specific destination. This is facilitated by information gained from past migrants and motivated by the opportunity for increased wealth or prestige (Anthony, 1997: 26). An alternative is *coerced migration*, by which refugees, slaves and displaced persons migrate to a known location; they are forced to leave by economic pressures, war or social exclusion (Anthony, 1997: 27).

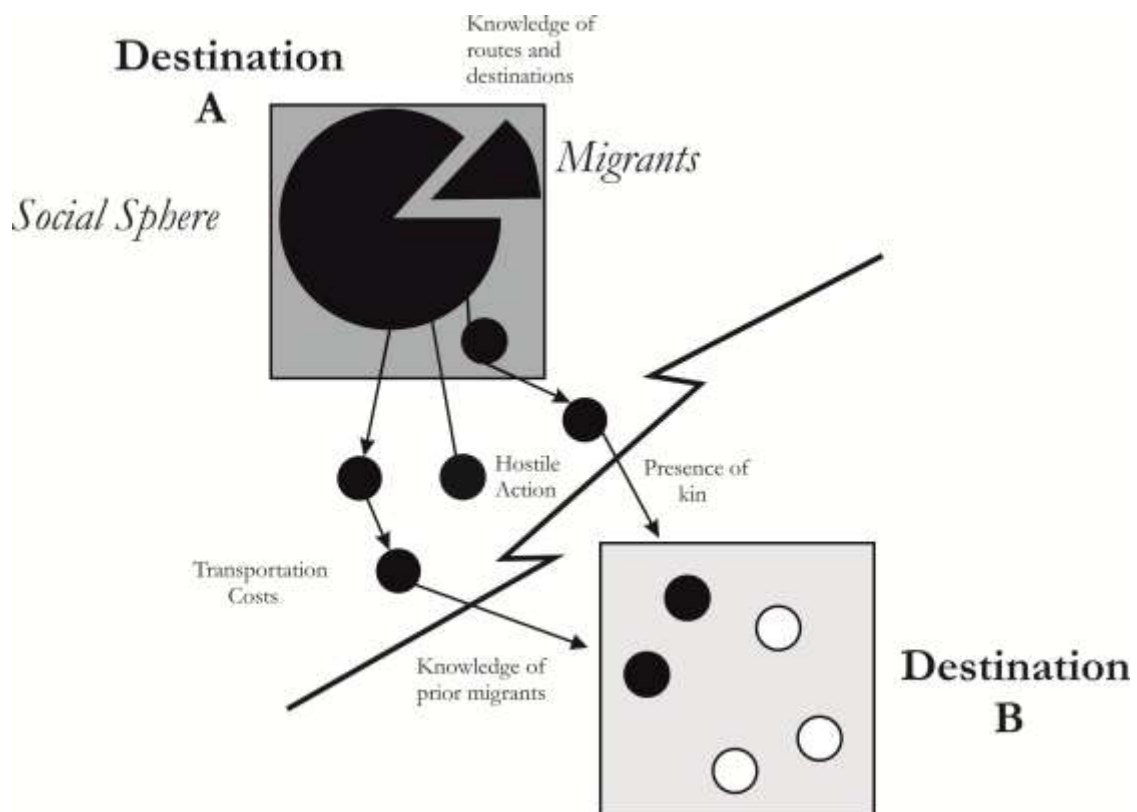


FIG. 5.2. Migration Model.

Migrations are usually formed from a population segment, with an essential condition being the ease with which groups or individuals can detach themselves from the social unit (Burmeister, 2000: 543). Two major factors in this selection process are the age of the individuals and their gender. It has been asserted that, as a rule, men are more mobile than women, who are often socially restricted, rather than biologically incompetent (Davis, 1977). In terms of mobility, the age group 20-30 is arguably the most mobile (Burmeister, 2000:

543).¹² Migration provides the opportunity for younger members of a community to prove themselves and their independence from the original society. Additionally, migration is a costly venture and would be favoured by those who had the means to undertake such a venture (Burmeister, 2000: 543). Based on these assertions, we would expect a migrating band of Mycenaeans to be made up of financially capable individuals, perhaps disenfranchised elites.

4. MOVING MYCENAEANS

The LH IIIA: 1 megaron at Phylakopi is recognisably Mycenaean (FIG. 5.3.) and situated in an area destroyed at the end of Phylakopi III-ii (Barber, 2010: 164). The megaron at Phylakopi is similar in plan to Mycenaean megara, though on a smaller scale, which is perhaps to be expected given the size of the settlement. Using the concept of the *habitus*, its implied symbolism suggests it was a facet of the *external domain*, however if a megaron structure was central to Mycenaean social organisation then it could be argued to be part of the *internal domain*. It is clear that it had a central function, although, its construction would reinforce Mycenaean authority for incoming Mycenaeans (Barber, 1999: 137). Its imposing nature would have served as a visible reminder of Mycenaean control in a phenomenological sense, though the replacement of the LC I mansion adds another element of control to the equation. The LC I mansion was clearly an important structure (Renfrew, 1982: 39; Barber, 1987: 164), as is implied by the discovery of a Linear A tablet there (Renfrew & Brice, 1977; Renfrew & Brice, 2007: 456). Though no Linear B tablets have been found,¹³ it seems building on the previous site of a significant structure was a deliberate choice. Few of the LC I walls were incorporated into the megaron, thus it is arguable that there was a purposeful decision to discontinue the previous structure and build around its walls. The location may have held particular social significance at Phylakopi, therefore it was a logical location for a new power structure.

Domestic architecture, on the other hand, forms part of the *internal domain* of the *habitus* and is, thus, a clearer representation of migration. The houses, however, remain distinctly Cycladic (Mee, 2008: 336), with little discernible difference in architectural style (Phylakopi: 27). It should, however, not be disregarded that Mycenaeans inhabited Cycladic

¹² Though some contexts may permit sedentary men and mobile women (Moch, 1992: 142)

¹³ It may be a result of lack of knowledge of Linear B tablets by the excavators of the early 20th century rather than an absence entirely.

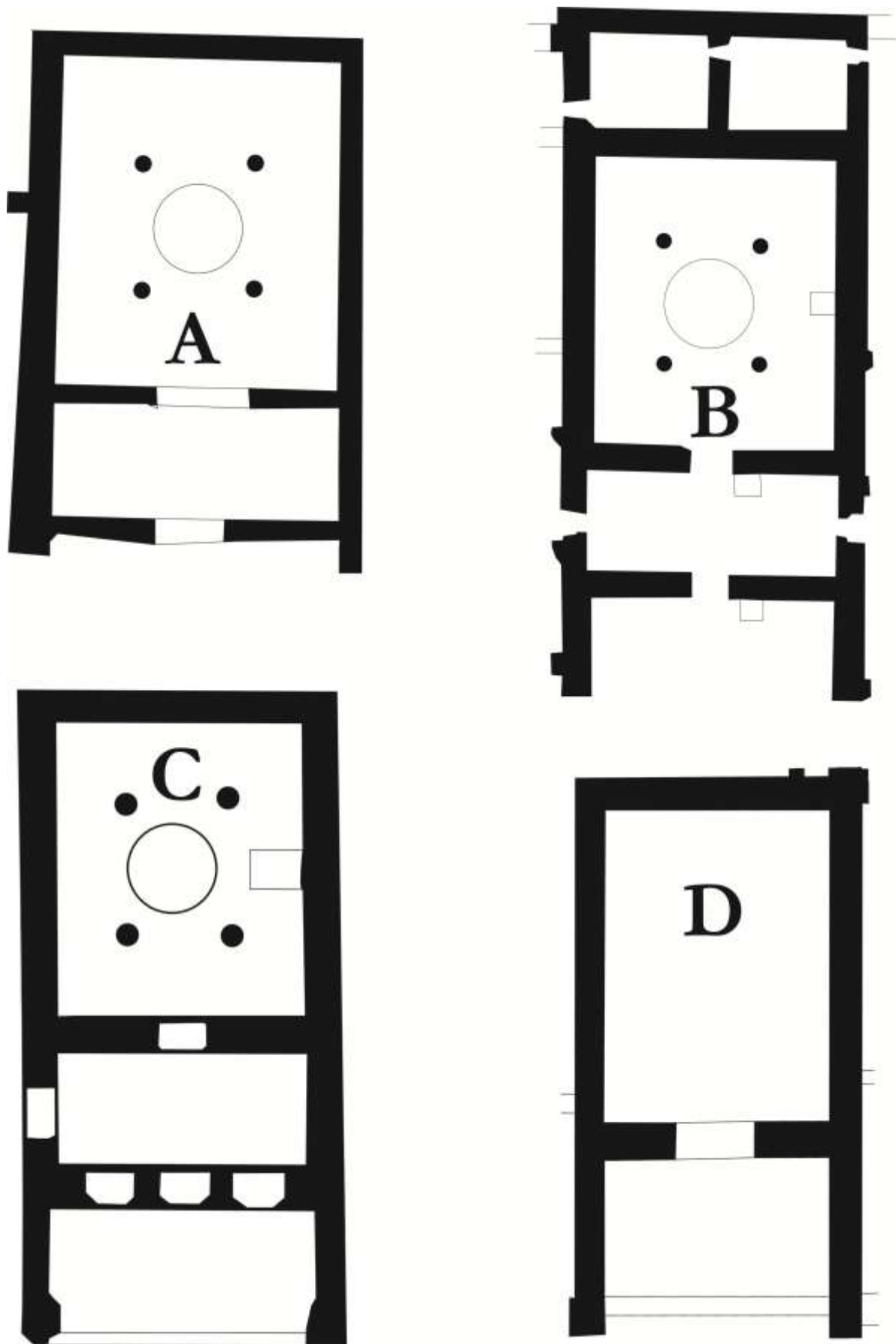


FIG. 5.3. Comparison of Megara plans; Mycenae (A), Pylos (B), Tiryns (C) and Phylakopi (D).

houses. As architecture is socially produced, it is imbued with conscious or unconscious meaning. The surface of architecture marks a physical boundary between the *internal* and the *external domain* (Izzet, 2007: 32) and the persistence of Cycladic exteriors could represent the social manipulation of architecture to fit a norm. This may signify the social adjusting of Mycenaean settlers to the existing norms of Cycladic architecture. This argument predicates that the Mycenaeans arrived at Phylakopi in peace and that the houses can reflect the *internal domain* of their inhabitants. Neither of these are strictly true. A particular problem is the focus of successive excavations on the megaron, to the exclusion of Phylakopi III: iii domestic architecture.¹⁴ Alternatively, it could be argued that any incoming hostile Mycenaeans could have reused the former structures to save constructing new ones.

The 'city wall' was constructed in LH IIIB, which suggests that any Mycenaeans arriving in LH IIIA1 deemed the existing fortifications adequate. Construction may have been a response to the silting of the bay, leaving landfalls that assailants could have used to gain entry to the settlement. The 'city wall', therefore, could be viewed as a modification to the existing defences in an attempt to strengthen fortifications in a more unstable period, both in the Cyclades and the mainland (Barber, 2010: 164). Such a response implies close links between Phylakopi and the mainland. However, the wall is not akin to mainland examples, being made of large, black sea boulders (Renfrew, 1985: 93), it seems sensible to argue that migrating Mycenaeans would have constructed fortifications out of locally available material, rather than importing mainland stone. This is compounded when considered that any construction would have been undertaken by local craftspeople in the service of a Mycenaean governor. Another consideration must be the build-up of debris abutting the LC I wall by the LH IIIB period (Renfrew, 2007: 64). Though accumulation of rubble and waste is a natural process associated with an ancient settlement, this may indicate a violent attack in LC III, perhaps by Mycenaeans.

Pottery is a difficult source by which to assess migration, as it can be moved through several mechanisms. Increased quantities of Mycenaean pottery in LC II infers that the Mycenaean 'proto-states' were beginning to exert their influence in the Aegean (Barber, 2010: 164). This could represent a small-scale migration of Mycenaeans in LC II, prior to a larger migration in LH IIIA1. By LC III (LH IIIA), imported pottery at Phylakopi and throughout the Cyclades was Mycenaean (Barber, 2010: 164), which suggests that Mycenaeans had control of Cycladic trade routes, perhaps facilitated by colonisation; the

¹⁴ Phylakopi (1904) dedicates two pages of information to Phylakopi III domestic architecture.

colonists having a taste for Mycenaean pottery. Decorated fine wares are a part of the *external domain* and, thus, open to manipulation, though the complete absence of LC III wares (Renfrew, 1982: 227) suggests the abandonment of local styles in favour of mainland styles, which is feasible if mainlanders had settled on the island.

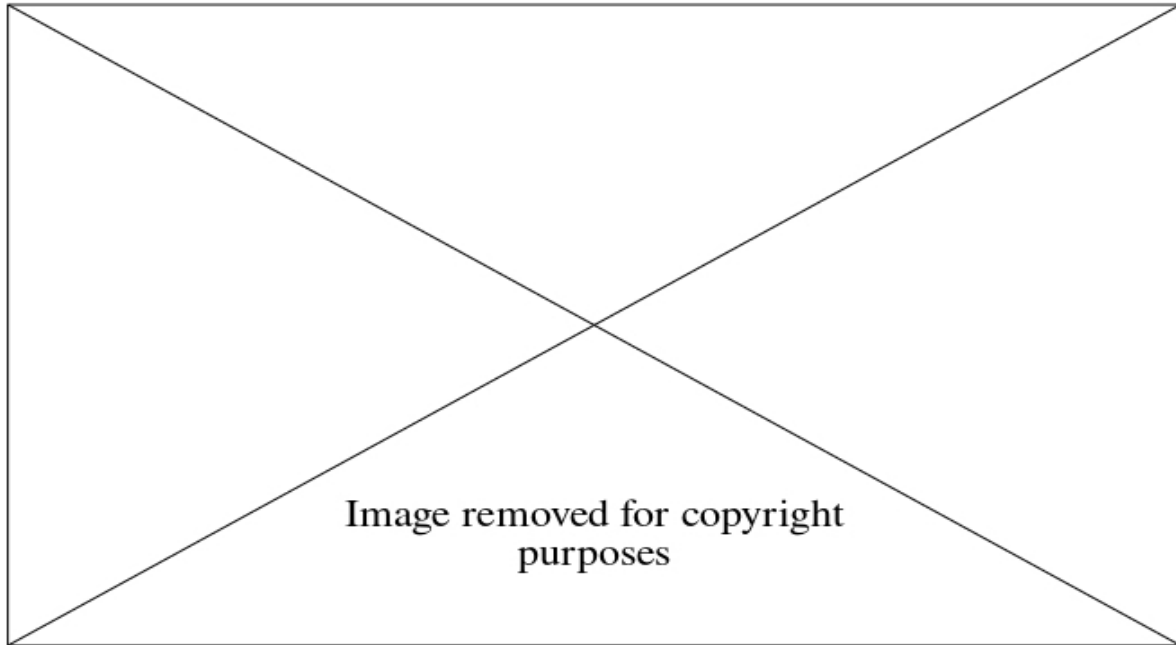


FIG 5.4. Reconstruction of the West Shrine.

The Shrine Complex bears a resemblance to the ‘Cult Centre’ at Mycenae (Renfrew, 1985: 407). The West Shrine is comparable in scale to the ‘Temple’ at Mycenae and the arrangement of platforms, benches and offerings (FIG. 5.4.) are paralleled at Mycenae and Tiryns. The back rooms in the West Shrine could be analogous to the “Shrine” of the ‘Room with the Fresco’ at Mycenae, which are interpreted as storage space (French, 1981: 45). Though figures and figurines have an established Cretan origin, the Phylakopi examples are distinctly Mycenaean (Renfrew, 1985: 413), such as the ‘lady of Phylakopi’ (French, 1985: 215) (FIG. 5.5.). With the exception of the male figurines (that lack Mycenaean parallel), the female figurines exhibit Mycenaean links, particularly those of the Late Psi type (Renfrew, 1985: 417). These links could be interpreted in light of Mycenaean migration. The construction of the West Shrine in LH IIIA 2 and the East Shrine in LH IIIB 1 could represent

an influx of mainlanders with associated ritual belief systems. The inconsistencies in figures and figurines e.g. Reshef figurine (Fig. 5.5.) and male figurines, could indicate the remnants of local cult. It must be said, however, that ritual practice could be a part of the *external domain* of the *habitus*, as the small size of the sanctuary may have only permitted elites or the heads of kinship groups to practice this cult, which may have incurred competitive votation. Alternatively, the omission of any ‘processional way’¹⁵ linking the megaron to the shrine complex could indicate that the sanctuary served the general populace, rather than elite kin groups. The modest finds (Renfrew, 1985: 390) support this hypothesis, as the megaron, though interpreted as a secular structure (Mylonas, 1981: 320), could represent the reinforcement of specifically elite status via ritual (Dickinson, 1994: 291). In contrast, non-elites may have made dedications and worshipped idols at the shrine complex.

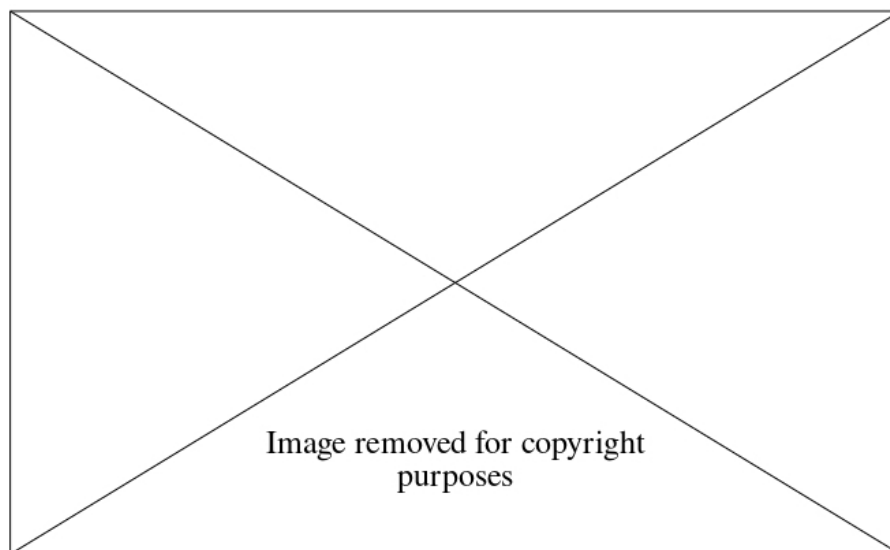


Fig. 5.5. ‘Lady of Phylakopi’ front and side (left). ‘Reshef’ figure (right)

5. DISCUSSION

It seems possible that Mycenaeans moved to Melos in LC III but what would have been their motivation? Population pressure is unlikely, despite the expansion of the Mycenaean palatial states (Bennet, 1999). Thinking in terms of *push* and *pull* factors, the timing of migration may give some clues about *push* factors. The expansion of Mycenaean presence in the Aegean coincides with LH IIIA, when the palaces are formed. The LH I shaft graves at Mycenae suggest that power in the Mycenaean polity was divided between members of the upper strata of society (Dickinson, 1977: 53), perhaps between a number of competing clans. The socio-

¹⁵ As possible at Mycenae (Mylonas, 1981: 315).

political crystallisation of palatial society in LH IIIA permitted only one ruling clan or chieftain at the apex of Mycenaean society, the *wanax*. This would have facilitated the creation of a disenfranchised elite that lost out in Mycenaean power politics. It is not unrealistic to suggest that such clans could have attracted followers and warriors. These ambitious clans could have sought to carve out a power base elsewhere, perhaps at a settlement like Phylakopi, which is akin to Mee's argument for the settling of Mycenaeans in the Dodecanese (1988: 304). Migration would require adequate knowledge of the destination in question. Peer-polity interaction between the mainland and Cyclades since the MH period would have made Phylakopi a known location for Mycenaeans. *Scouting agents*, such as merchants or prior migrants, could have provided knowledge about location and accessibility. Additionally, Melos is close to the mainland, with few territories along the way that could be deemed hostile, meaning that transport costs would be relatively low.

It has been established that there were a motivation and a means for migration, though the warlike nature of the Mycenaeans rather suggests a possible annexation of the Cyclades. An issue is the blurred boundaries between the two hypotheses, invasion is likely to leave similar archaeological remains as migration. Prior to LC III there is a destruction layer, as well as the construction of a megaron in LC III. This, together with the replacement of LC III fine ware pottery with LH III pottery and the introduction of mainland-style cult, strongly suggests Mycenaeans were present at Phylakopi. Doubts still persist however, as there is an apparent lack of Mycenaean domestic architecture and coarse wares at the site. The presence of these would strongly imply Mycenaean settlement.¹⁶

The issue with the migration model is the interpretation of the migrant *habitus*. There is little evidence at Phylakopi to support the Mycenaean nature of the *internal domain*, whilst the *external domain* is distinctly Mycenaean, which need not necessarily indicate migration. Change in the *external domain* can be caused by processes other than migration. Artefacts play a key role in symbolising social relations when a community is under social strain (Hodder, 1979: 450; Hodder, 1982: 56), such as when occupied by a foreign group. Tensions can lead to the circulation of artefacts to express "in-group togetherness" in opposition to outsiders (*Ibid*, 450). This is conspicuously absent at Phylakopi, which would suggest that either the islanders welcomed Mycenaean conquerors, which seems unlikely, or that the influx of Mycenaeans was, in actual fact, rather small. The intrusion of a foreign group can create new opportunities for local elites to gain prestige (Gosden, 2004: 26) and Melian elites

¹⁶ Publication of the coarse wares from Phylakopi would help greatly in this matter.

would have had new opportunities for social advancement by sponsoring a new regime. It seems most likely that a small group of Mycenaeans gained social dominance at Phylakopi, which encouraged local elites to adopt Mycenaean identity. If it is widely accepted that destructions at Knossos in LM II-III were caused by hostile Mycenaeans, then it is also possible in the Cyclades.

Chapter 6

Discussion

*"Thyestes again left it to Agamemnon to bear, that so he might be **lord of many isles** and of all Argos."*

Homer, *Iliad*, 2.108 (Emphasis by author)

In the preceding chapters, the three interpretations of Mycenaean influence at Phylakopi were presented and applied to the evidence with varying degrees of success. The validity of these hypotheses was then debated through theoretically informed discussion. Finally, this chapter presents the argument.

1. MYCENAEAN IDENTITY AND PHYLAKOPI¹⁷

It is prudent at this point to raise the issue of ethnicity in inter-group interaction in the Aegean. Ethnicity is a controversial topic and is clouded by the blurred delineation between 'culture' and 'ethnicity'. Ethnicity is a way for members of a group to classify themselves and others (Siapakas, 2003: 11-12). Whilst there are biological factors involved, ethnicity is conceptualised through self-identification, which is influenced by social and psychological factors. Ethnic groups are often defined by interaction with opposition groups (Fenton, 2003: 3).

MBA Cycladic culture was distinct from that of Crete and the mainland, though by the early LBA, the islands had become 'Minoanised' (Davis, 2008: 205). The Bronze Age population of the Cyclades is likely to have migrated during the Neolithic (Cherry, 1981: 58) from south-western Anatolia (Bennet & Davis, 1999: 113), and was perhaps from the same stock as the inhabitants of Crete. Consequently, the two groups may have shared language, which may have facilitated understanding and interaction (*Ibid*, 113).

The Mycenaean ethnic group on the other hand¹⁸, is argued to have been a later development. Their origin is a controversial issue, though it seems that Mycenaean culture owed much to MH cultural forms (Dickinson, 1977: 108; Wright, 2008: 230), whilst the 'Coming of the Greeks' may go as far back as the EH period (Pullen, 2008: 38). The fact that

¹⁷ For a more in-depth consideration of ethnicity that can be provided here, see Hutchinson & Smith, 1996.

¹⁸ Despite Dickinson's (1999: 139; discussion of Barber, 1999) assertion that the islanders were 'Mycenaean'

Linear B has been translated as an early form of Greek, though Linear A is non-Greek, suggests that there were differences between the Mycenaean and Minoan groups, which may extend to relations between the mainland and the Cyclades.¹⁹ Feuer (2011: 520) argues that “Mycenaean” ethnicity can be viewed as a ‘package’ of cultural forms, which includes: symbols of authority, palaces, *wanax* ideology, Linear B script, *tholoi*, chamber tombs and other aspects of material culture. To be of Mycenaean ethnicity was to exhibit the entire ‘package’, though, in areas of less integration, some aspects of the ‘package’ could be adopted and not others (Feuer, 2011: 530). An issue is that the outwardly Mycenaean ethnic ‘package’ may only belong to the higher ranks of society; the lower orders may not have been “Mycenaean”. Moreover, in the peripheries of Mycenaean presence, the need to express ones Mycenaean ethnicity would be greater when in direct contact with non-Mycenaean groups. “Being Mycenaean”, however, is something that one could only be born into, non-Mycenaeans could only be “Mycenaeanised” (Feuer, 2011: 530). In these peripheral zones, acculturation or creolisation can take place (Tambs-Lyche, 1994: 68-9), leading to the dissolution of old ethnic markers and the adoption of new markers. Such a process is most likely to have been caused by intermarriage. Women may either adopt their husbands ethnicity or alternatively, maintain her own ethnicity, in both cases transmitting that to the children (Ericson & Meighan, 1984: 145).

Phylakopi seems to be a zone of acculturation and a recipient of “Mycenaeanisation”. The existence of a megaron, Mycenaean cult and Mycenaean fine-ware pottery are indicators of the existence of Mycenaean ethnicity and it could be argued that the *wanax* ideology may have existed at Phylakopi. Linear B tablets may not yet have been recovered or even survived, whilst the plundered tombs outside Phylakopi may have conformed to the chamber tomb type. It, therefore, seems prudent to suggest that Phylakopi exhibits many markers of Mycenaean ethnicity, which suggests that ethnic Mycenaeans were present. The existence of other forms of influence, for example the suspected Minoan influence in the megaron (Werner, 1993: 124) and the male figurines from the Shrine Complex may be evidence of a hybrid, creolised culture, in which the rest of the population adopted some aspects of Mycenaean ethnicity, whilst other non-Mycenaean forms were maintained. This acculturation of the elite classes into the donor culture is a well-observed process in ethno-history²⁰ and may be represented in the archaeological evidence at Phylakopi.

¹⁹ For an alternative, though less accepted theory of Mycenaean ethno-genesis, see Drews, 1988: 199-201

²⁰ Akin to the argument made by Broodbank (2004: 58) for Minoanisation.

2. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF IDENTITY AT PHYLAKOPI

The construction of a megaron in LH IIIA 1 is without parallel in the Cyclades at this time. The suggestion that it could be the result of imitation (Schallin, 1993: 189) is wide of the mark, as its symbolic meaning would equate to much more than a simple architectural style; the megaron would have propagated the *wanax* ideology and been a venue for secular and ritual gatherings of society's upper strata of society (FIG. 6.1.). This upper stratum, whilst likely to contain "Mycenaeanised" islanders, is likely to have contained Mycenaeans.

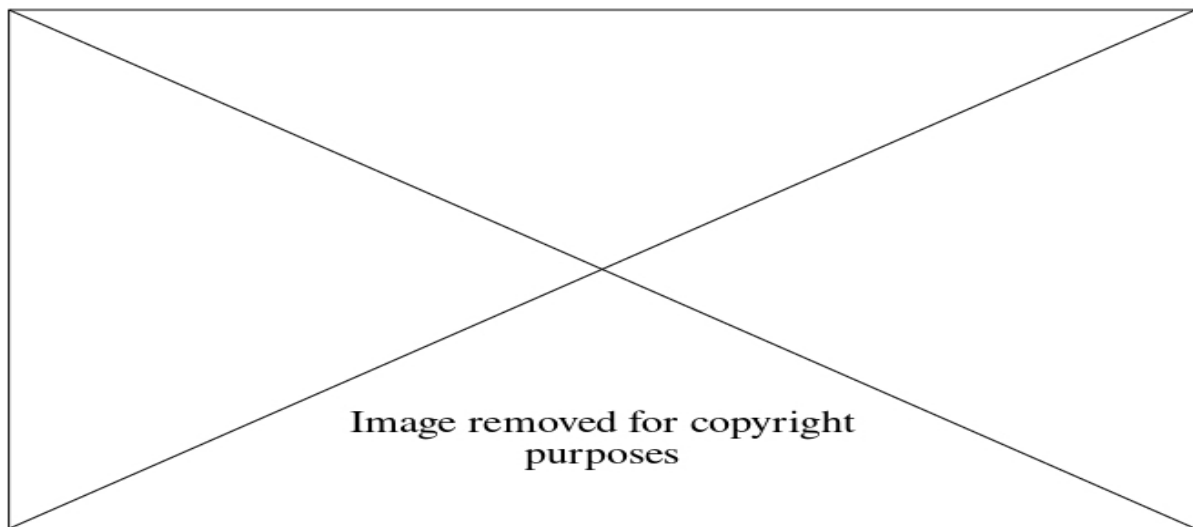


FIG 6.1. Reconstruction of the Pylian Megaron.

The Shrine Complex too seems to be indicative of a "Mycenaeanised" populace. It reflects an eclectic mix of influences, though it is highly significant that mainland influence seems so strong. It is suggested here that the megaron played host to the rituals of society's upper strata. At the same time, the lower social strata made dedications within the Shrine Complex, which is evidenced by the modest dedications (Renfrew, 1985: 390). It is a shame that few of the Phylakopi III: iii domestic structures have been studied, as they would be pertinent to the study of domestic ritual at Phylakopi.

Whilst domestic architecture remains Cycladic, an influx of Mycenaeans would not necessarily change the architectural tradition of the settlement. As mentioned above, domestic architecture forms part of the *internal domain* of the *habitus*, but “Mycenaeansisation” is likely to have heavily influenced the *external domain*, leaving the *internal domain* untouched. Inbound Mycenaeans would have likely reused buildings, rather than demolishing Cycladic domestic architecture, a move which may have threatened harmony between groups at the settlement. Moreover, it seems impractical to expend such energy in destroying and rebuilding new domestic structures, as it has been established that the exterior surface of a structure is what reflects the *external domain*, which can be manipulated. Again, it would be the opinion of this author that any future reinvestigation of the settlement should focus on domestic architecture, as these features may shed more light upon the identity of its inhabitants.

The fact that islanders imported Minoan and Mycenaean fine-ware raises a number of issues. Firstly, to accept foreign material culture such as fine-ware, which are likely to have had a role in agentic strategies, suggests that Melian cultural identity was permeable to external influence.²¹ This would have a great bearing upon the changes in culture in LC III. Secondly, in LC III, production and circulation of definitive Cycladic ware at Phylakopi becomes archaeologically invisible, which may suggest that the islanders had no desire to make such wares or that they had become so heavily “Mycenaeansised” as to be indistinguishable from mainland types.²² Both of these scenarios could represent the total abandonment of participation in local identity,²³ in favour of Mycenaean identity.²⁴

The evidence, therefore, suggests that Mycenaeans were resident at Phylakopi.²⁵ However, why was Phylakopi the destination for Mycenaeans? The relationship between Melos and the mainland is likely to have been imbalanced, akin to the *core* and *semiperiphery* of WSA. The mainland is clearly the centre of the Aegean world-system in LB III and, prior to LB III, it could be argued that the Aegean world-system had multiple *cores*.

²¹ Islanders may have been conditioned by a lack of vital natural resources, such as suitable fine-ware clay (Mountjoy, 2008: 469).

²² This is also visible at Ayia Irini (Cummer & Schofield, 1984: 146).

²³ Future chemical analysis of LC III pottery from Phylakopi would help to address this question.

²⁴ Coarse wares would also be indicative, though they are unfortunately not published.

²⁵ Discussion of the start of occupation at Ayios Spyridon had to be omitted due to space constraints. The construction of an acropolis settlement overlooking the bay of Melos in LH IIIB is intriguing and could perhaps be linked to a greater need to control access to the bay by Phylakopi. This bay may have provided access routes to the obsidian resources of the hinterland. Alternatively, it could represent another feature of the instability that gripped the mainland and the Cyclades in LH IIIB (Renfrew, 1982).

Melos provides safe anchorage for Mycenaean merchants, as well as a valuable source of low value obsidian goods for the *internal exchange system* (Kardulias, 1999: 188-9), whilst the mainland supplied ceramics which were incorporated into the local strategies of Melian elites. Crucially, this interaction would make Melos a known destination to Mycenaeans and heavily influence any future decision to migrate.

Though the megaron would appear to indicate political control at a state level, it is proposed that the construction of a megaron could represent the agentic power strategies of an ambitious Mycenaean elite clan or chieftain, who migrated from the mainland to Phylakopi. This movement is unlikely to have been the effect of an expansionist mainland state,²⁶ as control would have been difficult to maintain (Sherratt, 2001: 222-3). Rather, it is suggested that the consolidation of the mainland palaces would have created a disenfranchised elite stratum that are unlikely to have been welcome in their original polity. This political situation would have been a key *push* factor in the decision to migrate, whilst the close proximity of Melos, and knowledge of its location, means that there are adequate *pull* factors (Anthony, 1997: 22-24). Moreover, the conspicuous consumption evident in the grave circles at Mycenae in LH I implies that Mycenaean elite-groups were wealthy and could afford the cost of migration, as well as perhaps attracting followers or mercenaries (Acheson, 1999: 102). This wealth could also be diverted into the construction and mobilisation of labour, such as that required to construct the megaron and the LH IIIB fortification wall.

Mycenaean denizens, however, only partially account for Mycenaean presence. A great degree of the Mycenaean presence at Phylakopi is the result of the acculturation of the islanders. Resident Mycenaeans would aid in the “Mycenaeanisation” of the populace, as Cycladic elites may have more to gain by supporting a new regime and adopting Mycenaean cultural traits. The aforementioned permeability of Cycladic cultural identity meant that adopting foreign cultural traits was an easier process than perhaps elsewhere in the Aegean. Feuer (2011: 520) has argued that there would have been *push* and *pull* factors in the border zones of Mycenaean influence, which would have caused the inhabitants to pull away from Mycenaean identity and stress their cultural difference, or alternatively push them into becoming more Mycenaean. A culture pulling away from foreign influences would show alternate expression of indigenous identity in opposition to foreign culture (Hodder, 1982:

²⁶ Pylos may be an exception on the mainland (Shelton, 2010: 144).

56). This is not evident at Phylakopi, which suggests that the islanders wished to become Mycenaean as much as Mycenaeans wished to inhabit the settlement.

In summation, this thesis has argued that the Mycenaean presence at Phylakopi in the LC III period was the result of an influx of mainlanders, which was a catalyst for the adoption of Mycenaean cultural traits by the islanders. “Mycenaeanisation” was, in part, caused by the movement of Mycenaeans, but also heavily linked to indigenous strategies and the permeability of Melian culture to foreign influence. An ‘invasion’ need not constitute the total replacement of a population, been undertaken by a state or even been a one-directional process. The nature of the archaeological record at Phylakopi is incomplete and this has led to numerous interpretations based on the evidence. The phenomenon of “Mycenaeanisation” is a significant issue, particularly for Aegean prehistorians specialising in the Aegean islands. This episode in Aegean prehistory is not likely to have taken the same form across the Aegean and it is possible that other theories will better account for the process in specific locales. There is no all-encompassing theory which could account for the process of “Mycenaeanisation” in LB III. However, it is hoped that integrating archaeological theory in the analysis and discussion of these hypotheses has shed light upon their validity and that the argument presented here will stimulate further discussion.

Bibliography

JOURNALS AND SERIES

- AA *American Antiquity*
 AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*
 BAR *British Archaeological Reports*
 BSA *British School at Athens*
 CA *Current Anthropology*
 JFA *Journal of Field Archaeology*
 JWSR *Journal of World-systems Research*
 OJA *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
 OP *Opuscula Archaeologica*
 PPS *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*
 SIMA *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*

Acheson, P. E., 1999. "The Role of Force in the Development of Early Mycenaean Polities", in Laffineur, R., (ed.) *Polemos: Le Contexte Guerrier En Égée À L'âge Du Bronze [Aegaeum 19]*, Liège, Université de Liège: 97-104.

Allen, M., 1997. *Contested Peripheries: Philistia in the Neo-Assyrian World-System*, Ph.D dissertation, Los Angeles: University of California.

Anthony, D. W., 1990. "Migration in Archaeology: The Baby and the Bathwater", *American Anthropologist* 4: 895-914.

———, 1997. "Prehistoric Migrations as a Social Process", in Chapman, J. & Hamerow, H., (eds.) *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation*, BAR IS 664, Oxford, Archaeopress: 21–32.

———, 2000. "Comment to S. Burmeister", in Burmeister, S. "Archaeology and Migration: Approaches to an Archaeological Proof of Migration", *CA* 41: 554–5.

Atkinson, T. D., Bosanquet, R. C., Edgar, C. C., Evans, A. J., Hogarth, D. G., Mackenzie, D., Smith, C., & Welch, F. B., 1904. *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Supplementary Paper 4, London: Macmillan.

Atkinson, T. D., 1904. "The Architecture", in Atkinson, T.D *et al.*, *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Supplementary Paper 4, London, Macmillan: 25-69.

Bachhuber, C., 2006. "Aegean Interest on the Uluburun Ship", *AJA* 110: 345-63.

- Barber, R. L. N., 1974. "Phylakopi 1911 and the History of the Later Cycladic Bronze Age", *BSA* 69: 1-55.
- , 1981. "The Late Cycladic Period: A Review", *BSA* 76: 1-21.
- , 1987. *The Cyclades in the Bronze Age*, London: Duckworth.
- , 1999. "Hostile Mycenaeans in the Cyclades?", in Laffineur, R., (ed.) *Polemos: Le Contexte Guerrier en Égée À L'âge du Bronze [Aegaeum 19]*, Liège, Université de Liège: 133-140.
- , 2010. "Cyclades", in Cline, E. H., (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 160-170.
- Barrett, J. 2001. "Agency, the Duality of Structure, and the Problem of the Archaeological Record", in Hodder, I., (ed.) *Archaeological Theory Today*, Cambridge, Polity Press: 140–64.
- Barth, F., 2002. "An Anthropology of Knowledge", *CA* 43: 1–18.
- Bass, G. F., Throckmorton, P., Taylor, J. D. P., Hennessey, J. B., Shulman, A. R., Buchholz, H-G., 1967. "Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck", Philadelphia, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 57: 1-177.
- , 1991. "Evidence of Trade From Bronze Age Shipwrecks", in Gale, N., (ed.) *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*, SIMA 90, Göteborg: 69-82.
- Bennet, J., 1995. "Diachronic Perspectives on the Spatial Organisation of the Pylian State", in Laffineur, R. & Niemeier, W. D., (eds.) *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age, [Aegaeum 12]*, Liège, Université de Liège: 587-601.
- Berg, I., 1999. "The Southern Aegean System", *JWSR* 5: 475–484.
- Betancourt, P. P., 2007. *Introduction to Aegean Art*, Philadelphia, INSTAP Academic Press.
- Bintliff, J. L., 1977. *Natural Environment and Human Settlement in Prehistoric Greece*, BAR SS 28, Oxford.
- Bourdieu, P., 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice* [Translated By Richard Nice], Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 1984. *Distinction*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- , 1993. *Sozialer Sinn: Kritik Der Theoretischen Vernunft*, Frankfurt/Mainz: Suhrkamp.
- Boyd, M., 1989. "Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas", *International Migration Review* 23: 638–70.
- Branigan, K., 1981. "Minoan Colonialism", *BSA* 76: 22-33.
- Bryce, T. R., 1988. *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- , 1989. “Ahhiyawans and Mycenaeans – an Anatolian Viewpoint”, *OJA* 8: 299-305.
- Burmeister, S., 2000. “Archaeology and Migration: Approaches to an Archaeological Proof of Migration”, *CA* 41: 539–67.
- Champion, T., 1989a. “Introduction”, in Champion, T., (ed.) *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology*, London, Unwin Hyman: 1-19.
- , 1989b. *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology*, London: Unwin Hyman.
- Chapman, J., 1997. “The Impact of Modern Invasions and Migrations on Archaeological Explanation”, in Chapman, J. & Hamerow, H., (eds.) *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation*, BAR IS 664: 11-21.
- , 1997. *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation*, BAR IS 664, Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Chase-Dunn, C., & Hall, T. D., 1997. *Rise and Demise: Comparing World-Systems*, Boulder: Westview Press.
- Cherry, J. F., 1981. “Early Colonisation of the Mediterranean Islands”, *PPS* 47: 41-68.
- , 1986. “Politics and Palaces: Some Problems in Minoan State Formation”, in Renfrew, C., & Cherry, J., (eds.) *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 19-46.
- Childe, V. G., 1925. *Dawn of European Civilisation*, London.
- Clarke, D. L., 1968. *Analytical Archaeology*, London: Methuen.
- Cline, E. H., 1987. “Amenhotep III and the Aegean: A Reassessment of Egypto-Aegean Relations in the 14th Century BC”, *Orientalia* 56: 1-36.
- , 2000. “Contested Peripheries in World Systems Theory: Megiddo and Jezreel Valley as a Test Case”, *JWSR* 6: 8–17.
- , 2009. *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, BAR IS 591, Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Cohen, M., 1977. *The Food Crisis in Prehistory*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Cowgill, G. L., 2004. “Origins and Development of Urbanism: Archaeological Perspectives”, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 525-549.
- Crowley, J., 2008. “Mycenaean Art and Architecture”, in Shelmerdine, C. W., (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 258-88.
- Cummer, W. W., & Schofield, E., 1984. *Keos III: Ayia Irini. House A*, Mainz: von Zabern.

- Darcque, P., 1990. "Pour L'abandon du Terme "Megaron"", in Darque, P. & Treuil, R., (eds.) *L'habitat Égéen Préhistorique*, Athenes, Ecole Francaise d'Athenes: 21-31.
- Davidson, D., & Tasker, C., 1982. 'Geomorphological Evolution during the Late Holocene', in Renfrew, C. & Wagstaff, M., (eds.) *An Island Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 82-94.
- Davis, J. L., 1979. "Minos and Dexithea: Crete and the Cyclades in the Later Bronze Age", in Davis, J. L. & Cherry, J. F., (eds.) *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory*, Los Angeles, UCLA Institute of Archaeology: 143-157.
- , 2008. "Minoan Crete and the Aegean Islands", in Shelmerdine, C. W., (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 186-208.
- Davis, J. L., & Bennett, J., 1999. "Making Mycenaeans: Warfare, Territorial Expansion and Representations of the Other in the Pylian Kingdom", in Laffineur, R., (ed.) *Polemos: Le Contexte Guerrier En Égée À L'âge Du Bronze [Aegaeum 19]*, Liège, Université de Liège: 105-120.
- Davis, J. L., & Cherry, J. F., 2007. "The Cycladic Pottery from the Late Bronze I Levels", in Renfrew, C. *et al.*, 2007. *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos 1974-77*, London: BSA: 265-306.
- Davis, K., 1977. "The Effect of Outmigration on Regions of Origin," in Brown, A. A. & Neuberger, E., (eds.), *Internal Migration: A Comparative Perspective*, New York Academic Press: 147-66.
- Dawkins, R. M., & Droop, J. P., 1910-11. "The Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos", *BSA* 17: 1-22.
- Deger-Jalkotzy, S., 1999. "Military Prowess and Social Status in Mycenaean Greece", in Laffineur, R., (ed.) *Polemos: Le Contexte Guerrier En Égée À L'âge Du Bronze [Aegaeum 19]*, Liège, Université de Liège: 121-132.
- , 2008. "Decline, Destruction, Aftermath", in Shelmerdine, C. W., (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 387-416.
- Dickinson, O. T. P. K., 1977. *The Origins of Mycenaean Civilisation*, Goteborg, *SIMA* 49.
- , 1994. *The Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dommelen, P., 2005. "Colonial Encounters and Hybrid Practices: Phoenicians and Carthaginian Settlement in the Ancient Mediterranean", in Stein, G. J., (ed.), *The*

- Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, Santa Fe, School of American Research Press: 109–41.
- Doumas, C., 1983. *Thera: Pompeii of the Ancient Aegean*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Drews, R., 1988. *The Coming of the Greeks*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- , 1993. *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe Ca. 1200 BC*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ehrenreich, R. M., Crumley, C. L., & Levy, J., 1995. *Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Societies*, Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.
- Ericson, J. E., & Meighan, C. W., 1984. “Boundaries, Alliance and Exchange in California.”, in DeAtley, S. & Findlow, F., (eds.) *Exploring the Limits: Frontiers and Boundaries in Prehistory*, BAR IS 223, Oxford, Archaeopress: 143-52.
- Fenton, S., 2003. *Ethnicity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Feuer, B., 2011. “Being Mycenaean: A View from the Periphery”, *AJA* 115: 507-536.
- Finley, M. I., 1981. *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*, New York: Chatto & Windus.
- Flannery, K. V., 1999. “Process and Agency in Early State Formation”, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9: 3–21.
- French, E. B., 1981. “Cult Places at Mycenae”, in Hägg, R. & Marinatos, N., (eds.) *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Stockholm, Svenska Institutet i Athen: 41-8.
- , 1985. “The Figures and Figurines”, in Renfrew, C., (ed.) *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*, Oxford, BSA/Alden Press: 209-280.
- Furumark, A., 1950. ‘The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History c. 1550- 1400 BC’, *OP* 6: 150-271.
- Gale, N. H., & Stos-Gale, Z. A., 2008. “Changing Patterns in Prehistoric Cycladic Metallurgy”, in Brodie, N. Doole, J. Gavalas, G. & Renrew, C., (eds.) *Horizon: a Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, Cambridge, McDonald Institute Monographs: 387-408.
- Gardner, A., 2007. *Agency Uncovered: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Agency, Power and Being Human*, Walnut Creek: West Coast Press.
- Gell, A., 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Georganas, I., 2010. “Weapons and Warfare”, in Cline, E. H., (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 305-316.
- Giddens, A., 1979. *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Gosden, C., 2004. *Archaeology and Colonialism: Cultural Contact from 5000 BC to the Present*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, T. D., 1986. "Incorporation in the World-System: Toward a Critique", *American Sociological Review* 51: 390–402.
- Hall, T. D., Kardulias, N., & Chase-Dunn, C., 2011. "World-Systems Analysis and Archaeology: Continuing the Debate", *Journal of Archaeological Research* 19: 233–279.
- Hallager, E., 2010. "Crete", in Cline, E. H., (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 149–159.
- Härke, H., 1998. "Archaeologists and Migrations: A Problem of Attitude?", *CA* 39: 19–45.
- Higgins, R., 1981. *Minoan and Mycenaean Art*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Hirschfeld, N., 1993. "Incised Marks (Post-Firing) on Aegean Wares", in Zerner, C et al, *Wace and Blegen: Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age, 1939–1989*, Amsterdam, Gieben: 311–18.
- Hodder, I., 1978. *The Spatial Organisation of Culture*, London: Duckworth.
- , 1979. "Economic and Social Stress and Material Culture Patterning", *AA* 44: 446–54.
- , 1982. *Symbols in Action: Ethno-Archaeological Studies of Material Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodges, R., 1989. *Dark Age Economics: the Origins of Towns and Trade A.D. 500–1000*, London: Duckworth.
- Hope Simpson, R., & Dickinson, O. T. P. K., 1979. *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age*, Goteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Hope Simpson, R. & Hagel, D., 2006. *Mycenaean Fortifications, Highways, Dams and Canals*, Sävedalen: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Hutchinson, J., & Smith. A.D., 1996. *Ethnicity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Iakovidis, S. E., 1983. *Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece*, Leiden: Brill.
- Immerwahr, S. A., 1960. "Mycenaean Trade and Colonization", *Archaeology* 13: 4–13.
- Izzet, V., 2007. *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jordan, S. C., 2000. "Coarse Earthenware at the Dutch Colonial Cape of Good Hope, South Africa: A History of Local Production and Typology of Products", *Historical Archaeology* 4: 113–43.

- Jordan, T. G., 1985. *American Log Building: an Old World Heritage*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Karageorghis, V., 1999. "Aspects of Trade between Cyprus and the West during the 14th-13th Centuries BC", in Phelps, W., Lolos, Y., & Vichos, G., (eds.), *The Point Iria Wreck: Interconnections in the Mediterranean Ca. 1200 BC*, Athens, Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology: 121-130.
- Kardulias, P. N., 1999. "Multiple Levels in the Aegean Bronze Age World-System", in Kardulias, P. N., (ed.), *World-Systems Theory in Practice: Leadership, Production, and Exchange*, Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield: 179-201.
- Knapp, A. B., 1991. "Spice, Drugs, Grain and Grog: Organic Goods in Bronze Age East Mediterranean Trade", in Gale, N., (ed.) *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean, SIMA 90*, Göteborg: 21-68.
- , 1998. "Mediterranean Bronze Age Trade: Distance, Power & Place", in Cline, E. H. & Harris-Cline, E., (eds.), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium*, Liège; Université de Liège: 193-208.
- Kohl, P. L., 1989. "The use and abuse of world-systems theory: The case of the 'pristine' West Asian state", in Lamberg-Karlovsky, C. C. (ed.), *Archaeological Thought in America*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 218-240
- Kopytoff, I., 1987. "The Internal African Frontier: The Making of African Political Culture," in Kopytoff, I., (ed.) *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press: 3-86.
- Kristiansen, K., 1998. *Europe before History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lambrinoudakis, V., & Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou, O., 2001. "The Town of Naxos at the End of the Late Bronze Age and the Mycenaean Fortification Wall", in Karageorghis, V., & Morris, C. E., (eds.) *Defensive Settlements of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean After C. 1200 BC*, Nicosia, Leventis Foundation: 157-69.
- Latour, B., 2005. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lightfoot, K. G., 2005. "The Archaeology of Colonization: California in Cross-Cultural Perspective", in: Stein, G. J., (ed.) *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, Santa Fe, School of American Research Press: 207-35.
- Liverani, M., 1986. "The Collapse of the Near Eastern Regional System at the End of the Bronze Age: The Case of Syria", in Rowlands, M., Larsen, M., & Kristiansen, K.,

- (eds.) *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 66-73.
- Loader, N., 1998. *Building in Cyclopean Masonry: With Special Reference to the Mycenaean Fortifications on Mainland Greece*, Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Lolos, Y. G., 1999. "The Cargo of Pottery from the Point Iria Wreck: Character and Implications", in Phelps, W. Lolos, Y., & Vichos, G., (eds.), *The Point Iria Wreck: Interconnections in the Mediterranean Ca. 1200 BC*, Athens, Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology: 43-58.
- MacGillivray, J., & Barber, R., 1984. *The Prehistoric Cyclades: Contributions to a Workshop on Cycladic Chronology*, Edinburgh: Department of Classical Archaeology.
- Marthari, M., 1988. "The Mycenaean Expansion in the Cyclades", in Demakopoulou, K., (ed.), *The Mycenaean World: Five Centuries of Early Greek Culture 1600-1100 BC*, Athens, Ministry of Culture: 56-7.
- McDonald, W. A., & Hope-Simpson, R., 1969. "Further Explorations in the Southwestern Peloponnese: 1964-1968", *AJA* 73: 123-177.
- Mee, C. B., 1982. *Rhodes in the Bronze Age*, Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- 1988. "A Mycenaean Thalassocracy in the Eastern Aegean?", in French, E. B., & Wardle, K. A., (eds.) *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, Bristol, Bristol Classical Press: 301-306.
- , 2008. "Mycenaean Greece, the Aegean and Beyond", in Shelmerdine, C. W., (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 363-386.
- Moch, L. P., 1992. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mountjoy, P. A., 2007. "The Mycenaean and Late Minoan I-II Pottery", in Renfrew, C. et al., *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos 1974-77*, London, BSA: 307-370.
- , 2008. "The Cyclades during the Mycenaean Period", in Brodie, N., Doole, J., Gavalas, G., & Renfrew, C., (eds.) *Horizon: a Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, Cambridge, McDonald Institute Monographs: 467-478.
- Mountjoy, P. A., & Ponting, M. J., 2000. "The Minoan Thalassocracy Reconsidered: Provenance Studies of LH IIA/ LM IB Pottery from Phylakopi, Ayia Irini and Athens", *BSA* 95: 141-184.
- Mylonas, G. E., 1966. *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- , 1981. “The Cult Centre of Mycenae”, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 67: 307-320.
- Niemeier, W-D., 1999. “Mycenaeans and Hittites in War in Western Asia Minor”, in Laffineur, R., (ed.) *Polemos: Le Contexte Guerrier En Égée À L’âge Du Bronze [Aegaeum 19]*, Liège, Université de Liège: 141-56.
- Ostergren, R. C., 1988. *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West: 1835–1915*, Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell.
- Pachis, P., 2003. “The Hellenistic Era as an Age of Propaganda: The Case of Isis' Cult”, in Martin, L. H., & Pachis, P., (eds.) *Theoretical Frameworks for the Study of Greco-Roman Religions*, Thessaloniki: 97-125.
- Palaima, T. G., 1991. “Maritime Matters in the Linear B Tablets”, in Laffineur, R., & Basch, L., (eds.) *Thalassa: L’égée Préhistorique et la Mer, [Aegaeum 7]*, Liège, Université de Liège: 273-310.
- Papageorgiou, D., 2008. “Sea Routes in The Prehistoric Cyclades”, in Brodie, N., Doole, J., Gavalas, G., & Renfrew, C., (eds.) *Horizon: a Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, Cambridge, McDonald Institute Monographs: 9-12.
- Parkinson, W. A., 1999. “Chipping Away at a Mycenaean Economy: Obsidian Exchange, Linear B and Palatial Control in the Late Bronze Age Messenia”, in Galaty, M. L., & Parkinson, W. A (eds.), *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces: New Interpretations of an Old Idea*, Los Angeles, UCLA: 76-86.
- Phelps, W., Lolos, Y., & Vichos, G., (eds.), *The Point Iria Wreck: Interconnections in the Mediterranean Ca. 1200 BC*, Athens: Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology.
- Polanyi, K., 1957. “The Economy as Instituted Process”, in Polanyi, K., Arensberg, C., & Pearson, H., *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economics in History and Theory*, New York, Free Press: 243-269.
- Popham, M. R. & Sackett, L. H., 1972/3. “The Unexplored Mansion at Knossos: a Preliminary Report on the Excavations from 1967 to 1972”, *Archaeological Reports* 19: 50-71.
- Preziosi, D., 1983. *Minoan Architectural Design, Formation and Significance*, Amsterdam: Muyten de Gruyter.
- Pulak, C., 1998. “The Uluburun Shipwreck: An Overview”, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 27: 188-224.

- Pullen, D., 2008. "The Early Bronze Age in Greece", in Shelmerdine, C. W., (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 19-46.
- Ravenstein, E. G., 1972 (1885). "Die Gesetze der Wanderung I", in *Regionale Mobilität*, München, Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung: 41-64.
- Renfrew, C., 1978. "Phylakopi and the Late Bronze I Period in the Cyclades", in Doumas, C., (ed.) *Thera and the Aegean World I*, London: Thera Foundation.
- , 1982. "Bronze Age Melos", in Renfrew, C., & Wagstaff, M., (eds.) *An Island Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 35-44.
- , 1985. *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*, BSA/ Oxford: Alden Press.
- Renfrew, C., & Brice, W. C., 1977. "A Linear A Tablet Fragment from Phylakopi in Melos", *Kadmos* 16: 111-119.
- , 2007. "The Linear A Tablet", in Renfrew, C. et al., *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos: 1974-77*, London, BSA: 456-9.
- Renfrew, C., Brodie, N., Morris, C., & Scarre, C., 2007. *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos: 1974-77*, London: BSA.
- Renfrew, C., & Cherry, J., 1985. "The Finds", in Renfrew, C., (ed.), *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*, BSA/Oxford, Alden Press: 299-360.
- , 1986. *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Renfrew, C., & Wagstaff, M., 1982. *An Island Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Robb, J., 2010. "Beyond Agency", *World Archaeology* 42: 493-520.
- Runnels, C., 1982. "Flaked-Stone Artefacts in Greece during the Historical Period", *JFA* 9: 3.
- Schallin, A., 1993. *Islands Under Influence: The Cyclades in the Late Bronze Age and the Nature of Mycenaean Presence*, Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Schliemann, H., 1878. *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*, London.
- Schneider, J., 1977. "Was there a pre-capitalist world-system?", *Peasant Studies* 6: 20-29.
- Scholes, K., 1956. "The Cyclades in the Later Bronze Age: A Synopsis", *BSA* 51: 9-40.
- Shelton, K., 2010. "Mainland Greece", in Cline, E. H., (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 139-148.

- Sherratt, A. G., 1972. "Socio-Economic and Demographic Models for the Neolithic and Bronze Ages of Europe", in Clarke, D. L., (ed.) *Models in Archaeology*, London, Methuen: 477-542.
- , 1993. "What Would a Bronze-Age World System Look Like? Relations Between Temperate Europe and the Mediterranean in Later Prehistory", *Journal of European Archaeology* 1: 1–57.
- Sherratt, S., 1982. "Patterns of Contact: Manufacture and Distribution of Mycenaean Pottery 1400-1100 BC", in Best, J. G. P. & de Vries, N. M. W., (eds.) *Interaction and Acculturation in the Mediterranean*, Amsterdam, Gruner: 179-195.
- , 2001. "Potemkin Palaces and Route-Based Economies", in Voutsaki, S. & Killen, J., (eds.) *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States*, Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society: 214-38.
- Sherratt A., & Sherratt, S., 1991. "From Luxuries to Commodities: The Nature of Bronze Age Trading Systems", in Gale, N., (ed.) *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*, SIMA 90, Göteborg: 351-386.
- Siapkas, J., 2003. *Heterological Ethnicity: Conceptualizing Identities in Ancient Greece*, Boreas 27, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
- Smith, C., 1904. "Introduction", in Atkinson, T.D. *et al.*, *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Supplementary Paper 4, London, Macmillan: 1-4.
- Smith, T. R., 1987. *Mycenaean Trade and Interaction in the West Central Mediterranean 1600-1000 BC*, BAR IS 371, Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Stark, M. T., Clark, J. J., & Eslon, M. D., 1995. "Causes and Consequences of Migration in the 13th Century", *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 14: 212–46.
- Stein, G. J., 1999. "Rethinking World-Systems: Power, Distance and Diasporas in the Dynamics of Interregional Interaction", in Kardulias, P. N., (ed.), *World-Systems Theory in Practice: Leadership, Production and Exchange*, Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield: 153-177.
- , 2005. "The Comparative Archaeology of Colonial Encounters", in Stein, G. J., (ed.) *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, Santa Fe, School of American Research Press: 2–31.
- Stos-Gale, Z. A., & Gale, N. H., 1990. "The Role of Thera in the Bronze Age Trade in Metals", in Hardy, D. A., Doumas, C. G., Sakellarakis, J. A., & Warren, P. M., (eds.), *Thera and the Aegean World 3*, London: Thera Foundation: 72-92.

- Tambs-Lyche, H., 1994. "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: Nordic Schools of Approach." In Kaarsholm, P., & Hultin, J., (eds.) *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Occasional Paper 11. Roskilde, Roskilde University: 51–73.
- Taylour, W., 1983. *The Mycenaeans*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Torrence, R., 1986. *Production and Exchange of Stone Tools: Prehistoric Obsidian in the Aegean*, New Studies in Archaeology, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tournavitou, I., 1992. "Practical Use and Social Function: A Neglected Aspect of Mycenaean Pottery", *BSA* 87: 181-210.
- van Wijngaarden, G. J., 2002. *Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy (1600-1200 BC)*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Voutsaki, S., & Killen, J., 2001. *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States*, Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society.
- Wagstaff, M., & Cherry, J. F., 1982. "Settlement and Population Change", in Renfrew, C., & Wagstaff, M., (eds.) *An Island Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 136-155.
- Wallerstein, I., 1974. *The Modern World-System Vol. 1: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, New York: New York Academic Press.
- Werner, K., 1993. *The Megaron during the Aegean and Anatolian Bronze Age: A Study of Occurrence, Shape, Architectural Adaptation and Function*, Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Whitelaw, T., 2004. "The Development of an Island Centre: Urbanisation at Phylakopi on Melos", in Cherry, J., Scarre, C., & Shennan, S., (eds.) *Explaining Social Change: Studies in Honour of Colin Renfrew*, Cambridge, McDonald Institute Monographs: 149-166.
- Wobst, H. M., 2000. "Agency in (Spice of) Material Culture", in Dobres, M. A., & Robb, J., (eds.), *Agency in Archaeology*, London, Routledge: 40-50.
- Wright, J. C., 2008. "Early Mycenaean Greece", in Shelmerdine, C. W., (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 230-257.
- Zaccagnini, C., 1987. "Aspects of Ceremonial Gift Exchange in the Near East during the Late Second Millennium BC", in Rowlands, M., Larsen, M., Kristiansen, K., (eds.) *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 57-65.

Zerner, C., Zerner, P., Winder, J., 1993. *Wace and Blegen: Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age, 1939-1989*, Amsterdam: Gieben.