Death in post-palatial Greece:

Reinterpreting burial practices and social organisation after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces

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I dedicate this thesis to

Chris Mee

with the greatest love and respect

Abstract

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The principle aim of this thesis is to develop a better understanding of social organisation in Greece after the collapse of the palace system c.1190 BCE. This is achieved through a multi-level analysis of burial practices, focussing specifically on the post-palatial cemetery at Perati, burial practices before and after the collapse in the Argolid, and the custom of burial with weapons, from the Shaft Grave period to the post-palatial period in Greece.

The main theoretical basis for focussing on burial practices is the argument that social change is reflected and enacted in burial practices, so studying changes in burial practices (including the shift from chamber tombs to simple graves, the change from collective to single burials, the introduction of cremation, and the use of high status grave goods) has the potential to inform us about the nature of social change. This basic premise is challenged in the course of the thesis, when it is shown that burial practices in Attica changed before the collapse, whilst the custom of placing weapons in graves did not change when the palace system collapsed, and burial practices in the Argolid remained recognisably Mycenaean despite the destruction of the region's two palaces.

In explaining why burial practices did not change in response to the collapse of the palace system, the thesis develops a new theory. Burial practices do change, but this is in response to changes in kinship structures, rather than the nature of the state or the level of social complexity. Furthermore, this thesis argues that burials with weapons do not represent the burials or warriors or chiefs, but are used more broadly to reflect status achieved for a variety of reasons. These burials should not be regarded as "warrior graves", since there was, in fact, no warrior class at any time in Bronze Age Greece.

This study challenges a number of traditional interpretations of the post-palatial period in Greece. In particular, it is argued that this period should no longer be regarded as the start of the so-called Dark Age. The people who survived the destructions and went on to re-organise their lives during this troubled period should not be thought of as the victims of disaster, but active participants in the shaping of post-palatial Greece. They deserve to have their story told, and this thesis represents a chapter in that story.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Aims

Focussing on burial practices at the cemetery at Perati in Attica, developments in burial practices in the Argolid, and the deposition of weapons as grave goods (mainly in Achaea), the principal aim of this thesis is to examine whether changes in burial practices after the collapse of the palace system in Bronze Age Greece (around 1190 BCE) can inform our understanding of social organisation in the post-palatial period (1190 – 1075 or 1050 BCE). Despite improvements in the availability of archaeological evidence in recent years, it is still the case that social organisation in this period of Greek history is not fully understood. In the past this period could be (and often was) ignored (Morris, 2000, 89; Fox, 2012, 60; Lantzas, 2012, 13), on the grounds that it heralded the beginning of the Greek Dark Ages (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 58). This is a period in which little of artistic or archaeological interest was thought to have been produced, and it has sometimes been regarded simply as a prelude to the Golden Age of Greece, with the rise of the poleis and all the achievements of classical civilisation. It is argued here that the people of the post-palatial period deserve to be studied and understood in their own right, and that the resources are now available to do so (Morgan, 2003, 2; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 392; Fox, 2012, 60; Lantzas, 2012, 16).

The collapse of the palace system is thought to have led to changes in all aspects of Mycenaean life and culture, including burial practices, which are the main focus of this thesis. Perhaps the most important of these changes was the move from collective burial in chamber and tholos tombs in the palace period, to increasing numbers of single burials and simple graves in the post-palatial period. In the past, this was interpreted as evidence for an influx of newcomers to Greece, but more recent interpretations acknowledge that burial practices can change as a response to social change, without there being any alteration in population. The catalyst for change, in the case of the Mycenaeans, was the destruction by fire of several so-called palaces (including Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos), and the subsequent collapse of the palace system throughout Greece.

A further development in the post-palatial period was the introduction of cremation to a culture that had practiced inhumation, almost exclusively, for hundreds of years. The main interpretations for this phenomenon focus on interactions between Greeks and

neighbouring cultures which practiced cremation, and the use of fire rituals to promote social status. The desire to enhance status has also been associated with the use of weapons as grave goods, a practice which is thought to have increased significantly in the post-palatial period, perhaps as a strategy for the attainment of power by a new section of the elite. These developments in burial practices indicate that Mycenaean Greece changed dramatically as a result of the collapse of the palace system. The principal aim of this thesis, therefore, is to re-examine the evidence, and reconsider the changes that are thought to have taken place, in order to better understand the pace and nature of cultural change at the end of the Late Bronze Age in Greece.

1.2 Theoretical approaches

The guiding principle of this thesis is that changes in social organisation cause changes in burial practices (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 58), but because there is archaeological evidence for burial practices, rather than unambiguous evidence for social organisation, it will be necessary to consider this premise from the other direction (Morris, 1987, 40). For the purposes of this thesis, then, the underlying premise is that by understanding and correctly interpreting changes in burial practices, it should then be possible to understand the nature of social change in the post-palatial period of Greece. This theory will be tested in the course of the thesis.

The history of Aegean archaeology has, to some extent, been dominated by the study of burials and burial practices (Morris, 1987, 8; Cavanagh, 2008, 327), and it has almost always been the case that this material has been interrogated in order to discover more about the societies of the living (O'Shea, 1984, 13; Morris, 1987, 26; Shanks and Tilley, 1987, 43; Hall, 1997, 112; Branigan, 1998; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 121-122; Chapman, 2013, 47; Fowler, 2013, 515). The culture historians viewed particular burial practices as the diagnostic characteristics of peoples or cultures, and attempted to map cultures or track diffusion using the evidence for normative practices (Chapman and Randsborg, 1981, 4; Hall, 1997, 26; Voutsaki, 1998, 41). The processualist archaeologists were particularly interested in burial practices because of the potential to identify different social ranks, typically by analysing the expenditure required in the construction of the grave and the richness of the grave goods (Tainter, 1977; Wells, 1990, 128; Maggidis, 1998), as a way to measure social complexity (Chapman and Randsborg, 1981, 7; O'Shea, 1984, 4; Dabney and Wright, 1990). The post-processualists and those

influenced by their ideas, although not forming a single coherent approach (Shanks and Hodder, 1995, 5; Johnson, 2010, 105), could be said to have been more interested in burials for the expression of social identity, and particularly power relationships, within an ideological framework (Shennan, 1982; Voutsaki, 1998; Jones, 2008B, 226; Chapman, 2013, 53; Fowler, 2013, 514; Stutz and Tarlow, 2013, 8).

All of these approaches will be considered in due course, and none have been deliberately singled out in advance of considering the evidence (Rees, 1998, 40). This is not to suggest that this research project can be carried out in an atheoretical way, since starting assumptions are essential to forming questions and designing any inquiry (Shanks and Hodder, 1995, 15; Tilley, 1998, 319; Johnson, 2010, 220), but none of the major theoretical approaches has been selected and accepted as a whole. Rather, theoretical understandings will be formed during the analysis of the evidence, and the best approaches to the evidence will be tested (Rees, 1998, 64; Johnson, 2010, 11; Bintliff, 2011, 20; Agostinone-Wilson, 2013, 73). The only premise on which this thesis is based is that burial practices reflect changes in society. Theoretical approaches will be addressed again in the discussion chapter.

Social change requires people to re-organise their communities, and reassess their own social identities in the light of change. For the purposes of this thesis, social identity includes age, gender, sexuality, and local or regional group identity, all of which are taken to be culturally specific social constructs rather than fixed or natural attributes (Knapp, 1998, 243; Lucy, 2005, 43; Harrington, 2007, 335; Sørensen, 2007, 42, 46; Alison, 2009, 9; Agostinone-Wilson, 2013, 173). There have been inquiries regarding the ethnicity of the Mycenaeans (Hooker, 1976, 178-179; Hall, 1997; Snodgrass, 2006, 170; Feuer, 2011), but the abundant evidence for the origins of Mycenaean culture in the objects and practices of the preceding Middle Helladic period (Dickinson, 1977, 15; Davis and Bennet, 1999, 112; Wright, 2008B, 145) argue, quite convincingly, against the theory that the Mycenaean rulers were non-Greeks who imposed their cultural ways on the native population (Snodgrass, 1972, 186; Dickinson, 2014, 68). The concept of Mycenaean cultural identity and its development over time will be addressed as appropriate throughout this thesis, but especially in the discussion chapter.

Social class is of course an aspect of social identity, but it is different from other aspects such as age or gender (Agostinone-Wilson, 2013, 8), because class refers to the unequal

relationships between people who have separate and sometimes opposing interests (Rees, 1998, 79-80; Johnson, 2010, 96), and not simply differential access to wealth or status. The rulers of the Mycenaean palaces, for example, acquired wealth partly through the products of their own estates, but also by claiming some of the products of those living within their territories (in the form of taxes), and by directly exploiting the dependent workers who produced luxuries for export in exchange for basic rations (Shelmerdine and Bennet, 2008, 291). It was in the interests of the palace rulers to maintain the status quo, but those exploited by the palaces had different social interests.

Class societies cannot function effectively if enough people understand and object to the inequalities which define them, however, so the purpose of ideology (which represents the ideas of the ruling class (Rees, 1998, 87)) is either to obscure class differences, or to justify them, in order to prevent objections that could challenge the rulers' ability to rule (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, 2005, 7; Johnson, 2010, 98). It is not always easy to detect direct evidence for social class in the archaeological record, and with burial practices it is often the case that evidence for wealth can be found, but associated aspects such as authority, power, or class are more elusive (Renfrew, 1972, 370), and must be inferred where they cannot be detected with certainty.

Most studies of the post-palatial period have at some point attempted, or been forced, to confront the issue of continuity and change in Mycenaean culture after the collapse of the palaces (especially Dickinson, 2006A). That was not one of the aims of this thesis, but the theme of continuity and change will become a major theme in each of the main chapters. The usual way of assessing the level of continuity into the post-palatial period is to evaluate how much remained the same, and how much was different from the palace period, in terms of the production of material culture and the way in which social practices (such as burials) were carried out (Fox, 2012, 60; Papadopoulos, 2014, 186). This seems to be a logical approach to the evaluation of culture change, but when burial practices in different regions are analysed in detail, the concepts of culture, core, periphery, and even Mycenaeanness itself, begin to come apart. The idea of an homogenous Mycenaean culture with both geographical and chronological boundaries will be challenged by the conclusions in each of the chapters that follow, so the concept of Mycenaean culture is given further consideration under the heading "Culture, continuity and change" in the discussion chapter.

The issue of continuity and change raises questions about the nature and significance of the collapse of the palace system. If the collapse of the palace system is treated as a total social collapse – i.e. a disaster of such magnitude that society itself broke down – then it makes sense to treat the post-palatial period as a time when a new type of culture was being created, and to connect the post-palatial with the subsequent Protogeometric period. If the collapse did bring about such a radical change in society, the post-palatial period might just as easily be called post-*Mycenaean*, and the argument in support of change rather than continuity would be correct. An alternative to this position is that, although the palaces were destroyed by fire and the palace system collapsed, the culture of Greece remained recognisably Mycenaean in the post-palatial period. If this approach is taken, then it is necessary to re-evaluate the nature of the collapse, and consider both the social forces involved in its demise, and the types of social organisation that were required in its aftermath. Significantly, this view supports the argument for continuity, and connects the post-palatial period with Mycenaean culture.

Although there is no consensus (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 95), the argument for continuity in Mycenaean culture is currently proving to be more popular than the argument for change (e.g. Osborne, 1996, 19; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 96; Snodgrass, 2006, 119; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 392; Giannopoulos, 2008; Dickinson, 2010, 488-489; Fox, 2012, 60), and post-palatial Greece is now considered to be more or less Mycenaean, despite going through a period of upheaval. There are still those, however, who would link the post-palatial period more closely with the following Protogeometric period than with the preceding palace period (Drews, 1988, 207; Lantzas, 2012, 66; Papadopoulos, 2014, 186). Traditionally, when these two periods are treated as one, it is described as the Greek Dark Age. There are negative connotations with this term, which are neither particularly helpful nor accurate (Lantzas, 2012, 13). The term Dark Age and its associated chronology are avoided in this thesis because, by treating the mid-post-palatial period through to the end of the Protogeometric period as one continuous age, it is difficult to register changes over time, and the chronology becomes simplified. As will be argued in the chapters to follow, there were recognisable material changes in the post-palatial period, and further developments in the Protogeometric period, but it appears that, generally speaking, the post-palatial period remained culturally Mycenaean, and that therefore the transition from Late Helladic (LH) IIIC to the Protogeometric period (which was also the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age) was the point at which there was the most significant change.

The first investigations into the archaeology of the Aegean Bronze Age were inspired by tales of the Trojan War, as described in the poetry of Homer (Fitton, 1995, 48). The locations described in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* led to the discovery of Troy and the identification of Pylos with the palace of Nestor, as well as aiding in the discovery and identification of many other sites (Morris, 2000, 85-88). Homer's poetry has not always had a positive impact on Aegean archaeology, however. The stories of fantastic deeds, mighty kings, heroic warriors, and of course dutiful wives, have affected the interpretation of the archaeological evidence in a variety of unhelpful ways. In particular, it has encouraged the idea that the Mycenaeans were "warlike", and has elevated the importance of elite fighters, as will be discussed in the chapter on burials with weapons. There may be some truths about the Bronze Age in Homer's poetry, but they are embedded in accounts of the Early Iron Age period in which they were composed, and therefore, this source of information cannot be trusted to illustrate or explain life in the Mycenaean period of Greece (Crielaard, 2006, 272; Dickinson, 2006B, 116; Raaflaub, 2006, 449). For these reasons, Homer will not be used as a source of evidence in this study.

1.3 Scope

In order to consider the post-palatial Mycenaean burial evidence in detail, it has been necessary to limit the study to certain areas and cemeteries, which were specifically chosen in order to demonstrate different but complementary aspects of the changes in burial practices in LH IIIC, which spanned the twelfth and first half of the eleventh centuries BCE. Therefore, this study analyses the archaeological evidence in three specific case studies: the cemetery at Perati in Attica, burial practices in the Argolid, and the deposition of weapons in graves. These case studies have been selected because they illustrate different aspects of burial practices at different levels.

The first case study deals with a single cemetery that, it is believed, served a single community. By analysing the types of graves in use, the number of collective and single burials present, and the possible reasons for the selective use of cremation at the cemetery, as well as changes in tomb architecture and developments in ritual activities, it will be possible to gain a detailed understanding of the nature of the living community that this cemetery served. The focus of this case study is the cemetery at Perati in Attica,

which was selected because it was established just after the collapse of the palaces, and went out of use towards the end of the post-palatial period, so it fits perfectly into the period under discussion (Iakovidis, 1970). Perati is often presented as the exemplary post-palatial cemetery (Dickinson, 2006A, 179; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 93), because it featured both traditional Mycenaean practices, and innovations that were to gain popularity in the following Protogeometric period, so it acts as a snap shot of burial practices in a period of social and cultural transition. By studying the abundant evidence for post-palatial burial practices in this newly established cemetery, it will be possible to reconstruct some elements of the social organisation of the living community.

The second case study deals with the burial practices of a whole region, and compares practices before and after the collapse of the palaces, in order to analyse the pace and direction of change. This case study is necessarily less detailed but broader in scope than the first, and gives a longer-term and wider perspective to the evidence. The Argolid was selected because it is considered to be one of the most important regions in Mycenaean Greece, it continued to be occupied after the collapse (Snodgrass, 1971, 151), and has been extensively excavated and surveyed (Voutsaki, 1995, 55), which means that the region provides an abundance of data for analysis. With not one but two fortified palaces, at Mycenae and Tiryns, the main focus for this chapter will be on the evidence for changes in social organisation at the former palaces centres. Beyond the palaces themselves, there were a number of other significant sites and cemeteries in the Argolid, which will feature in the discussion on local social organisation in the wake of the collapse.

The third case study is the practice of burial with weapons, which is said to have increased in the post-palatial period (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 168; Dickinson, 2006A, 74; Cavanagh, 2008, 335; Middleton, 2010, 101; Crielaard, 2011, 95). The nature and distribution of the so-called warrior graves, which occurred at various cemeteries in different regions, over the whole Mycenaean period, will be analysed in order to consider whether or not there were alternative routes to power after the collapse of the palaces. This aspect of burial practices is particularly useful because it provides an opportunity to consider social identity and social organisation in the non-palace states, and therefore contrasts well with the previous chapter on the Argolid. It will also be useful to discuss the social and symbolic aspects of the deposition of weapons in graves, since it is observed that weapons were not just tools for warfare, but socially significant objects (Kilian-Dirlmeier, 1990). After

examining the three main case studies, the common themes will be addressed in a further discussion chapter.

Analysing the evidence from Perati, the Argolid, and the burials with weapons, not only provides the opportunity to consider changes in burial practices at different social levels (single site, region, and inter-regional), but by combining them, it is also possible to develop an understanding of the changes in burial practices throughout post-palatial Greece, based on different perspectives of the evidence. In all three case studies, the material has already received much scholarly attention, and both basic data and sophisticated analyses are already available. For Perati, see Iakovidis (1970, 1980), and Cavanagh and Mee (2009); there are many studies of the Argolid, but the most important contributions have been made by Cavanagh and Mee (1990, 1995, 1998), and Maran (2001, 2006, 2010, 2011) who focusses particularly on Tiryns; the key authority on burials with weapons is undoubtedly Deger-Jalkotzy (1999, 2006, 2008).

The aim of this thesis, then, is to consider alternatives to traditional interpretations of the evidence for changes in burial practices in post-palatial Greece. Reinterpretation is possible because of the way the different perspectives of the evidence are combined, and because this study acknowledges that human agency and choice were available to the people who survived the collapse of the palace system, albeit in difficult circumstances (Last, 1995, 148-149; Rees, 1998, 72). The burial practices they selected at this time were not just the hopeless actions of the victims of social disaster, therefore, but consciously chosen strategies which served their needs under new social conditions (Babić, 2005, 76; Johnson, 2010, 108).

In considering the evidence for power and political restructuring in the Argolid, it will be useful to consider post-palatial architecture at the former palaces in conjunction with the evidence for elite burial practices. However, the main focus of this thesis will be burial practices. This type of evidence has been selected partly because it is so much more abundant for the post-palatial period than settlement evidence (Cavanagh, 2008, 327). The most important reason for selecting burial practices, however, is that they were public, communal rituals, which both reflected aspects of the social identity of the dead (Button, 2008, 76; Cavanagh, 2008, 327), and were used to enact the social relationships of the living (Morris, 1987, 31-32; Voutsaki, 1998, 44-45; Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 207; Stutz and Tarlow, 2013, 7-8). This means that burial practices are closely associated with social

organisation and social relationships (Voutsaki, 1998, 45), social identity and culture (Cavanagh, 1998, 103), and therefore the way they were carried out has the potential to demonstrate how people organised and understood the societies in which they lived (Dabney and Wright, 1990, 52).

Specific aspects of Mycenaean burial practices have been selected for discussion in this thesis. Arguably the two most significant changes in burial practices in the post-palatial period were the introduction of cremation at certain sites, and the increase in single burials (Snodgrass, 1971, 141). The treatment of the dead, in terms of inhumation and cremation, will be discussed in the chapters on Perati and the Argolid. Cremation in the post-palatial period is often thought to have been a foreign practice, either brought to Greece by migrants or emulated by those who had overseas contacts (Dickinson, 2006A, 73; Thomatos, 2006, 174; Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 177), and is usually associated with the expression of elite status (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 123; Parker Pearson, 1999, 6; Dickinson, 2006A, 189). Analysis of the cremations at Perati and in the Argolid, however, indicate that other interpretations are possible.

The number of people who were buried together in the post-palatial period will also be of crucial importance to this study, because of the likelihood that the groupings of the dead reflected important social groupings amongst the living (Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 63; Dabney and Wright, 1990, 52). The increase in single burials, therefore, sheds light on the ways in which people related to each other after the collapse. This issue will be discussed in relation to both Perati and the Argolid. The way in which tombs were grouped or clustered within cemeteries may also reflect on social organisation and issues of inclusion and exclusion, so this aspect will be discussed in relation to the cemetery at Perati.

The relationships between cemeteries is not always easy to ascertain, because any territorial or political mapping of Mycenaean Greece remains controversial (Burns, 2010, 166-170; Arena, 2015, 6), but there is some discussion of this aspect of burial practices in relation to the cemeteries of Attica and Achaea. It will also be useful to consider changes in tomb architecture, the decline in the number and use of chamber tombs, and the increase in the use of simple graves in the post-palatial period, in terms of cultural change and changes in ritual. Again this will be dealt with particularly in relation to the cemetery at Perati, where the detailed nature of the excavation records provide the best opportunities for analysis.

There are some aspects of burial practices that will only receive a small amount of attention in this study, for various reasons. This thesis is concerned with social and cultural change, fluctuations in population, and the movement of people after the collapse, which means that it would be particularly useful to combine the other sources of evidence with osteological analyses of skeletal remains. This approach can add enormous depth to interpretations of burial evidence (Sofaer and Sørensen, 2013, 535-536; Stutz and Tarlow, 2013, 3), and in particular provide evidence for changes in lifeways that other types of evidence cannot (Hanks, 2008, 260). Unfortunately, few recent osteological studies have so far been conducted on skeletal remains from the Bronze Age period of Greece, and the available data is at present rather limited (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 45; Shepherd, 2013, 547; Galanakis, forthcoming). For this reason, discussion of osteological evidence is restricted to the cremations at Perati, and the chapter on warrior graves, where evidence for injuries sustained in combat can assist in the interpretation of these special graves.

There is so much data available on the subject of Mycenaean grave goods that they could easily populate several additional theses, and this thesis is primarily concerned with changes in tombs, burial rites, and groupings of the dead, so it is not possible to give changes in the use of grave goods in the post-palatial period full consideration here. There are some exceptions to this. Obviously, the weapons placed in warrior graves were a type of grave offering, but these special graves will be discussed in terms of their social significance, rather than specifically dealing with the typology of swords and other weapons, which have been discussed elsewhere (Molloy, 2010). The relationship between weapons and other objects, such as personal adornments or riding equipment, will be discussed in relation to the assemblages in the warrior graves, but again this is about the symbolic importance of objects, rather than their provenance or intrinsic value. Changes in the types of wine and oil vessels placed with the dead, and the implications for social identity and ritual practices will also be discussed in the chapter on Perati, but a complete analysis of ceramic grave goods must be sought elsewhere (e.g. Ruppenstein, 2007). Burial rituals involved religious beliefs and practices. This will be discussed in relation to changes in tomb architecture and the introduction of cremation at Perati, but religion in itself does not form a major focus of this thesis.

The main difficulty in studying the burial practices of a culture that came to an end some three thousand years ago is, of course, that post-depositional processes have effectively

destroyed much of the archaeological evidence (O'Shea, 1984, 8-9; Button, 2008, 76). Even if the evidence had been perfectly preserved, the collective burial practices and secondary treatment of human remains by the Mycenaeans themselves would have made the residues of burial practices difficult to interpret (Wells, 1990, 125; Button, 2008, 76-77), and it is fair to say that "a society which showed forethought for future archaeologists would not practise multiple burial" (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 45). Subsequent human activities in the form of agriculture and construction have also obliterated much of what might have survived, particularly at sites which continued to be occupied into later periods.

A further difficulty lies in the fact that the Aegean Bronze Age was discovered in the early days of archaeological investigation, when many of the modern techniques of excavation, recording and conservation were not yet developed (Fitton, 1995; Thomatos, 2006, 5; Button, 2008, 81; Burns, 2010, 172). All of these factors have combined to make much of the evidence ambiguous or difficult to date and interpret with confidence. This does not mean, however, that the past must remain a mystery (Shanks and Hodder, 1995, 9). The available data can still be analysed and interpreted, as long as these issues are kept in mind (Chapman and Randsborg, 1981, 11-12; O'Shea, 1984, 23).

One of the obstacles to studying the post-palatial period, and in fact Bronze Age Greece in general, is that not enough is known about the structure and organisation of communities. In part this is because the bigger, elite sites have attracted most of the attention, including systematic excavation and surface surveys, over the last century or so. Conversely, smaller sites have not received as much interest or sufficient funding for extensive excavations. It would be very useful to compare the evidence for burial practices (especially the size of burying groups and the organisation of cemeteries) with what a typical house and a typical community was like in the post-palatial period, but it is difficult to identify “typical” when the evidence for non-elite architecture is so patchy and unevenly sampled. The emphasis placed on palaces and elite architecture may have encouraged the view that the palaces were the most important sites in Mycenaean Greece, and this in turn may explain why the destruction of the palaces has often been characterised as a massive disaster, even though there is evidence to suggest that, in many ways, people survived the destructions and got on with their lives. The organisation of the settlement at Tiryns will be addressed in the Argolid chapter, and the organisation of settlements more generally will be considered in the discussion chapter under the heading, “Life in post-palatial Greece”.

1.4 Mycenaean burial practices

The Mycenaeans placed their dead in a variety of locations, constructed a number of different grave types, and deposited in them a wide range of objects as grave goods, so it may be worth introducing some of the key components of their practices here. For the purposes of definition, in this thesis, a cemetery is an area set aside exclusively for the burial of the dead, so intramural burials are not considered to belong to a cemetery, unless they are only placed within or between unoccupied buildings. This means that the intramural burials at Tiryns, which were placed between the houses of the living, are not regarded as forming a cemetery. No specific number of graves is required to constitute a cemetery, but Lemos (2002, 187) suggests a minimum of 30 tombs, so isolated groups of graves in very low numbers are not considered to belong to a cemetery. Within cemeteries, graves can be clustered in a group, sometimes around an early or monumental tomb, or separated from other tombs by a wall or mound. Grave Circle B at Mycenae, for example, was situated within an established funerary landscape, but it was separated from other graves by a low peribolos (Button, 2008, 82). Issues of social inclusion and exclusion may have affected who was permitted to use a cemetery or bury their dead within an exclusive zone, and this issue is pursued in the chapters on Perati and the Argolid.

A number of different tomb types were used by the Mycenaeans, and they more or less fall into two categories – collective tombs and simple graves. Collective tombs include shaft graves, tholoi, chamber tombs, pit caves and some built graves. Typically they feature an open space in which to place the dead, and a permanent entrance which can be sealed when not in use, but re-opened later for additional burials. Secondary burial practices are particularly associated with collective burial, and may have developed because of repeated encounters with the dead in various states of decay. The tumulus is a form of collective grave formed of a mound into which single burials are placed within individual pits. This tomb type features the collective aspects of monumental tombs such as tholoi, but it is not necessary to disturb the dead each time there is a new funeral. Simple graves are usually intended for single burials and the most common types are cists and pits, although there are many variations to be found. The basic form of these graves is a vertical shaft that is not intended to be re-opened for additional burials.

In studying the complexities of social organisation, and the social identities represented by burials, it is useful to consider the distribution of rich and poor graves, in terms of the objects used as grave goods. Although the size and elaboration of the tomb was associated with access to wealth and status (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 177), it has been suggested that the quantity, variety and richness of the objects placed with the dead are a better indicator of status than the type or size of tomb, although there are some objections to this approach (Legarra Herrero, 2012, 330).

The majority of grave goods used by the Mycenaeans were ceramic vessels of various types, but especially tableware and containers for oil. Other grave goods included a wide range of metal objects, especially vessels, jewellery, clothing adornments and weapons. Luxury grave goods include most metal objects, and items that required expensive materials or skilled manufacture. Exotica are distinguished because they were either imported from outside of Greece, or were made from imported materials such as ivory. Heirlooms are objects that were produced in an earlier period before being buried. They may have been valued simply for their antiquity, but they may also have had symbolic value, or have been associated with particular ancestors (Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 206). Most burials received at least a couple of ceramic vessels or other objects, but there were occasions when the dead were buried without any grave goods.

Most archaeologists who have studied the objects found in graves would agree that it is very difficult to place a value on Mycenaean grave goods (Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 56; Sjöberg, 2004, 87). It is difficult to know the relative value of objects (Brown, 1981, 29), the costs associated with their manufacture or acquisition abroad, or whether the symbolic value of objects was rated more highly than the intrinsic value of the materials used to make them (Babić, 2005, 75; Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 203). In addition to this, organic objects do not usually survive being buried underground for 3000 years, so the majority of these must have been lost without trace (bioarchaeological techniques have not been used extensively in excavations in Greece so far (Shelmerdine and Bennet, 2008, 307)). It is impossible to know the amount of expenditure associated with the funeral, which must also have made a statement about the status of the dead (Cavanagh, 2008, 338). All of these issues mean that it is unwise to assume that there is a direct and straightforward link between the value of grave goods and the status that the dead had held in life.

The secondary burial practices of the Mycenaeans complicate the story even further. If the bones of the dead and their grave goods were moved or removed during secondary practices, it then becomes very difficult to know which grave goods should be associated with which skeleton (Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 56; Button, 2008, 84), so attempting to evaluate an individual's status on the basis of the objects within a grave can be extremely frustrating, and the results will, at best, be "crude" (Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 56). It is therefore difficult to identify with certainty what constitutes a "rich" or "poor" burial, and accurately reconstruct social ranking at any time within a cemetery.

1.5 Palaces, rulers and elites

Although the focus of this thesis is the post-palatial period, it is only possible to discuss the changes that took place in this period by referring to the preceding palace period, so it is useful to consider here some of the socio-political aspects of the palace period. Mycenaean Greece is often described in terms of the palaces which functioned as the administrative centres of bureaucratically managed palace states, but there were significant areas of Bronze Age Greece which were not governed by palaces. This is not to say that there were neither centrally important sites nor site hierarchy in the non-palace states, but there was a difference in scale and complexity between the palace administrations and the other centres.

The palaces were ruled by kings or *wanaktes*, their families, and a number of high ranking administrators based either at the centres or at settlements within the territory. That they belonged to an elite class goes without saying (the Mycenaean palaces mobilised resources, but not for the purposes of redistribution (Nakassis, Galaty and Parkinson, 2010, 244-245; Bennet and Halstead, 2014)), but it could be argued that, by the time the first palaces had been constructed, the palace rulers had formed an exclusive ruling class with which it was impossible for other members of the elite to compete (Voutsaki, 1995, 62). The rulers of the palaces prevented serious challenges by building monumental palaces and tombs which advertised their power and wealth, manipulated their relationships with the ancestors (Button, 2008, 77) (for example, by renovating Grave Circle A at Mycenae long after the last burial had taken place), and conducted public and private religious ceremonies, all of which legitimised their authority over others. They also commanded armies which could have been used to enforce or indeed expand their power.

These aspects define the palace rulers as a separate social class, and not just elite in the sense that they were wealthy and had access to more exclusive luxury goods, which is often how the elite is treated. If elite is used only to refer to levels of wealth, it suggests that poorer and richer people were on a continuum, and that it was possible to move higher or lower on the social scale. In this thesis, the elite are treated as a separate social class, with exclusive control over certain resources (Morris, 1987, 146) and an exploitative relationship to others, rather than just people who were simply wealthier. The palace rulers were different from other members of the elite, however, because they also had access to power on a much bigger scale.

Below the level of the palace rulers, the differences between other members of the palace states were less clearly demarcated in burials (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 56). Members of the elite who were not also members of the palatial administration may have had privileged access to wealth, which they could have acquired by exploiting others, but ultimately they were denied access to the highest levels of power. This situation changed dramatically at about 1190BCE, when all of the palaces were destroyed by fire, and over the course of a generation or so, the palace system collapsed. The removal of the palace rulers may have increased opportunities for social mobility, and made it possible for members of the elite who were not previously palace rulers to gain a measure of power (Maran, 2011, 174).

The nature of the collapse and issues of chronology and terminology will be addressed more fully in the discussion chapter, but for clarity it is worth identifying the main chronological periods here. The Mycenaean period lasted for approximately six centuries, but includes several different phases, as follows:

Table 1.1: Chronology

Dates (BCE)	Period	Description
1675 - 1490	Latter part of Middle Helladic (MH) to end of Late Helladic (LH) I	The Shaft Grave Period
1410	LH IIIA1	Construction of the first palaces in the Argolid
1300 - 1190	LH IIIB	The most developed palace period
1190	end of LH IIIB2 – start of LH IIIC (also known as the transition period)	The collapse of the palace system
1190 – 1075 or 1050	LH IIIC and Submycenaean (SM)	The post-palatial period
1075 or 1050	Start of Early Iron Age (EIA), which began with Protogeometric (PG)	The end of Mycenaean culture
All dates in this table are approximate, and based on French (2002, 10). The validity and exact dates of the SM period remain controversial as will be considered in the discussion chapter under "Chronology and its discontents".		

1.6 Life in post-palatial Greece

The post-palatial period is frequently described in negative ways, and often in terms of what was lost in comparison with the palace period. The fact that the palaces were not rebuilt, and the architecture of the post-palatial period was comparatively inferior, is taken as a clear sign that life was worse after the collapse. Add to this the loss of the finer arts (specifically frescoes) and the loss of literacy, and mainland Greece seems to have taken a definite backwards step, culturally. No monumental tombs were built in the post-palatial period, few major construction projects seem to have been attempted (apart from at Tiryns, perhaps), and a general lack of access to resources is likely to have been the cause. There were interruptions to trade and exchange throughout the eastern Mediterranean towards the end of the Late Bronze Age (Knapp and Manning, 2016), and Greece's ability to communicate and exchange with its neighbours in the Near East and Egypt was almost certainly affected by these overseas developments. The effect of this disruption could have been a sudden inability to procure essential resources such as metals, and luxury materials or objects for circulation amongst the elite, as well as the inability to exchange the products of Greece. A lack of access to important resources, and a surplus of unwanted goods, could have exacerbated difficult circumstances in the troubled period after the collapse.

Although the destruction of the palaces and the collapse of the palace system may have affected the palatial rulers most keenly (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 392), no-one seems to have been spared from the negative effects of the collapse. The most striking indication that conditions were turbulent is the rapid decrease in the number of occupied settlements, which, combined with a decline in the number of formal burials, suggests that there was a significant reduction in population in the post-palatial period. It is not known whether people died as a result of either hostile activities or natural disasters, or departed for safer territory outside of Greece, but a declining population for whatever reason is surely, in itself, evidence for social decline.

Most descriptions of the period note an increase in both burials with weapons and military iconography in the post-palatial period, which could indicate that violence was either a cause or a consequence of the collapse of the palace system. It is also proposed that military prowess could have been a new route to social status and power at this time. If this was the case, then it speaks of prolonged periods of instability, violent power struggles, and perhaps widespread experience of warfare.

Seen in this light, the study of post-palatial Greece could seem fairly grim and uninviting. Yet it must be remembered that life *did* go on after the collapse of the palaces. Those who survived and stayed after the era of destructions somehow re-organised their resources, their communities and their social relationships, harvested their crops, raised their families, and carried on, despite the difficulties of the period in which they lived. It is their resilience, and their willingness to adapt their customs and practices to altered circumstances, that makes the people of post-palatial Greece so worthy of further study. This thesis focusses on burial practices after the collapse, and aims to understand more about the people of this period by studying the ways in which they adapted their traditional practices to new and rather trying circumstances.

The next three chapters of this thesis will treat the three case studies in turn. The first is an analysis of the cemetery at Perati in Attica, which was established immediately after the collapse. The aim of this chapter is to develop an understanding of the nature of social organisation in this post-palatial community by analysing changes in burial practices at the cemetery. The next chapter addresses changes in social organisation after the destruction of the palaces in the Argolid, and will use both architecture and burial evidence in order to

examine the construction of social identity and strategies for power in the former palace states. Chapter 4 considers the deposition of weapons in graves, and the ways in which this practice could have been used to express status, military prowess or leadership in the years after the collapse. This is followed by a discussion chapter which brings together the evidence from the case studies, and considers the nature of the collapse and the impact it had on social organisation in the post-palatial period, as well as addressing matters of archaeological interpretation, Mycenaean culture, and approaches to understanding life and death in Greece at the end of the Bronze Age. The concluding chapter returns to the question of the relationship between burial practices and society, and archaeological approaches to understanding life and death in post-palatial Greece.

Chapter 2: The cemetery at Perati

2.1 Introduction

Burial practices underwent a number of developments after the collapse of the palaces. Although burial practices were never as uniform as the generalisations suggest (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 77), chamber tombs, collective burial, and inhumation are often considered to be diagnostic traits of Mycenaean culture (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 103). As burial practices are said to reflect changes in society (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 58), it is not surprising, therefore, that there were alterations to these practices in the transition from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. The pace of change varied from cemetery to cemetery, but in general, the key developments are thought to have been changes in tomb architecture (including alterations to the construction of chamber tombs, and in the types of tomb preferred), the switch from collective to single burial, and the introduction of cremation, which had been practiced only rarely in the palace period.

The cemetery selected most frequently to illustrate these developments is Perati in east Attica (Dickinson, 2006A, 179; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 93). It was established immediately after the collapse, and went out of use at the end of LH IIIC, which means that it fits neatly into the period under discussion, and examples of all of the changes mentioned above took place at this cemetery. Although the cemetery was not used during the palace period, and it is therefore not possible to compare burial practices before and after the collapse at this cemetery, the advantage of studying a newly established cemetery is that there were no old tombs to use. Those who buried their dead at this cemetery, therefore, could not just use an existing tomb because re-opening it was easier than building a new tomb. Instead, they had to consciously choose the type of tomb they wanted, which means that Perati offers an insight into the decisions people were making, and their attitudes to both traditional and new burial practices, in the century immediately after the collapse. It would be more difficult to ascertain these decisions from the burials in a cemetery that had been in use before the collapse, where it might be easier to re-open an existing tomb than to build a new one.

The aim of this chapter is to reconsider the developments at Perati, beginning by focussing specifically on reasons for the changes in tomb architecture, the use of collective and single burial, and the introduction of cremation. A number of images are used to support

this case study, including several full plans of the cemetery (figs. 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 2.8 and 2.16) that illustrate the number and types of tombs in use at different times. By analysing the burial practices during different phases of the cemetery, it is possible to gain insight into both the development of the community that used the cemetery, and people's approaches to burial practices over time. The plans of the cemetery are supported by illustrations of some of the individual graves (figs. 2.10, 2.11, 2.13, 2.14 and 2.17), which demonstrate some of the architectural changes that took place in the design of tombs. Following the images are a number of tables, the focus of which is the number and type of tombs built and used during the different phases of the cemetery's use (tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5). Burial preferences changed over time at this cemetery, but comparing the analysis with traditional approaches that treat post-palatial Greece as a transitional period between the Bronze and Iron Ages, leads to some interesting, and somewhat unexpected, conclusions. Perati is sometimes treated as the ideal example of burial practices in the transitional period, but I will argue for a different interpretation, and show that understanding Perati requires not just an analysis of the cemetery through time, but also an investigation of developments in burial practices that extends beyond this site and across the region. Before this, however, it will be useful to consider the nature of the cemetery and the work that has been done since its discovery in the late 19th century.

2.2 Introduction to the cemetery

Perati lies close to the east coast of Attica, opposite the southern tip of Euboea (fig. 2.1). The cemetery was first examined in the 1890s by Stais, who carried out the excavation of a few of the tombs. Iakovidis returned to the site in the 1950s because it was being plundered by unauthorised digging, and carried out a full excavation of the cemetery. His report was published in 1970 in Greek, *Περατή: τό νεκροταφείον,* with a summary in English in 1980, *Excavations of the necropolis at Perati*. Further analysis of the data was carried out by Cavanagh and Mee in 2009, in "Perati kai para pera", and the cemetery has frequently been cited when addressing burial practices in the post-palatial period. The cemetery comprises 192 chamber tombs and 26 pit graves (fig. 2.2). It has been estimated that approximately 600 people were buried at Perati (Iakovidis, 1970, 422), although detailed osteological analysis of the bones has not been carried out (Dickinson, 2006A, 179), so considerably more people could in fact have been buried there. There were at least 18 cremations at Perati. The cemetery was established immediately after the collapse of the palaces at the end of LH IIIB, and was used for three or four generations,

before being abandoned towards the end of LH IIIC (Iakovidis, 1970, 467-468). A settlement for Perati has not yet been located, as is so often the case for this period (Dickinson, 2006A, 58), although those using the cemetery could have lived at one of the Mycenaean settlements close to the Bay of Rafti (Iakovidis, 1970, 419; Crielaard, 2006, 281; Privitera, 2013, 144-145).

After 3000 years underground, much of what was first buried had probably decayed beyond recovery at the time of excavation (Button, 2008, 91), however preservation of the skeletal remains was relatively good compared, for example, with the almost contemporary cemeteries at Lefkandi, where few skeletal remains were preserved (Whitley, 2001, 94). Over 1500 grave goods, mainly in ceramic, metals and stone, were recovered from the cemetery. It was noted by Iakovidis that a number of graves had been looted, and Cavanagh and Mee suggested that around a quarter of the tombs had been disturbed. In antiquity this would have entailed the removal of the more valuable objects from graves – particularly metals and items made from other precious materials rather than pottery (Kontorli-Papadopoulou, 1995, 114) – although in the 20th century, looters could have taken anything that might sell (Kersel and Chesson, 2013, 679), including decorated ceramic vessels. It is impossible to estimate accurately the amount of material that was removed from the cemetery by looting, but it is obvious that the list of objects discovered by excavation is not a complete inventory of everything that was originally placed with the dead. Most of the graves were not disturbed by looting, including some of the richer examples, however, so the objects that have been found could be treated, with a little caution, as a representative sample of the range of goods used to commemorate the dead at Perati (O'Shea, 1984, 27).

The three phases of the cemetery's use are fairly well understood (Privitera, 2013, 141), but there are almost 100 chamber tombs that haven not been dated more precisely than LH IIIC. It is difficult to know exactly when they were constructed, which means that the cemetery could have been more, or indeed less, intensively used, than the phases identified by Iakovidis (and more or less corroborated by Cavanagh and Mee, 2009). In the first phase of the cemetery's use (1190/1185 – 1165/1160 BCE), 45 tombs were thought to have been constructed (fig. 2.3), including chamber tombs and pits (Iakovidis, 1970, 465). The large number built in this period suggest that this cemetery did not expand gradually from an initial burial or two, but was established relatively rapidly by a community which required a designated burial ground. The graves were not built around a

single nucleus (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 171), which would have suggested a cohesive community or large kinship group, either moving together, or simply establishing a new cemetery for an existing community, and retaining their familiar social relationships. Although some of the largest and richest tombs were constructed in this first phase, there was also no especially high status tomb, like the Protogeometric Lefkandi Heroön, which attracted other burials to it (Thomas and Conant, 1999, 97). Rather, the tombs were relatively dispersed, which suggests that the new community was not yet cohesive, and relationships were still being negotiated. It is likely, therefore, that those burying their dead at Perati originated from a number of different communities. The continued use of cemeteries elsewhere in the area indicates, however, that Perati was not formed through synoecism (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 170). It is possible that people moved to Perati in order to escape hardship in their previous communities, but it seems increasingly likely to me that people were in fact attracted to Perati because of the opportunities this coastal community offered to make a living through overseas exchange (McAnany and Yoffee, 2010B, 6; Wallace, 2010, 50).

In the second phase (1165/1160 – 1100 BCE), 61 chamber tombs and 4 new pits were built (fig. 2.4), and 25 tombs from the first phase continued in use (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 171) (fig. 2.5), so this is thought to have been the busiest period of the cemetery's use, and perhaps its most prosperous (Iakovidis, 1970, 470; Privitera, 2013, 145). In this phase a number of separate nuclei had been developed, with other graves fitting in the gaps between them (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 171). In the third phase (1100 – 1075 BCE), only 6 new chamber tombs were constructed, and no new pit graves were dug (fig. 2.6), whilst the number of earlier tombs still in use also declined to 17 (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 171) (fig. 2.7) , making this the quietest period of the cemetery's use. By 1075 BCE the cemetery went out of use, and either the community at Perati dwindled away, or they chose a different location or method of disposing of their dead, which has not been discovered. Many other sites and cemeteries were also abandoned at the end of LH IIIC (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 406-7).

The traditional understanding of the cemetery's phases indicate that a large number of tombs were built in the first phase, it grew even more in the middle phase, then dwindled away in the final period. However, the phases are of unequal length, and when the number of known tombs constructed is averaged per year, a different picture emerges (tables 2.1 - 2.5). The first phase was between 20 and 30 years in length, giving an

average of 1.50 – 2.25 new tombs per year. The second phase was between 60 and 65 years in length, giving an average of 1.03 – 1.12 tombs per year. The third phase was 25 years in length, with an average construction rate of 0.32 tombs per year. Even when the number of old tombs still in use are taken into consideration, or the tombs of uncertain date are distributed throughout the phases, the results are much the same. These results indicate that more tombs were built per year in the first phase of the cemetery's use, slightly fewer in the long second phase, and fewer still in the final phase. The declining size of the tombs over the three phases (section 2.3) indicate that, as well as a reduction in the number of new tombs each year, there may also have been a reduction in the number of individuals being buried at the cemetery. It is unknown whether the decreasing use of the cemetery was a result of a decline in population, changes in burial practices or locations which affected the survival of tombs and remains, or other factors affecting the death rate of this community.

2.3 Tomb types

One of the main criteria employed to identify the spread and influence of Mycenaean culture is the use of chamber tombs (Dickinson, 2006A, 24; Cavanagh, 1998, 106; Feuer, 2011, 512). Simple graves (pits and cists) were also constructed and widely attested (Snodgrass, 1971, 180), but in the palace period they occurred in relatively low numbers, and usually within chamber tomb cemeteries rather than in separate cemeteries (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 62). It has been noted that the construction of chamber tombs went into decline in many areas after the collapse of the palaces, and by the Submycenaean period, single burial in pits and cists had become far more common (Lemos, 2002, 185). Later in the EIA, this form of burial was the only one practiced in many cemeteries, particularly in Attica (Snodgrass, 1971, 177; Morris, 1987, 18). At Perati, some 12% of the tombs were pit graves, which gives the impression that this cemetery represents a transitional stage between the chamber tomb-using Mycenaeans, and the EIA culture which succeeded it. However, a closer look at the use of different types of tomb, changes in the architecture of the chamber tombs, and alterations to the entrances and their rituals, indicates that the situation at Perati was not quite so straight forward.

In addition to the 192 chamber tombs, there were some 26 pit graves at Perati (Iakovidis, 1970, 421) and although still in the minority, this represents a significant proportion of the

graves in this cemetery (fig. 2.8). The number of pit graves at Perati definitely represents a change from the Mycenaean norm. However, the direction of change in this cemetery is surprising, since the construction of pit graves actually decreased over the period of the cemetery's use. In the first phase of the cemetery, 22 pit graves were built, but in the second only 4 pit graves have been identified, and there were no pits built in the final phase of the cemetery (Iakovidis, 1970, 465). These figures indicate that those burying their dead at Perati were not gradually switching from chamber tombs to pit graves, and that, far from rejecting chamber tombs and embracing a new way of accommodating the dead, they seemed to want to retain this traditional Mycenaean sepulchre. That said, the number of pits constructed at Perati, at least in the early phases, does require some explanation.

The excavator, Iakovidis, offered two possible explanations. Firstly, he noted that the cemetery lay on a layer of sandstone bedrock and gravel (Iakovidis, 1970, 419), including relatively level areas (Desborough, 1972, 107), which is not ideally suited to the construction of chamber tombs. Indeed, several of the chamber tombs had been cleared out after rock falls, and others had been abandoned when they had completely caved in and could no longer be used (Iakovidis, 1970, 421). The implication, therefore, is that the use of pit graves could have been a practical response to the unsuitability of the local geology for the construction of stable chambers (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 91). However, the fact that pit graves were constructed from the very beginning indicates that they were not selected in response to a construction problem, but were chosen for other reasons. Iakovidis also suggested that some of the pits could have been selected when there was not enough room available for the construction of chamber tombs (Iakovidis, 1970, 421), but the fact that pit graves were used in the first phase, when (according to Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 171) there was plenty of space, and were rarely constructed when the cemetery was at its most crowded, during the second and third phases (Iakovidis, 1970, 465-466), indicates that pit graves were not chosen in response to a lack of space. A different explanation is needed.

Could the introduction of pits at Perati indicate the presence of non-Mycenaeans? Many culture historians, and to some extent the early processualists, argued that changes in material culture and practices represented the presence of new peoples (Hodos, 2010, 7; Stout, 2013, 22). Yet it is clear that the people using pit graves at Perati did not represent a separate section of the community with different burial practices and beliefs, since the pit

graves were interspersed with the chamber tombs, rather than occupying a separate part of the cemetery (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 91). In addition to this, the types of grave goods and treatment of the dead did not differ significantly from those provided for the chamber tomb burials. For these reasons, it does not seem possible that people with a different material culture used the pit graves.

Could pit graves have been used to differentiate the burials of adults and children, or men and women? In the palace period, children were sometimes buried separately from adults, and in the later EIA this practice became more common (Morris, 1987, 65), but this is not what happened at Perati. It is true that some of the pit graves were dug next to the dromoi of chamber tombs, and were used exclusively for infants' burials (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 91). Perhaps it did not seem necessary to open the family chamber tomb when an infant died, and it was acceptable to bury them in a pit close to the entrance instead. This might be the case if a child was not considered to be a full member of society until he or she had reached a certain age (Morris, 1987, 62; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 111). Other pit graves were used for both adults and children, which means that it was not age alone that determined which type of grave was used. Nor were these graves used exclusively for males or for females, so tomb type was not employed in the expression of gender at this time. The use of some pit graves for children shows that this type of grave was not selected simply as a cheap or convenient way for the community to dispose of adults who did not have families. I have considered this possibility, but the presence of grave goods and the burial of children in pit graves show that the people being buried in this way were not without family or connections, and were not uncared for. It could also be argued that a grave of any type, however rudimentary in construction, and however poorly provided with grave goods, when located within a cemetery, should be regarded as a formal burial (Dickinson, 2006A, 175), and not simply as a way of tidying away cadavers.

Could the use of pit graves be a sign of poverty or deliberate "economy of labour" (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 60; Lemos, 2002, 184) in the provision of burials in LH IIIC? Many archaeologists, particularly the early processualists, have argued that the type of tomb and the scale of expenditure reflected the wealth and status of the deceased (Hooker, 1976, 178-179; Brown, 1981, 28; Dickinson, 1983, 55). It may true that, in the palace period, the average chamber tomb was larger and would require more effort and skill in construction than the average pit grave, so if the only measure used was the "cost" of construction,

then chamber tombs were generally of higher status than pit graves (Lewartowski, 1995, 104; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 78-79).

The tombs from Perati illustrated in this chapter, however, indicate that some chamber tombs could, in fact, be smaller than some pit graves, in terms of the surface area of the floor of the tombs' main chambers (table 2.6). Chamber tombs 26, 55 and 157 (figs. 2.14, 2.13 and 2.17) had chambers of approximately 1.54m^2, 2.25m^2 and 4.30m^2 respectively (excluding the dromos). Pit graves 68 and 98 (figs. 2.10 and 2.11) had surface areas of approximately 0.60m^2 and 3.09m^2 (excluding the dromos for tomb 68). This (admittedly rather small) sample of tombs indicates that some pit graves at Perati could be larger than some chamber tombs, which suggests that tomb type did not always correspond to energy expenditure, and therefore tomb type should not necessarily be equated with status. The energy expenditure approach has also been contested (O'Shea, 1984, 17; Voutsaki, 1995, 57) because the grave only preserves the final resting place of the dead, and says nothing about the scale of the funeral which preceded it (Iakovidis, 1980, 16; O'Shea, 1984, 18; Morris, 1987, 36; Whitley, 1991, 28), of which little is preserved.

Cavanagh and Mee argued convincingly (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 56) that the vast majority of people in Mycenaean Greece were buried in chamber tombs, including the poor, and that the choice of tomb type therefore did not represent social class. Lewartowski suggested that cist grave users in the Middle Helladic period became chamber tomb users in the Late Helladic period (Lewartowski, 2000, 13, 17), and Wright argued that Middle Helladic simple graves and tumuli reflected corporate or lineage-based identity, whilst the chamber and tholos tombs of the Late Helladic period reflected a more family-oriented identity (Wright, 2008B, 147). Thus the preference for simple or collective tombs says more about social organisation at particular times, than about social class or access to wealth.

Cavanagh and Mee argued instead that grave goods were a better expression of wealth and status than the type of tomb selected (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 111). In the palace period there were numerous examples of chamber tomb burials which could be considered poor in terms of the grave goods placed with the dead, and there were several examples of pit graves which could be considered rich (Lewartowski, 2000, 49), including two pit graves at Volos equipped with weapons (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 70). At Perati there were also some poorer chamber tombs (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 94-95) and richer pit

graves (Iakovidis, 1970, 175), including grave 69 which contained a gold ring and a razor in addition to the five vases (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 175), which show that the type of tomb and the wealth available for grave goods did not correlate precisely. This means that the choice of tomb type was not determined by either a fixed class criterion, or strictly determined by the amount of available wealth, so if wealth was a factor in the choice of tomb type at Perati, it was not the only one.

Nevertheless, an examination of the location of the pit graves in the cemetery does suggest that they may not have been as prestigious as the chamber tombs. It is likely that higher status graves were placed in the most prestigious locations within cemeteries (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 124). The chamber tombs at Perati were built along the river torrents (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 170), with their entrances forming long and presumably visible lines, at least for a while after use (fig. 2.9). This custom continued a long Mycenaean tradition of burying the dead close to active or dry water sources (Georgiadis, 2003, 47-48; Gallou, 2005, 62). At the same time, almost all of the pit graves at Perati were positioned behind the lines of chamber tombs, in the gaps left at the back of them, and without any obvious geometrical formations (fig. 2.8). (The only exceptions are pits 6 and Σ21, and 60 and 61, which could perhaps line up with the rows of chamber tombs, but these do not belong to the front rows.) Their locations have been described as "concentrated on the margins of the cemetery" (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 175), although they are close to concentrations of chamber tombs, including a cluster of the larger examples near the back of the cemetery.

The crowding and jostling for position along the lines, compared to the relatively spacious layout behind them, suggest that it was more prestigious to locate a tomb along a line in front of a river torrent, than behind it. Since the pit graves were located behind the lines, and were not part of the competition for prestigious locations, it seems reasonable to conclude that they were less prestigious than the chamber tombs. In turn this could indicate that they did belong to a poorer section of the community, or at least a section which did not have access to this way of expressing status. What is clear is that people could not place a pit grave anywhere they wanted – only the users of chamber tombs had access to the best positions. It is possible that a section of the community was completely excluded from burial at the cemetery (although they are archaeologically "invisible"), and that the main social distinction was between those who were entitled to burial within the cemetery, and those who were not. That said, it is clear that there were a

variety of ways of expressing differences in status amongst those who did use the cemetery.

For Snodgrass, the use of chamber tombs for collective burial in the palace period was an "imposition" of unwanted burial practices by the new non-Greek Mycenaean ruling class, whilst the increase in simple graves and single burials after the collapse of the palaces represented a "resurgence" of pre-Mycenaean practices by a previously dormant Middle Helladic "substratum" (Snodgrass, 1971, 184-186). Snodgrass relied on similarities in Middle and Late Helladic funerary practices to make this argument (Snodgrass, 1971, 183), but he did not provide a plausible causal link for the revival of old practices. The fact that simple graves were preferred in the Middle Helladic period, and occasionally constructed in the palace period, does not explain how or why there was such a preference for them in the later post-palatial period. Nor did Snodgrass explain why chamber tombs had, during the palace period, been so popular in areas of Mycenaean Greece that did not have dominating palatial elites – for example Achaea (Papadopoulos, 1979, 51), which was not unified under a single palatial centre.

In fact, collective burial practices and a preference for chamber tombs, along with many other aspects of Mycenaean culture, did not immediately disappear with the fall of the palaces (Dickinson, 2006b, 116) – which suggests that this practice was not "imposed from above" by non-Greek Mycenaean rulers (Feuer, 2011, 507), and was not later rejected by a revived Middle Helladic community. A large amount of new evidence has been uncovered since Snodgrass made these claims in 1971, but it still took until 2006 for him to locate a single site that retained Middle Helladic burial practices right through to the post-palatial period (Snodgrass, 2006, 167-9). It is unclear how practices at Marmara, some 80 miles or so to the north of Athens, could have influenced burial practices in Attica, or other regions of Greece. It is perhaps more likely that similarities in social conditions produce similar social responses, but unfortunately an in-depth comparison of Middle Helladic and Late Helladic IIIC societies is beyond the scope of this thesis.

There is also some evidence to suggest that, at Perati, the use of pit graves did not represent a rejection of chamber tombs and Mycenaean culture in general. Of the 26 pit graves in this cemetery, four were furnished with a dromos (Iakovidis, 1970, 422), in imitation of the chamber tombs (fig. 2.10). Admittedly, these fake entrances could not be used to gain access to the pits, which still had to be entered from above, but their

construction would have been clearly understood as a reference to the entrances of chamber tombs (Lewartowski, 2000, 10). There were also two pit graves at Perati with a dividing wall down the centre (Iakovidis, 1970, 421) (fig. 2.11). The wall did not separate individual burials – one side contained the burials and the other side was left clear – perhaps in imitation of the two-part nature of chamber tombs, where the chamber and dromos were separated by a wall built in the stomion, or perhaps the chamber and shaft of the pit cave tomb (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 91), which was used in Attica in the palace period.

At the same time, six of the smallest chamber tombs also had functionally useless entrance passages and had to be entered from above (Iakovidis, 1980, 7), which suggests that, whatever the tomb type used, most of those burying their dead at Perati wanted to give the appearance of building a chamber tomb, even if it was not a particularly large or elaborate one. These hybrid tombs – part pit grave, part chamber tomb – do not indicate that the community at Perati was swinging away from the tradition of chamber tomb building. Rather, they wished to continue the tradition, but for some reason were occasionally unable to do so in the early years of the cemetery.

Cavanagh and Mee, in their analysis of the cemetery, suggested that pit graves were selected because of uncertainty about the future, and “the changed conditions of life” brought about by the collapse (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 62). Certainly, the period immediately after the collapse of the palaces was probably turbulent and unpredictable for some time (Dickinson, 2006A, 71-72), and a lack of certainty about the future may have made some people unwilling to invest time and effort into the construction of a chamber tomb, when a pit grave might meet immediate needs. This explanation also fits the pattern of tomb types at the cemetery – most of the pits were built in the first phase, immediately after the collapse of the palaces, but as things settled down, and the community at Perati became more prosperous, the number of pit graves constructed at the cemetery decreased. This could well have been because the sense of uncertainty was beginning to diminish, and people became more willing to invest in the cemetery.

It is likely that the use of pits reflects a sense of uncertainty about the future, because it takes account of both the turbulence of the period, and the pattern of tomb use at Perati. This approach makes more sense than some of the other explanations that have been suggested. However, as well as uncertainty, the use of pits may also reflect longer term

social and economic changes, and resultant alterations in the creation and expression of social identity through mortuary practices. These changes were also reflected in the decreasing size of the chamber tombs, which will be discussed next.

2.4 Tomb size

The Mycenaean tradition of burying the dead in chamber tombs continued at Perati, which indicates a strong sense of continuity with burial practices in the palace period (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 56). However, the newly built tombs were smaller than those in established cemeteries at nearby Brauron and Ligori (Iakovidis, 1980, 4), and tended to be, on average, one third smaller than the tombs built in the palace period (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 172). None of the tombs at Perati were spacious enough to join the largest category of Mycenaean chamber tombs (Cavanagh, 1987, 164). As the cemetery continued to be used, the tombs became smaller still. Although the largest, tomb 10 (built in the first phase), was a respectable 10.2m^2 (Iakovidis, 1970, 421), in the first phase, tombs were an average of 3.6m^2, in the middle phase 3.1m^2, and in the final phase, just 1.84m^2 (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 171). The smallest tomb, Σ54, was just 0.76m^2 (Iakovidis, 1970, 421), providing an incredibly small space for a burial. In contrast, palace period chamber tombs, and post-palatial chamber tombs in Achaea and western Greece averaged a floor space of around 7m^2 (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 60). The average height of the ceilings, at approximately 1m, was also particularly low, with the lowest, tomb 122, at just 0.85m (Iakovidis, 1970, 421). In the smallest of chambers, it must have been difficult to carry out formal funerary rituals, or to lay out either the deceased or their grave goods, in an organised way.

Why were the chamber tombs so small? Again Iakovidis's point about the unsuitability of the local geology springs to mind, since even these smaller chamber tombs were prone to collapse, so it may not have made sense to build larger structures. However, the fact that new chamber tombs in other Attic cemeteries were also relatively small (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 93; Dickinson, 2006A, 180), suggests that local geology alone does not explain why the tombs were shrinking. Cavanagh and Mee's point about uncertainty is relevant here (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 60), since the construction of smaller tombs could have reflected a sense of uncertainty about the future, and perhaps a loss of confidence in long established traditions (Mee, 2010, 288). The cemetery was newly established during a period of "chronic instability" (Dickinson, 2010, 486-7), and under

these circumstances, it is understandable that the community did not build large tombs to be used for several generations to come.

The regional effects of the collapse of the palace system will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 5, but it is worth noting here that even in those regions without a centralised power, there would have been some economic, social, and psychological effects (Dickinson, 2006A, 71-72; Middleton, 2010, 101; Wallace, 2010, 51). These effects may have included a preoccupation with death (Mee, 2011, 252), which is evidenced by an increase in funerary iconography (see chapter 4), and perhaps a diversification in the ways in which rituals could be carried out in the post-palatial period (Mee, 2011, 240). The palaces may have placed an economic burden on their populations, but they also brought a certain stability and predictability to the Mycenaean economy as a whole. That the economy suffered after the collapse is indicated by the fact that the palaces were not rebuilt, no major construction projects took place for centuries, and there was "barely a single grave between the early eleventh and the late tenth century which can be called rich" (Snodgrass, 1971, 388). It is also indicated by the considerable population movement witnessed after the collapse (Dickinson, 2006B, 117). It would seem that people were no longer able to make a secure living in the old ways, and many of them relocated in search of a better life. Those who stayed behind also had to find new ways of providing for themselves.

However, if this sense of uncertainty was the only explanation for the diminutive tombs, then their size should have increased as the community became more established, and the crisis of the collapse became distant memory. (Note that the cemetery was in use for three or four generations, and the later generations were unlikely to have ever known life under the palaces, or the crisis provoked by their collapse.) The cemetery at Perati is usually said to have expanded during its middle phase (despite the different lengths of the phases, as discussed in the tables), which suggests that the community was more settled, and enjoyed an increasing sense of security. The wealth of grave goods also indicates a period of relative prosperity at Perati at this time (Crielaard, 2006, 281), which indicates that there was still some willingness to invest resources into funerary display. Yet the tombs did not become larger. There must, therefore, have been other reasons for the smaller size of the tombs, in addition to a general sense of insecurity. I would argue that the shift away from large, collective chamber tombs, and towards smaller tombs and pit graves, is closely connected with the shift from collective to individual burial. For this

reason, the reasons for the changes in tomb types and tomb sizes will be discussed in relation to the increase in single burials after the collapse of the palaces (section 2.5).

2.5 Changes to the dromos and stomion

As well as shrinking in overall size, there were other changes to the architecture of chamber tombs and the performance of funerary rituals at Perati. Traditional chamber tombs were intended to be re-used several times, and the tomb was entered by way of a dromos (long entrance passage) and stomion (doorway). As well as giving access to the subterranean chamber of the tomb, these architectural features facilitated communal rituals at the grave side (Cavanagh, 1987, 161; Wells, 1990, 133), and were important elements in a belief system which involved physically and symbolically passing through different stages of death (Gallou, 2005, 65). In the palace period, the entrance to the tomb, therefore, was just as important as the burial chamber itself.

During the palace period, it was not uncommon for wine cups (kylikes) to be broken in the dromos before it was filled in – presumably after a ceremonial toast with wine. This practice is attested in many regions of Greece (Gallou, 2005, 67; Fox, 2012, 56), and especially in tombs close to the palaces, although it was by no means universal, and until recently, was thought to have been particularly uncommon in Achaea (their discovery in recent excavations raises the possibility that kylix sherds were not recorded in earlier excavations) (Cavanagh and Mee, 2014, 51-52). It seems likely that there was a public ritual at the closing of the chamber, either during the first or secondary burial ceremonies (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 76), which often involved a toast with wine, after which the cups were symbolically broken and the dromos filled in (Cavanagh, 1998, 106).

Up to 40 kylikes were broken in the dromos of chamber tomb 13 at Dendra, and 38 were discovered in the dromos of chamber tomb X at Prosymna, which indicate that these public rituals could have involved large numbers of people, beyond the immediate family of the dead (Burns, 2010, 184). At Perati, Iakovidis reported that no kylikes at all were found in the dromoi of the chamber tombs (Iakovidis, 1970, 425), and it is interesting that only three or four of these wine cups were discovered as grave gifts inside the tombs (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 94), compared with 97 cups and 72 skyphoi (Iakovidis, 1970, 427). Evidently, the toast with wine was no longer considered to be a necessary part of rituals practiced at the graveside.

It is possible that this represents a rejection of wine drinking, perhaps because of its close association with the palaces in the preceding period (Cavanagh, 1998, 111). Wine was stored in large quantities at the palaces (Palmer, 1994, 193), and the evidence from Pylos shows that it was consumed in large quantities too. Thousands of wine cups were discovered in store rooms close to the central megaron (Mee, 2011, 54), and these could have been used to facilitate large gatherings in either the central court or the court of the Southwestern Building (Bendall, 2004, 112; Fox, 2012, 37) (fig. 2.12). Open courts at Mycenae, Tiryns, and other centres could have been used for the same purposes. Such gatherings could have promoted social cohesion and support for the palace elites, as well as providing opportunities for those with social aspirations to mix in palace circles (Bendall, 2004, 124; Fox, 2012, 36; Cavanagh and Mee, 2014, 53). Some of these functions could have been replicated by the graveside rituals, which did not just provide an arena for the expression of grief and for coming to terms with death, but allowed the participants to affirm or renegotiate their social relationships (Parker Pearson, 1999, 84; Goldhahn, 2008, 63; Fox, 2012, 55; Stutz and Tarlow, 2013, 7-8).

The practice of breaking wine cups in the dromoi of chamber tombs began with the construction of the first palaces, and more or less ceased when the palaces were destroyed (Cavanagh, 1998, 107; Fox, 2012, 57), which suggests that wine was closely associated with the palace system (Cavanagh and Mee, 2014, 53). Therefore, the cessation of the wine toast at the graveside at Perati and elsewhere may indicate a conscious decision not to use the palaces in the expression of social identities in the post-palatial period (Fox, 2012, 79-80).

Note that other types of drinking cup and jugs for liquids continued to be used as grave goods (Fox, 2012, 79), and fragments of kraters found in the dromoi of tombs at Elateia-Alonaki and elsewhere indicate that some libations at the graveside may have continued in a different form after the collapse (Cavanagh and Mee, 2014, 52-53). It is possible, therefore, that the kylix was rejected because of its connection with elite drinking and the palaces (Fox, 2012, 136), rather than wine itself. It may also be significant that the type of oil container used in funeral rituals and given as grave goods gradually began to change after the collapse of the palaces (Lewartowski, 2000, 29). Stirrup jars were preferred in the palace period, and about half of the perfumed oil containers used at Perati were stirrup jars, but other vessels including lekythoi and a large number of stamnoi / stamniskoi were

used as well (Iakovidis, 1970, 427-428), and eventually the lekythos came to replace the stirrup jar throughout Greece (Cavanagh, 1998, 106). As perfumed oil was a major commodity produced and controlled by the palaces (Shelmerdine, 2006, 81), it is possible that the change to other vessels also reflected an increasing reluctance to refer to the palaces during funerary rituals.

At Perati the new chamber tombs had shorter and less well constructed dromoi (fig. 2.13), and many of the stomia were less clearly demarcated architecturally (fig. 2.14), than chamber tombs built in the palace period (Iakovidis, 1970, 420). Some of the tombs seemed to lead straight from the dromos to the chamber, without any obvious doorway being marked out, so there was clearly less effort made in the construction of the entrances to the tombs at this time (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 97). This is not to say that the dromos did not retain some significance – the fact that four of the pit graves were provided with an artificial dromos indicates that this was a feature worth imitating (Cavanagh, 1987, 167) – but the importance of the dromos was evidently declining. These changes, which were not confined to Perati, suggest that after the collapse of the palace system, there were either changes in beliefs (Wells, 1990, 133), or certain aspects of the rituals surrounding death were no longer practiced in the dromos. It is unlikely that rituals moved from the dromos to the chamber of the tombs, since the small chambers built at this time provided barely enough space to contain the dead, and could not have been used to host rituals.

Taken together, the decreased effort in constructing the entrances to the tombs, and the complete lack of evidence for a wine toast at the grave side, indicate that important aspects of the funerary ritual had either been curtailed (Mee, 2010, 288), or were no longer taking place within the cemetery. This is not to suggest that post-palatial Mycenaeans stopped performing rituals for the dead. Burials were social occasions for both the immediate family and wider community (Morris, 1987, 31-32; Cavanagh, 2008, 338), and continued to play an important role in maintaining social relationships after the death of a member of the community (Voutsaki, 1998, 45-46; Button, 2008, 93). It is possible, therefore, that similar rituals to the graveside wine toast continued to be practiced, but were now carried out at the funeral, before the dead were brought to the cemetery. I think it is likely that these communal rituals may now have taken place in the community, emphasising social relationships amongst the living, rather than a connection to the ancestors. Rituals within the cemetery, in contrast, may have become more private affairs,

or perhaps more “perfunctory” (Cavanagh, 1987, 166). It is unfortunate that the settlement of Perati has not been located, and that funerals leave little trace in the archaeological record, making this theory difficult to verify.

It is equally difficult to find evidence for changes in religious beliefs (Tarlow, 2013, 622), but it may be significant that the reduction in the emphasis on the dromoi and stomia of chamber tombs, and the use of pits and cists which do not have separate entrances, reduced the barriers between the living and the dead, which may reflect a growing sense that there was less to fear from them. It may also be significant that the use of figurines was limited to just 7 examples in the tombs at Perati, but this is probably connected to the fact that figurines were rarely used in any of the cemeteries of east Attica (Cavanagh, 1998, 109-110), rather than to a reduction in the religious importance of funerary rituals. This thesis continues a long tradition of studying burial practices in order to (re)construct past societies, rather than to understand religious beliefs (Chapman, 2013, 47-48), but this is one area of research that perhaps deserves greater attention in future.

2.6 Single burial

It is frequently observed that there was a significant increase in single burials after the collapse of the palace system, and a decrease in the use of collective burial. The speed of change remains debatable – some argue that it was rapid and took place in the Submycenaean period (Desborough, 1972, 268; Lewartowski, 2000, 13; Morris, 2000, 204; Whitley, 2001, 78, Lemos, 2002, 185; Snodgrass, 2006, 133), others that it was gradual (Dickinson, 2006A, 181; Thomatos, 2006, 170; Mee, 2010, 288). Both points of view may in fact be correct, as different regions could have reacted to the collapse and developed in different ways. The increase in single burials was not a result of the increasing use of simple graves, since many single burials took place in tombs that would normally have been built for collective use (Dickinson, 2006B, 119). It could be argued that single burials in fact became more common before the preference for simple graves – although the latter might have been a response to the former. It is clear, however, that the increase in single burials is a separate issue from that of changes in tomb types (Dickinson, 2006B, 119), and should be addressed separately.

The general trends noted here found their reflection at Perati. Along with the 22 single burials in pit graves, there were a further 61 individuals buried alone in chamber tombs

(Iakovidis, 1970, 422). This means that roughly 14% (83 people) of those laid to rest at Perati were buried alone, and over a third (38%) of all the tombs were used for a single burial. Of the remaining tombs, the average number of people buried together was just 2-3 individuals (Iakovidis, 1970, 422). This is far fewer than in the chamber tombs of the palace period, when, at Prosymna for example, 8 or 9 burials was more common (based on the number of skulls found), and could have been far higher (based on the number of individuals represented by the other bones) (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 55). Typical palace period tombs could contain the burials of around six generations of a family, but there are examples of large tombs that were used for up to ten generations (Cavanagh and Mee, 1978, 31). At Perati only the skulls were used to estimate the number of individuals buried in the tombs, but even if the other bones had been taken into consideration, it is clear that the number of individuals buried in each tomb would have remained very low, compared with the chamber tombs of the palace period. So it would seem that, in the case of single burials, the cemetery at Perati reflected changes that are said to have been occurring more widely in some areas of post-palatial Greece.

Explanations for the changes in practices fall into roughly three categories. The first explains the changes as evidence for the presence of newcomers, or those influenced by nearby non-Mycenaeans. The second explains the phenomenon as a rejection of Mycenaean culture. The third explains the changes in burial practices as a response to social change. It should be obvious by now that the third category is the one most likely to be adopted by this project. However, the other explanations are still raised periodically, and need to be addressed.

Could the single burials represent the graves of non-Mycenaean newcomers to Greece? It does not seem likely that the changes which came about after the collapse of the palaces can easily be attributed to newcomers, simply because there is not enough evidence for an influx of foreign material culture at this time (Morris, 1987, 23), although it has been noted that the arrival of newcomers need not be reflected in significant changes to material culture (Hall, 1997, 3). That said, most of the single burials at Perati were placed within chamber tombs – arguably the most Mycenaean of all tomb types (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 135) – and received grave goods that were Mycenaean in character. The overseas goods used as gifts at Perati were not concentrated with the single burials. In fact, imported goods were luxuries and were given to the richer burials, which tended to be the collective burials in larger chamber tombs (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 175). It is also the

case that the single burials at Perati were mixed among the collective burials, and did not have a special, reserved area of the cemetery, as might be expected if they were the graves of a foreign element in the community (Hall, 1997, 128). If those using single graves were newcomers, they must have gone to great lengths to imitate other aspects of Mycenaean burial practices (Shepherd, 2013, 552), to the point where it is impossible now to separate them.

In 1972, Desborough argued that single burial was brought to Greece by newcomers from the northwest (i.e. Epirus and surrounding regions), via Thessaly and the northern Peloponnese (Desborough, 1972, 111) (fig. 2.15). This was a logical argument for an archaeologist obviously still influenced by diffusionist ideas about ethnicity from within the culture history approach (Chapman and Randsborg, 1981, 4; Manning, 1994, 221; Hall, 1997, 115; Chapman, 2013, 48; Shepherd, 2013, 551; Stout, 2013, 22), but the evidence for a foreign element in Mycenaean culture simply is not available. It is also the case that, if single burial practices had come down to Greece from the north, they must have somehow skipped over or barely influenced significant areas which continued to use collective burial practices into the EIA – including Thessaly, which was directly in the path of Desborough's northern wave of newcomers (Dickinson, 2006A, 182), and Achaea in the northern Peloponnese, which practiced collective burial long after single burial was adopted in other areas. Yet the possibility that single buriers were newcomers is still raised periodically (e.g. Ruppenstein, 2007, 269-270), perhaps as a last resort when other explanations fail to satisfy. This approach has a long history (Whitley, 1991, 12), but there is an equally long history of rejecting it (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 116), at least since the Second World War (Manning, 1994, 222). This thesis shares the latter position.

The culture history approach is reflected in Lewartowski's repeated use of the term "single burying peoples", who were said to have evolved from the same Middle Helladic roots (Lewartowski, 1995, 111) and belonged to the same Mycenaean communities as those using chamber tombs, but formed a separate social or ethnic section of it (Lewartowski, 1995, 104). These "peoples" could either be newcomers, or "deviants" such as slaves, orphans or murderers (Lewartowski, 2000, 55). Yet the early single burials usually occurred in chamber tombs, and were interspersed with collective burials, which suggests that they were not, in fact, separate from the rest of society. If Lewartowski was correct in identifying the "single burying peoples" as deviants, it seems implausible that there was a significant increase in the number of slaves, orphans or murderers after the collapse of the

palaces, which leads us back to the argument for newcomers, which has been shown to be incorrect.

Thomatos took a different approach, suggesting that single burials were preferred by *Mycenaean* newcomers (i.e. migrants within Greece rather than from beyond) who did not already have an ancestral tomb in an existing cemetery (Thomatos, 2006, 169). This concurs with Cavanagh and Mee's contention that those using pits and cists practiced the same rites as those using chamber and tholos tombs (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 70). Thomatos' explanation may describe the sporadic use of single graves in the palace period, but surely does not explain the significant increase in single burial after the collapse. It is true that there was considerable population movement in the post-palatial period, but single burial was eventually adopted by whole regions, and not just by the newcomers.

It might also be added here that the single burials at Perati and elsewhere do not seem to have been provided just for children, or just for one gender. In the palace period, children were sometimes given simple burials within the dromos or close to collective tombs, but in the post-palatial period single burial was not reserved for children. Nor does it seem likely that single burials were provided for only one gender, although this is difficult to verify with the data available. Many simple graves might be described as "poor" in terms of grave goods, but there are sufficient numbers of wealthier single burials, including at Perati, to show that this practice was not confined to those with limited access to resources (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 175). In the later EIA the same variations in wealth evident in the chamber tombs was echoed in the simple graves, so single burial in itself is not evidence of poverty. The evidence suggests that, rather than a separate cultural group, or a separate section of society, single burial became an acceptable practice to Mycenaean societies as a whole. Explanations for these changes must, therefore, encompass wider social change after the collapse of the palaces.

An alternative approach to the changes in burial practices explains single burial as a rejection of Mycenaean culture (Morris, 2000, 201). Perhaps the most coherent argument in this camp came from Snodgrass who, as discussed earlier, attributed changes after the collapse to the resurgence of a pre-Mycenaean substrata (Snodgrass, 1971, 184), as suggested earlier by Deshayes (Hall, 1997, 121). It has frequently been noted that there were some single burials throughout the palace period (Lewartowski, 2000, 2), but most

describe these as relatively isolated occurrences, whereas Snodgrass treated them as evidence for Middle Helladic continuity. His theory has not gained widespread support, although his ideas are sometimes echoed (e.g. Lewartowski, 2000, 62), but the related idea that people could have deliberately rejected Mycenaean culture does appear from time to time (Hooker, 1976, 179).

For Morris, Submycenaean burials were an opportunity to deliberately demonstrate that people were *not* Mycenaean (Morris, 2000, 207). Desborough combined the rejection approach with his argument for the introduction of single burial practices from abroad (Desborough, 1972, 111). Snodgrass suggested that the new community at Lefkandi made a statement by rejecting Mycenaean culture (Snodgrass, 2006, 170). The deliberate rejection of Mycenaean culture might be a convincing argument, if it could be proved that the palace system had been brought down from within, by a population motivated by hardship or injustice, determined to overthrow those in control of the system. Yet however appealing this theory is, there is no positive evidence that the palace system was destroyed by rebellion, nor little to recommend the idea that post-palatial Mycenaeans deliberately rejected their former culture.

What evidence might be drawn upon to support such an argument? This question is difficult to answer. Perhaps if collective tomb cemeteries were deliberately desecrated, and not by foreign invaders, it would indicate that people wanted to sever their links with the practices of the past, but this does not seem to have happened on a large scale. Tomb III and tholos IV at Pylos appear to have been deliberately ransacked and damaged by human hands (Shelmerdine, 1999, 408), and there may have been a further desecrated tholos at Klauss in Achaea (Kontorli-Papadopoulou, 1995, 114), but it is unclear whether those involved were locals or outsiders, or whether the intended target was rich tombs rather than collective tombs. It is the case that widespread desecration of collective tomb cemeteries has not been reported for this period. Chamber tombs continued to be built or reused after the collapse, even if many of them were smaller or hosted single burials. Some cemeteries were abandoned, but none seem to have been purposefully destroyed at their closing.

It has been suggested that the placing of burials within the ruins of Mycenaean buildings (for example, at Asine, Mycenae, and Tiryns) could represent deliberate disregard (Hooker, 1976, 147) or “symbolic disrespect” (Lemos, 2002, 185) for the previous culture,

yet it is also possible that these areas were used as a matter of convenience, or because of their positive connections with the past (see chapter 3). It seems unlikely that the new burials in the Cult Centre at Mycenae, for example, were intended to disrespect the gods, and more likely that this location was chosen for its former religious significance. Thus the idea that people deliberately rejected Mycenaean practices is raised from time to time, but there does not seem to be any certain evidence to support this argument.

Both Snodgrass's theory, and aspects of the general rejection approach treat culture as a layer of superficial practices and beliefs that can be laid over a society, and later thrown off when no longer wanted (Snodgrass, 2006, 160; Palaima, 2006, 68). Snodgrass explained the adoption of collective burial practices as an imposition by Mycenaean rulers (Snodgrass, 1971, 186; Feuer, 2011, 529), so it was logical for him to then argue that this imposition was later rejected by those who had never fully embraced the practice. This approach sees culture as objects and practices (Feuer, 2011, 509), but more recent approaches acknowledge the way in which culture is also comprised of integrated world views and meanings (Hodos, 2010, 3), and cannot simply be identified by objects and practices (Hall, 1997, 129). For this reason, I am not convinced that it is easy to perceive culture as a tangible entity from the inside, or to deliberately reject the bits associated with, for example, a particular model of leadership, whilst retaining other aspects. The problem is that culture is a useful shorthand term for an etic point of view (one which we are all guilty of using at times), but treating it as a superficial aspect of society, rather than something which develops as an integrated part of it, is incorrect.

The third position is that changes in burial practices reflect changes in society (O'Shea, 1981, 52; Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 58; Whitley, 1991, 29; Lemos, 2002, 185; Dickinson, 2006A, 183). Furthermore, burial practices were used to *enact* social change, not just to reflect it. This is because social identities were expressed, and social relationships were negotiated, during these important social occasions (Cavanagh, 2008, 338). Burials were, therefore, closely involved in the expression of any changes in social organisation, and the relationships between people and groups. Various scholars have selected this third approach as the most plausible, and perhaps the most coherent expression of it was provided by Cavanagh and Mee in their works from the 1980s onwards. This argument logically makes the most sense – of course burial practices reflect social change – but it is not always the case that this approach is explained in detail. It is one thing to say that burial practices reflected social change, but quite another to explain *what* changes in

society, and *how* they affected burial practices. A further problem is that this cause and effect approach can be used in both directions: sometimes it is stated that burial practices reflect changes in society (e.g. Mee and Cavanagh, 1984); at other times, it is stated that we know a society must have changed, because there were changes in burial practices (e.g. Georgiadis, 2009, 92). Both points are valid, but without offering concrete explanations, all that is produced is a dissatisfying tautology.

So, what social changes could have caused the post-palatial Mycenaeans to gradually abandon collective burial and adopt single burial in some areas of Greece? There are many supporters of the social change approach, but few specific answers to this question are given. It is often suggested that formal burials, and especially collective burial practices, emphasise the importance of family, ancestors and heredity (Snodgrass, 1971, 141; Voutsaki, 1995, 60; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 125; Shelton, 2010, 141; Stutz and Tarlow, 2013, 1), so could an increase in single burial represent changes to the way in which property, social position and power were acquired (Baboula, 2000, 76)? This seems unlikely. Post-palatial Mycenaeans continued to provide formal burials and generous grave goods for the dead, which suggests that inheritance remained an important aspect of both social organisation and mortuary practice. Cavanagh and Mee explained the changes as a result of population movement and a sense of uncertainty about social structures (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 169), but without elaboration this explanation seems too vague. The early Mycenaean period might also be characterised as uncertain, since the burial record suggests a long phase of active (and sometimes violent) competition for power. Yet people responded by burying their dead in collective tombs, not single graves (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 49). Uncertainty might explain the willingness to experiment, or to give up traditional practices, but it does not explain the switch to single burial itself.

Returning to the case of Perati, Cavanagh and Mee noted that there was lower expenditure on, and interest in, family tombs, but continued interest in the provision of grave goods for individual burials (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 169). This included large quantities of jewellery and clothing ornaments (including over 100 finger rings and more than 200 buttons (Iakovidis, 1970, 452-454)) which may have drawn attention to the individual and their personal status (Mac Sweeney, 2009, 117). Cavanagh and Mee therefore suggested that there may have been a change in emphasis in the expression of social identity at Perati, with a swing away from collective identity (as expressed by family tombs), and a move towards the expression of individual identity (as demonstrated by

grave goods) (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 177; Wallace, 2010, 150). Desborough had also noted the link between attitudes to the family and collective burial practices, although he was unsure of the implications of the move towards individual burial in post-palatial Greece (Desborough, 1972, 277). In addition, it has been suggested that collective burial expressed the importance of the links between past, present and future (Cavanagh, 2008, 340), but the burial of individuals in graves that had not been used before, and would not be used again, focussed the attention firmly on the present, as well as the individual. Why might this be the case?

It is possible that the social and economic relationships developed before and during the palace system (Voutsaki, 1995, 60; Wright, 2008A, 242-243) were unable to provide for present needs in some areas of the post-palatial world, including Perati. Kinship may have become less important if this horizontal form of social organisation was unable to perform its role of insulating families or individuals from hardship. Similarly, it may have seemed pointless to refer to the ancestors when expressing identity in life, if these references no longer carried much weight in society. As the rights and obligations developed by long-dead ancestors became less relevant, people's personal skills, abilities and achievements in the present came to the fore (Mee, 2011, 252). This process of changing realities and changing ideas may have taken longer to come about in some areas than others, but it would have been especially relevant to new communities such as Perati, formed as it was by people from different communities, who had effectively severed their ancestral and kinship connections (Dickinson, 2006B, 118). Any claims to status based on ancestral rights and obligations would have been meaningless in this new community.

Is it any surprise, then, in a climate where the immediate needs of individuals and small families had to be met by their own skills and abilities, that when it came to providing for the dead, only the present generation was considered? The smaller tombs and single burials at Perati did not simply represent uncertainty about the future, but also changes in attitudes and beliefs regarding ancestry and descent (Mee, 2011, 24), including recognition that a longer term interest in the ancestors was now irrelevant. What mattered in the construction of social identity in life, and at the funeral, was the present generation and immediate family connections, and this was reflected in the construction of small tombs for use over a limited period, as well as single burials focussed on the individual. Thus I would argue that changes in burial practices at this time reflected real changes in

social organisation, as well as changes in the ways in which people understood their individual and collective social identities (Morris, 2000, 229).

Cavanagh and Mee suggested that those constructing graves at Perati were able to anticipate, with some degree of accuracy, how many people they were likely to bury, and to build tombs that could accommodate these numbers (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 174). This was not a case of good guessing, but reflected the new sense of belonging to a smaller social group (Mee, 2011, 240), and focussing on a shorter chronological period. It may have also reflected population movement and a sense of impermanence – why build tombs big enough for future generations if the possibility of re-locating again remained likely? Such a tomb could have been considered an "irrelevant extravagance" (Snodgrass, 1971, 187).

It was at this time that, in older cemeteries, some abandoned chamber tombs started to be re-used by new families unconnected with the previous owners of the tombs (Cavanagh and Mee, 1978). Tombs were either cleared out, left as they were, with new burials placed where there was space for them, or a layer of earth or gravel separated the new burials from the previous ones (Cavanagh and Mee, 1978, 42). The re-use of abandoned tombs by newcomers was virtually unknown in the palace period (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 59), but the practice seems to have been acceptable and fairly widespread after the collapse (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 93). The re-use of old tombs was probably not just a way of saving time and effort, but also reflected the diminished significance of ancestors in the creation of post-palatial social identity, by newcomers who had presumably severed their family ties (Cavanagh and Mee, 1978, 44).

It is sometimes implied that ancestors and wider kinship connections played a consistently important role in the creation of Mycenaean identity (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 131; Voutsaki, 1998, 45), and that the elaboration of mortuary practices reflected the role of the ancestors in the creation of social identity (Voutsaki, 1998, 45). However, recent studies of burial practices at palace period Pylos (Murphy, 2014; Murphy, forthcoming) indicates that the importance of ancestors fluctuated, and was sometimes emphasised, and sometimes neglected. It also now seems to be the case that, in some regions of post-palatial Greece, the importance of ancestors diminished (Snodgrass, 1971, 190) when their relevance to social identity in both life and death waned (Murphy, 2014, 218-219).

Might other aspects of social identity have also fluctuated? In the EIA, some cemeteries used grave goods to differentiate between adults and children, or emphasised gender as an important aspect of identity at death (Morris, 1987, 62; Whitley, 1991, 96; Lemos, 2002, 155; Ruppenstein, 2007, 270-271), and at Athens differential access to formal burial on the basis of rank was periodically emphasised or negated (Morris, 1987, 94). It has been implied that these changes reflected ideology, rather than demographic or social change (Morris, 1987, 96; Whitley, 1991, 115), and Dickinson similarly suggested that the changes at the end of the Bronze Age reflected changes in the ways that burial was used to reflect social ideology (Dickinson, 2006B, 119). Yet it seems implausible that changes in the ways people thought about themselves could change so radically, without some corresponding changes in social organisation as the reason. It has been argued that ideology can change without changes to social organisation (S.E. Shennan, 1982, 30), but a classical marxist approach reverses this argument – changes in society produce changes in ideas (Rees, 1998, 64). Therefore, the fluctuations in the expression of social identity in death indicate that the post-palatial world was indeed a time of significant change, as well as re-evaluation (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 177).

This is not to say that there was no sense of collective identity in the post-palatial period. In some EIA cemeteries, single graves were grouped together in clusters that could have represented families (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 117), for example at Nea Ionia, north of Athens, where inhumations and cremations were grouped in a “family plot” (Desborough, 1972, 271). Later burials in the Athens:Erechtheiou Street cemetery may have been encircled by a peribolos to identify family plots (Lemos, 2002, 154). In a way, these clusters of graves could be thought of as a different way of presenting collective burial (Dickinson, 2006A, 185), stressing both individual and collective identity at the same time. This may also have been the case with the new post-palatial tumuli at Argos and Mycenae, although these were not necessarily the resting places of family groups (see chapter 3). These monumental tombs or groups of graves suggest that it is not useful to treat individual and collective identities as opposites, but rather to consider the emphasis that was placed on each. It is likely that in the post-palatial period people still knew members of their extended families (indeed such links could have facilitated overland trade), and may have retained some knowledge of their ancestors. The point is that, in some areas, what they began to emphasise at burial was their immediate or nuclear family, their practical social and economic unit, not their family connections over time.

One point that is sometimes mentioned, but not always pursued, is that the shift towards single burial may have begun before the collapse of the palaces. It has been noted that chamber tombs were richly furnished in LH II, but gradually became smaller and poorer in LH III (Voutsaki, 1995, 58-59; Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 62; Palaiologou, 2013, 273), and that fewer chamber tombs were built towards the end of the period (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 57). In the Argolid specifically, the peak in chamber tomb usage is thought to have occurred in LH IIIA2, and the decline began in LH IIIB2 (Sjöberg, 2004, 81). Meanwhile, some 33% tombs in LH IIIA-B were simple graves (see chapter 3 and especially table 3.1), which indicates that this practice was not uncommon, even in the Mycenaean heartlands, during the palace period, although it should be noted that this region may not be representative of the whole of Mycenaean Greece.

The subtle decline in the number and richness of new chamber tombs at this time may indicate that, for some people, extravagant funerary display was beginning to decline in importance or effectiveness as a political strategy for the acquisition or maintenance of social status (Voutsaki, 1995, 57-58), although the size and wealth of the monumental tholos tombs suggest that it was still an important strategy for the palatial elites. Funerary extravagance is associated with political uncertainty or the need for a new ruling elite to express and consolidate its position (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 49; Voutsaki, 1995, 62). Perhaps the decline in extravagance reflects political stability in the later palace period, or the realisation that it was now not possible (or perhaps not permitted (Voutsaki, 1995, 63)) to use funerary display to seriously challenge the position of those who had now established power.

Alternatively, the emphasis on ancestry and kinship that is associated with the repeated use of collective tombs (Wright, 1990, 52; Voutsaki, 1995, 60) may have started to become less important or useful in the expression of social identity. Wright suggested that there was a gradual breaking down of the lineage structure during the palace period, and a greater focus upon smaller family units in the regions under palatial control (Wright, 2008B, 149). In some regions, especially Attica, there was a willingness to experiment with different single burial forms before the collapse took place (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 67). In other regions, however, the commitment to collective burial lasted beyond the collapse of the palaces, and even into the Early Iron Age. That said, if there was a decline in the use and richness of chamber tombs in some regions, it indicates that the social changes which led to single burial in parts of Mycenaean Greece had begun before the

collapse, and raises the question of whether the collapse was the cause of social change, or a symptom of it (Shanks and Tilley, 1987, 153).

Finally, it should be noted that although there may have been an increase in single burial, and a decline in collective burial after the collapse, this process was by no means evenly distributed (Lemos, 2002, 185). Whilst some cemeteries on Salamis and in Athens moved wholesale to single burial in cists and pits in the Submycenaean period (Morris, 1987, 18), Achaea and Kephallenia retained the chamber tomb into the EIA (Dickinson, 2006A, 76), and Thessaly continued to use tholoi and tumuli, and the practice of collective burial, until the Protogeometric period (Snodgrass, 1971, 155-156; Desborough, 1972, 270; Georganas, 2011, 627). As mentioned earlier, single burial was accepted more readily in some areas than in others (Desborough, 1972, 269; Lemos, 2002, 185), and burial practices in general were more varied after the collapse than before (Morris, 2000, 204; Lemos, 2002, 184). The decline in the size and quality and richness of chamber tombs before the collapse, and a reluctance to give up collective burial in some areas even after the post-palatial period, contradict Desborough's claim that single burial "enables us to see a clear division between the respective cultures of the Mycenaean and Dark Age worlds" (Desborough, 1972, 275). In fact, the dividing lines between palatial, post-palatial, and EIA Greece are not as clear cut as they are sometimes portrayed.

Regarding the smaller burial groups and single burials at Perati, it would seem that the emphasis on the present generation, and the immediate rather than extended family, reflected changes in social organisation, in that members of this new community had severed their wider kinship connections and had to rely on the efforts and abilities of the present generation in order to make a living. The increase in single burials that has been proposed (but not always adequately demonstrated) for older cemeteries and those in other regions must be considered in the context of local conditions. However, it is likely that the more widespread adoption of single burial in many regions of the mainland after the close of the post-palatial period reflects similar processes, in terms of the reducing importance of extended family connections, and a focus on the present generation.

2.7 The introduction of cremation

One of the more significant developments in post-palatial burial practices was the introduction of cremation to some regions of Greece (Hägg, 1987, 207). In the palace

period cremation was practiced rarely and was nowhere the majority rite (Snodgrass, 1971, 187; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 94; Thomatos, 2006, 170), although fire had certainly been used in a variety of funerary practices in prehistoric Greece (Galanakis, forthcoming). It was not until the EIA that cremation became common in some areas, especially Attica (Ruppenstein, 2009, 329), but the first signs of change began in the post-palatial period (Snodgrass, 1971, 189). At Perati there were at least 18 cremations (Iakovidis, 1970, 422) (fig. 2.16), dispersed throughout the period of the cemetery's use, but perhaps more concentrated in LH IIIC Middle (Thomatos, 2006, 171). Compared with the number of inhumations – at least 600 – the proportion of cremations was very small, at just 3%. In terms of developments after the collapse of the palaces, Snodgrass regarded the introduction of cremation as less important than the change to single burial (Snodgrass, 1971, 141) – and in this he made a fair point – yet 18 cremations in a single Mycenaean cemetery is significant, and an explanation is required.

Much of the discussion regarding the introduction of cremation has focussed on the origins of this practice (Galanakis, forthcoming). For hundreds of years the Mycenaeans had practiced inhumation, and perhaps for this reason, most scholars have sought an origin for the practice outside of Greece (fig. 2.15). Given that cremation was practiced (at least sporadically) in the southeast Aegean in the palace period (Georgiadis, 2009, 95), it is usually suggested that the practice spread from Anatolia to Greece via the Dodecanese and Cyclades islands (Iakovidis, 1970, 470; Crielaard, 2006, 281; Dickinson, 2006A, 73; Thomatos, 2006, 174; Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 177; Mee, 2010, 288).

Palace period cremations have been discovered at Müskebi in Anatolia (although they were provided with Mycenaean grave goods) (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 76), and post-palatial ones at nearby Langada on Kos, Ialysos on Rhodes (Dodecanese), Aplomati on Naxos (Cyclades) (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 93), and in some areas of Crete (Snodgrass, 1971, 189) which supports the idea that the practice was transmitted from east to west at this time. Cremation was also adopted more readily in the east-facing coastal regions of Greece including Attica, Euboea and Boeotia (Snodgrass, 1971, 189; Thomatos, 2006, 177). It was especially common in Attica, where the practice gained popularity in the century immediately after the collapse (Snodgrass, 1971, 177; Lemos, 2002, 152), even if did not become a majority rite until the EIA (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 93). At Lefkandi, and many other sites, burial practices were characterised by variability (Popham, Sackett and Themelis, 1980; Dickinson, 2006A, 186), so cremation was

practiced, but this was often alongside inhumation (Lemos, 2002, 161). The early adoption of cremation in these areas justifies the arguments for an east-facing *koine* developing at this time (Crielaard, 2006, 282).

It has been pointed out, however, that cremation was also practiced in south Italy, and that the practice could have reached the northern Peloponnese from there (Dickinson, 2006A, 73; Palaiologou, 2013, 274). Post-palatial cremations at Kallithea, Koukoura, Klaus and Lousika:Spaliareïka in Achaea, Agrapidochori in Elis, (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 93), and Palaiokastro in Arcadia (Dickinson, 2006A, 73), indicate that cremation gained some popularity in the north, and may have been transmitted from a northern source rather than from Anatolia. Exchange between Achaea and south Italy flourished in the post-palatial period (Dickinson, 2006B, 119; Eder, 2006, 558; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 401; Moschos, 2009, 376-379), and it is clear that there were strong links between these regions, which could have provided the Mycenaeans with knowledge of the burial practices of their neighbours. The areas that adopted cremation most willingly seem to have been those with the best overseas connections (Dickinson, 2006A, 188).

There were also cremations at Khania near Mycenae, Argos, Thebes (Dickinson, 2006A, 73) and Elateia (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2009, 79). It has been suggested that cremation could have spread to different areas within Greece by migration (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 97; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2009, 99) but it may also have been a case of influence and imitation. Sites such as Elateia, situated at a crossroads on important exchange routes (Crielaard, 2006, 282; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2007, 144), would have been well placed to learn of such new practices.

Although there are many scholars who support the idea that cremation was introduced to Greece from neighbouring regions, few would now argue that the practice represents the movement of people into Greece at this time (Galanakis, forthcoming). Rather, they argue that Mycenaeans adopted the practice of their neighbours, as a result of regular contact and influence (Iakovidis, 1980, 111; Hägg, 1987, 207; Dickinson, 2006A, 180; Thomatos, 2006, 177; Mee, 2010, 288; Palaiologou, 2013, 273). At Perati, all of the cremations were placed in chamber tombs (fig. 2.17), alongside inhumation burials and Mycenaean grave goods (Hall, 1997, 120; Mee, 2010, 288), and none of these chamber tombs were allocated to a separate section of the cemetery (Iakovidis, 1980, 15), as might be expected if they had belonged to a separate section of the living community (O'Shea, 1984, 33-34).

All of the vessels used for cremated remains were locally made, rather than foreign imports (Iakovidis, 1980, 15). It is clear, therefore, that the 18 cremations at this cemetery were carried out by Mycenaeans, not newcomers to Greece (Iakovidis, 1970, 423; Mee, 2011, 239). Most of the post-palatial cremations at other cemeteries were similarly characterised by Mycenaean practices and grave goods (Dickinson, 2006A, 73; Palaiologou, 2013, 275), rather than those of non-Greeks, and placed close to inhumations (Desborough, 1972, 268; Dickinson, 2006B, 119), which confirms that post-palatial cremation represents a new practice, but not newcomers.

The question of how cremation entered Mycenaean Greece has occupied scholars for many years (Kontorli-Papadopoulou, 1987, 156), but it could be argued that the origin of cremation is not the most important issue. It does not matter whether it was transmitted to Greece from south Italy, Anatolia, or both, or neither, interesting though this issue is. What is often not explained – but should be explained – is not how, but *why* some Mycenaeans were willing to adopt the burial practices of their neighbours at this time, after hundreds of years of inhumation. Again, Cavanagh and Mee discuss the change of practices in terms of uncertainty about the future and the undermining of traditions (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 135-136), but this does not explain why cremation was specifically selected as a response.

Most scholars reject a change in beliefs as the explanation for the switch to cremation (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 108; Dickinson, 2006A, 180-181), although this has not been entirely ruled out (Thomatos, 2006, 177). The traditional response to the question of why cremation became more popular is to assess the practice in terms of energy expenditure and the expression of status (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 123; Parker Pearson, 1999, 6; Lemos, 2002, 187; Dickinson, 2006A, 189; Wallace, 2010, 153). Cremations are regarded as costly because of the amount of fuel required to successfully cremate a body (Whitley, 1991, 28; Lemos, 2002, 187; Thomatos, 2006, 177; Mee, 2011, 240; Palaiologou, 2013, 273), and they are therefore described as an expression of wealth – i.e. an elite form of burial. Cremations are also regarded as a ritual with greater opportunities for display than a simple burial (Crielaard, 2006, 287; Dickinson, 2006A, 181; Oestigaard, 2013, 507). This is because the pyre would have been a visual spectacle (especially if it burned at night), and by burning for several hours, could have been the focus of an extended funeral with more time for displays of wealth and the negotiation of social relationships by the

survivors. For secondary cremations, an additional opportunity for display would then be provided when the remains were buried in a chamber tomb.

Cremations may also have been considered prestigious because they employed a foreign method of disposing of the dead (Dickinson, 2006B, 119). Objects of eastern origin were highly valued in the post-palatial period (Dickinson, 2006A, 72; Wallace, 2010, 177), and could have been used competitively to assert status (Mac Sweeney, 2009, 119; Burns, 2010, 185). Archaeologists often use their presence in a grave to denote a rich burial or cemetery (e.g. Thomatos, 2006, 169) (but see chapter 1 for discussion on the valuation of grave goods). At Perati a significant number of grave goods had their origins in the Near East, including Egypt, Syria and Cyprus (Iakovidis, 1970, 469; Crielaard, 2006, 281), and the two imported iron knives found at the cemetery would have been extremely valuable both in life and as grave goods (Iakovidis, 1970, 459). These objects testify to the lively exchange relationships between eastern Attica, the Aegean islands, and sites in the Near East (Ruppenstein, 2007, 271; Georgiadis, 2009, 98), to which the prosperity of the community in LH IIIC Middle is attributed (Iakovidis, 1970, 469). It is from these exchange relationships overseas that the knowledge of cremation may have come. Cremation could have been considered as a foreign burial practice, and therefore, those using this method may have gained prestige because of the overseas connections implied by it (Dickinson, 2006B, 119; Crielaard, 2006, 291).

How do the cremations at Perati compare with this approach, which treats cremations as essentially an elite form of burial? The remains of at least 18 people were discovered on the floor or in vessels in 10 of the chamber tombs (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 175). Although this number is higher than would be expected in a typical Mycenaean cemetery, it was still relatively uncommon compared with inhumation, which may indicate that cremation was reserved for special burials (Liston, 2007, 58). Most of the cremated remains were placed in the larger, richer chamber tombs (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 95; Dickinson, 2006A, 181), and cremation 1 in tomb 1 included the burnt remains of rich grave goods including imported objects, whilst those in tombs 36 and 38 included burnt animal bones (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 94). The fact that tomb 38 also contained a burial with weapons (Dickinson, 2006B, 155-156) is interesting – most of the warrior graves in this period were inhumations, but the occasional cremation again links this practice to the expression of status (see chapter 4 for further discussion of the warrior graves). Although not all of the cremations in this cemetery would be considered rich

(Iakovidis, 1980, 15; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 95), these examples do suggest that cremation was an elite form of burial. However, it is curious that some of those cremated at Perati were children, or even infants (Lemos, 2002, 186; Thomatos, 2006, 171). Many other children at this cemetery were buried in simple pits, a niche in the dromos of a chamber tomb, or in smaller chamber tombs than the adults (Thomatos, 2006, 168; Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 176), which indicates that children generally did not receive very elaborate treatment at death. So it is surprising that some of them were singled out for cremation, if this practice was only associated with high status and extravagant funerary display.

There are other aspects of the cremations at Perati that are difficult to explain in terms of elite display. Of the cremations where enough bone was available for analysis, all were found to contain the remains of two or more people (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 61). If a cremation was performed in order to express the wealth of an individual (and of course, their successors' ability to dispose of it), then why were so many of them subsequently buried in pairs or groups? It is unclear whether the cremated remains buried together in urns, in pits, or on the floor of the chamber tombs were also cremated at the same time (Iakovidis, 1970, 422; Parker Pearson, 1999, 7). Therefore, it is not known whether or not each individual received their own personal funeral focussed on their individual social identity.

At Lefkandi, multiple cremations were placed in the same tomb, but the evidence suggests that most of the individuals were not initially cremated together, and they were buried in turn, so each received their own funeral and subsequent burial (Lemos, 2002, 165-166). At the North Cemetery at Knossos, three individuals were cremated together, and three chambers were set aside in a pit cave complex for them, but it may have proved impossible later to separate the cremated remains of each individual, and they were ultimately buried together (Catling, 1996, 646). At Perati it is also not possible to know whether the chamber tombs were opened for each cremation, or the remains were held until a later inhumation provided an opportunity for placing them in the tomb – note, however, that none of the cremations were the last burial in any tomb (Iakovidis, 1970, 423). Although these questions are unanswered, they raise the possibility that many of those cremated at Perati were not provided with a personal cremation or burial ritual in order to emphasise the wealth and overseas connections of high status individuals.

It is significant that the cremations found at Perati did not take place inside the chamber tombs (Kontorli-Papadopoulou, 1987, 156), and no funeral pyres have been located at the cemetery (Iakovidis, 1980, 15; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 94). As pyres have been readily discovered at other more or less contemporary cemeteries such as those around Lefkandi (Popham, Sackett and Themelis, 1980; Popham, 1987, 71; Morris, 1997, 107; Thomas and Conant, 1999, 91), and primary cremations can be identified by the position of bone fragments amongst the remains (Liston, 2007, 60), it seems unlikely that evidence for cremation pyres within the cemetery at Perati has simply been overlooked by the excavator. The obvious conclusion is that those buried at Perati were not cremated there. Earlier in this chapter, it was proposed that some funerary rituals had probably moved from the cemetery to the community, but it is unlikely that cremations were held there, due to the risk of fire spreading. Some intramural burials did take place in the post-palatial period, but there is no evidence to suggest that intramural cremations took place in Bronze Age Greece, so it is also unlikely that this occurred at Perati. It is unfortunate that the community that used the cemetery at Perati has not been discovered, so it is impossible to check.

The lack of pyres at Perati means it is impossible to identify any specific places where an extravagant funeral focussed on a cremation fire could have taken place, but it may indicate that the cremations did not take place in the vicinity of Perati at all. Given that Perati was a new community, which was established and grew during a period of notable population movement, it is possible that the remains found in this cemetery were originally cremated in the previous communities, and were subsequently brought to Perati for burial. It has been argued that some of the rituals involving fire in tombs during the palace period took place to mark the end of a tomb's use (Galanakis, forthcoming). Significantly, these fires involved the selective burning of bones from different skeletons, rather than primary cremations (Galanakis, forthcoming). It is possible, therefore, that some of the people who moved to Perati used fire to symbolically close their family chamber tombs in their old communities, and that the burnt remains they subsequently buried in the new cemetery at Perati originated in these rituals. Perhaps it was desirable to bring some ancestral remains to the new community, giving a sense of kinship and continuity to an otherwise fresh start.

Cremation transforms the dead into a form that is much more easily transportable than a cadaver or skeleton (Liston, 2007, 65), and the Mycenaeans may have felt that fire could

remove the pollution associated with the dead (Mee, 2011, 240; Oestigaard, 2013, 503), making it possible for them then to relocate the remains. If these were the remains of relations or ancestors from the old communities, this might also explain the mingling of remains – individuals, or the bones from different skeletons, could have been cremated together before they were brought to Perati. Alternatively, it is possible that these were the cremations of individuals who died away from the community (Liston, 2007, 67), perhaps on trade over land or sea, and could not be brought home as cadavers. It would be difficult to explain the cremation of children, if this was the case (Iakovidis, 1980, 15), but if this interpretation is correct, then the cremations buried at this cemetery were carried out for expedience, and had little to do with the expression of elite status.

Whilst it is possible that cremations elsewhere in the post-palatial period were designed to express wealth and membership of an elite group (see chapter 3), it does not seem likely that this was the only, or most important, role of the cremations discovered at Perati – especially if the cremations had taken place elsewhere, before being brought to the cemetery. The limited number and sporadic nature of cremations in the palace period are not considered to have set a precedent for this practice in the post-palatial period (Thomatos, 2006, 170), but I would argue that there were precedents for many of the specific features of the cremations found at Perati. The practice of secondary burial, which was especially associated with the manipulation of skeletal remains (Branigan, 1987, 50), involved both remembering and forgetting the dead (Button, 2008, 90), and sometimes included rituals with fire (Galanakis, forthcoming), was common in the palace period, and may help to explain some aspects of the cremations found at Perati.

The mingling of the remains of two or more people in most of the cremations found at Perati is not known in any of the foreign cultures from which cremation is said to have spread to Greece (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 61). However, it has obvious precedent in the Mycenaean chamber tomb inhumations of the palace period, as it was common for the bones of different individuals to be piled or swept together when tombs were prepared for the next burial in a tomb. In the Kazanaki tholos tomb at Volos, some of the bones from seven previously inhumed skeletons were burnt together on a fire inside the tomb, before being reburied in pits in the tomb floor (Galanakis, forthcoming). It was often the case that burials received secondary treatment even when a new burial was not to be placed in the tomb (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 76; Lewartowski, 2000, 54), so the manipulation of bones should not simply be considered as a way of tidying up or making space in the

tomb. Secondary burial practices continued into the post-palatial period, and at Perati only 19 inhumed bodies in the whole cemetery were found undisturbed (Iakovidis, 1970, 425). In six of the chamber tombs, special niches had been cut in order to receive relocated bones (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 93), and tomb 86 is thought to have been used exclusively as an ossuary (Iakovidis, 1970, 422), which shows that it was normal practice for bones to be manipulated and moved at this cemetery.

It is clear that the Mycenaeans treated the dead differently before and after the flesh had decayed (or been burnt away) (Iakovidis, 1970, 426-427; Wells, 1990, 126; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 76), since the mingling of disarticulated bones was common, and there was little attempt to separate individuals (Iakovidis, 1980, 19), but articulated skeletons were more carefully moved, and there were attempts to keep the remains intact (Iakovidis, 1970, 426). This suggests that the dead were considered as individuals only as long as their flesh remained.

Cremation rapidly removes the flesh of the dead, making it possible to mingle their remains with others straight away. It is possible that cremation was chosen because of this aspect, but it is impossible to know whether or not that was the case. One of the effects of cremation is to break down the body so that it can be separated easily into different parts (Iakovidis, 1970, 427; Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 208), which is less easy (and perhaps more traumatic) with an articulated but decaying body (Oestigaard, 2013, 500). It is possible that the breaking down of bodies, physically transforming them from individuals into “dividuals” – reflecting the dividual nature of personhood and social relationships in both life and death (Fowler, 2001, 140; Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 210) – may have been the desired outcome, rather than a side effect of cremation (Galanakis, forthcoming). Some of the partially burnt bones found at Perati appear to have been deliberately broken into smaller pieces whilst on the pyre (Iakovidis, 1970, 423), which suggests that the breaking down of remains was indeed a desired effect of the cremation process. This would make the mingling of remains even easier, as well as making it more difficult to later identify individuals.

At Perati, only a small amount of the cremated material was collected and placed within the tombs, but this was not a random process – fragments of bone seem to have been deliberately selected from all of the main areas of the body (Iakovidis, 1970, 423). The cremation in tomb 46 consisted of just 37g of bone, and in some of the other cremations,

less than 300g of material was collected (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 94). In tests on modern cremations, the remains available after an adult male cremation were on average 3.379kg, and for an adult female, 2.350kg, whilst primary cremations from the EIA cemetery at Kavousi Vronda have produced between 1.102kg and 2.134kg of cremated material (Liston, 2007, 63). These findings show that the secondary cremations at Perati consisted of only very small amounts of the available burnt remains. In the slightly later cemeteries at Lefkandi, surface pyres were found to contain large quantities of bone, but only small amounts of the remains were subsequently buried in graves (Morris, 1987, 107). Why might they have buried only a tiny amount of the remains of the dead?

There is evidence to suggest that, at different cemeteries and in different periods, the dead could be represented by small amounts of bone – often between 10% and 20% of the available burnt material (Oestigaard, 2013, 501; Galanakis, forthcoming). In these instances, it is thought that only a small amount of the available remains were required, and these were thought sufficient to represent the dead at burial. Perhaps the small quantities of cremated remains at Perati were also chosen to represent the dead, and there was no attempt to utilise all of the available bones, either for cremation or for their subsequent burial. It is not known what happened to the remains that were not buried, but they could have been discarded, or retained for rituals outside of the grave (Oestigaard, 2013, 501).

Secondary burial practices may provide a precedent for the selectivity practiced in relation to the cremations at Perati. During secondary rituals, it was not uncommon for bones to be removed from graves and either left or buried in the dromoi, or permanently removed from the grave (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 76; Lewartowski, 2000, 54), but this was not simply a case of clearing out all of the available material in order to prepare the tomb for fresh burials. It was often the case that certain bones were either left in the grave, perhaps to represent the dead, or certain bones were permanently removed from the grave, presumably to be used in ceremonies outside of the tomb. Skulls were most likely to receive this special treatment, but long bones were also likely to be selected (Liston, 2007, 65-66).

The deliberate removal and manipulation of bones has been attested in earlier periods in Crete (Branigan, 1987) and in Greece (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 116; Liston, 2007, 66), and there are many examples of secondary burial practices from the palace period. The

deliberate placing of skulls together in palace period chamber and tholos tombs in the Argolid and Achaea has been observed (Kontorli-Papadopoulou, 1995, 120). In tomb 26 at Prosymna, the arm bones of one individual were removed, presumably for secondary rituals in the dromos (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 76). Tomb IV in the Athens:Agora cemetery contained ten skeletons, but only five skulls were discovered, and at both the Deiras and Dendra cemeteries, the bones of approximately twice as many individuals were present, compared with the number of skeletons buried (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 55). There are many Mycenaean cemeteries in which the number of skulls exceeded the number of individual burials (Branigan, 1987, 48), including Perati (Iakovidis, 1970, 426), which indicate that other remains were cleared out, but the skulls were retained to represent the dead. These examples demonstrate that the Mycenaeans removed and manipulated the remains of the dead as a normal part of burial practice (Cavanagh, 2008, 340). That they could have treated cremated remains in a similar way in the post-palatial period seems extremely likely.

The cremated remains found at Perati were incompletely burnt (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 94), as a result of the fire either not being hot enough, or not burning for long enough, which indicates that the ritual may have been inexpertly conducted (Oestigaard, 2013, 505), or perhaps carried out in a hurry prior to the remains being moved. Some of the partially burnt bones discovered in palace period tombs were thought by the excavators to have been accidentally burnt, perhaps because the fires had been brief and relatively low in temperature, but it is possible that the “charring” of bones was intentional (Galanakis, forthcoming). With the cremated remains found at Perati, the intention may not have been to completely reduce the remains to ashes, but just to burn away the flesh, in order to facilitate the selection of specific bones for burial. The relatively small quantities of cremated remains at Perati, and the deliberate selection of burnt bone fragments from all areas of the body (Iakovidis, 1970, 423), suggest that they were chosen very carefully to represent the dead (Liston, 2007, 58). Perhaps they also left some remains in the old community, and took only a portion to the new one, keeping links with the old community through the physical sharing of ancestors. The burial of bones (whether burnt or not) in two locations at once would probably not have been troubling to their beliefs, given their willingness to manipulate or rearrange the remains of the dead.

If cremation was considered as an aspect of Mycenaean secondary burial practices (Thomatos, 2006, 177), then its origin could be treated as a development of indigenous

practices, and it would no longer be necessary to seek an overseas source for this practice. The recent discovery that the deliberate but partial burning and comingling of previously inhumed bones may have been more common in palace period tombs than previously thought (Galanakis, forthcoming), makes it even more likely that cremation in the post-palatial period was an elaboration of native secondary burial practices. Cremation's origins in Mycenaean burial practices would, therefore, represent both continuity and change in the treatment of the dead, after the collapse of the palaces.

The importance of cremation should not be exaggerated, since it was practiced all over Greece from the post-palatial period onwards, but generally still in very low numbers (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 93; Dickinson, 2006A, 180). It was only adopted on a large scale in limited areas (Hooker, 1976, 147) including Attica, Euboea and at Knossos (Dickinson, 2006A, 186; Thomatos, 2006, 171-174), and usually only from the Submycenaean period onwards. In many regions, including the Argolid and Thessaly, and even the Dodecanese islands (one of the areas through which this practice was said to pass on its way to the mainland), Greeks continued to inhume their dead long after the end of the Bronze Age (Snodgrass, 1971, 153; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 136), despite a brief interest in cremations in the post-palatial period (Snodgrass, 1971, 163; Thomatos, 2006, 174). It has been suggested that cremation was more readily accepted in those areas that did not previously have a palace (Middleton, 2010, 106), but the distribution of cremations does not make the dividing lines clear (Desborough, 1972, 271).

Whilst it is possible that some of the cremations may have been carried out in order to emphasise social status, in those areas where the practice became commonplace, it is unlikely to have retained its prestige (Wallace, 2010, 153), and it is not true that all of the cremations discovered so far were placed in richer tombs (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 95; Wallace, 2010, 157). For this reason, it would be unwise to consider cremations only as expressions of wealth and attempts to assert status. If it is true that cremation practices were influenced by Mycenaean secondary burial practices, then the ways in which cremation transforms the dead, and allows the living to manipulate and divide their remains, should be considered, in order to explain the adoption of this practice at certain times, and in certain places, towards the end of the Mycenaean period. It may also be the case that cremation was used for a variety of reasons (Mee, 2011, 240), and one all-encompassing explanation is inappropriate (Galanakis, forthcoming), but I would still argue that cremation should be considered for its transformative properties, and not just for its

opportunities for display. Snodgrass may have been correct to assign the introduction of cremation less importance than the move towards single burial (Snodgrass, 1971, 141), but the introduction of cremation does indicate that there was a willingness to experiment with traditions old and new, on a scale that perhaps had not been known before the collapse.

2.8 Perati in context

The developments noted at Perati – changes in tomb types and architecture, the increase in single burials / reduction in the number of people buried together, and the introduction of cremation – are usually taken as examples of post-palatial changes in burial practices, brought about by the collapse of the palaces (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 96). Perati as a whole is the cemetery most likely to be used as the type site for this period. In part this is because it was established after the collapse so it fits neatly into the period under discussion, and partly it is because the site was relatively recently excavated and recorded in detail, which cannot be said for all of the available evidence. I would argue, however, that it is mistaken to use Perati in this way. The key to understanding this cemetery is to place it into its regional, rather than chronological context (O'Shea, 1995, 127). If Perati is considered as an Attic cemetery, it ceases to represent change, and makes a strong argument for continuity with palace period burial practices, as the following examples will demonstrate (fig. 2.1).

Chamber tombs were common in Attica in the palace period, and are attested at some 18 cemeteries (including Salamis), although there were differences in the construction of the dromoi and the use of pits and niches, which suggest local preferences. Chamber tombs reached Athens first in LH IIA (Privitera, 2013, 173), but were not used until LH IIIB at Eleusis, which could be a sign of them wanting to preserve local traditions and identity against the rising power of Athens (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 67). The overwhelming preference at Perati was for chamber tombs, which clearly indicates continuity with burial practices in the palace period. It is significant, however, that in the cemetery at Athens:Erechtheiou Street most of the chamber tombs were small, and were used for single burials (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 67), as were those in the Agora cemetery (Smith, 2009, 101), which interestingly was not used in LH IIIC (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 91) – perhaps because those using the cemetery had relocated? Chamber tombs were normally built for multiple burials, so in these examples, the tomb type does not seem to

match its usual purpose. Some 61 chamber tombs at Perati also contained just one burial, so it is plausible that this represents a post-palatial continuation of practices known from specific places in Attica in the palace period. In general it may be said that chamber tombs were gradually reducing in size in the later palace period, which again supports the idea that Perati represents continuity rather than change.

Pit and cist graves have been found at a "fair number of the Attic cemeteries" in the palace period (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 62), although none of the cemeteries were comprised exclusively of simple graves until the Early Iron Age. As with most Mycenaean cemeteries, when pits and cists were used, they were placed in cemeteries alongside tombs intended for multiple burials, much as they were at Perati. Again there were localised variations in the use of simple graves in Attica, although it can be difficult to separate local preferences from matters of convenience. For example some of the cists at Eleusis had rubble walls rather than slabs, but this could have been because large slabs were not available at the time. It is significant that, although pits and cists are usually thought of as single graves, there were some graves in palace period Attica with two or more burials, for example tomb ΕΠ1 at Eleusis, which accommodated five burials, and ΗΠ16 which accommodated three (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 69), and some of the graves in the Athens:Agora cemetery (Smith, 2009, 101). It is not known why pit graves were selected for these multiple burials, rather than chamber tombs, but it is telling that four of the pit graves at Perati were also used for two burials rather than the usual one. There is also an example of a pit grave with a dromos (tomb XI:B) and a double pit grave (tomb XXIX) in the palace period Athens:Agora cemetery, as well as three double pit graves at Eleusis (tombs III, IV and V) (Lewartowski, 2000, 10), again anticipating developments later at post-palatial Perati.

A further type of grave found in some of the Attic cemeteries is the pit-cave, which lies somewhere between a pit grave and a chamber tomb (Lewartowski, 2000, 55), with a vertical shaft like a pit, and a separate chamber like a chamber tomb or tholos. They have been located in Voula:Aliki, Brauron, and Markopoulo:Kopreza in Attica (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 67). These graves may have taken more effort to construct than simple pit or cist graves, but they were normally provided for single burials (Lewartowski, 2000, 11), so they were not used in the same way as other tombs with chambers. Indeed, it has been observed that there was "a tendency to separate out single burials, or sometimes two, within the context of collective tombs" in Attica (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 67), but less so

elsewhere. There were no pit-cave tombs at Perati, perhaps because the local geology could not support a deep shaft and chamber very well. However, the hybrid nature of the pit-caves is perhaps reflected in the hybrid tombs used at Perati. This includes the pit graves with dromoi, the chamber tombs entered from above, and the pits with a separating wall inside, in addition to the use of chamber tombs for single burials. There are palace period precedents for pits with dividing walls, but these are attested in the Argolid and other areas rather than Attica.

The examples given here may be few in number, but they exemplify the variety of tomb types and uses found in the cemeteries of palace period Attica. There were several different types of tomb in use, along with hybrids and variations both within and between cemeteries (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 77). Some of the tombs normally used for multiple burials were provided for single burials, and some of the graves normally used for single burials contained two or more bodies. This variety in the types and uses of tombs is clearly reflected in the cemetery at Perati. Burial practices in Attica both before and after the collapse were especially varied and experimental (Lewartowski, 2000, 15), which suggests a willingness to experiment with the expression of social identity at death, a lower commitment to traditional Mycenaean practices than in other regions, and an openness to alternative practices.

Does this mean that Attica was not really Mycenaean? The diagnostic traits used to define Mycenaean culture were all present in Attica – a general preference for chamber tombs, and a similar repertoire of ceramic shapes and decorative motives. One thing is missing however, and that is a unified palace state (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 78; Privitera, 2013, 174). So often it is taken for granted that Mycenaean means palatial. Attica and many other areas of the mainland show that it was entirely possible to be Mycenaean in terms of language, material culture, and religious and mortuary practices, yet not be organised by a centralised authority concentrated in a palace centre (Middleton, 2010, 9). In fact, the lack of palace may explain why Attica was more open to experiment and more willing to accept outside influences, and thereby become the region that was first to embrace cremation and single burial practices.

This is not to say that the collapse did not affect the non-palatial regions. It is clear that the destruction of the palaces brought with it the disruption and population movement which characterised all areas of post-palatial Greece for a while, including the impetus

which led people to depart their old communities and establish a new community at Perati. However, burial practices in Attica before the collapse indicate that change was occurring before the events that led to the fall of the palaces. All of the post-palatial developments at Perati can be detected in Attica before the collapse, with the exception of cremation, which suggests that change was not brought about by the collapse itself. The collapse may be credited with accelerating the process of change, but not with starting the process in the first place. In fact it was a non-palatial region – Attica – which led the way in terms of changes to burial practices.

2.9 Conclusions

Perati may have come about as a result of uncertainty, the inability to make a secure living in the old community, or the failure of kinships to protect people from hardship in the post-palatial world. Yet the evidence from the cemetery indicates that it developed well as a new community, and the wealth of grave goods demonstrate that it thrived on lively exchange networks, especially with the east (Privitera, 2013, 52). Archaeologists typically treat tomb size and grave goods as evidence for the importance or status of the dead (Morris, 1987, 33; Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 59; Lewartowski, 2000, 4; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 399), postprocessual disclaimers notwithstanding (Whitley, 1991, 28; Sørensen, 2004, 167). There are no tombs at the cemetery that might easily be described as those of rulers (Dickinson, 2006B, 120), but variations in tomb size and design, and variations in the quantity and quality of grave goods, suggest that the living community was concerned with status and was hierarchical in nature (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 96; Middleton, 2010, 106). It is possible, of course, that a dominant family or group existed, but they were buried in a way that left no trace in the archaeological record at Perati (Morris, 1987, 93; Bradley, 1995, vi), or chose not to antagonise social relations with extravagant burials (Hodder, 1982A, 152; Wallace, 2010, 152; Chapman, 2013, 53; Fowler, 2013, 513) which might have recalled the inequalities of palatial rule. Certainly there is no evidence for a serious competition for power in the burial evidence at Perati, as witnessed in the early days of the Mycenaean period (see chapter 4). Without a corresponding settlement to explore, it is difficult to be more definite about the nature of social organisation at Perati (Morris, 1987, 8; Lemos, 2002, 151; Cavanagh, 2006, 327; Middleton, 2010, 111; Chapman, 2013, 54), but its location close to the coast, and as part of the east-facing *koine* (Crielaard, 2006; Georgiadis, 2009, 96-97; Privitera, 2013, 52), suggest that those

with overseas exchange contacts would have been the most prosperous, and presumably therefore, the most powerful.

In this new community, however, independence, self-sufficiency and individual abilities were more important than old ancestral or kinship ties (Dickinson, 2006A, 75; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 403; Middleton, 2010, 117), even if the provision of formal burial and grave goods indicate that inheritance remained important (Morris, 1987, 34), and practices such as the relocation and burial of cremated remains indicate that people had not forgotten their old links altogether. The sense of self-sufficiency is reflected in the smaller chamber tombs, individual burials, and the use of grave goods that focussed on the individual, as well as the possible re-location of some rituals out of the cemetery and into the living community. For those with the right possessions, skills or personal attributes, and of course, exchange contacts, a good living could be made at Perati, and a good burial (at least in terms of grave goods) could be had upon death. These opportunities were not restricted to Perati, as the whole eastern-facing *koine* seems to have prospered for some time after the collapse of the palaces (Crielaard, 2006). It was also in this region that the willingness to experiment with burial practices developed most strongly, among communities of Mycenaeans rather than migrants from overseas (Mee, 2010, 288). It is not known why the cemetery at Perati was abandoned, but it is likely that disruptions to overseas exchange were responsible for the noticeable decline in fortunes at the end of LH IIIC and the Submycenaean period (Iakovidis, 1980, 111).

Since the publication of the excavations at Perati, this cemetery has been used frequently to demonstrate the changes that are said to have been brought about as a result of the destruction of the palaces. Other cemeteries in Attica (especially the Kerameikos of Athens) are also used to demonstrate practices in the Early Iron Age, and even later, in a similar fashion – as if they are the norm against which other cemeteries of the same period should be measured (Dickinson, 2006A, 176). The evidence for continuity in burial practices that has been presented in this chapter demonstrates that it is wrong to use Perati in this way (Dickinson, 2010, 488-489). Rather than being the type site for post-palatial burial practices, Perati in fact represents continuity with burial practices in Attica before the collapse. Perhaps Attica was changing, but the collapse did not bring about the changes that were taking place. Instead of asking, what changes were caused by the collapse of the palaces, perhaps the real question is, what were the changes that brought about the collapse (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 387; Dickinson, 2010, 489)? The collapse has

traditionally been viewed as a watershed in the history of Mycenaean culture (Hooker, 1976, 140) and its effect on Greece described in "apocalyptic" terms (Dickinson, 2010, 486). The palace period is thought of as the most developed or "complex" period of Mycenaean culture, and therefore the collapse of this system is often viewed as the point at which Mycenaean culture began to change, to fade away, or to develop into something new, en route to the Dark Ages (Thomas and Conant, 1999, 30), which were characterised by isolation and poverty (Fitton, 1995, 9). It has been said that, after the collapse, "nothing was the same as before" (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 405). The evidence from the cemetery at Perati, however, suggests that this attitude to post-palatial Greece must be revised.

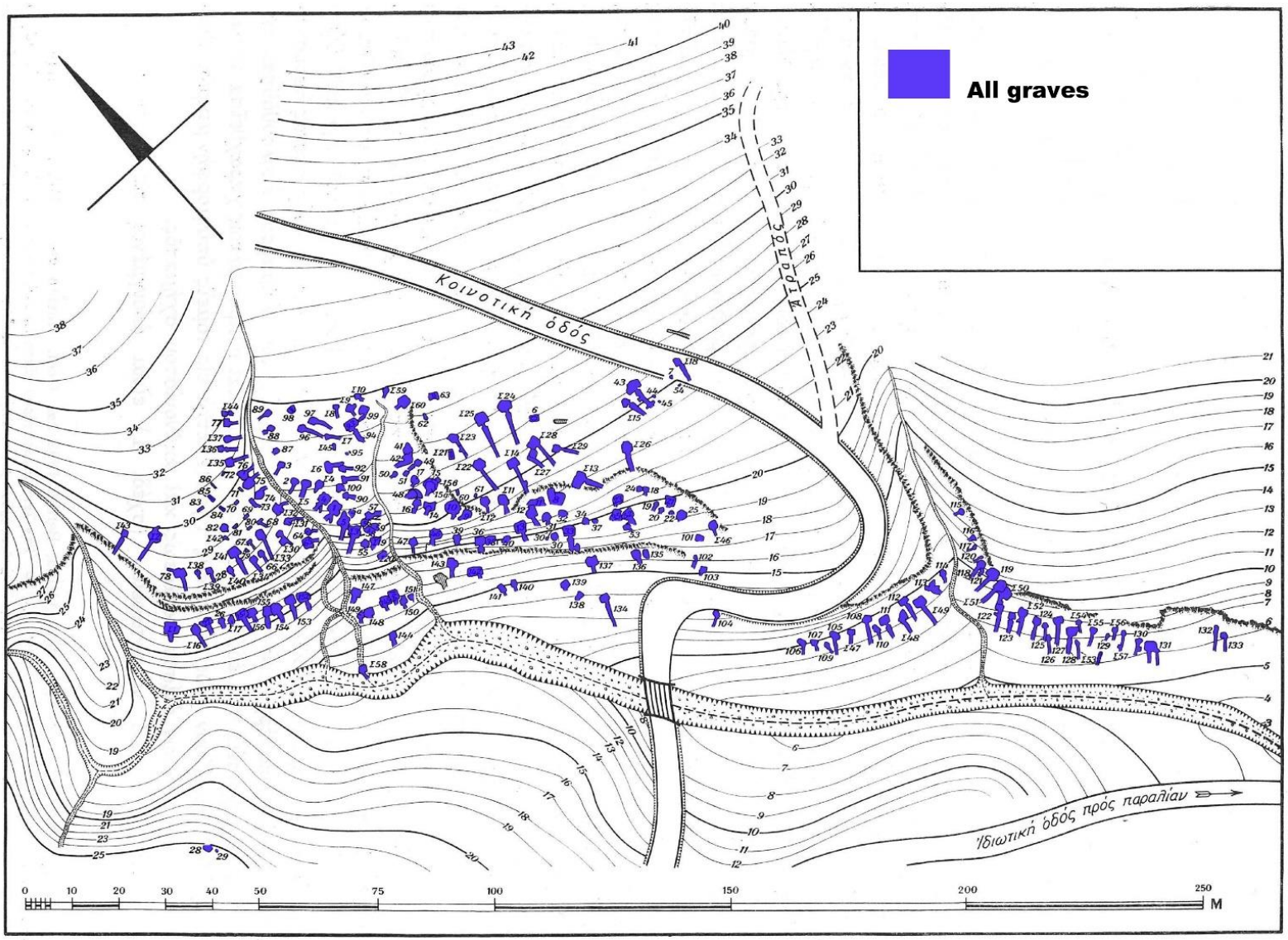
To think about Attica in terms of palatial and post-palatial periods makes no sense, at least where burial practices are concerned. Perhaps the same is true, to a certain extent, for other parts of Mycenaean Greece as well (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 135; Whitley, 2002, 218; Dickinson, 2006B, 116). An alternative approach might argue that Attica was different from the rest of Greece (or at least the palace states) throughout the Bronze Age (Lewartowski, 2000, 15), but establishing whether or not this was the case would require a longer time frame than this project can accommodate (for recent research on this question, see Privitera, 2013). It does raise questions, however, about the appropriate use of the term "Mycenaean", and how this is defined. This is not to say that those living in Attica in the Bronze Age were not Mycenaean – it is becoming increasingly clear that it was possible to share aspects of material culture and ritual practices without necessarily sharing the same form of social organisation (Sherratt, 1994, 245) – but I do think that studying the divergent trajectories of different regions of Greece throughout the Bronze Age (Halstead, 1994; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 135; Galaty and Parkinson, 1999, 4; Middleton, 2010, 104) would produce a far less homogenous understanding of Mycenaean culture – and what it meant to *be* Mycenaean – than this term usually implies (Feuer, 2011, 509). This issue will be explored further in the discussion chapter.

It is clear that, despite the focus on the Mycenaean post-palatial period implied by the title of this thesis, a chronological approach alone will not do. This approach fosters generalisations about the burial practices of particular periods which necessarily obscure regional differences. It has long been recognised that there were regional differences in the Mycenaean world (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 134; Sjöberg, 2004, 84; Sahlén, 2005, 133; Dickinson, 2006B, 115; Cavanagh, 2008, 333; Feuer, 2011, 523; Mee, 2011, 235-236), but this is rarely stressed except in relation to the post-palatial period (Crielaard,

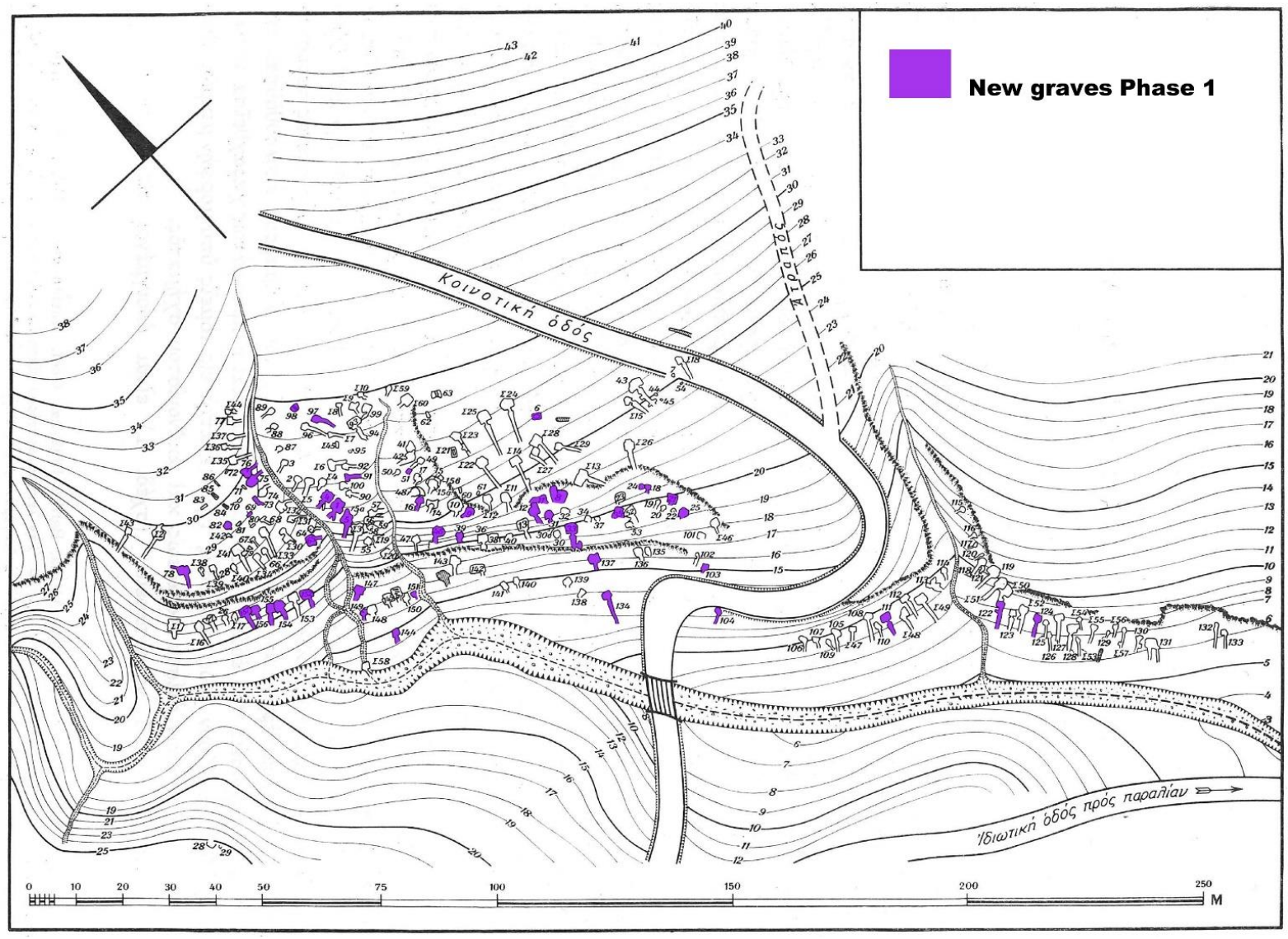
2006, 272-273; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 390; Shelton, 2010, 146). In fact I would argue that a regional approach is required for the palace period as well (Beck, 1995B, xiii; Bradley, 1995, viii; Voutsaki, 1995, 63; Galaty and Parkinson, 1999, 4), in order to appreciate the different social and historical paths followed by regions that all fall under the label of "Mycenaean". Only then will it be possible to do more than take snap shots of life within long chronological periods, and get closer to an understanding of Bronze Age Greece in historical terms. The issues of continuity, change, culture, and regional perspectives will be addressed further in the next chapter, which focusses on burial practices in the former Mycenaean palace states.

2.10 The cemetery at Perati: figures

2.1 Map of Attica



2.2 Plan of the cemetery: all the graves, of all types, from all periods
After Iakovidis, 1970, plan 1



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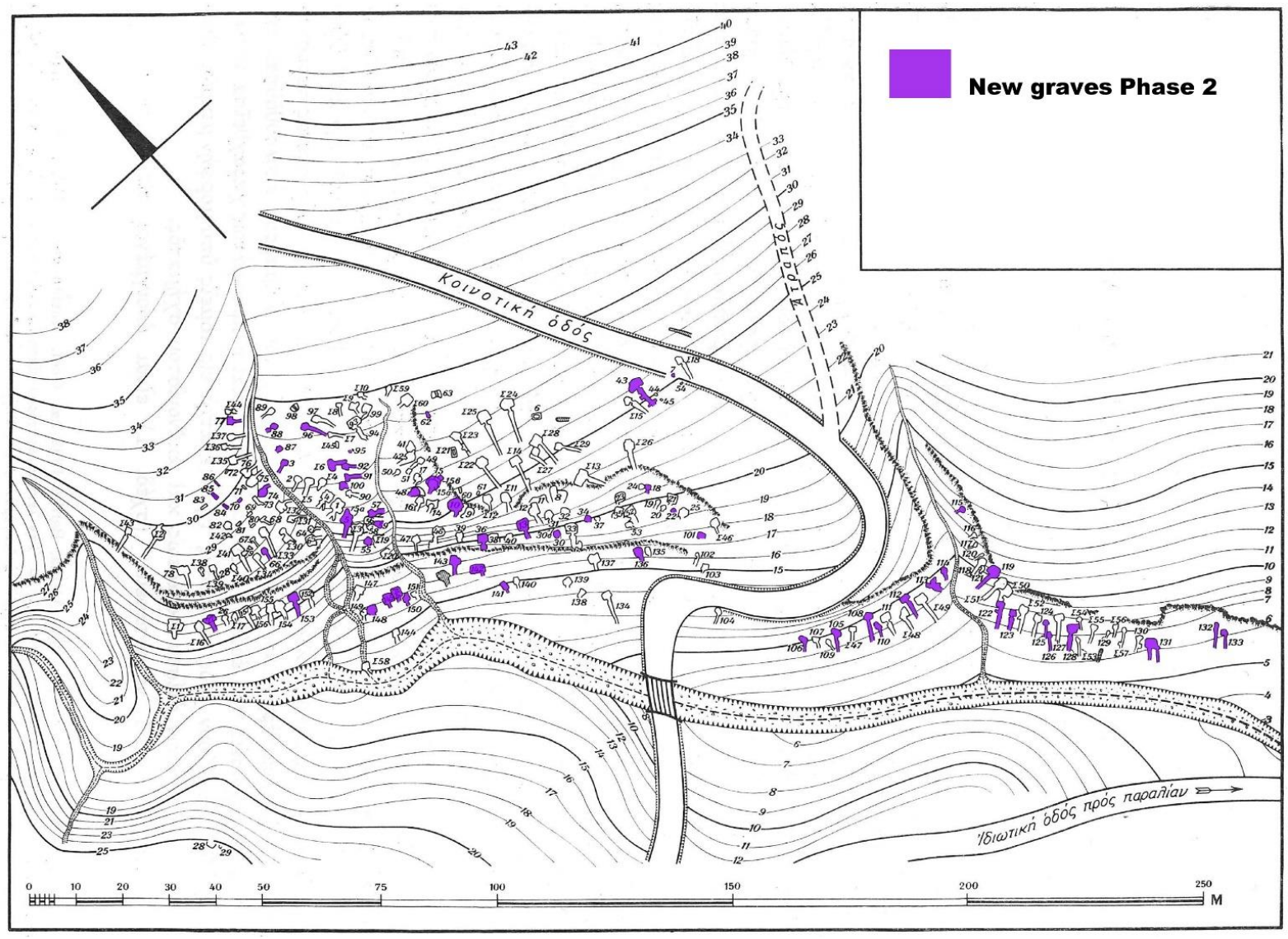
2.3 The new graves, of all types, built in Phase 1
After Iakovidis, 1970, plan 1



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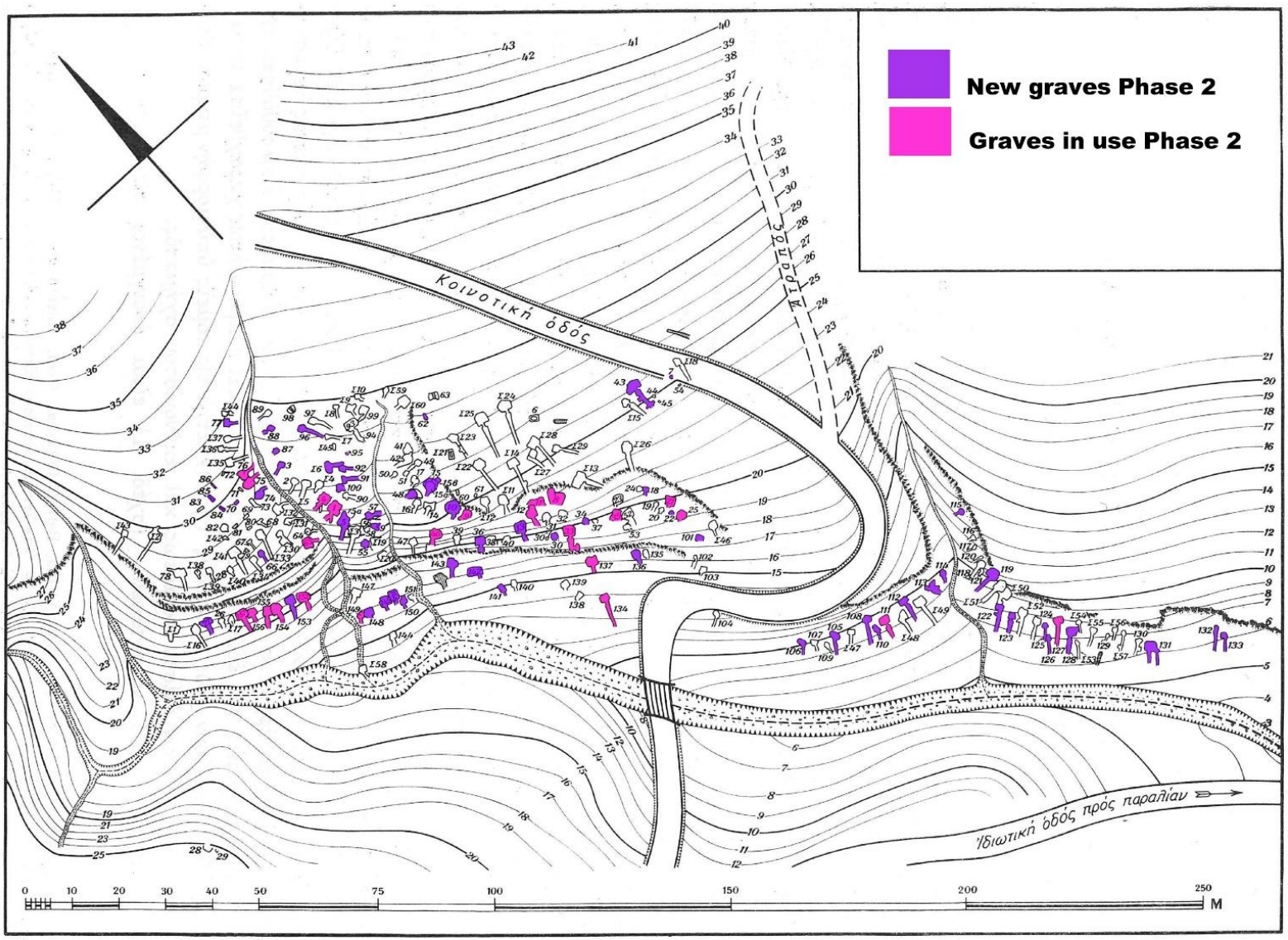
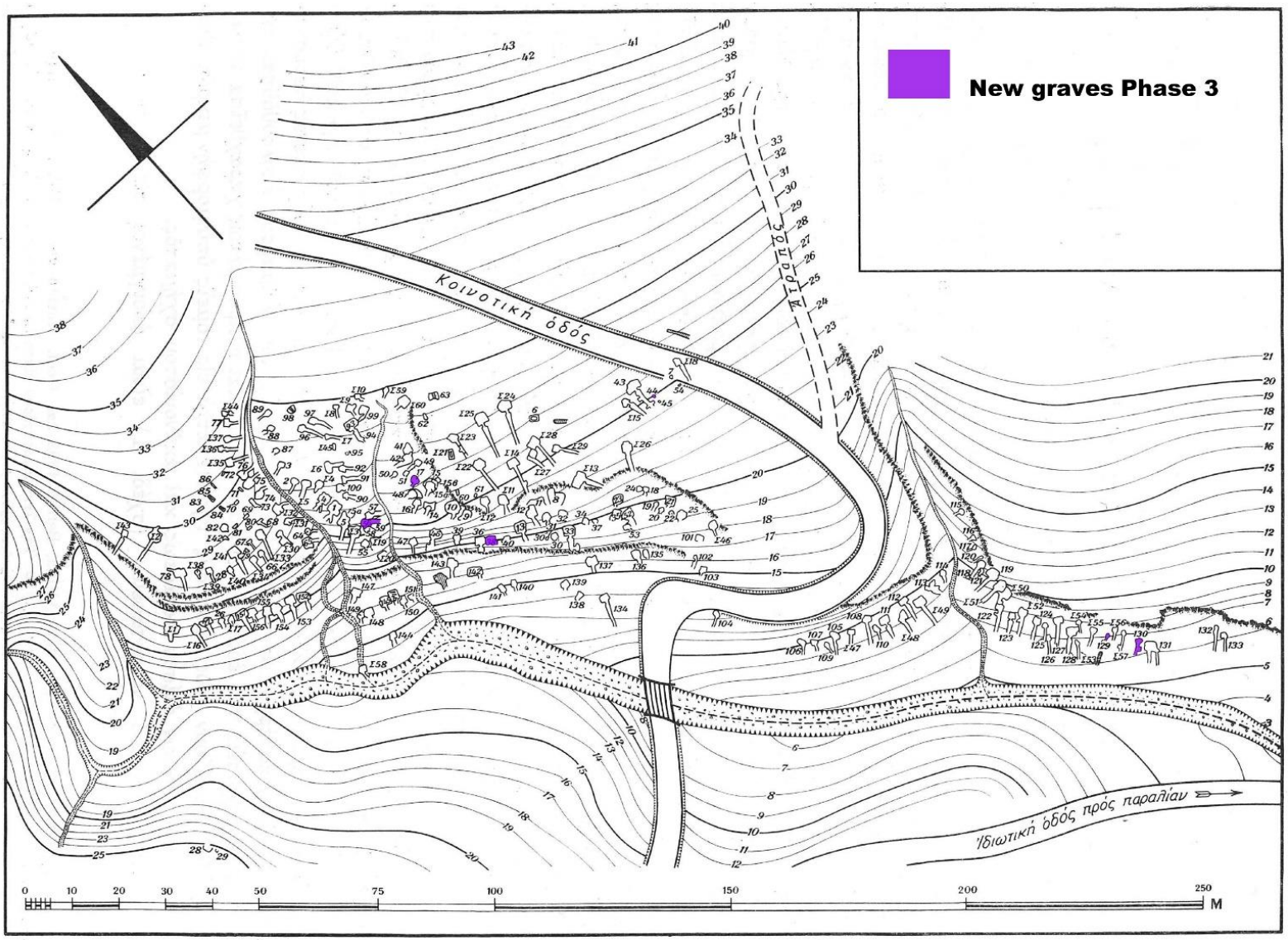
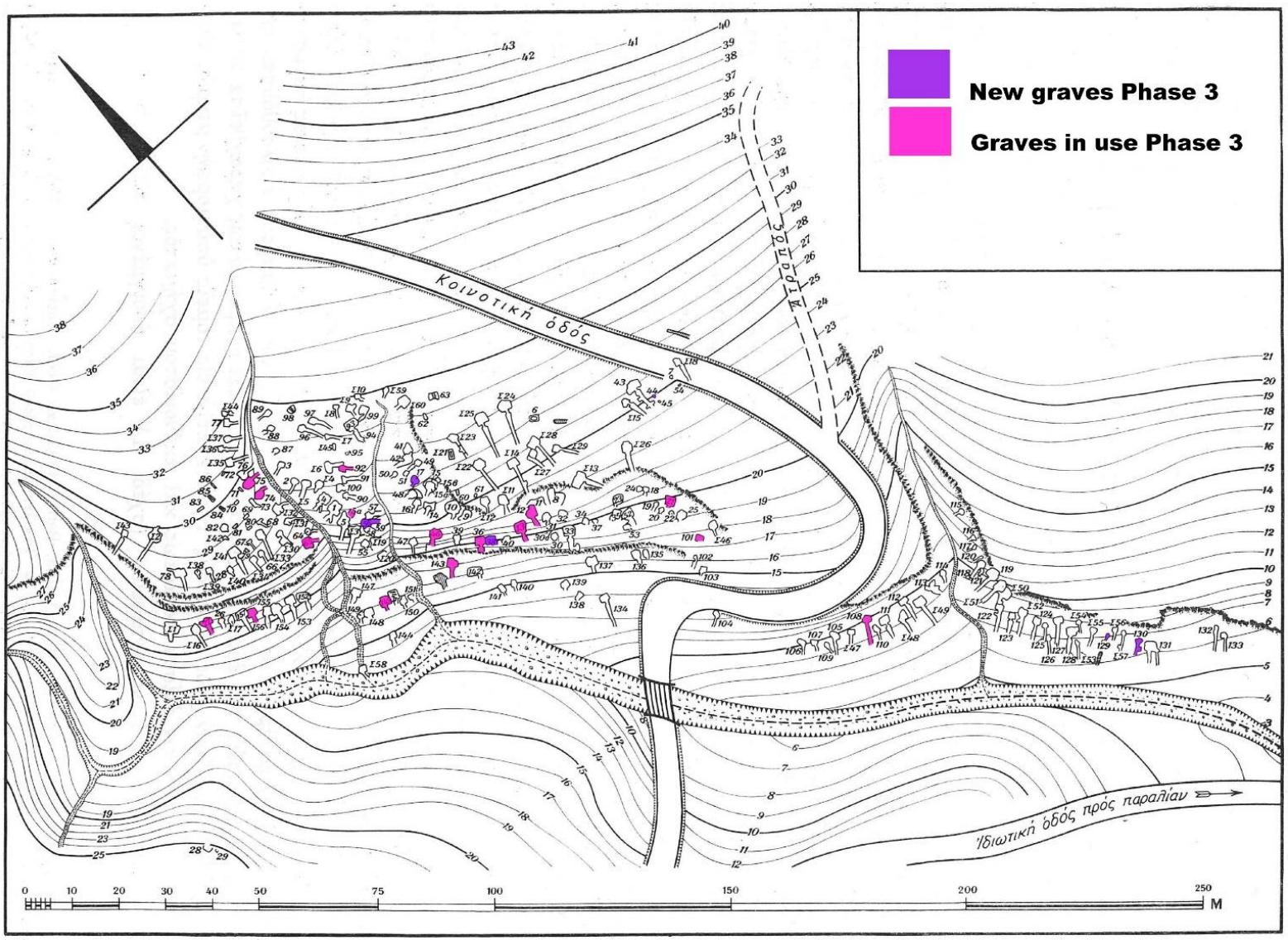
2.4 The new graves, of all types, built in Phase 2
After Iakovidis, 1970, plan 1



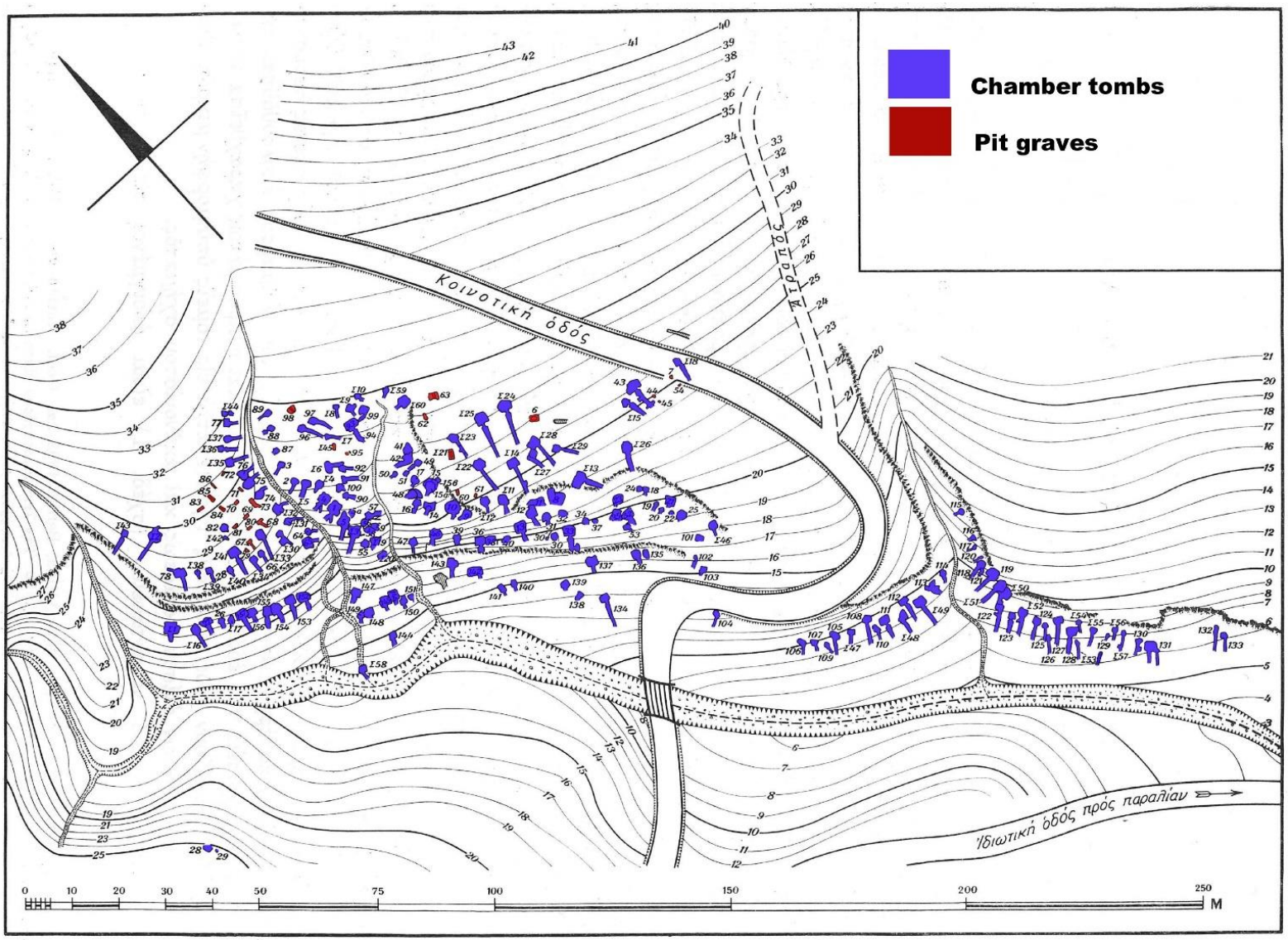
2.5 The new graves, of all types, built and in use in Phase 2
After Iakovidis, 1970, plan 1



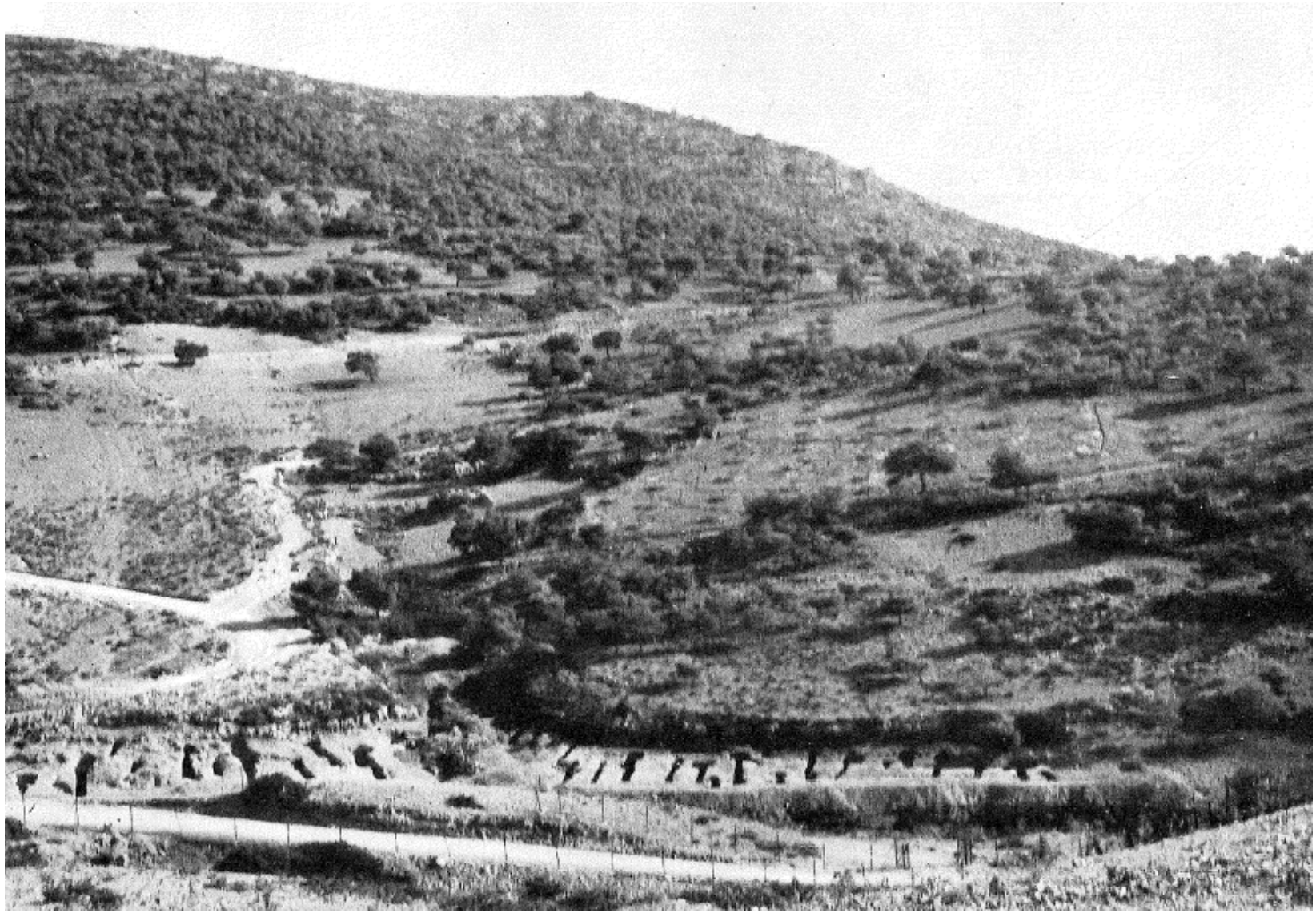
2.6 The new graves, of all types, built in Phase 3
After Iakovidis, 1970, plan 1



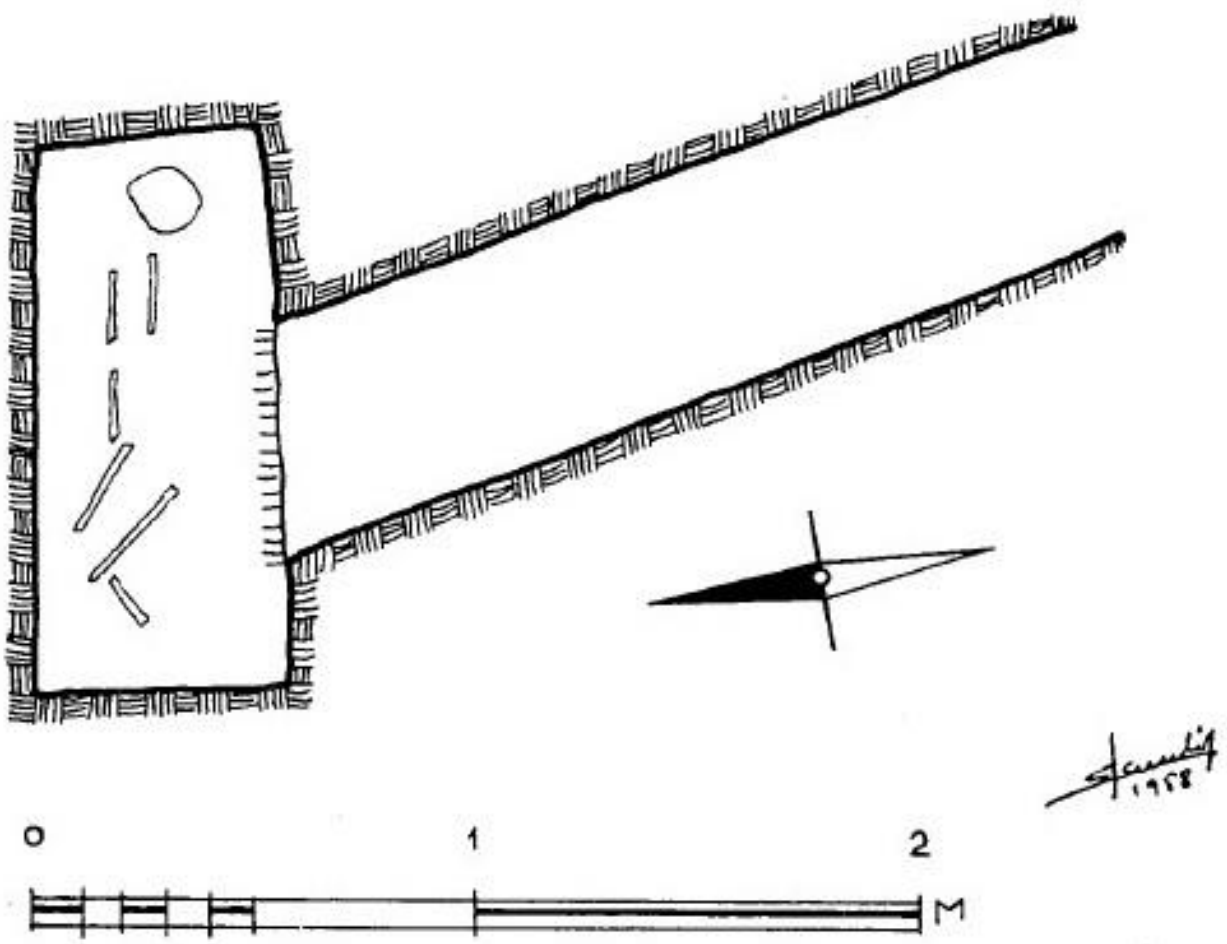
2.7 The new graves, of all types, built and in use in Phase 3
After Iakovidis, 1970, plan 1



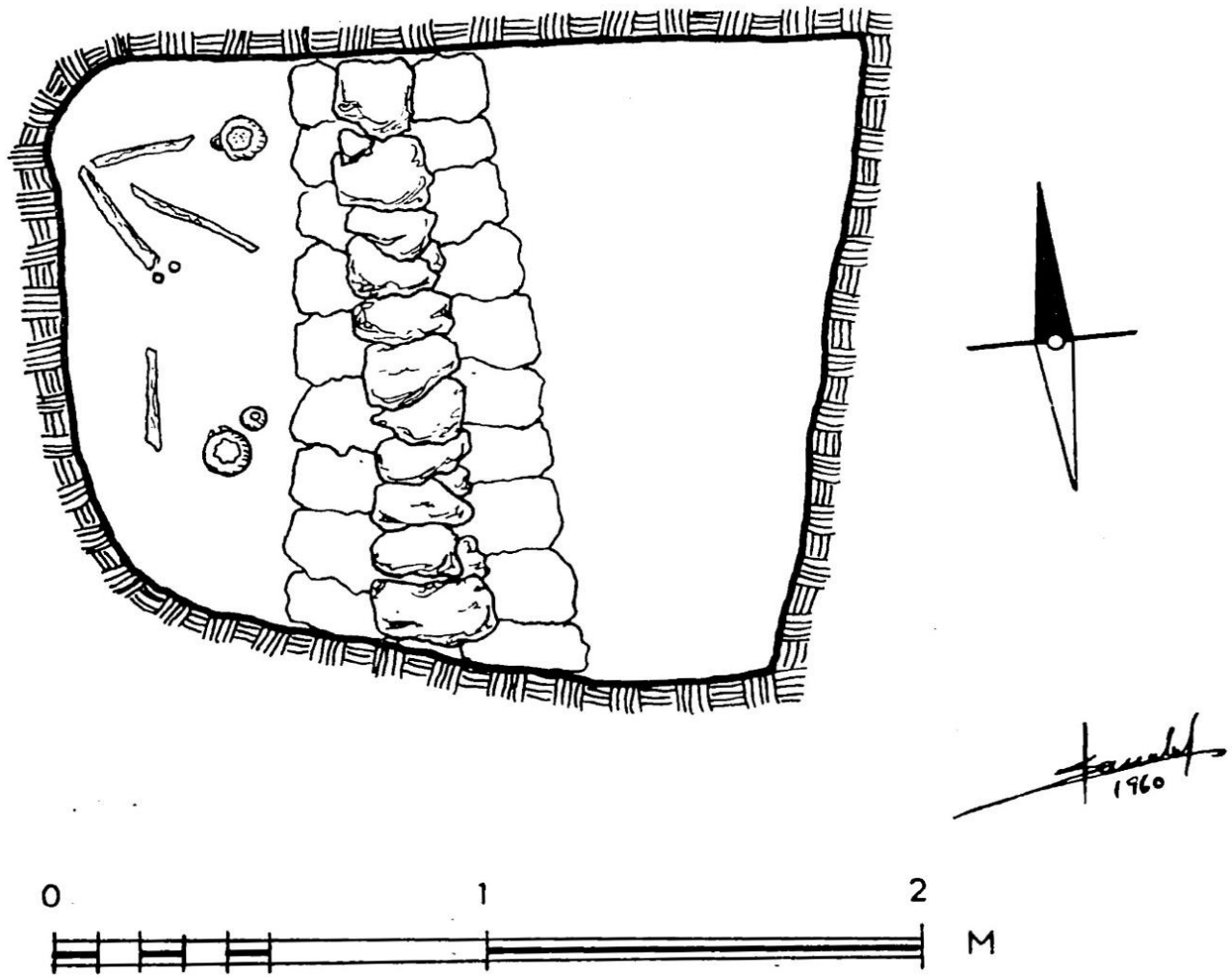
2.8 All the chamber tombs and pits, from all periods
After Iakovidis, 1970, plan 1



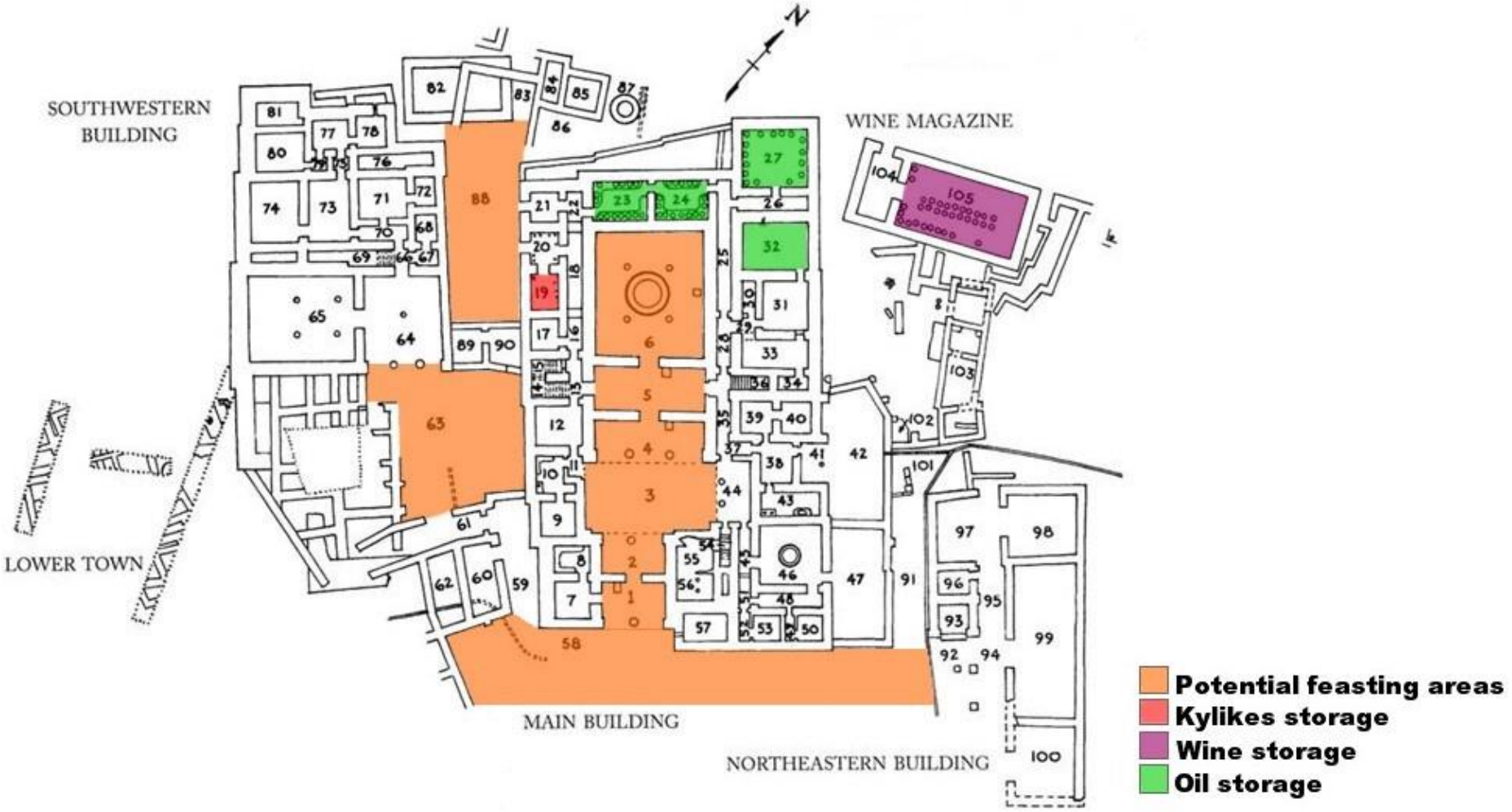
2.9 Lines of chamber tombs in the eastern part of the cemetery
Iakovidis, 1970, plate 2B



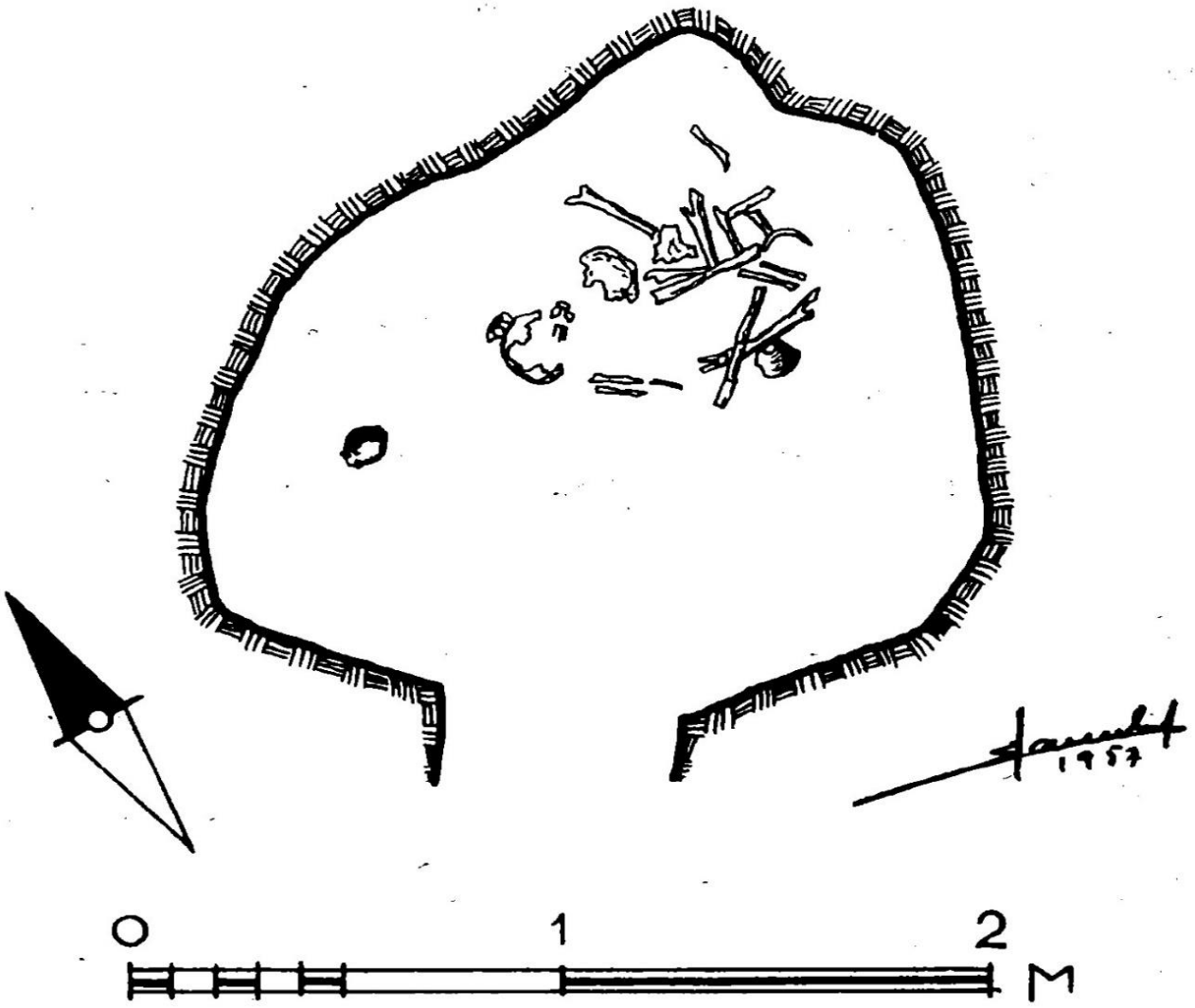
2.10 Tomb 68, plan of pit with dromos
Iakovidis, 1970, fig. 24



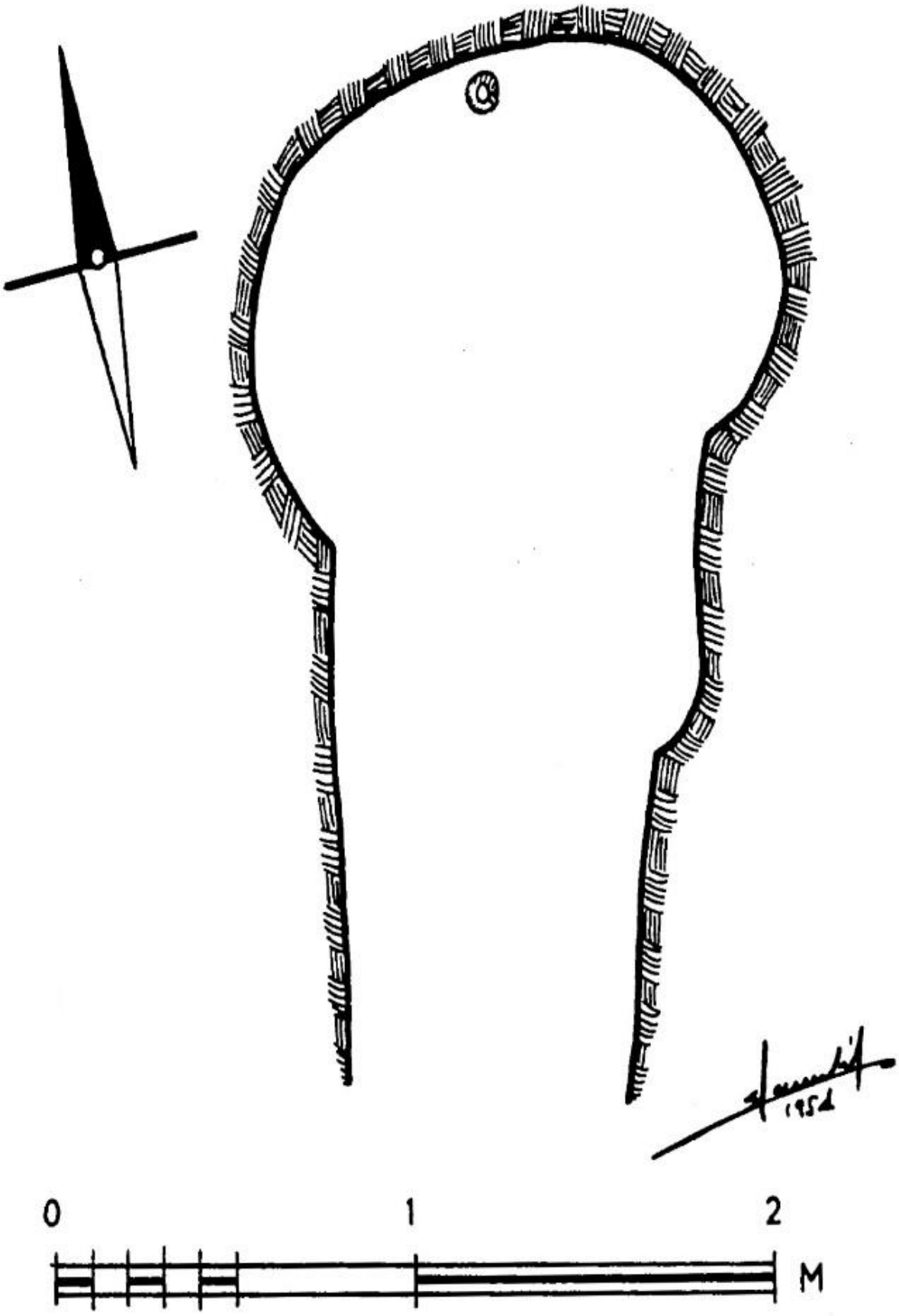
2.11 Tomb 98, plan of pit with dividing wall
Iakovidis, 1970, fig. 61



2.12 Plan of Pylos with functional areas highlighted
After Blegen and Rawson, 2001, plan

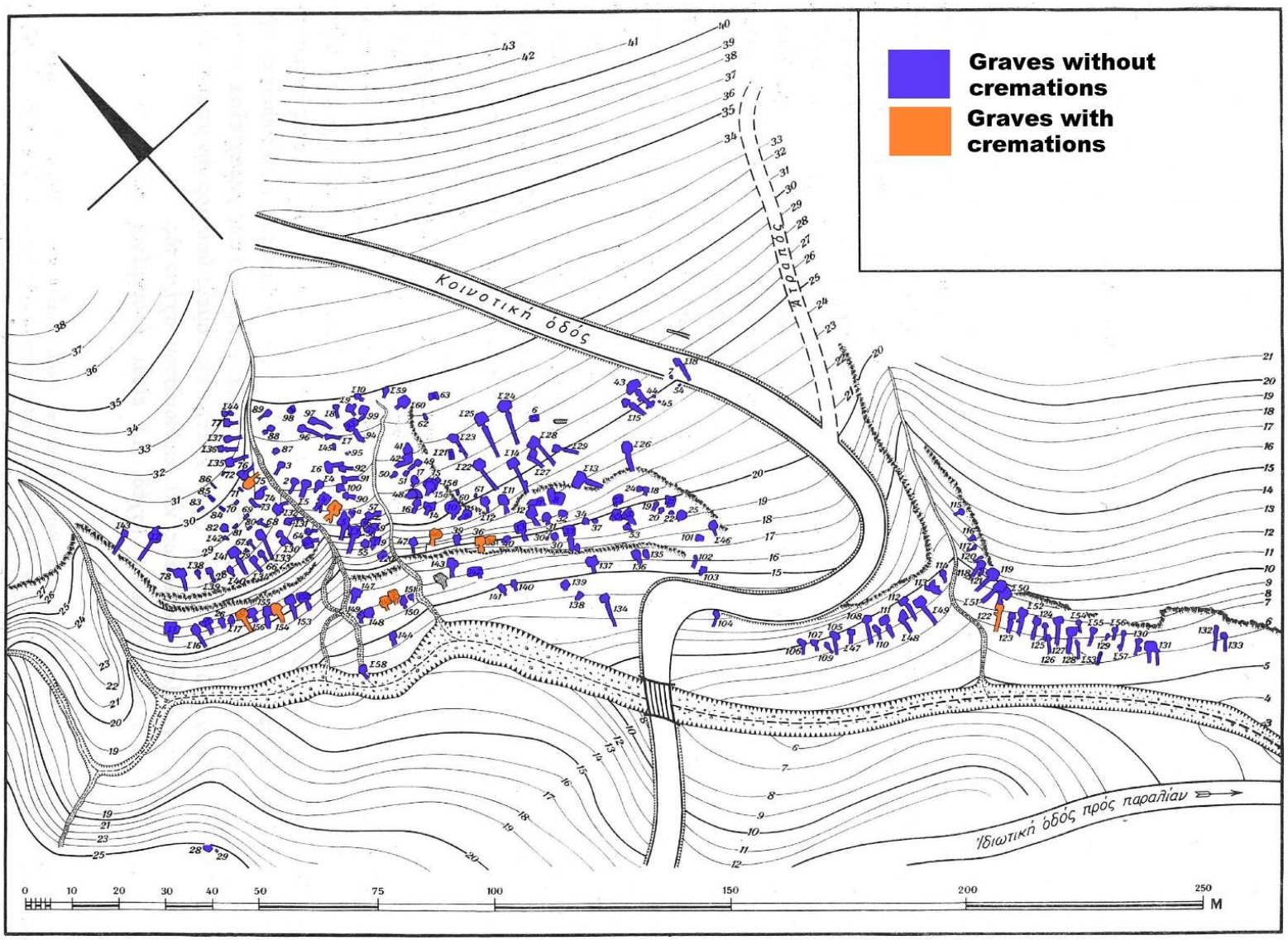


2.13 Tomb 55, plan of chamber tomb with rudimentary dromos
Iakovidis, 1970, fig. 44

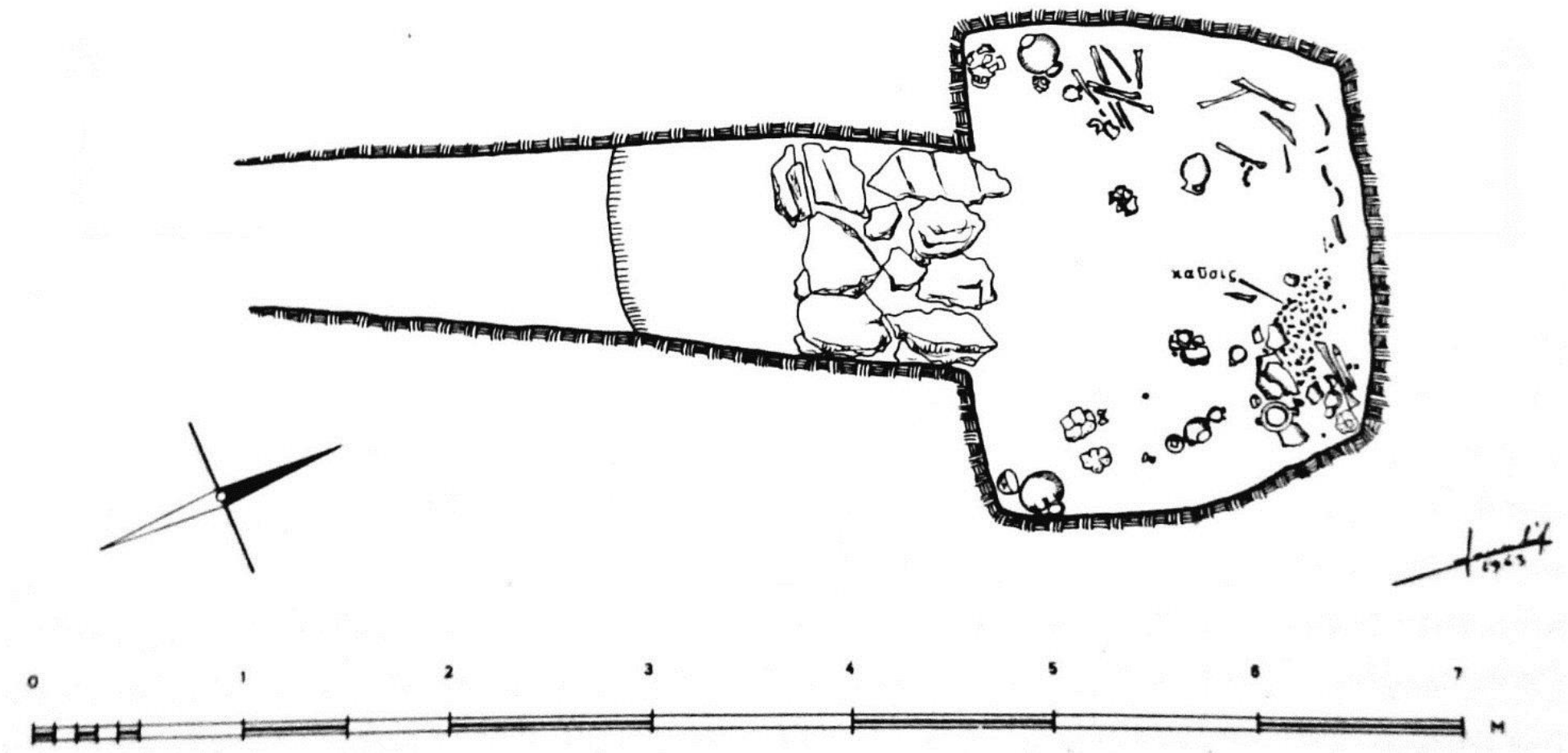


2.14 Tomb 26, plan of chamber tomb without defined stomion
Iakovidis, 1970, fig. 7

2.15 Map of regions and sites in the Aegean



2.16 All of the cremations, from all periods
After Iakovidis, 1970, plan 1



2.17 Tomb 157, plan of chamber tomb with cremations (χαύσις)
Iakovidis, 1970, fig. 8

2.11 The cemetery at Perati: tables

The purpose of the following tables is to establish the busiest phase of use of the cemetery at Perati.
In this context, "busiest" relates to the *average* number of tombs constructed or used per year.
Simply basing "busyness" on the *number* of tombs built during a phase is unhelpful, because the phases are of unequal length, as the first table shows.

Table 2.1: the length of each phase of the cemetery

The start and end of the first two phases is uncertain, so the maximum and minimum length of each phase is calculated.
For example, Phase 1 could be between 20 years (1185-1165) and 30 years (1190-1160) in length.

	Start date BCE		End date BCE		Length (years)	
	Earliest	Latest	Earliest	Latest	Max	Min
Phase 1	1190	1185	1165	1160	30	20
Phase 2	1165	1160	1100	1100	65	60
Phase 3	1100	1100	1075	1075	25	25
Phases 1-3	1190	1185	1075	1075	115	110

It is clear that Phase 2 is longer than both of the other two phases combined.

Table 2.2: the average number of tombs constructed per year

The number of tombs known to have been built per phase is divided by the length of the phase, to calculate the average per year.
For example, Phase 1 could have had between 1.50 (45 / 30) and 2.25 (45 / 20) new tombs per year.

	Length of phase		Number	Tombs per year	
	Max	Min	built	Lowest	Highest
Phase 1	30	20	45	1.50	2.25
Phase 2	65	60	61	0.94	1.02
Phase 3	25	25	6	0.24	0.24
Phases 1-3	115	110	112	0.97	1.02

By this calculation, the busiest period of the cemetery's use was Phase 1.

Table 2.3: the average number of tombs in use per year

In this table, the number of tombs known to have been constructed is added to the number still being used from a previous phase, and the average number in use is re-calculated.
For example, Phase 2 could have 1.32 ((61+25) / 65) or 1.43 ((61+25) / 60) tombs in use per year.

	Length of phase		Number of tombs		Total	Tombs per year	
	Max	Min	built	used	in use	Lowest	Highest
Phase 1	30	20	45	0	45	1.50	2.25
Phase 2	65	60	61	25	86	1.32	1.43
Phase 3	25	25	6	17	23	0.92	0.92
Phases 1-3	115	110	112	42	154	1.34	1.40

By this calculation, the busiest period of the cemetery's use was Phase 1.

Table 2.4: the average number of tombs constructed per year, adjusted by phase

There were 98 tombs not allotted to a phase. This table adds 33 tombs to the number known to have been constructed in each phase, and the average number in use is re-calculated.
For example, Phase 2 could have 1.45 ((61+33) / 65) or 1.57 ((61+33) / 60) tombs in use per year.

	Length of phase		Number of tombs		Total	Tombs per year	
	Max	Min	built	added	in use	Lowest	Highest
Phase 1	30	20	45	33	78	2.60	3.90
Phase 2	65	60	61	33	94	1.45	1.57
Phase 3	25	25	6	33	39	1.56	1.56
Phases 1-3	115	110	112	98	210	1.83	1.91

By this calculation, the busiest period of the cemetery's use was Phase 1.

Table 2.5: the average number of tombs constructed per year, adjusted by year

There were 98 tombs not allotted to a phase, which averages between 0.85 and 0.89 tombs per year.

For each phase, 0.85 tombs per year were added to the number known to have been constructed, in order to re-calculate the average number constructed per year.
For example, Phase 1 could have had between 17 (0.85 * 20) and 26 (0.85 * 30) additional tombs.
This would give Phase 1 an average of 2.35 ((45+26) / 30) to 3.10 ((45+17) / 20) tombs built each year.

	Number	Number added		Total in use		Tombs per year	
	built	Max	Min	Max	Min	Lowest	Highest
Phase 1	45	25.5	17	71	62	2	3
Phase 2	61	55.25	51	116	112	2	2
Phase 3	6	21.25	21.25	27	27	1	1
Phases 1-3	112	98	98	210	210	2	2

By this calculation, the busiest period of the cemetery's use was Phase 1.

Although the number of tombs constructed in the middle phase of the cemetery's use was higher than in the other periods, the average number of tombs constructed each year indicates that the busiest period of the cemetery's use was the first phase.

Of course these figures say nothing about the number of burials which took place in each of the phases, although it is noticeable that chamber tombs became smaller over time, which suggests that the number of people buried in each phase also declined over time.

These figures do not necessarily contradict the view that the community using the cemetery at Perati was more numerous and more prosperous during the middle phase. A thorough calculation of the quantity and value of the grave goods deposited in each phase might shed more light on this issue. However, it is entirely possible that the number or value of grave goods increased or decreased due to other concerns than just prosperity, so no easy answer is available from such a study.

The figures used in these tables were based on the phases revised by Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, but it should be noted that the results would have been much the same if I had used the figures from Iakovidis, 1970.

Table 2.6: the size of different tomb types

It has often been suggested that pit graves were built because they were smaller than chamber tombs, and therefore represented an economy of labour.
Arranged from largest to smallest, this table compares the size of the five tombs that have been illustrated in this chapter, in order to discover whether or not it is true that pit graves were smaller than chamber tombs.
This is a very small sample, but it is sufficient to test the theory that pit graves were smaller, and therefore required less effort to construct, than chamber tombs.
The size of the tomb is based on an estimate of the area of the floor in m^2. This measurement does not include the area of the dromos.

Figure	Tomb type and no.		Area m^2
2.17	Chamber	157	4.30
2.11	Pit	98	3.09
2.13	Chamber	55	2.25
s.14	Chamber	26	1.54
2.10	Pit	68	0.60
	Average area of all tombs		2.36

Although the largest tomb is a chamber tomb, and the smallest is a pit grave, it is clear that some pit graves could be larger than some chamber tombs.
If all the tombs at Perati were measured, it is likely that the majority of chamber tombs would be larger than the majority of pit graves.
However, this simple table shows that pit graves may not have been selected simply because they were smaller, and therefore easier to construct. There must have been other reasons for choosing a particular tomb type.

Chapter 3: The Argolid

3.1 Introduction

The intention of this thesis is to reconsider developments in burial practices after the collapse of the palaces in mainland Greece, but it is not possible to cover all regions equally in a study of this magnitude. To do so would be to produce a very superficial survey that lacked insight and explanatory value. Instead, it is necessary to focus on particular sites, regions, and types of burial practice, in order to consider developments in detail. The previous chapter considered changes at the level of a single cemetery, whereas in this chapter the burial practices of a whole region will be reconsidered. This case study is necessarily less detailed but it is broader in scope than the previous one, and provides both a longer chronological perspective and wider view of the evidence.

So far, this study has focussed on a single cemetery in Attica, and it will go on to discuss the so-called warrior graves, which were almost all discovered in Achaea. Although Attica and Achaea had important centres, neither of them had a site that could definitely be identified as a palace at the centre of a bureaucratically controlled geographical territory (Moschos, 2009, 347; Privitera, 2013, 174). It would not be unreasonable, therefore, to argue that these two areas developed before and after the collapse in different ways from those of the palace states (Foxhall, 1995, 247; Wright, 1990, 48; Lewartowski, 2000, 15; Middleton, 2010, 10; Privitera, 2013; Arena, 2015, 36). Indeed, it is one of the key arguments of this thesis that non-palace territories followed different trajectories from those of the palace heartlands, and no single region can be treated as typical (Wright, 1990, 48; Giannopoulos, 2008; Shelmerdine and Bennet, 2008, 289; Dickinson, 2010, 488; Crielaard, 2011, 87; Wallace, 2011, 56), as will be demonstrated in the discussion chapter.

In order to gain a more balanced understanding of developments in the burial practices of post-palatial Greece, it is necessary, therefore, to explore one of the regions under palatial control, since a study of post-palatial burial practices that did not address changes in the Mycenaean palace heartlands would surely be incomplete. The Argolid has not been selected at random, but specifically because it was a region with two Mycenaean palaces. With fortified palaces at Tiryns and Mycenae (and an important centre at Midea), and several other important centres, if anywhere could be described as a Mycenaean ‘heartland’, it is surely the Argolid (Middleton, 2010, 4; Lantzas, 2012, 2). Changes in

burial practices at the palace sites of Mycenae and Tiryns, along with a number of other important sites, including Argos, Asine and Midea, will be considered.

There is no doubt that the collapse was felt strongly in the Argolid (Dickinson, 2006A, 242; Knapp and Manning, 2016, 123). Rather than "a single almost universal calamity", the region experienced over a century of "unstable conditions, repeated disasters afflicting different sites at different times, and movements of populations" (Hooker, 1976, 151). "The Collapse" itself, which is traditionally located at the end of LH IIIB2 or in the rather vague LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Transition period, might better be thought of as a series of destructive events which took place over 25 years or so (Dickinson, 2010, 487; Middleton, 2010, 13; Crielaard, 2011, 87), rather than a single catastrophe – with a single cause – that brought about sudden cultural change. At Mycenae there were destructions at the end of LH IIIB1 which permanently destroyed the Ivory Houses outside of the citadel (Dickinson, 2006A, 42-43), and led to damage at the Cult Centre and other locations within the citadel (Middleton, 2010, 14), serving as a premonition, perhaps, of the trouble that was yet to come. This episode may have been caused by an earthquake (French, 2002, 10), but the destructions with fire that affected Mycenae and several other sites at the end of LH IIIB2 are less easily explained (Maran, 2009, 242; Middleton, 2010, 13). It is possible that Tiryns was damaged by an earthquake at the end of LH IIIB2 (Catling, 1979, 16) but alternative explanations are possible. A further earthquake may have damaged parts of Mycenae in LH IIIC (Middleton, 2010, 15), but the severe destructions with fire which took place at the end of LH IIIC Middle/Advanced at Mycenae, Tiryns and elsewhere (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 394) cannot easily be explained in terms of natural disaster, despite possible evidence for both fire and earthquake damage in the Lower Town at Tiryns at this time (Middleton, 2010, 15). After the destructions in LH IIIC Middle, the population declined at Mycenae, but the site was not yet abandoned (French, 2009A, 151).

Zygouries and Tsoungiza may have been destroyed in LH IIIB1, and there is little evidence to suggest significant occupation or use of the sites afterwards (Middleton, 2010, 14). Sites such as Berbati and Prosymna were abandoned in the course of LH IIIC (Hooker, 1976, 150; Middleton, 2010, 15), although it is likely that many people subsequently moved to the relative safety of larger sites at this time (Rutter, 1992, 70; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008. 394), including Tiryns, Asine and perhaps Argos (Dickinson, 2006A, 63; Papadimitriou, 2006, 532), rather than migrating *en masse* overseas, as early explanations suggested (Snodgrass, 1971, 365; Desborough, 1972, 21). Mycenae was partially

repaired after the disasters, and occupation continued at the site long after the period of the collapse (Hooker, 1976, 148-149). Tiryns expanded in LH IIIC, presumably with an influx of people who had abandoned their former communities, and repairs were made to the palace area, the Lower Citadel and the fortifications (Kilian, 1988, 135), but the site may have reduced in size again after the major destructions in LH IIIC Early (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 394), and the site declined further after the end of the post-palatial period. The Lower Town at Asine was densely occupied for a period in LH IIIC (Papadimitriou, 2006, 532), again possibly as a result of nucleation. Midea was partially renovated in LH IIIC, but was eventually abandoned (Dickinson, 2006A, 70; Papadimitriou, 2006, 532). More sites were abandoned in the Argolid and elsewhere in LH IIIC Late as the recovery of LH IIIC Middle gave way once more to decline (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 394-395).

The wave of destructions and abandonments which struck the Argolid and other regions at the end of LH IIIB and through LH IIIC – whatever their causes – must have had a lasting impact on the ways in which people understood and organised their communities (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 405; Lantzas, 2012, 19; Knapp and Manning, 2016, 126). It must also have altered their sense of identity as they switched from members of seemingly all powerful palace states to members of smaller and considerably less powerful communities. If changes in society, and the ways in which people understand and express their identity, are reflected and enacted in burial practices, then it is reasonable to expect that there were corresponding changes in the burial practices of the Argolid in the post-palatial period.

The aim of this chapter is to re-examine developments in burial practices in the years after the collapse in the Argolid, and to compare the evidence with the general impression that post-palatial Greece witnessed the end of collective burial, the introduction of single burial in simple graves, and a new interest in the rite of cremation (Whitley, 2001, 78; Dickinson, 2006A, 181; Snodgrass, 2006, 133; Thomatos, 2006, 169; Lantzas, 2012, 47), particularly towards the end of the period. By considering the burial evidence alongside architectural developments at the former palace sites, it may be possible to gain a fresh insight into the forms of social organisation practiced in this region after the collapse – which has been one of the key aims of all of those who have examined the archaeology of this period. Changes in burial practices in the Argolid did not just reflect ideological change in relation to the palaces (*contra* Lantzas 2012), but both facilitated and responded to changes in the social organisation of post-palatial communities.

At the end of this chapter there are images and tables which facilitate the study of burial practices in the Argolid. The images of the post-palatial megara at Tiryns and Mycenae (figs. 3.2 and 3.3) demonstrate the way in which particularly important spaces within the former palaces were re-used after the collapse. Clearly the fires that destroyed the palaces did not erase the memory of what had been before, and it is likely that these locations were chosen for new buildings specifically because of the symbolic importance they had had in the palace period.

The tables which follow (tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3) focus on the relative number of collective and simple graves built before and after the collapse of the palaces. One of the key difficulties in studying Mycenaean burials, especially those graves that were excavated in the early days of Aegean archaeology, is that it has not always been possible to date the graves with precision. Graves dated to LH IIIA-B, for example, were obviously in use before the collapse of the palaces, but it is impossible now to know whether they were constructed in LH IIIA, when chamber tombs were increasing in popularity and tended to be especially large and relatively rich, or in in LH IIIB, when their numbers were falling, along with the expenditure involved in their construction and furnishing. Despite these difficulties, it is still possible to recognise meaningful trends in the data, and answer questions relating to changes in burial practices after the collapse.

3.2 High status burials

In the palace period, the ruling elite formed a distinctly separate social class (Voutsaki, 1995, 62). Amongst other things, they used monumental tombs and the deposition of rich grave goods to legitimise and maintain their superior social position. So how did the elite of the post-palatial Argolid express their wealth and power in burial practices? The chapter begins by attempting to answer this question, then goes on to address the evidence for burials of ordinary people, and finally, intramural burials.

The monumental tholos tombs built at Mycenae during the palace period may not have been used exclusively by the rulers of the palace (Wright, 1987, 176; Button, 2008, 89; Cavanagh, 2008, 334), but the resources used in their construction (Cavanagh and Mee, 1999), and the wealth they were assumed to have contained in the form of grave goods (unfortunately all of them have been robbed (Taylour, 1983, 75; Voutsaki, 1995, 58)),

strongly indicate that they were restricted to members of the very highest social class (Voutsaki, 1995, 62; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 78; Arena, 2015, 4). At Mycenae the use of conglomerate stone and ashlar masonry, as well as the sculptured façades of the stomia, also connect the later Treasury of Atreus (Cavanagh and Mee, 1999, 96-98) and Tomb of Clytemnestra (Mason, 2013, 99) specifically with the palace, rather than just with access to wealth (Wright, 1987, 177-182).

It has been suggested that the rulers at Mycenae began to restrict the use of tholos tombs in the Argolid in LH IIIA (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 53; Voutsaki, 1995, 59). The only tholos tombs definitely built in LH IIIB in the Argolid were those at Mycenae (Mee, 2010, 286). The dating of the tholoi has been a matter of debate, but it is suggested that the Treasury of Atreus was built early in LH IIIA2 and re-used in LH IIIB2 (Cavanagh and Mee, 1999, 94), whilst the Tomb of Clytemnestra may have been built early in LH IIIB1 (Mason, 2013, 117). Earlier tholoi in the Argolid went out of use at this time, which does suggest that this particular tomb type came to be specifically associated with those who ruled the palaces (Voutsaki, 1995, 62; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 63).

Obviously there were some regions – such as Messenia and Thessaly – where the high quantity and/or smaller size of the tholos tombs discovered suggest that their use more closely resembled the use of chamber tombs in other areas, in that they were constructed as family tombs for a wide range of people, and were not the exclusive domain of the super-rich (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 78; Galanakis, 2011, 226; Georganas, 2011). Tholos tombs in the Argolid were considerably larger, more architecturally ornate, and more restricted in number, which is understandable if they were one of the main arenas for the palace rulers to express and consolidate their power (Voutsaki, 1995, 63).

It is likely that the final tholos constructed at Mycenae, early in LH IIIB, was probably the Tomb of Clytemnestra (Mason, 2013, 98), and the last use of the tholoi at Mycenae appears to have been in LH IIIB2 (Cavanagh and Mee, 1999, 94) (or possibly in early LH IIIC (Crielaard, 2011, 91) but this is unconfirmed). No tholoi were built in the Argolid in LH IIIC (table 3.1), and there was no return to the shaft graves of the early Mycenaean period, so how did the elite distinguish their burials from others after the collapse of the palaces? Dickinson observed that none of the tombs in the post-palatial period were distinguished by exceptional architecture, and therefore it was impossible to identify a ruling elite for this period (Dickinson, 2006A, 74). Generally this appears to be the case throughout

Mycenaean Greece, and with the exception of the later Lefkandi Heroön, there was little to distinguish exceptional tombs besides a better class of grave goods (Dickinson, 2006B, 120), until at least the Protogeometric period. Even in terms of grave goods, the distinctions between rich and poor were relatively subtle, with relatively modest offerings (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 399) and little to compare with the riches of the early palace period tombs (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 96).

There are, however, two potential exceptions to Dickinson's argument – the large LH IIIC Middle tumulus discovered at Khania near Mycenae, which contained 9 cremations in 6 vessels, each placed within a pit dug into the mound (Hägg, 1987, 211; Papadimitriou, 2006, 532) (except for the first burial, which preceded the construction of the mound (Palaiologou, 2013, 251)), and the tumulus at Tripolis Street at Argos (Papadimitriou, 2006, 532-3). Although smaller in size (Palaiologou, 2013, 273), the burials in the tumulus at Argos are even more impressive than those at Khania. This mound contained at least 16 single inhumations and 36 urn cremations, and was dated to LH IIIC Middle-Late (Papadimitriou, 2006, 532-533; Lantzas, 2012, 72; Palaiologou, 2013, 273). As at Khania, the mound was encircled by orthostats that effectively separated this monument from other graves, and defined the boundary of an exclusive burial ground. At Khania, it is possible that the burials were identified by worked stone grave markers that were later disturbed by farming activities (Palaiologou, 2013, 253).

It is not known who were buried in these monumental tombs, save that they were the final resting places of men, women and children. It is by no means certain that the tumuli were family sepulchres in the manner of the chamber or tholos tombs, because it is possible that other groupings or alliances could have been brought together in such a collective grave monument (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 122). Given the unsettled political conditions of the period, and the fact that the surviving sites were probably not under the control of their former rulers, it is likely that the tumuli at Khania and Argos represented the burial grounds of elite groups (Palaiologou, 2013, 273). By resurrecting a form of burial monument that had not been constructed in the Argolid for generations, these tombs were intended to legitimise claims to power, rather than simply to express family allegiances. (Note that some Middle Helladic tumuli were probably renovated and received new burials in LH IIIB at Dendra (Protonotariou-Deilaki, 1990, 94-95), including the sacrifice of horses, a practice which was exclusively associated with elite burials.)

Vessel and pit burials are generally considered to be simple graves for single burials, and it has been argued that they were used at this time to emphasise individual identity rather than collective identity (Lantzas, 2012, 70), but the fact that these burials were placed within a tumulus means they should not be considered simply as single burials (Maggidis, 1998, 99). Tumuli were unique in that they emphasised collective burial by the mound that covered all the graves (Wright, 1990, 49; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 117), but they also emphasised individuality (Thomatos, 2006, 170), in that single burials and cremations were inserted into the mound one at a time, and were not disturbed later by the need to make room for new family members. The pithoi themselves, being costly to make or acquire, may have been used as an expression of wealth (Maggidis, 1998, 99; Lantzas, 2012, 70). In addition to this, the use of an exclusive, bounded burial mound, at a time when other types of monumental tomb had fallen out of use in the Argolid, indicates that these were no ordinary graves (Wright, 1987, 175; Palaiologou, 2013, 273).

The fact that most of the burials in these tumuli were cremations rather than inhumations suggests that a further element of display was involved, although all of the cremations at Khania were secondary cremations, and the pyres have not been located (Palaiologou, 2013, 253), so it is difficult to speculate about the magnitude of funerary display. Whereas at Perati and elsewhere, cremation was used sparingly and was outnumbered by the inhumations in family chamber tombs (Dickinson, 2006B, 119), the concentrated nature of the cremations in these tombs suggests that a statement was being made. Cremation was not practiced by the population at large – in fact, after these cremations it was barely practiced again in the Argolid for centuries (Snodgrass, 1971, 152; Lantzas, 2012, 73; Palaiologou, 2013, 274), and single inhumation was the norm even in the Protogeometric period (Hägg, 1987, 207; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 136; Lemos, 2002, 157). This mirrored the use of cremation in the Dodecanese, where a brief period of experimentation with cremation at Kos and Rhodes immediately after the collapse of the palaces was followed by a return to inhumation (Snodgrass, 1971, 189; Georgiadis, 2009, 95). Cremation did not become common practice in the Argolid, which means the cremations in the two tumuli stand out as exceptional, and would have attracted attention to the burying group.

There may have been another reason for the use of cremation in the tumuli in the Argolid. As discussed in the chapter on Perati, cremation may have been used deliberately to speed up the process of removing the flesh from the bones. The Mycenaeans treated

human remains differently once the flesh had decayed or been burnt away, which suggests that there were two or more stages to death. Whilst the flesh remained on the body, the deceased retained their identity (or possibly soul / spirit / essence), but once the flesh was gone, that person went to join the ancestors (Wells, 1990, 126). At Khania and Argos it is possible that those using the tumuli required ancestors in order to validate their claims to territorial control and authority, and cremation offered an opportunity to speed up their creation.

Regarding cremation at Argos, the fact that it was used by a limited group of people and for a limited period of time means that it is likely to have been used as an exotic and expensive funerary rite (Whitley, 1991, 28; Lemos, 2002, 187; Thomatos, 2006, 177; Mee, 2011, 240), perhaps employed in order to express status (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 123; Parker Pearson, 1999, 6) – in this case, the exclusive membership of an aspiring elite. Aspiring may not be the appropriate word to use, since the other burials at Argos do not display the levels of wealth or military symbolism that might be expected if power were contested by different factions of the elite. Therefore, I would suggest that those buried in the Argos tumulus were probably members of an elite group that already had a measure of power, and used the tumulus to justify and maintain their authority over others.

It is not as easy to make the same statement about the tumulus at Khania because of its distance from the former palace. The monument was situated approximately 2.5km from Mycenae, alongside the road to Argos (Papadimitriou, 2006, 532; Palaiologou, 2013, 249). It was not constructed in one of the traditional cemeteries at Mycenae or even close to the citadel, and was isolated from other burials (Palaiologou, 2013, 250). Indeed there were burials close to and within the citadel in LH IIIC, but the tumulus was positioned relatively far from the centre. This raises the question of who was buried in the tumulus and why. It is tempting to argue that this was the exclusive burial ground of a faction with political aspirations, simply because of the use of a monumental tomb type and the inclusion of cremations, but if the intention was to take power at Mycenae, their strategy for gaining support was surely one of distancing themselves from the former regime. At the same time, the position of the tomb close to the road from Argos may be politically significant (Galanakis, 2011, 227), as the mound may have served to remind visitors that they were entering a territory under the control of those owning the tomb (Palaiologou, 2013, 275).

Nearby there was a small settlement of three or more large buildings featuring reception rooms, storage facilities and pithoi, which were destroyed by fire early in LH IIIB2 (Catling, 1985, 21; Palaiologou, 2015). The most extensively excavated of these buildings was constructed with mudbrick and a wooden framework over a stone foundation, had a column at the entrance, and used conglomerate at some of the thresholds, which connects it architecturally with the palace and the Houses outside of the citadel at Mycenae (Palaiologou, 2015, 57-59). After the fire, the settlement was abandoned, and it was not in use when the tumulus was constructed in LH IIIC, so it is unclear whether or not the settlement and the tumulus were related. The proximity of the burial monument, just a few metres from the ruins, suggests that the tumulus could have belonged to those who had previously lived at the settlement, and the monument expressed property rights to the settlement and the plain (Palaiologou, 2015, 75). Even if this was the case, it is unlikely that the tumulus and the abandoned settlement represented a significant power base in opposition to the centre at Mycenae.

It has been suggested that the tumuli were built by migrants (Thomatos, 2006, 252), since this type of tomb had not been constructed in the Argolid for generations, most of the burials were placed in individual rather than collective graves within the mound, and cremation was virtually unknown in mainland Greece in the preceding period. This argument might be more convincing if the grave goods or the inhumation/cremation vessels were of foreign origin, or the treatment of the dead could be confidently linked to known practices from a neighbouring culture, but the objects placed in these graves were clearly Mycenaean in character (Dickinson, 1994, 231; Palaiologou, 2013, 275). Despite some likely population movement within the Peloponnese after the collapse, and perhaps a pause in occupation at Argos (Hooker, 1976, 147), there is no evidence for large scale foreign migration into the Argolid in the post-palatial period, so the task remains to explain these and other burial practices in terms of Mycenaean practices and traditions.

It is not known who assumed power at the former palaces after the collapse, but it is clear that these two tumuli did not inspire others to emulate the tomb type, or to adopt the practice of cremation. Even vessel burials did not become commonplace until the Protogeometric period (Lantzas, 2012, 58). It is of course possible that neither tumulus had anything to do with power or exclusive membership of elite groups, but the evidence suggests that this was not so. The use of circular, bounded burial grounds had a long tradition in the Argolid, and had become more exclusive over time. This tradition includes

the Middle Helladic tumuli, the early Mycenaean shaft grave circles (Button, 2008, 85-87), and the tholos tombs of the palace period, which were bounded both by the circular walls of the tomb and the retaining walls around the burial mound. Tholoi were sometimes built on top of earlier tumuli or within their circular precincts (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 48; Protonotariou-Deilaki, 1990, 92; Galanakis, 2011, 220), perhaps in order to claim ancestral continuity with the earlier monuments. In addition, it has been suggested that the burial mound covering the tholos tombs developed from, or in imitation of, the mounds of earlier tumuli (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 48; Button, 2008, 89; Galanakis, 2011, 219-220). The return to tumuli in the post-palatial period, then, could be considered as a simplification of the tholos tomb, but part of the same tradition of burial monuments marked by mounds. It is likely, therefore, that the LH IIIC tumuli continued these elite traditions, but whether this strategy was successful or not is impossible to know.

3.3 Power and politics at the former palaces

The evidence for rebuilding at some of the centres of the Argolid indicates that there were attempts to fill the vacancies left by the former rulers in the wake of the collapse of the palaces. At Midea the former megaron was rebuilt in LH IIIC (Maran, 2006, 125; Fox, 2012, 60-61; Lantzas, 2012, 28), and the pommels of three early Mycenaean swords were discovered in a niche in the new megaron (Walberg, 2007, 66). It is likely that these heirlooms were used by the occupants of the new building in order to gain legitimacy by reference to the ancestors – emphasising continuity despite the disruption caused by the collapse of the palace system and the destruction of the earlier megaron (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 404). The shrine behind the megaron was also rebuilt, presumably so that those in charge of the new megaron could preside over ritual activities there, although the lack of a central hearth in the new megaron (Lantzas, 2012, 28) suggests that the new rulers were not the focus of religious practices, and had less control over public ritual activities than their predecessors. Alternatively, the decision not to rebuild the hearth may have reflected the desire to distance the new rulers from the old regime. The use of deep bowls, rather than kylikes, also suggests that overtly palatial objects or practices might have been avoided (Fox, 2012, 61).

The destructions at Mycenae left the citadel in “a mess” (French, 2009B, 108), but it did not stay that way for long, and there are signs of some prosperity in the post-palatial period (Sjöberg, 2004, 47). A new building was erected above the debris of the megaron

and court in LH IIIC (French, 2002, 136-138) (fig. 3.2). This building was not constructed on the footprint of the former megaron complex (Maran, 2006, 125), perhaps because it was easier to clear away rubble from the central court than from the megaron (Thomatos, 2006, 184). It was architecturally inferior to palace period buildings (Papadimitriou, 2006, 531), but its positioning at the centre of the former palace may have been a deliberate reference to the leadership of the previous regime. They may have wished to give the impression that the new occupants of the megaron were related to the former rulers of the palace, even if there was no direct familial link. Other signs of organised restructuring include the construction of the Granary Building, which has been tentatively interpreted as evidence of "town planning" at Mycenae (French, 2009B, 109).

The House of Columns and nearby Artisans Quarter at Mycenae were destroyed in LH IIIB1 (Middleton, 2010, 14) or LH IIIB2 (Lantzas, 2012, 33), but post-palatial rebuilding in this area (Thomas and Conant, 1999, 27), which had previously been used for palatial functions, could also have been carried out in order to legitimise the authority of an elite group by reference to the past. Similarly, the people who constructed the House of the Warrior Krater, which featured a megaron and other rooms, could have been responsible for renovations and alterations to the stele of Grave Circle A, in an attempt to make explicit connections with the ancestors and the former regime (Crielaard, 2011, 91). It is not clear how the buildings in the House of Columns area, the House of the Warrior Krater, and the new megaron at the former palace were related. They could have belonged to one leading group, or to rival sections of the elite. It has been suggested that the buildings which replaced the House of Columns, rather than the new megaron at the palace, may even have become the centre of elite activities for a time (Lantzas, 2012, 33). Some of the buildings in the Cult Centre were restored and others were newly constructed in LH IIIC (Maran, 2006, 127), but the fresco programmes that had linked former palace rulers to cult buildings were not replaced (Maran, 2006, 128; Lantzas, 2012, 32), and it is not obvious who now presided over the ceremonies.

There were clear attempts to exploit links with the former regime at post-palatial Tiryns, and to some extent give the impression of continuity with the pre-collapse rulers of the palace (Maran, 2011, 173). Much of the palace on the Upper Citadel had been destroyed at the end of LH IIIB. After the collapse, the former megaron was cleared of rubble, and a new, if somewhat smaller and less architecturally elaborate megaron, known as Building T, was constructed in its place (Maran, 2006, 124; Fox, 2012, 63) (fig. 3.3). The intentional

connection with the past is illustrated by their re-use of the position of the earlier throne in the new building (Maran, 2001, 113; Lantzas, 2012, 36). They also used some of the columns of the former porch and hearth to support the new construction (Maran, 2001, 114; Lantzas, 2012, 34).

Most of the Upper Citadel remained in ruins, and the rubble was not completely cleared away (Maran, 2001, 118-119), which suggests that those in charge of the new megaron did not possess the same access to labour and resources that the former palace rulers had enjoyed. However, there may have been another reason for not rebuilding on the rest of the Upper Citadel. The former megaron had been enclosed by other buildings, and access to the court and megaron had been made more difficult – and therefore more exclusive – by the use of a circuitous route and a series of propylaea which prevented easy access, and only gradually brought the megaron entrance into view (Maran, 2007, 82; Middleton, 2010, 5). In the post-palatial period, the only significant building on the Upper Citadel was Building T, which stood out and was visible from some distance, despite the rubble around it (Maran, 2011, 173). Perhaps the intention was to make the new megaron more visible and more accessible than it had been before. It has been suggested that Building T, rather than being the residence of a ruling family, was a communal hall used for assemblies of the elite (Maran, 2006, 142; Mühlenbruch, 2009, 315), but it is not possible to know for certain the relationship between the person who occupied the throne, and the other users of the building.

Ritual activities also seem to have become more public and more accessible at post-palatial Tiryns. Although there was a new megaron on the palace site, which included features of the former megaron, the central hearth was omitted in the new construction (Lantzas, 2012, 36). The central hearth was the focus of important rituals in the former palaces (Mee, 2011, 266), so the fact that none of the new megara reinstated them does suggest a change in ritual practice (Lantzas, 2012, 28). At Tiryns the court outside the megaron was cleared, and the altar was altered and renovated (Maran, 2001, 115), presumably by those using Building T as a power base (Maran, 2006, 127; Lantzas, 2012, 36). The new rectangular platform could have been used for public ritual practices, or other functions that aimed to unite people around those in charge at the megaron. Again this may have been an attempt to make public some activities and rituals that would previously have taken place with a limited and exclusive audience within the privacy of the megaron (Maran, 2011, 173). The 12 pithoi located behind Building T may have been

used to store supplies for rituals or meals either at the megaron or outside in the now public court (Fox, 2012, 62-63).

The shrine in the Lower Citadel was rebuilt in LH IIIC (Mühlenbruch, 2007, 245; Lantzas, 2012, 36), but access between the shrine and Building T was now rather indirect. Given the central importance of processional routes to Mycenaean rituals (Maran, 2007, 78), it does not seem likely, therefore, that those in charge of the new megaron on the Upper Citadel had exclusive access to or control over this ritual facility. The lack of central hearth, the opening up of access to the altar in the central court, and the lack of control over the shrine in the Lower Citadel, all suggest that this section of the elite had less control over religion in the post-palatial period. In constructing a megaron on the footprint of the former palace, they may have wished to trade on their connections with the past (Foxhall, 1995, 247; Maran, 2001, 119), but the new elite using the Upper Citadel at Tiryns were unable – or perhaps unwilling – to reinstate all of the functions of the previous *wanax* (Maran, 2006, 142; Lantzas, 2012, 36).

In the palace period, the central complexes at Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos and elsewhere, despite differences in layout, all combined administrative, religious, residential, storage and manufacturing functions within the one complex (Shelmerdine and Bennet, 2008, 280-291; Middleton, 2010, 5; Arena, 2015, 2). It is interesting, therefore, that the new megaron at Tiryns seems to have been designed solely as an administrative building, with the exception of the small but not easily accessible storage facility behind it (Maran, 2001, 118), and the other functions associated with the former palaces were located elsewhere. This change may have come about because it was not convenient for multiple functions to be accommodated on the Upper Citadel, but it is possible that these functions were deliberately separated, either to emphasise the differences between palatial and post-palatial rule, or to shift attention away from the fact that one of the main benefits of power is the accumulation of resources. This is particularly likely if dissatisfaction with the exploitative nature of palace rule (Shelmerdine, 2006, 84; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 405; Voutsaki, 2010, 605) was involved in their destruction, and the reluctance to reinstate a *wanax* after the collapse. Those in charge of the new megaron may have been keen to avoid provoking a similar sense of dissatisfaction, by physically separating their administrative and other functional buildings.

It is not obvious which building served as the domestic quarters of the owners of Building T, as three potential elite residences have been discovered at Tiryns. A large multi-functional building with an open courtyard, known as Bau VIa (Mühlenbruch, 2007, 245), was constructed close to the shrine in the Lower Citadel, and it is assumed that this building belonged to those responsible for the restructuring of this part of the citadel, which began slowly in LH IIIC Early but was more pronounced in LH IIIC Middle (Mühlenbruch, 2007, 244-245; Lantzas, 2012, 36-37), and included over 30 rooms, various courtyards and outdoor work spaces, and streets (Middleton, 2010, 97). Although a definite link cannot be proven, it seems very likely that Bau VIa belonged to those in charge of Building T, because no residence has been found on the Upper Citadel, and of the three elite residences, Bau VIa was the closest to the megaron and situated within the Citadel. The building had room for domestic and storage space, and the courtyard may have functioned as an outdoor workspace (Lantzas, 2012, 37). Although on a considerably smaller scale, this building could therefore have accommodated some of the functions associated with the former palace complexes, and required by those now leading from Building T. That said, Bau VIa was not constructed until LH IIIC Middle (Lantzas, 2012, 37), and it is uncertain where the owners of Building T would have carried out their activities in LH IIIC Early. Perhaps evidence for such a location was obscured or obliterated by later developments in the Lower Citadel.

A large, complex structure dating to LH IIIC Early, featuring multiple rows of columns, was located in the north eastern part of the Lower Town (Maran, 2006, 126; Stockhammer, 2009, 167). An additional complex building known as Megaron W was also discovered in the south eastern part of the Lower Town at Tiryns, constructed in LH IIIC Middle, complete with the columns and painted plaster (Dickinson, 2006A, 74; Lantzas, 2012, 38), which identify it as an elite building. Megaron W was actually larger than Building T (Fox, 2012, 64), although it did not occupy such a prestigious location. The occupants of one or both of these larger buildings in the Lower Town may have been responsible for the re-routing of the nearby stream in order to prevent flooding (Lantzas, 2012, 38) (although the date of the initial work on the dam may have been earlier (Maran, 2009, 243; Stockhammer, 2009, 165)), and the subsequent expansion of the Lower Town from 8 to 25 hectares in LH IIIC (Maran, 2006, 127; Papadimitriou, 2006, 532). This part of the settlement seems to have been particularly well planned and organised (Maran, 2006, 126), rather than developing in an organic way with the arrival of newcomers looking for places to build homes.

There is little to connect the elite buildings in the Lower Town to the megaron in the Upper Citadel, or the restructuring of the Lower Citadel, so it seems plausible that the elite residences in the Lower Town were the power bases of separate elite factions, independent from those involved with Building T (Middleton, 2010, 101; Lantzas, 2012, 38). It has been suggested that those in charge of Building T may have resided in one of the new megara in the Lower Town (Maran, 2006, 142), but even though the Western Staircase had been repaired and access between the Upper Citadel and Lower Town restored in LH IIIC Early (Maran, 2006, 124-125), this seems unlikely. If those in charge at the former palace had the authority, labour and resources to significantly expand the residential quarter of the town, then they should have had sufficient resources to at least clear away the rubble from the Upper Citadel, but this was not carried out, and the new megaron was surrounded by ruins. Similarly, the restructuring of the Lower Citadel did not get under way properly until LH IIIC Middle, which suggests that those in charge at the Upper Citadel could not harness sufficient resources for major work (besides Building T itself) in the period immediately after the collapse. In contrast, it is thought that the Lower Town extension must have been planned by a group with considerable authority and access to resources (Crielaard, 2011, 88; Lantzas, 2012, 38), and a willingness to use them. If the megara in the Lower Town did not belong to those in charge of Building T, then control of the Lower Town would have added significantly to their share of power and authority in post-palatial Tiryns, especially if the occupants of the new (non-elite) houses were newcomers who had no particular allegiance to those in charge at the former palace.

Although a settlement of some 10,000 occupants clearly required a measure of social organisation and leadership (Kilian, 1988, 135), and the construction of a new megaron on the site of the former palace suggests that a section of the elite had attempted to take control of post-palatial Tiryns, the existence of the larger, richer buildings, and the separate developments in the Lower Citadel and Lower Town, indicate that Tiryns may not have been unified under a single ruling group in LH IIIC (Maran, 2006, 125; Mühlenbruch, 2007, 247; Middleton, 2010, 101). In contrast to the architecture of the settlement, however, the burial evidence for Tiryns does not bear witness to a struggle for power amongst the elite.

A small number of chamber tombs continued in use at the Profitis Ilias cemetery in the post-palatial period – perhaps by those who were attempting to use their links to powerful

ancestors to legitimise their own positions (Lantzas, 2012, 58) – but no new chamber tombs were built in LH IIIC. None of the burials has been observed to stand out as especially rich, and the display of military symbolism that might be expected during a power struggle is entirely absent. With two or more separate factions attempting to gain influence at Tiryns, it is surprising that no especially rich or monumental tombs have been discovered there. There are a number of possible explanations for this. It is possible that those competing for power at Tiryns chose to emphasise social cohesion rather than to express their superiority at burials (as has been suggested for burials in the central region of Crete in LM IIIC (Perna, 2011, 145-146)), and instead found different avenues for the expression of wealth and power. This would most likely be in architecture, where the use of columns and frescoes in the new elite residences indicates an element of display.

The ownership and display of heirlooms may have lent some legitimacy to aspiring leaders because of the implied connection to ancestors (Papadimitriou, 2006, 544; Crielaard, 2011, 92; Maran, 2011, 174; Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 206). Three ceramic vessels that were at least a century old at the time of their deposition, and may have been acquired from chamber tombs, have been found in the Lower Town (Stockhammer, 2009, 166). They could have been used to emphasise tradition and continuity with the period before the collapse. The famous Tiryns Treasure, which was discovered in 1915 in the Lower Town close to Megaron W (Karo, 1916, 143-147), contained a variety of objects, including heirlooms dating to the Early Mycenaean period, two damaged swords, luxury items including seven bronze vessels, jewellery made with gold, amber and faience, two sickles, and objects imported from overseas including pieces of ivory (Maran, 2006, 129-138). These items may have been used to display wealth, overseas connections, and links to the former palace rulers, by a section of the elite – presumably those living in Megaron W, since this was the closest elite residence (Maran, 2006, 141). They would be particularly useful to those who did not have the advantage of building on the site of the former palace, and needed to use objects rather than symbolically significant locations, in order to demonstrate their ancestral connections. Newcomers, on the other hand, could not have used heirlooms connecting them to former rulers in order to gain status, but exotica might have served to express the status associated with long distance trade connections (Maran, 2011, 175).

It is clear that at least a section of the elites at the former palaces utilised traditional or antique objects to gain status and legitimacy through their connections with the former

palace regimes. However, it is also possible that those who proposed a clean break with the past could have gained credibility by deliberately not displaying antique goods (although it would be difficult to verify this archaeologically, as there may be many reasons for not finding particular objects). Instead they could have appealed to the new and exotic (Dickinson, 2006B, 119) as an alternative to reminders of the past. Similarly, the construction of new buildings on the site of the former palaces could have given legitimacy to those who wished to take power in the post-palatial period (Maran, 2001, 120), but it is just as likely that building in different areas would have appealed to those who wished to distance themselves from the previous regime (again it would be difficult to prove archaeologically that the decision to build away from the former palaces was made through choice). Post-palatial rulers, whether old or new, whether using old ideology or new justifications, had to establish their right to rule and their positions of authority (Dickinson, 2006A, 61), over populations who were more willing than ever to leave for another settlement if they were dissatisfied with the new regime (Dickinson, 2006B, 117). Repeated appeals to the past and the power of the former palace rulers was, arguably, a sign of the weakness of post-palatial rule, and not its strength (Maran, 2001, 121). The eventual abandonment of Building T suggests that this strategy was ultimately not enough to ensure the rule of those based on the Upper Citadel at Tiryns. It is unclear how the destruction of Megaron W at the end of LH IIIC Middle (Middleton, 2010, 15) affected the balance of power, but it is possible that the destruction was a symptom of the tension that could have arisen during a competition for control of the town.

There may be another reason for the lack of evidence for a power struggle in the post-palatial burials at Tiryns. Those attempting to gain power may have decided not to emphasise the differences in wealth and power between themselves and their followers. Many of the dwellings built at Tiryns at this time were constructed around courtyards and featured space for manufacturing, storage, and other functions (Lantzas, 2012, 40), which hint at self-sufficiency and independence (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 403), rather than centrally organised facilities (Maran, 2006, 125). A new type of leadership which emphasised self-reliance, and stressed the similarities in the daily experiences and challenges of rich and poor, rather than the differences, may have had a certain appeal after the former palace rulers appeared to have let everyone down.

Indeed the gap between the rich and poor in the post-palatial period cannot have been as great as it had been in the palace period (Thomas and Conant, 1999, 29), when the rulers

of the palaces seemed unassailable, and their wealth seemed unlimited. After the collapse, those who wished to acquire power at the former palaces may have been wealthier than those over whom they presided, but there were no longer layers of bureaucrats between rulers and ruled, and the resources at their command would have been considerably reduced (Dickinson, 2006A, 75). The desire for openness and access to the public which characterised the buildings on the Upper Citadel at Tiryns, for example, were clearly not necessary for the rulers of the former palaces, who were more concerned with exclusivity and secrecy than public accountability (Maran, 2011, 173), but they may have been a necessary feature of post-palatial power.

It is of course possible that there were separate bases of power at Tiryns which co-existed but did not compete for power (Middleton, 2010, 112), which might explain the relative lack of competitive display in the cemetery. The different factions might each have controlled separate areas of the town (e.g. the Lower Citadel and Lower Town) with separate groups of followers, or dominated separate interests such as trade, manufacturing or food production. The citadel and the Lower Town developed in different ways after the collapse, perhaps because they were separate entities to a certain extent. It is clear that in the years after the collapse, Tiryns prospered and grew for some time when other centres struggled to rebuild and recover, but it is not clear how the community was organised, or at all certain that power was centralised for any length of time, despite the obvious efforts to gain influence and support. Ultimately, all of these strategies failed. After the post-palatial period, the Citadel at Tiryns was all but abandoned, occupation of the Lower Town dwindled, and the site became a series of small hamlets (Philippa-Touchais, 2011, 35) without any signs of unified leadership. The simple intramural burials found in this period suggest that the realms of the living and the dead were no longer demarcated (Maran, 2010, 731), and perhaps for a while, burial ceased to be an arena for display.

3.4 Ordinary burials

Burials for ordinary people represented a mixture of continuity and change in the post-palatial period. Many cemeteries continued to be used in LH IIIC (Papadimitriou, 2006, 532), but it is generally thought that where communities were abandoned, the cemeteries also fell into disuse, and *vice versa* (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 89). Taking Mycenaean Greece as a whole, some 38% of cemeteries had their last burial in LH IIIB, 44%

continued in use from LH IIIB to LH IIIC, and 18% were newly constructed in LH IIIC (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 59).

Despite the various changes in burial practices that are said to have taken place after the collapse, it could be argued that the most significant difference between the palace period and post-palatial period, both in the Argolid and mainland Greece as a whole, was the enormous reduction in the absolute numbers of all types of grave in use. In the Argolid the number decreased from 252 in the palace period, to just 41 in LH IIIC (table 3.1). The number of actual burials represented by these graves is difficult to estimate, but it is thought that there were fewer burials in collective graves in the post-palatial period, which further emphasises the difference between the palace and post-palatial periods.

It is no longer thought that large scale depopulation took place after the collapse (Dickinson, 2006A, 62-63; Snodgrass, 2006, 126; Middleton, 2010, 16), which means that at least some of this change may only be explained by a move from formal burial to the types of burial that have not been detected archaeologically (Dickinson, 2006A, 175). It is difficult to envision a form of burial that is less elaborate than the simple pit grave (even the burials in “shallow scrapes” in the Upper Citadel at Tiryns have been detected (Morris, 1987, 106)), but it seems likely that some proportion of the population must have been laid to rest in ways that resist current methods of detection (Morris, 1987, 105). This could have been because of social exclusion (Morris, 1987, 9), or because people lacked the resources or desire to construct a grave, but it would be fruitless to speculate further about something for which there is no evidence at all. What remains is to address the evidence that has been found, and hope that it is representative of the whole (Dickinson, 2006A, 177).

In the Argolid, 59% of cemeteries were abandoned in LH IIIB, 32% continued into LH IIIC, and there were just a couple of newly established cemeteries (table 3.1). Compared with Mycenaean Greece as a whole, the higher percentage of cemeteries that were abandoned in the post-palatial Argolid indicates that there was probably considerable population movement. It is possible that these people left the Argolid completely, but the evidence for nucleation at sites such as Tiryns and Asine suggest that although people left their old settlements, many of them remained in the region most familiar to them, as perhaps might be expected (Rutter, 1992, 70; Dickinson, 2006A, 63; Georgiadis, 2009, 97; Stockhammer, 2009, 165; Middleton, 2010, 73). This may have facilitated continuing links with members

of their extended families and old communities, despite the disruption of moving around after the collapse. The continued use of traditional cemeteries, rather than the establishment of new burial grounds, indicates a certain level of continuity and tradition, where people continued to live in the same communities as before the collapse. The lower number of new cemeteries indicates that there was probably not a significant influx of newcomers into the Argolid, or the establishment of many new communities in this period.

At Mycenae at least five of the cemeteries around the citadel continued to be used until LH IIIC Middle (Lantzas, 2012, 53), but at least 20 others went out of use once the palaces collapsed. This could indicate a sudden decline in the population, but the new LH IIIC cemetery at Gortsoulia near Mycenae (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 89), may be evidence for some population movement, rather than just decline. Only one new chamber tomb was built in LH IIIC at Mycenae (Lantzas, 2012, 55) – all of the others in use at this time had been constructed in the palace period or were cleared out and re-used – which indicates that people were unwilling or unable to invest the effort and expense required by the construction of new chamber tombs. Chamber tombs were no longer used at Mycenae by LH IIIC Late (Lantzas, 2012, 53).

At Tiryns the chamber tomb cemetery at Profitis Ilias continued in use until LH IIIC Middle, but no new chamber tombs were constructed in the post-palatial period, and eventually the cemetery was abandoned (Lantzas, 2012, 57). This does not represent the abandonment of the community of course – in fact Tiryns expanded in population at this time – so people clearly adopted different locations and methods of disposing of the dead. In the post-palatial period, the people of Tiryns gradually withdrew from the cemetery at Profitis Ilias, and began to bury their dead much closer to home. At Argos some of the chamber tombs constructed in LH IIIB were used in LH IIIC at Deiras, but few new chamber tombs were constructed (Lantzas, 2012, 63). Those that were built were noticeably small in size (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 89). Interestingly, 8 chamber tombs that had been last used in LH IIIB were cleared out and re-used towards the end of LH IIIC (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 96). This practice, which was virtually unknown in the palace period but became “widespread and not uncommon” in the post-palatial period (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 93), suggests that there remained the desire to use collective tombs, if not the means (Snodgrass, 1971, 143) or inclination to construct new ones. The clearing and re-use of old tombs may also indicate an influx of newcomers to the site (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 96), although this is difficult to verify. At Asine chamber tombs were used throughout LH

IIIC, although this involved the use of tombs built in LH IIIB rather than the construction of new tombs. As at Argos, two old tombs were cleared out and re-used in LH IIIC (Lantzas, 2012, 60). Again this indicates an enduring interest in collective burial, even if people were unwilling or unable to build new chamber tombs. In the use of grave goods, there was continuity in the types of goods selected for the grave before and after the collapse of the palaces, and heirlooms, luxury goods and exotica continued to reflect status and social aspirations (Dickinson, 2006B, 119; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 403).

In the Argolid, people continued to use inhumation, chamber tombs and collective burial throughout the post-palatial period (Snodgrass, 1971, 153), which indicates that they still valued their traditional burial grounds and tomb types to a certain extent (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 97). However, the "paucity of newly constructed tombs is striking" (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 89), and it is clear that the chamber tomb declined in use in the post-palatial period. People did occasionally clear out and re-use an abandoned tomb, but the construction of new ones was becoming very rare, and ceased completely in the Argolid after LH IIIC (Lantzas, 2012, 66). The number of newly built chamber tombs had begun to decline in the palace period (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 57), but even if chamber tombs in LH IIIB were smaller, less architecturally elaborate, and less richly equipped with grave goods than in the previous period (Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 62; Voutsaki, 1995, 62), the extremely limited number of newly built tombs in the post-palatial period indicates that the collapse of the palaces may have increased the rate of change. Collective burial practices were introduced in the Shaft Grave period by those who would contend for power at the centres which later became palaces. When the palaces collapsed, collective burial also began to decline, especially at the palace sites themselves (Lantzas, 2012, 67).

In the palace period, palace rulers and their peers may have formed a distinct and exclusive social class (Maran, 2011, 173), but for the rest of the population, class distinctions were less rigid. Although in reality, it may have been obvious who had greater social and economic power, and who were obliged to serve them or struggle on in relative poverty, the burials of the period did not reflect distinct social classes (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 56). Rather, they seem to have represented a continuum from poorer to wealthier, with distinctions made by the size and elaboration of tombs, and the quantity and quality of grave goods (Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 57). In the post-palatial period, this lack of distinct class boundaries seems to have continued, with people expressing status and identity in much the same ways as before.

The old argument that single burials were for the poor, and collective burials were for the wealthy (Osborne, 1996, 31; Lewartowski, 2000, 5) (which was essentially based on an energy expenditure approach (Chapman and Randsborg, 1981, 7)), never fitted palace period evidence particularly well, with too many exceptions to be ignored (Voutsaki, 1995, 57; Cavanagh, 2008, 336). This is even more the case after the collapse of the palaces (Dickinson, 2006A, 177), when it is suggested that single burials increased in number (Osborne, 1996, 19; Dickinson, 2006A, 181), and collective burial began to decline. These changes cannot be explained in terms of the general impoverishment of Mycenaean Greece, since there was a level of economic recovery in LH IIIC Middle (Dickinson, 2006A, 67; Thomatos, 2006), especially associated with overseas trade (Crielaard, 2006), whilst the objects given as grave goods (including an increase in personal adornments and the use of imported iron objects) speak of relative prosperity (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 97; Dickinson, 2006B, 120). Therefore, other explanations for the use of simple graves must be sought.

Is it true, in fact, that at the same time that chamber tombs were declining in use, there was an increase in the use of simple graves (both pits and cists) in post-palatial Greece? Simple graves had been used sporadically in the Argolid in the palace period (Snodgrass, 1971, 179), but these were usually isolated examples within chamber tomb cemeteries, for example at Prosymna, or interspersed between and outnumbered by chamber tombs, as they were at Argos (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 62). According to the catalogues of graves produced by Cavanagh and Mee (1998, LH IIIA-B pp. 80-88, and LH IIIC pp. 98-102), there was actually a reduction in the number and percentage of simple graves used in the post-palatial Argolid (table 3.1), although they were not always able to be specific about the number of graves (especially simple graves) recorded (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 2). In contrast, the percentage of collective tombs in use in the post-palatial period increased, and the two new cemeteries identified for LH IIIC used only collective tombs (table 3.1), whilst all of the cemeteries that were used in both the palatial and post-palatial periods continued to prefer collective tombs over simple graves (table 3.2). None of the cemeteries used or newly constructed in the post-palatial period used simple graves exclusively. Even if the lack of precision is taken into account, these figures do not support the argument for a gradual increase in the use of simple graves and single burial in the post-palatial period, at least in this region of Greece.

Lewartowski's catalogue lists only simple graves (2000, pp. 63-93), but the results broadly confirm those in Cavanagh and Mee's catalogue – that there was not an increase in the number of simple graves in the Argolid in the post-palatial period (table 3.3). In fact, Lewartowski would argue that there was a decrease in the frequency of simple graves in the post-palatial Argolid (Lewartowski, 2000, 14). There are, however, a significant number of graves for this region that have only been dated to LH or LH III (51 (32%) of the listed graves), and therefore could have been used in either the palace or post-palatial period, which means it is impossible to analyse these results in detail. Furthermore, Lewartowski located the large number of single burials in the Lower Citadel at Tiryns (see intramural burials later in this chapter) within LH IIIC, rather than LH IIIB, but excluded these burials from her study because "they do not illustrate normal Mycenaean burial behaviour" (Lewartowski, 2000, 6).

It is clear that the date of the simple burials in the Lower Citadel at Tiryns is a problem – if they are included in LH IIIB (Cavanagh and Mee), then there was a drop in the occurrence of simple burials in the post-palatial period, but if they are dated to LH IIIC (Lewartowski), then their frequency increased after the collapse. Unless the date of these burials is resolved, it will remain difficult to ascertain their significance, but it seems unlikely that new and conclusive evidence from the Lower Citadel at Tiryns will be forthcoming.

Whatever date is selected for these burials, it could be argued that Tiryns was exceptional, and does not represent changes in burial practices for the rest of the Argolid, although this would represent a compromise rather than a conclusion. Perhaps Argos should also be added to the list of exceptions, since it also featured a large number of single burials in the palace period, and a reduction in the post-palatial period (table 3.1). This approach would involve excluding anything that did not match expectations, but I do not believe that massaging the data in this way is helpful. Lewartowski avoids the issue by treating the single graves at Tiryns as exceptional (Lewartowski, 2000, 6), but I have included them, because exceptions can be as useful to the analysis as traditional practices (Agostinone-Wilson, 2013, 77). Even if these burials were included within the results for LH IIIC, and single burials did increase in number after the collapse, the available evidence suggests that collective burial remained the dominant practice in the Argolid in LH IIIC, and single burial only became the norm after the post-palatial period (Snodgrass, 1971, 152; Morris, 1987, 18; Dickinson, 2006A, 181; Thomatos, 2006, 170).

Despite the difficulties in dating simple graves, it has been suggested that the use of simple graves increased at both Tiryns and Mycenae after the collapse of the palaces (Lantzas, 2012, 54), although these new graves were often located within and close to the citadels, rather than in the traditional chamber tomb cemeteries (Lantzas, 2012, 57). Some of the palace period simple graves at Argos had contained multiple burials (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 69), and some were accompanied by relatively rich grave goods (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 70), which suggests that the distinction between simple and collective graves should not be drawn too sharply (Snodgrass, 1971, 141). There were some simple graves at Argos in LH IIIC, but their numbers did not increase significantly until the Protogeometric period, or perhaps just before it (Snodgrass, 1971, 151). At Asine chamber tombs remained the dominant tomb type in LH IIIC, and simple graves only appeared in the Protogeometric period (Lantzas, 2012, 60). At Prosymna simple graves did not replace chamber tombs, and the site was probably abandoned in LH IIIC. This is also likely, at least for a short while, at Midea, since there were few if any burials of any kind that could be dated to LH IIIC at Dendra (Lantzas, 2012, 51-53).

As discussed in relation to the cemetery at Perati (chapter 2), the proposed increase in the use of single burial towards the end of the post-palatial period was not the result of outsiders moving into Greece (Dickinson, 2006B, 117; Lantzas, 2012, 65). Nor was this a sudden change in practice, but a period in which collective and individual burial went on side by side (Dickinson, 2006A, 183). The gradualness of the changes – the decline of collective burial and the proposed increase in single burial (often within chamber tombs) – indicates that there was relative continuity of population in the Argolid. This means that explanations for the changes in burial practices must be sought within Mycenaean Greece, rather than in the burial practices of their neighbours.

Some scholars have associated the changes in burial practice, and especially the decline in collective burial, with a general rejection of Mycenaean or palatial ideology, and an increasing emphasis on the individual (Osborne, 1996, 32; Morris, 2000, 201; Lantzas, 2012, 42). Lantzas associates collective burial with the palaces, and argues therefore that the introduction of simple graves represents a conscious shift away from palatial ideology, which was made possible by the collapse of the palace system. However, it is interesting to note that those sites with the greatest variation in tomb types both before and after the collapse were Mycenae, Tiryns and Argos (table 3.1) – precisely those sites which should have been strongest in terms of palatial ideology. There were more options regarding the

disposal of the dead at the centres than at other sites, especially for those who had access to monumental, collective tombs, but also for those who chose simple graves. Either the palatial ideology was weaker at the palaces than elsewhere (which seems very implausible), or commitment to a particular ideology was not the main factor when deciding whether to use a tholos, tumulus, chamber tomb or simple grave.

It is also difficult to see how a tomb type designed for family use had, in LH IIIB, reinforced the ideology of the palaces. It is possible that, in the interests of maintaining the *status quo*, the palace rulers had enforced the social obligations developed over generations between members of different kinship groups, so that in the palace period, family identity was treated as more important than individual identity, in life and subsequently in death. If this was the case, then the preference for collective burial was the product of actual social associations in life, rather than practiced in support of a particular ideology.

I would argue that the move towards single burial reflects the diminishing importance of kinship to social identity (Mee, 2011, 240). With the collapse of the palaces came the freedom to renegotiate social rights and obligations both as families and as individuals (Thomatos, 2006, 169; Middleton, 2010, 1; Lantzas, 2012, 42), as well as the opportunity to relocate (McAnany and Yoffee, 2010B, 6) and physically sever old connections (Dickinson, 2006A, 248). This might explain the use of family tombs in the palace period and their decline in the later post-palatial – it was not a commitment to palatial ideology that was replaced by an individualising ideology, but the breaking of traditional bonds and their renegotiation by people who no longer had to honour obligations established by long dead ancestors and enforced by palace rulers. This situation allowed families and individuals the freedom of movement and association that was subsequently reflected in simple burials and the expression of individual social identities. Rather than a rejection of Mycenaean or palatial ideology, the change in burial customs represents a practical response to a change in social organisation. That these changes took time to fall into place is evidenced by the continued commitment to collective burial in most of the post-palatial cemeteries in the Argolid, and the rather limited use of simple graves until the Early Iron Age.

3.5 Intramural burials

Intramural burials were known in the Middle Helladic period (Button, 2008, 84) but were not common in the Mycenaean period (Lantzas, 2012, 43), although they have been infrequently attested at a number of sites, both between and within buildings used by the living (Wells, 1990, 138). A number of human skeletons have been discovered in shafts or wells, both at Mycenae (Angel, 1954, 288) and at Tiryns (Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 63), dating to LH IIIB, but it is not known why they were deposited in this way. It is possible that these individuals were deliberately refused a formal burial and discarded "unceremoniously" (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 114), perhaps because of some infraction or other. The deposition of a large number of animal bones alongside the human remains in the shaft at Mycenae (Angel, 1954, 288) is not usually considered to be evidence for animal sacrifices (which would probably not be carried out for social outcasts), but it should be noted that "isolation was considered appropriate for the special dead who occupied both extremes of the social spectrum" (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 130). Intramural burial was probably still uncommon in the post-palatial period, although the lack of well excavated settlement sites means that it is impossible to know how often burials took place within or between domestic buildings. That said, there were a number of burials outside of cemeteries that should be considered, including burials within the citadels at Tiryns and Mycenae.

At Tiryns, the Lower Citadel was destroyed in LH IIIB, and the area was not rebuilt until the post-palatial period. Some 42 simple graves have been discovered in this area, (Wells, 1990, 139), perhaps covering a period between LH IIIB2 to the beginning of LH IIIC (although Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 80) place them within LH IIIB, and Lewartowski (2000, 6) places them within LH IIIC), and including male and female burials of various ages (Catling, 1979, 16). Although the burials were located within the citadel, an area that might have been considered as prestigious, the single burials were not accompanied by grave goods. The simple graves and lack of grave goods are usually taken to indicate that they were the poor graves of low status individuals (Catling, 1979, 16; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 69), and it has been suggested that these people were simply buried where they died, close to the buildings in which they had lived (Wells, 1990, 139).

It would be interesting to know whether there were signs on the skeletons of injuries due to earthquake or warfare, and whether they were dumped or carefully positioned in their graves, but unfortunately this information is not easily accessible. The long period over which these burials took place suggests that they cannot have been the victims of a single

event or catastrophe (Catling, 1979, 16). Generally it is thought that the bodies were "rather casually buried" (Catling 1979, 16), and these therefore could have been the burials of slaves (Wells, 1990, 139). Other explanations are possible for the single burial of dozens of individuals within the citadel, but if these were the burials of palace officials, members of the priesthood, or skilled craft workers employed by the palace, they should have received grave goods and been buried in their family tombs.

If these were the burials of soldiers, they would either have died in a single event in the Lower Citadel, which has already been shown not to have been the case, or their bodies would have been returned to their families, if it had been possible to move them at all (Ball, 2016). Nor can these graves have been part of a war memorial, since they were not placed within a separate area but located close to dwellings, and there were neither grave goods nor a monument with which to honour the dead. None of these alternative explanations fit the evidence as well as the theory that these were the burials of slaves or dependent workers who lived, worked and died at the citadel. Even so, it is difficult to explain why they were buried intramurally, in a location that had previously not been used for burials, and did not eventually develop into an established cemetery. Intramural burial between the houses of the living only began again at Tiryns in the Lower Town at the very end of the post-palatial period, when the site could be said to have been no longer Mycenaean (Maran, 2010, 731).

There were also a number of post-palatial intramural burials at different locations within the citadel at Mycenae (Lantzas, 2012, 55), although most of these simple burials were accompanied by grave goods, and some were particularly well equipped (Cavanagh and Mee, 91), which means they should not be interpreted as poor graves. The burials were all placed within the ruins of abandoned buildings, rather than in the open spaces between occupied structures (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 91), which suggests that they were not just buried in the nearest available space, but the locations were selected on purpose. Some of them were placed within ruined buildings in the Cult Centre (Thomas and Conant, 1999, 30; Lantzas, 2012, 55), perhaps because of the religious and mortuary nature of the area. Before becoming the Cult Centre, this part of the acropolis had been part of an earlier cemetery, and the refurbished Grave Circle A was nearby, so it is also possible that this part of the citadel may never have lost its association with the dead (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 114).

Lantzas argued that the placing of graves within the citadel at Mycenae was an attempt to prevent important locations in the palace being re-used by those who would attempt to take power in the years after the collapse (Lantzas, 2012, 55). By burying the dead in the ruins, a building could not be rebuilt and used for palatial functions (disturbing the remains of the recently deceased does not seem to have been acceptable to the Mycenaeans, despite their secondary burial traditions). Whilst this may be true, it did not prevent the construction of a new megaron on the site of the former palace, or additional megara being built in the House of Columns Area, all of which were associated with the former regime, and could have been used as the focus of power for post-palatial rulers. It has been suggested that the burial of the dead within abandoned buildings represents a loss of memory, or a loss of regard, for the past (Hooker, 1976, 147). However, the fact that the Cult Centre at Mycenae was partially restored and continued to be used for ritual functions in the post-palatial period (Maran, 2006, 127) suggests that the earlier function of the buildings had not been forgotten. Rather, it is possible that the use of abandoned buildings and significant locations represents respect for, and a desire to make deliberate links with the past, for the purpose of gaining social status.

3.6 Burial practices and social organisation in the Argolid

So what do burial practices tell us about social organisation in the Argolid in LH IIIC? Firstly, the tumuli constructed at Khania and Argos indicate that there were some attempts to use monumental tombs and special burial practices in order to elevate the status of sections of the elite. It is not known how successful these efforts were, but it is interesting to note that neither tumuli nor cremation subsequently became popular in the Argolid, which suggests that they were not especially useful strategies for the legitimisation or maintenance of power. It is significant that, besides the two tumuli, power struggles were not strongly expressed in burial practices – of course there were differences in the amount of wealth associated with the size and contents of tombs, but there are no important concentrations of really rich graves reminiscent of power struggles in the Shaft Grave period. For much of the post-palatial period, then, it may have been in the elite's interest to obscure, rather than emphasise, the differences in access to wealth. Architectural developments at Tiryns also suggest that those who did attempt to take power made their decisions and carried out their rituals in more public settings. Perhaps the private and exclusive leadership style of the former palace rulers could no longer be trusted, and accountability was a more secure route to power in the post-palatial period.

For ordinary people, there was continuity in the use of chamber tombs for collective burial in the post-palatial period. Chamber tombs continued in use right up to the end of LH IIIC in some places, but the construction of new chamber tombs was extremely limited. The use of simple graves continued in the post-palatial period, but they did not become the dominant tomb type until after the end of LH IIIC in the Argolid. The gradual nature of the change from collective to individual burial suggests that there was continuity in the population of the Argolid, rather than repopulation by newcomers, and that there was no sudden rejection of Mycenaean culture.

The change from collective to individual burial suggests that the purposes served by collective burial continued after the collapse of the palaces, but were no longer needed by the end of LH IIIC. Collective burial emphasised the membership of families and wider lineages. At Perati I argued that population mobility severed ancestral and family ties, which made single burial more appealing to those who had to survive on their own skills and merits. In the old communities in the Argolid, it is possible that the former palace rulers had enforced the long term social relationships between different lineages in the quest to maintain the status quo. The collapse of the palaces, therefore, meant that the rights and obligations negotiated generations ago were no longer binding, and people were free to renegotiate their social relationships anew, either as families or individuals. It was this change in the nature of social organisation which was subsequently reflected in the emphasis on the individual that single burial brought.

It is often thought that cremation was introduced to mainland Greece after the collapse of the palaces, especially in the east-facing regions (Snodgrass, 1971, 189; Dickinson, 2006A, 73), but the people living in the post-palatial Argolid were very reluctant to adopt this practice. Only the builders of the tumuli embraced this burial rite, perhaps because, combined with the use of an exclusive, monumental tomb, cremation offered the opportunity for an extended display of wealth and status. However, it is possible that this practice did not gain wider appeal precisely because of its association with wealth. I think it is plausible that rulers who stressed the similarities with their followers, rather than the differences, could have been more successful in the post-palatial period. If people had wanted the palace system back, they would have rebuilt the palaces and placed a *wanax* on the throne. Instead they aimed at self-sufficiency, and may have enjoyed the greater freedom of association and movement that came with the rejection of old family

obligations. This sense of self-sufficiency may be reflected in the eventual preference for single graves, which expressed personal identity and achievements rather than ancestry and family connections.

3.7 Conclusions

The post-palatial period is frequently depicted as a rather grim and difficult period in which to live (Dickinson, 2006A, 242; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 405; Papadopoulos, 2014, 181; Knapp and Manning, 2016, 126), although there has also been some resistance to this dismal portrayal of the period (Dickinson, 2010, 486-487; Lantzas, 2012, 13; Broodbank, 2013, 468). There is no doubt that the Argolid was strongly affected by the collapse of the palaces – the destructions from LH IIIB and right through LH IIIC attest to the turbulence of the times.

However, it is wrong to view the post-palatial period only in a negative way. The collapse of the palaces may have released people from old obligations negotiated by their forefathers, and provided new opportunities for self-sufficient individuals and small families to relocate, to start afresh, and to survive on their own merits without owing obligations to others. The collapse also removed a ruling class with whom it had previously been impossible to compete (Voutsaki, 1995, 62), and provided opportunities for new elites to compete for power and influence (Maran, 2011, 174). The circumstances after the collapse provided an ideal environment for challenging old ideologies (Lantzas, 2012, 7), and the development of new social identities. Seen in this light, the collapse may in fact have been a good thing, although to describe it as “the birth pangs of a new social and economic order” (Broodbank, 2013, 468) ignores, perhaps a little too cheerfully, the suffering and difficulties that would have accompanied this period of transformation. That said, the collapse certainly disrupted the stagnation of the later palace period and gave the people of the former palace states an opportunity to shape the world themselves (Dickinson, 2006A, 256; Middleton, 2010, 32).

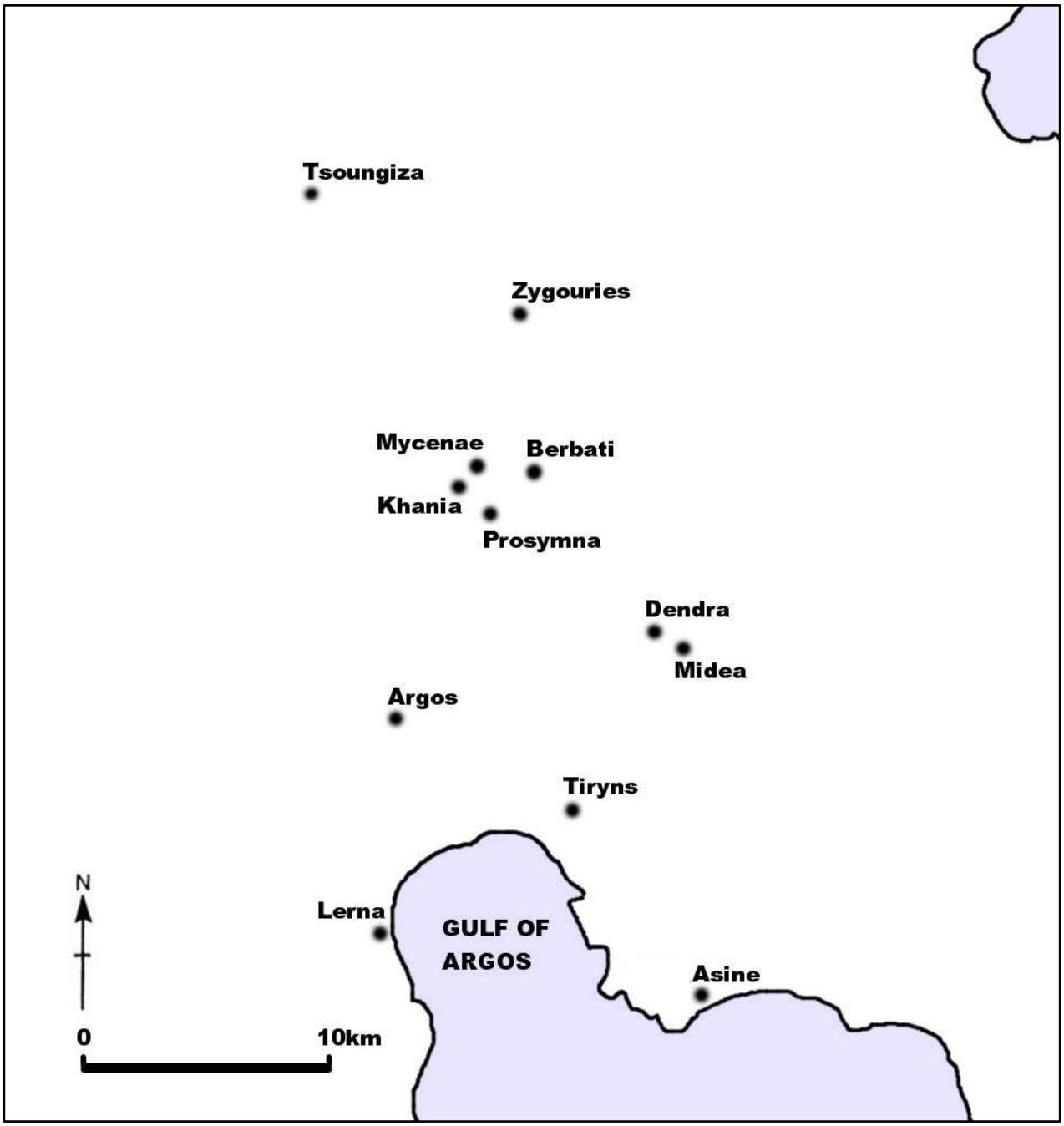
Of course, the calamities which struck the palaces and other sites may not have been viewed positively by their occupants at the time (Dickinson, 2006A, 242; McAnany and Yoffee, 2010B, 11), but the evident reluctance to return to the palace system suggests that, in the long run, the collapse was not necessarily a negative process (Rutter, 1992, 70), and could even be seen as a catalyst for social evolution rather than disaster (MacKil,

2004, 494). The fact that it continues to be viewed negatively may reflect an ongoing concern with the direction of change, and the desire for societies to move forward from simplicity to complexity (Clark, 1960, 249; Shanks and Tilley, 1987, 158; Johnson, 2010, 145; Lantzas, 2012, 13). Clearly the societies that developed after the collapse of the palaces were less complex than the palace states had been (Rutter, 1992, 70; Dickinson, 2006A, 242; Middleton, 2010, 31; Maran, 2011, 172), which does not fit with an evolutionary approach to social development and change, which requires progressively more complex societies (Shanks and Tilley, 1987, 148; Johnson, 2010; 150; Tainter, 2010, 710; Philippa-Touchais, 2011, 31; Stout, 2013, 23). However, the societies which developed after the collapse did not revert to a pre-palatial stage of social organisation. Living within the ruins of the former palaces would provide a daily reminder of what was lost, whether or not this loss was met with regret or relief. Discarding the evolutionary approach to the development of human societies, therefore, is a necessary step to understanding and appreciating the achievements of those who survived the collapse, and went on to reorganise their communities in post-palatial Greece (McAnany and Yoffee, 2010B, 6).

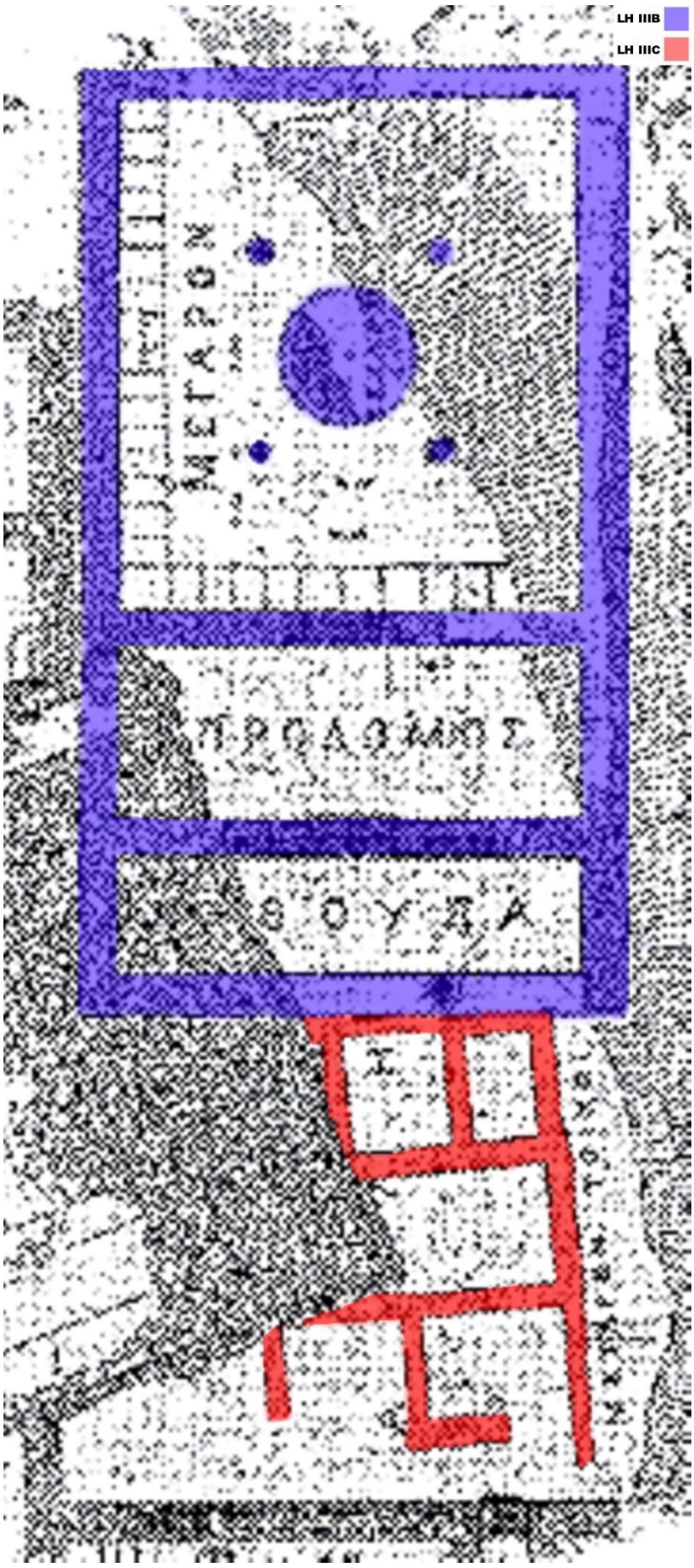
It has often been suggested that there was an increase in the use of single burial and simple graves following the collapse of the palaces (Snodgrass, 1971, 177; Thomas and Conant, 1999, 30; Whitley, 2001, 78). A closer look at the evidence (see tables), however, suggests that in the Argolid this was not the case. Single burial was used both before and after the collapse, but there appears to have been a reduction in its use in LH IIIC, and it did not become the most common type of burial until the Protogeometric period, when chamber tombs ceased to be built or used. The reason for this misunderstanding lies in the construction of the so-called Dark Age to describe the period between the collapse of the palaces, and the developments of the Geometric period, which can be connected with the rise of the polis. If LH IIIC and the Protogeometric period are considered as a single chronological period (e.g. Lantzas, 2012, 66; Papadopoulos, 2014, 186), it gives the impression that single burial and cremation began to increase after the collapse. Yet the evidence for burial practices in the Argolid suggests that this region continued to be culturally Mycenaean throughout the post-palatial period, and that significant change in burial practices did not take place until the Protogeometric period. Therefore, LH IIIC should be linked with LH IIIB and the Mycenaean period, rather than treated as the first part of the Greek Dark Age. This issue will be addressed again in the discussion chapter.

Again this raises the issue of the importance of the collapse. It is frequently regarded as the watershed in Mycenaean Greece, and the point at which everything began to change, but it is possible that its significance has been exaggerated. The collapse undoubtedly involved the destruction of palatial political structures, but other areas of life (and of course death) seem to have continued in much the same ways as before (Rutter, 1992, 70). I am not arguing that the collapse of the palace system was insignificant, but that it should not necessarily be thought of as the point at which one culture ended, and another one began.

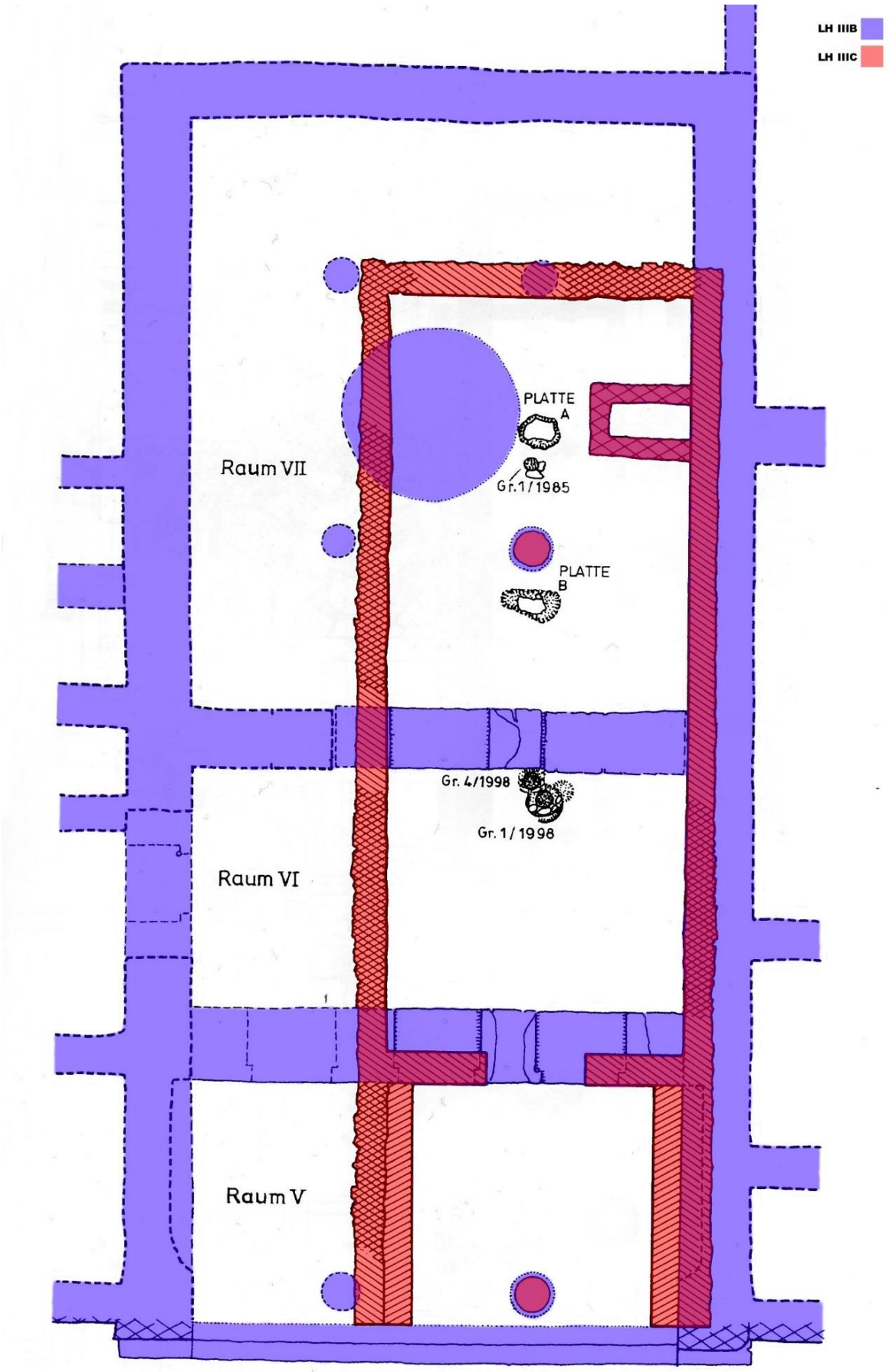
3.8 The Argolid: figures



3.1 Map of the Argolid



3.2 Plan of the LH IIIB megaron (blue) and the LH IIIC megaron (red) at Mycenae
After French, 2002, fig. 65



3.3 Plan of the LH IIIB megaron (blue) and the LH IIIC megaron (red) at Tiryns
After Maran, 2001, plate XXI

3.9 The Argolid: tables

Table 3.1: the number of collective and simple graves in use in the Argolid, LH IIIA-B and LH IIIC

The aim of this table is to establish whether or not collective tombs were replaced by simple graves in LH IIIC. The number of known tombs in use is listed (this is tombs, not burials). Where the quantity of graves is unknown, a "y" indicates that the type is present.

	Palace period (LH IIIA-B)								Post-palatial period (LH IIIC)								Continuity		
Site	Tholos	Tumulus	Chamber	Pit or cist	Collective	Simple	Total	No. of tomb types	Tholos	Tumulus	Chamber	Pit or cist	Collective	Simple	Total	No. of tomb types	Abandoned in LH IIIB	Continued in LH IIIC	New in LH IIIC
Aidonia	0	0	y	0	y	0	y	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	y		
Argos	0	0	27	30	27	30	57	2	0	1	11	2	12	2	14	3		y	
Aria	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	y		
Asine	0	0	7	0	7	0	7	1	0	0	5	0	5	0	5	1		y	
Berbati	1	0	8	0	9	0	9	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	y		
Dendra	1	0	12	0	13	0	13	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	y		
Kiveri	0	0	7	0	7	0	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y		
Kokla	1	0	8	0	9	0	9	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y		
Lerna	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y		
Monasteriaki	0	0	4	0	4	0	4	1	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	1		Y	
Mycenae*	3	0	21	y	24	y	24	3	0	1	11	y	12	y	12	3		y	
Nafplion	0	0	y	0	y	0	y	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	y		
Nea Epidavros	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	y		
Palaia Epidavros	0	0	6	0	6	0	6	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1		y	
Perachora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	y	0	y	0	y	1			y
Phychtia	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	y		
Prosymna	1	0	34	1	35	1	36	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1		y	
Schoinochori	0	0	5	0	5	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	y		
Tiryns*	2	0	13	50	15	50	65	3	0	0	6	y	6	y	6	2		y	
Verserka	0	0	3	0	3	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	y		
Zygouris	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	y		
Totals	9	0	161	82	170	82	252	-	0	2	37	2	39	2	41	-	13	7	2
Percentages	4%	0%	64%	33%	67%	33%	100%	-	0%	5%	90%	5%	95%	5%	100%	-	59%	32%	9%

* I have included the tumulus at Khania with Mycenae, and the single graves at Tiryns within LH IIIA-B

Table data based on Cavanagh and Mee 1998

Table 3.2: the relative percentage of collective and simple graves in use in the Argolid, LH IIIA-B and LH IIIC

This table is based on the figures in Table 1. The aim is to discover whether the ratio of collective to simple graves changed after the collapse. The percentages relate to individual periods, not the whole period in question. Only cemeteries that spanned LH IIIA-B and LH IIIC are used.

	Quantity and percentage of tombs of each type															Type present or not					
	All tombs			Collective tombs						Simple graves						Collective			Simple		
Site	LH IIIA-B	LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B and LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B	LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B and LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B	LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B and LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B	LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B and LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B	LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B and LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B	LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B and LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B	LH IIIC	LH IIIA-B and LH IIIC
Argos	57	14	71	27	12	39	47%	86%	55%	30	2	32	53%	14%	45%	y	y	y	y	y	y
Asine	7	5	12	7	5	12	100%	100%	100%	0	0	0	0%	0%	0%	y	y	y	n	n	n
Monasteriaki	4	2	6	4	2	6	100%	100%	100%	0	0	0	0%	0%	0%	y	y	y	n	n	n
Mycenae*	24	12	36	24	12	36	100%	100%	100%	y	y	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	y	y	y	y	y	y
Palaia Epidavros	6	1	7	6	1	7	100%	100%	100%	0	0	0	0%	0%	0%	y	y	y	n	n	n
Prosymna	36	1	37	35	1	36	97%	100%	97%	1	0	1	3%	0%	3%	y	y	y	y	n	y
Tiryns*	65	6	71	15	6	21	23%	100%	30%	50	y	50	77%	n/a	70%	y	y	y	y	y	y
Totals	199	41	240	118	39	157	59%	95%	65%	81	2	83	41%	5%	35%	7	7	7	4	3	4
																100%	100%	100%	57%	43%	57%

* I have included the tumulus at Khania with Mycenae, and the single graves at Tiryns within LH IIIA-B

Table data based on Cavanagh and Mee 1998

Table 3.3: the number of simple graves in use in the Argolid before and after the collapse

The aim of this table is to establish whether or not simple graves increased in number from the palace period (LH IIIA-B) to the post-palatial period (LH IIIC and SM). The number of known tombs in use is listed (again this is the number of tombs, not burials).

Site	LH / LH III Mycenaean	LH IIIA-B palace period	LH IIIC post-palatial	SM+ post-palatial	Total	Definite pre-collapse	Definite post-collapse	Post-palatial increase
Argos	21	21	3	10	55	21	13	n
Aria	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	n/a
Asine	9	1	0	0	10	1	0	n
Berbati	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	n/a
Eileai	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	n/a
Kokla	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	n/a
Lerna	2	1	0	0	3	1	0	n
Monastiriaki	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	n
Mycenae	5	3	7	3	18	3	10	y
Nauplion	5	1	0	1	7	1	1	n
Prosymna	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	n
Tiryns*	3	5	46	5	59	5	51	y
Totals	51	34	56	19	160	34	75	2
Percentages	32%	21%	35%	12%	100%	21%	47%	17%

*The 42 simple graves from Tiryns have been added to the LH IIIC total

Table data based on Lewartowski 2000

Notes

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 are based on the catalogues of graves listed in Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, pp. 80-88 (LH IIIA-B) and pp. 98-102 (LH IIIC).
Table 3.3 is based on the catalogue of graves listed in Lewartowski, 2000, pp. 63-93.

Although the exact number of graves in the Argolid varies between these two works, it is likely that collective tombs continued to dominate cemeteries in the post-palatial period. It is also the case that simple graves were used in the Argolid in the palace period, and did not increase significantly in the post-palatial period, so there was no sudden change in burial practices. It would appear that the switch to single burial, therefore, took place not in response to the collapse of the palaces, but later, in the Protogeometric period.

Chapter 4: Burials with weapons

4.1 Introduction

It has often been noted that there was an increase in the number of burials with weapons after the collapse of the palaces (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 168; Dickinson, 2006A, 74; Cavanagh, 2008, 335; Middleton, 2010, 101; Crielaard, 2011, 95), and it has been argued that the increase in this type of burial in LH IIIC represents significant social change, prompted by the collapse. The increase in the so-called warrior graves has also been treated as evidence for the increased importance of warriors or military leaders in the organisation of post-palatial communities (Moschos, 2009). If this was the case, then obviously the interpretation of warrior graves is of critical interest to the present study on post-palatial Mycenaean burial practices, and social organisation after the collapse. It will be necessary, therefore, to re-examine the evidence, and critically evaluate the ways in which it has been interpreted so far, in order to understand the significance of these burials to post-palatial Greece.

This chapter begins by addressing the theory that there was a shared tradition of warrior burials in Bronze Age Europe, which was expressed most lucidly in Treherne's 1995 review of European burials with weapons, *The warrior's beauty: the masculine body and self-identity in Bronze-Age Europe*. Treherne counted the Shaft Graves at Mycenae among the second wave of European warrior graves (Treherne, 1995, 106), and linked the wider dissemination of the warrior lifestyle in central Europe to the extension of Mycenaean influence into southern Italy and beyond (Treherne, 1995, 109). Is he correct to locate the burials with weapons in Mycenaean Greece within this broader European tradition, or did Greece have its own traditions? Should the history of prehistoric Greece be considered independently, or within a broader European context? These issues need to be resolved before the reasons for burials with weapons in Greece can be explored.

After discussing the types of archaeological evidence for Mycenaean warriors that are currently available, various interpretations for the deposition of weapons and armour in Mycenaean graves are considered, along with what this practice might have meant in terms of social identity and organisation in post-palatial Greece. Of critical importance to this theme is Deger-Jalkotzy's 2006 study, *Late Mycenaean warrior tombs*, in which she identified and discussed 34 potential warrior graves (including 38 individual warrior

burials), from the post-palatial mainland, islands, and Crete. In considering the nature and importance of weapons burials in Mycenaean Greece, it will be useful to discuss this practice in both the Shaft Grave period and the palace period, in order to consider the ways in which it was used in post-palatial Greece. The chapter concludes by discussing the concept of the much-maligned "warlike Mycenaeans", and the applicability of this description to Greece in the Bronze Age.

There is one final issue to discuss, before the various theories and evidence can be addressed. The term used most frequently to describe tombs in which weapons have been discovered is "warrior grave". It has sometimes been suggested that only those graves containing swords should be so described, since swords may have distinguished individuals of higher rank than mere infantry, and they specifically referred to warfare rather than hunting (Macdonald, 1984, 56-58). More often, however, the term has been used to refer to any grave containing weapons of any kind, be they bladed weapons, spearheads, or armour. As the evidence for burials with weapons in post-palatial Greece is rather limited, it did not seem useful here to distinguish between those with swords, and those without them, although any differences in assemblages will be acknowledged where relevant (table 4.1). The main concern with warrior graves, however, is not the range of evidence covered by the term, but what is implied by the word "warrior". To interpret the meaning of the grave, and the occupation and status of the dead without close examination of the evidence, is, I would argue, unwise. The terms "weapons burial" and "burial with weapons" are less inspiring and more cumbersome than "warrior grave", but they have the advantage of leaving open the interpretation of the evidence. The intention of this chapter is to reinterpret this evidence, and consider the purpose of the so-called warrior graves in post-palatial Greece.

Several images have been used to support this chapter, beginning with plans of some of the earliest Mycenaean burials with weapons, in the Grave Circles at Mycenae (figs. 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3). Weapons and armour from burials are illustrated, including from the Grave Circles (fig. 4.6), burials at Knossos (figs. 4.5 and 4.7), and objects from the post-palatial burials with weapons at Perati (figs. 4.12 and 4.13). Agonistic iconography is frequently used to illustrate both military practices and attitudes to warfare, and several images depicting fighting or fighters are used in this chapter (figs. 4.4, 4.8, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 4.14, 4.15 and 4.16). The way in which images of warfare are understood affect, and have been affected by, interpretations of the post-palatial period, and it will be necessary to

reconsider how some of these images should now be understood. After the images follow a number of tables that illustrate the types of objects placed in burials with weapons. The data is organised first by regions (tables 4.1, 4.1a and 4.1b), and then chronologically (tables 4.2 and 4.2a), in order to analyse different patterns of grave good usage, and critically evaluate the validity of Treherne's proposed package of grave goods associated with weapons burials. As with burials in the Argolid, the exact date of some graves cannot be ascertained with precision, but it will be demonstrated that it is still possible to analyse the data and gain a better understanding of the way in which weapons burials were used in the post-palatial period.

4.2 The European Bronze Age warrior grave tradition

One explanation for the deposition of weapons in Mycenaean graves linked this practice to a European warrior ideology, which began in the late Bronze Age (mid second millennium), lasted until historical times, and spread throughout Europe (Treherne, 1995, 105-106). The theory of a warrior ideology has not always been explicitly articulated, but there have been many allusions to a warrior ethos or an idealised warrior class, which it was thought played an ideological role in the organisation of Bronze Age society, including the "heroic age" of Greece (Clark and Piggott, 1970, 304; Catling, 1996, 649; Harding, 2000, 271; Giannopoulos, 2008; Moschos, 2009, 356; Galaty, Tomas, and Parkinson, 2014, 169). Burials with weapons have been attested at various locations across Europe from Scandinavia to the Aegean islands, and were said to feature a diagnostic "package" of elite grave goods in addition to weapons, including drinking vessels, personal adornments and grooming equipment, and objects associated with riding or driving horses (Treherne, 1995, 105).

These practices and the accompanying warrior ideology were said to have developed alongside elite burials, which gradually began to emphasise individual identity and social differentiation, in contrast to the more egalitarian social identities previously expressed in collective Neolithic burials and monuments (S.J. Shennan, 1982, 159). Differentiation in burials was achieved by the use of grave goods for individual rather than group burials, and especially by the control of prestige goods by the elite (Treherne, 1995, 107). Rather than masking social inequalities, the ideological role of elite burials, including burials with weapons, was to make these differences more palatable (Treherne, 1995, 108), or at least to seem natural and unchanging (S.J. Shennan, 1982, 156). The legitimisation of the

warrior role was achieved by glorifying the warriors' lives, and celebrating them in death. The warrior identity was said to have idealised aspects of masculinity (Whitley, 2001, 97), but this identity, whilst perhaps being something to aspire to, was not available to all men.

Treherne rejected the ideological explanation for the spread of warrior graves, on the grounds that ideology is not merely a device used cynically to mask social differences (Treherne, 1995, 115). Nor should people be considered as the passive receivers of ideology (Miller and Tilley, 1984B, 4). Rather, ideology is actively lived, created, and believed by participants, and because it is lived, it actively creates social identities (Treherne, 1995, 115-116). This approach represented a step away from the classical marxist interpretation of ideology as essentially masking social inequality for the benefit of the ruling class (Rees, 1998, 87), and towards the view that ideology is relatively benign. This was, perhaps, a necessary step, in order to imagine a class of violent men in a relatively positive light. For example, the warriors buried in the Knossos North Cemetery (who are assumed to be foreigners, perhaps from the mainland) are described as "flamboyant", with a mixture of "aggression and ambition" (Catling, 1996, 646, 649) in the most romanticised reconstructions. No concern was expressed about the aggression, perhaps because it was viewed as a normal or even essential element in the ambitious man.

Treherne's revised approach to ideology gave rise to the theory that there was not only a warrior ideology, but in fact a warrior lifestyle, in the European Bronze Age (Treherne, 1995, 106). Molloy refined this approach further by distinguishing between a warrior identity, represented by physical appearance and possessions, and a warrior lifeway, represented by participation in activities such as hunting and combat training (Molloy, 2012, 88-89). In this reconstruction, "warrior" does not refer to an occupation or profession, however, but the right to participate in violence on behalf of a community (Molloy, 2012, 88). The warrior lifestyle involved, besides warfare and its preparations, the exchange of prestige gifts and mutual hospitality (especially drinking alcohol) between members of the warrior class and their kings (Treherne, 1995, 109). Thus the package of grave goods associated with warrior graves was selected because these objects were also used in life, for drinking, grooming, riding, and of course, combat (Treherne, 1995, 124), and not just because they were intrinsically valuable.

According to Treherne, the spread of the warrior lifestyle could have occurred through the search for exotica – goods that were prestigious because they could not be produced locally and had to be obtained from faraway places – and the emulation of this elite lifestyle by those who encountered travelling warriors (Treherne, 1995, 114-115). The same might be said of elite burials in general in the early Bronze Age, where areas that did not already feature a stable hierarchy developed one when they became part of the elite exchange network (S.J. Shennan, 1982, 160). The similarities in Bronze Age swords from different regions has also been attributed to this elite exchange network (Treherne, 1995, 114), although it could be argued that all swords were more or less similar because of the pressure to utilise the latest technology in combat (Harding, 2000, 238). In order to be remembered after death, warriors needed both a beautiful death – in the form of an appropriately elaborate funeral focused upon body ornamentation – and a beautiful life (Treherne, 1995, 125), which explains the preoccupation with appearance and the presence of grooming equipment amongst the package of grave goods. (It is, however, unclear why being remembered after death was so important to warriors (Treherne, 1995, 124) but not to others.)

I do not share some of the criticisms that have been made of cross-cultural comparisons (Johnson, 2010, 199; Flannery and Marcus, 2011, 29) (the processualists' desire to compare cultures was not in itself an unreasonable goal, despite the criticisms), and must admit that it would be very convenient to locate the Mycenaean burials with weapons within a broader European tradition. However, the idea that a single warrior grave tradition existed in all corners of Europe, for thousands of years, and for more or less the same reasons, is extremely troubling. Burial practices in Perati and Attica (chapter 2) demonstrate that archaeological evidence must first be located and understood within its regional and chronological context, before broader comparisons can be made. Therefore, I would argue that similarities in assemblages or practices in themselves do not mean that the same social conditions prevailed in different places or at different times for the same reasons.

Treherne took a very broad approach when he related the rise of the "warrior aristocracy" to the emergence of the European elite during the Bronze Age. He defined this elite in terms of shared patterns of consumption and lifestyle (Treherne, 1995, 108), but focusing on commodities and consumption rather than social organisation and class gives a sense of homogeneity to the European Bronze Age which would not be justified, if the ways in

which this elite acquired wealth and power were stressed instead (see chapter 1 for a discussion of the use and abuse of the term “elite”). The fact that Bronze was the dominant metal technology in Europe at this time, and that there were similarities in the objects consumed as luxuries (Sherratt, 1994, 245), does not mean that every society was organised in the same way, or that they all had a role for a warrior class. Even if a broader European tradition is ignored, and the Mycenaean post-palatial burials with weapons are treated only as part of a “pan-hellenic” tradition (Whitley, 2001, 96) which was indigenous to Greece (Maran and Van de Moortel, 2014, 543) and began in the Middle Helladic period (Cavanagh, 2008, 335), the approach is problematic, because it implies continuity in the social role and lifestyle of an elite warrior class for more than half a millennium, and in a region which followed a number of divergent pathways (Halstead, 1994, 206).

If it is the case that the same phenomena can occur in different times and places, and for different reasons (Shennan, 1986, 138; Sherratt, 1994, 245; Halstead, 1994, 206; Sjöberg, 2004, 21), then a one-theory-fits-all approach to burials with weapons must be fundamentally flawed. In fact this practice was not known in all areas of Europe (Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 206), and the lack of weapons burials in areas where they might reasonably be expected deserves, but often does not receive, equal attention (Molloy (2012, 119) notes the gaps but does not explain them). If it was possible for Bronze Age communities to develop without a warrior class, then what role did warriors play in those areas where their graves have been found? The social role of warriors has not always been made clear, although it is often assumed that warfare was a daily concern in the Bronze Age (Harding, 2000, 272-273), and that warriors were therefore a necessity. If it is true that Mycenaean burials with weapons belonged to a common tradition, however sporadic that appears to be, then what explains this phenomenon and its spread throughout Europe?

4.3 Women and warfare

A biological explanation will not suffice, and it is necessary to look beyond simple essentialist attitudes to gender in the interpretation of archaeological evidence. Despite the frequent assumption that the presence of weapons denotes a male burial (Weglian, 2001, 140), it must be remembered, even when discussing weapons (Harrington, 2007, 336), that gender is socially constructed and specific to place and time (Knapp, 1998, 243; Harrington, 2007, 335; Sørensen, 2007, 42, 46; Alison, 2009, 9; Agostinone-Wilson, 2013,

173). This includes the idealised warrior hero of Homeric Greece – and of course his female counterpart, who remains at home weaving whilst battle rages. In fact there is no evidence that a preoccupation with weapons is natural to men now or in the past, or that men are any more "warlike" than women – this belief is a fairly recent western construct (Alison, 2009, 91) – and other evidence indicates that men are often both reluctant to kill, and traumatised by doing so (O'Brien, 2009, 37-41). At the same time, there are several accounts of women taking part in warfare in a variety of different cultures in the past (Thorpe, 2013, 245; Flohr, Brinker, Spanagel, Schramm, Orschiedt, and Kierdorf, 2014, 30). Is it correct, therefore, to argue that the warrior ideology, or indeed lifestyle, specifically refers to masculine beauty and identity (Treherne, 1995, 125; Giannopoulos, 2008), and has nothing to do with women?

Certainly, enough burials of women with weapons have been identified in Mycenaean Greece and elsewhere to show that the simple equation weapon = male is erroneous. Burials of weapons alongside biologically female skeletal remains are not common (Harrell, 2014B, 100), but their existence must at least call into question the notion that weapons were exclusively associated with men. Examples in Greece include early Mycenaean graves Delta (Dietz, 1991, 113) (fig. 4.1 – note that the largest weapon is associated with the female burial) and Theta (Dickinson, 1977, 42) in Grave Circle B at Mycenae, grave IV in Grave Circle A at Mycenae (Dickinson, Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Nafplioti, 2012A, 176-177), tomb XV in the palace period Agora cemetery at Athens (this was disturbed but the skeletal remains of an adult male were not discovered, and the remains of a woman were) (Smith, 2009, 103), tholos tomb 3 in Koukounara:Katarrachi in Messenia (Lewartowski, 2000, 40), post-palatial tomb 3 at Krini:Drimaleïka in Achaea (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 157), and perhaps EIA tomb 3 at Bouratza in Eretria (D'Onofrio, 2011, 657). Post-palatial chamber tomb 2 at Lousika:Spaliareïka featured two burials with weapons (one of which was a cremation), and a further pit containing weapons but no skeletal remains (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 157-158). The evidence from this tomb has been described in terms of masculinity and martial prowess, even though the sex of the skeletal remains has never been identified by osteological analysis (Harrell, 2014B, 99). The idea that this tomb could have contained the burial of *women* is rarely entertained, even though there is no proof that it ever contained the burial of *men*. The post-palatial female burial in the famous Lefkandi Heroön was buried with a long iron dagger, but only the male cremation with weapons in this tomb is described as a warrior, and the woman's weapon is frequently ignored (Harrell, 2014B, 99-100).

Burials of women with weapons, both in Mycenaean Greece and elsewhere are not commonly discovered, but have occurred in sufficient numbers to demand acknowledgement. There is no doubt in my mind that, if all skeletal remains were uniformly and consistently preserved, and skeletal remains had been systematically examined by specialists, more burials of women with weapons would have been discovered than those already known, but in practice most burials with weapons have been automatically characterised as male without reference to the skeletal remains (Harrell, 2014B, 100). No plausible explanation has been offered for the presence of weapons in some Mycenaean women's tombs, and the belief that only men could be warriors is often repeated without challenge or disclaimer (Thorpe, 2013, 237).

Besides the burials, there were also several iconographic representations of women with weapons and armour (Harrell, 2014B, 101), particularly in the palace period, and especially at Mycenae. One fresco from Mycenae depicts a woman wearing a boars' tusk helmet (Morris, 1990, 155) (fig. 4.8), another helmeted woman was discovered in a fresco at Thebes (Morgan, 1988, 83), a female archer was depicted on a fresco in room 27 at Pylos (Whitley, 2005, 32), and at Tiryns a fragment of the Boar Hunt Fresco shows a woman's hand holding a spear (Rodenwaldt, 1912, 121). Women driving chariots also appeared in this fresco, either as spectators (Immerwahr, 1990, 129-130), or as participants in the hunt (Muskett, 2007, 58). Female chariot drivers have also been identified in frescoes at Orchomenos and Mycenae (Muskett, 2007, 57). The concept of armed women was also familiar to the Minoans, as the LM IA seal from Knossos featuring a woman with a sword and a whip attests (Rehak, 1984, 543).

Obviously images of women with weapons do not prove that women could have been warriors, but they do indicate that the concept of armed women was not alien to the Mycenaeans, even if it is a difficult concept for some modern scholars to accept. It is likely that a warrior goddess was worshipped at Mycenae (Rehak, 1984, 535-545), as indicated by the frescoes in the Cult Centre (Morgan, 2005B, 167-169) (fig. 4.9), whilst in other instances, it has been argued that some of the images could represent a hunting goddess (Muskett, 2007, 55). It has also been suggested that images of mortal women with weapons were only permitted when a ritual scene was portrayed, and these images of women as "other" were restricted to palatial settings (Muskett, 2007, 58-59). The idea that

armed women were goddesses rather actual combatants may reinforce the belief that women buried with weapons were not warriors (Harrell, 2014B, 101).

Interestingly, in the rare images of actual battles, such as the scene on the Siege Rhyton found in Grave Circle A at Mycenae (Morgan, 1988, 83) and the palace period battle fresco in the megaron at Mycenae (Immerwahr, 1990, 122), men were portrayed as active participants, whilst women were depicted in the windows of the citadel in somewhat "secondary roles" (Muskett, 2001, 184). These battle scenes suggest that, even if there were circumstances in which women could be armed, they may not have been expected to actively take part in warfare, although any gap between iconography and reality is impossible to measure retrospectively.

Despite these examples of burials and images of women with weapons, reservations about the gender of those buried with weapons have been expressed extremely rarely, especially for Mycenaean Greece (e.g. Whitley 2002, 217; D'Onofrio, 2011, 649; Harrell, 2014B). In Greece and elsewhere, burials of women with weapons have been discounted in a variety of ways, but most often they have simply been ignored (Thorpe, 2013, 237). Burials of women with weapons have been re-gendered, for example, by selecting the gender of the dead based on the presence of grave goods rather than skeletal remains (Sofaer and Sørensen, 2013, 530). The dead have been disarmed, for example by deciding that the object discovered was not really a weapon but a weaving tool (Harrington, 2007, 336), or that it cannot have been used as a real weapon, simply because it was deposited with a woman or child (Thorpe, 2013, 235). Weapons have been attributed to men, for example by assuming that the weapons in a grave belonged to a male rather than the female burial (Catling, 1996, 646; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 157), even if no male skeleton has been recovered. It has also been argued that, when a woman was buried with a weapon, this referred to the warrior status of her husband, rather than her own status as a warrior (Thorpe, 2013, 237). In the case of the woman buried in the Lefkandi Heroön, the iron dagger with which she was buried, if mentioned at all, has been described as the weapon used to kill her, rather than a symbol of her military or political status (Harrell, 2014B, 100). Thus the evidence of women with weapons has been discounted in numerous ways, simply in order to retain the categorisation of weapons, and warriors, as male.

If the assumption that weapons and warfare were exclusively masculine is not challenged, archaeologists will continue to construct pasts that reflect modern stereotypes rather than ancient realities. This approach does not do justice to the evidence so far discovered of both images and burials of women with weapons, and fails to take account of the existence of female warriors known in other cultures (Hollimon, 2001, 181-184). However, my intention here is not to argue that there were female warriors in Bronze Age Greece (although a little more attention to osteological evidence when examining these graves might furnish such a view point (D'Onofrio, 2011, 657; Thorpe, 2013, 245; Harrell, 2014B, 100)), but to show that the practice of placing weapons in graves cannot be explained simply as an aspect of masculinity.

4.4 The European warrior grave package

Treherne argued for a warrior lifestyle partly on the basis of the package of grave goods associated with warrior graves. It seems reasonable to expect there to be a relationship between the types of goods placed in the grave, and the ways in which people lived, and Treherne was right to complain that treating these objects simply as luxuries lacks explanatory value (Treherne, 1995, 116). However, I am concerned about the validity of the package of grave goods that has been proposed, and especially the emphasis on grooming and personal appearance suggested by the presence of combs, razors, clothing adornments and jewellery amongst the grave goods. Scholars have often linked the burial of weapons with grooming equipment in Mycenaean Greece (Papadopoulos, 1999, 269; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 172-173; Eder, 2006, 557; Giannopoulos, 2008), but on closer inspection, this does not seem to be the case.

Even in the early Mycenaean period, the link is difficult to make. Consider grave Gamma in Grave Circle B at Mycenae (Dietz, 1991, 108-110) (fig. 4.2). The objects found in this grave included seven swords and six knives or daggers, but only one comb was discovered. If the people buried with weapons in this grave were concerned with appearances, it was not clearly reflected in their burial assemblages. These findings suggest that, even if grooming and personal appearance were associated with the elite, there was no special link with those who were buried with weapons in early Mycenaean Greece. Similarly in the palace period, some of the weapons burials contained grooming equipment, but it does not seem to be the case that the majority of them did so, and the

presence of such objects in burials with weapons can only, at best, be described as “sporadic” (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 74).

Grooming equipment such as razors and tweezers (fig. 4.12) are often mentioned in relation to post-palatial burials with weapons (Giannopoulos, 2008), and this is clearly considered to be an important aspect of the grave assemblage. However, of the 38 post-palatial warrior burials identified by Deger-Jalkotzy’s 2006 study, only nine (24%) featured grooming equipment (where listed), and these had no more than two such objects per grave (table 4.1). There were five in Achaea: Krini:Drimaleïka tomb 3 (an ivory comb), Lousika:Spaliareïka tomb 2 and Kallithea:Spentzes tomb B (each contained a razor and a pair of tweezers), Patras:Klauss tomb theta and the Kallithea:Laganidia tholos tomb (a pair of tweezers only) (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006). Beyond Achaea (the region in which most of the burials with weapons have been discovered), three graves containing weapons were excavated at the cemetery at Perati in Attica (tombs 12, 38, and 123). A mirror was found in tomb 12, which also contained a sword (fig. 4.13), and tomb 123 contained a razor and a pair of tweezers, as well as a spearhead (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006). However, these two graves account for just three items of grooming equipment, from at least 32 such items found in the whole cemetery (Iakovidis, 1970). Finally, tomb 2 at Kephallonia:Dhiakata contained a razor, and the ‘Tombe d’un chef’ at Delphi contained razors and tweezers (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006). There was also no clear relationship between grooming equipment and the deposition of swords – only 6 (20%) of the burials containing swords also featured grooming equipment (table 4.1). The majority of post-palatial burials with weapons have been discovered in Achaea, but only 40% of these graves featured grooming equipment (table 4.1a). No grooming equipment has been reported in the weapons burials discovered on the Islands and Crete. These findings suggest that grooming equipment was optional, rather than a significant element of the warrior grave package.

Items used for personal adornment such as rings, fibulae, pins and buttons have often been discovered amongst the grave goods of the richer Mycenaean burials (indeed the presence of jewellery is one of the main criteria used in defining “rich” burials, as discussed in chapter 1), but only about 18 (47%) of the 38 weapons burials mentioned above included jewellery and fibulae (table 4.1). Admittedly, the number might have been higher had some of the burials been recorded or reported in more detail. At Perati well over 200 items of jewellery and personal adornment have been recovered from the

cemetery, but the burials with weapons contained only nine such objects (Iakovidis, 1970). Besides a sword and dagger, tomb 38 contained a bronze arm ring and a piece of gold wire, and tomb 12 contained 7 silver rings as well as a sword and an ornamental knife, but no jewellery was found in tomb 123, which was identified as a warrior grave by the presence of a spearhead (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 156). The presence of a sword (rather than another weapon) did not make the presence of jewellery or adornments more likely either – only 13 (43%) of the 30 burials with swords identified by Deger-Jalkotzy also featured jewellery or adornments, many of which were the very rich post-palatial tombs on Crete (table 4.1b). The increase in the percentage of graves containing jewellery and adornments in LH/LM IIIC Late should also be attributed to the fact that half of the 8 graves in this period were on Crete (table 4.2). Again it is reasonable to connect an interest in personal adornment and appearance with richer burials and elite competition, but not specifically with Mycenaean warrior graves. Evidently, it is because many burials with weapons were relatively rich that they often contained jewellery, and not because they were weapons burials in themselves.

The connection between the social consumption of alcohol and the role of warriors has often been stressed, including by Treherne (Treherne, 1995, 109). The recent discovery of an antique gold wine cup alongside weapons in Submycenaean cist grave 1 at Kouvaras in Arcanania (Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Jung and Mehofer, 2012, 252-253) hints at the importance of social drinking in the creation of identity at death, and perhaps its social role in life. The fact that the cup was made of gold, and could have been an heirloom or a friendship-gift, gives this object greater significance, but it is not the case that social drinking was exclusively the domain of the warrior. Drinking cups and wine jugs were extremely common in Mycenaean burials, and were frequently placed in burials without weapons. At post-palatial Perati, for example, although vessels for drinking or storing liquids were found with the burials with weapons, they also account for a third of all the ceramics found at the cemetery (Iakovidis, 1970, 427-428). The fact that drinking vessels and containers were ubiquitous in Mycenaean burials therefore argues against their special significance in warrior graves. There is no doubt that wine consumption played a significant role in creating and maintaining social relations in the palace period (Fox, 2012, 37) – as the discovery of thousands of wine cups at Pylos attests (Blegen and Rawson, 2001, 15). It is curious, then, that wine drinking seems to have been especially important in the palace period (Fox, 2012, 57), at a time when the warrior burial was relatively uncommon, whilst the wine toast at the graveside dramatically declined in the post-palatial

period (Cavanagh, 1998, 107), when burials with weapons are said to have increased. Again this suggests that there was no special relationship between warrior burials and alcohol consumption.

Of all the burials with weapons identified by Deger-Jalkotzy (2006), only two (5%) featured items that might be associated with horses, despite the claim that warriors were associated with horse riding or driving, and equipment for these purposes was found among their grave goods (Treherne, 1995, 105). Both post-palatial Mycenaean examples come from islands rather than the mainland: in Crete, Mouliana tomb A contained 3 plaques (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 163), and on Naxos, Grotta:Kamini tomb A contained 7 bronze objects which could be related to horses (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 162). A further burial at Koukounaries on Paros may also have contained horse keeping equipment (Crielaard, 2011, 94), bringing the total to three. Again, these finds do not support the idea of a distinct package of grave goods associated with warrior graves. The evidence from post-palatial Greece suggests that, if Treherne and others were correct in identifying a standard assemblage for the burial of warriors in the European Bronze Age, then the burials with weapons discovered in Greece did not belong to this tradition.

4.5 Archaeological evidence for the existence of warriors

Both Treherne and those who continue to argue for a warrior ideology or lifestyle (such as Harding (2000, 307), who repeats Treherne's approach uncritically) treat the deposition of weapons in graves as direct evidence for the existence of warriors or a warrior class (Treherne, 1995, 109). The same approach is often taken with the Mycenaean warrior graves (e.g. Giannopoulos, 2008; Moschos, 2009, 356; Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Jung and Mehofer, 2012, 261; Maran and Van de Moortel, 2014, 539), but is this interpretation correct? One of the main sources of evidence used for Mycenaean Greece is Homer and his tales of the Trojan War (e.g. Catling, 1996, 646), but, entertaining though they are, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* tell us almost nothing about real life in Bronze Age Greece (Crielaard, 2006, 272; Dickinson, 2006B, 116; Raaflaub, 2006, 449). It is believed that the poems were composed in the Geometric period, some 400 years after the events they recall, and as such, they are a useful source of information about their own time, but present an unreliable source for the period before (Murray, 1993, 35-36; Raaflaub, 2006, 458-9). Treherne was not alone in using Homer to discuss the Bronze Age. Homer's warrior-heroes have inspired Aegean archaeology since its inception (Fitton, 1995, 48), and have

not entirely lost their appeal today (e.g. Brouwers, 2013), but they must not be allowed to influence the interpretation of archaeological evidence (Harrell, 2014B, 99), however tempting this might be. So the question remains – do burials with weapons indicate that the dead were warriors in life, and how can this be proved?

One approach to this question is to compare skeletal remains with grave goods in order to find out whether or not those buried with weapons had received injuries sustained in combat (Arnott, 1999, 500; Thorpe, 2013, 238). This approach is not without its problems, not least of which, is the difficulty in deciding whether injuries were caused by combat, execution, sacrifice, or ordinary activities (Thorpe, 2013, 240-41). Nor can combat-related injuries be easily separated into those acquired through warfare, or inter-personal violence (O'Brien, 2009, 33), such as domestic abuse. In addition to this, it is often the case that injuries from weapons will leave no trace on the skeleton (Arnott, 1999, 499). Molloy's experimental research with Mycenaean swords, for example, showed that the early weapons were unable to penetrate bone unless they were struck with such force as to permanently damage or break the blade (Molloy, 2010, 422). Only a short sighted or desperate combatant would use their weapon in this way. With this in mind, it is likely that many combat injuries would not leave traces on the skeleton, and would therefore be undetectable by archaeologists (Molloy, 2010, 422).

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to this approach is the fact that, for a long time in Aegean archaeology, bones were not retained for osteological analysis, and this source of information remains relatively "untapped" (Smith, 2009, 99), or worse still, is no longer accessible (Prag, 2012, 162). Thousands of graves were excavated before the value of skeletal remains was known (Shepherd, 2013, 547), and even now, it is not standard practice to subject bones to detailed analysis, although this may be changing. This means that, for the majority of burials in the present study, no detailed analyses of the bones have been carried out (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 45), and cannot be carried out now because the remains have been discarded (Bright, 1995, 35), or stored as a group (Dickinson, Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Nafplioti, 2012A, 171). Thus it is only possible to speculate about whether or not most of the so-called warriors had participated in battle and sustained detectable injuries. There are, however, a few exceptions, from the Shaft Grave Period at Mycenae, post-palatial Crete, and the mainland in the palace period.

4.6 The Shaft Grave period

Grave Circle B at Mycenae was discovered and excavated in the 1950s (Mylonas, 1973), at a time when attention was given to the skeletons, and not just the grave goods. Several of the burials were accompanied by weapons (Whitley, 2002, 221), and examination of the skeletons indicated that some of them had suffered trauma as a result of combat (Acheson, 1999, 98-99). For example, the final burial of a man in grave Gamma (skeleton 4) (fig. 4.2) had received a head wound from which he did not recover (Arnott, 1999, 502), despite evidence for trepanation (Mee, 2011, 234). It should be pointed out, however, that although there were several weapons in this grave, none appear to have been associated with this injured man (Dickinson, 1977, 46), even though there is evidence that he may have actively participated in combat.

In other graves, skeletal injuries and the burial of weapons did sometimes correlate, which suggests that there was a connection between active combat and the use of weapons as grave goods. In the earliest burials of Grave Circle B, most burials were accompanied by just 1-3 swords, and these were usually placed beside the body, which suggests that they were the personal possessions of the deceased (Harrell, 2014A, 4). In grave Gamma (fig. 4.2), there were weapons beside the first undisturbed burial (skeleton 1) and the two that had been moved to the side (skeletons 2 and 3), which may indicate that these weapons were personal weapons, placed with the dead at the time of burial. The evidence from Grave Circle B suggests that, at least in the early Mycenaean period, weapons *may* sometimes have been used in burials specifically to refer to the military prowess or experience of the dead, although this was not always the case.

It may have been the case, however, that the display of weapons could also have been used to create warrior identities in death, at least temporarily (Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 209), for those who had not actually been warriors in life, if it is true that burials did more than just reflect reality (Voutsaki, 1998, 44-45). It is notable that burial with weapons was not available to everyone who might have taken part in warfare, otherwise many more weapons should have been discovered in burials, and outside of the elite sections of cemeteries (Dickinson, 2014, 70). In fact this practice was concentrated among members of the elite who may have belonged to separate family groups or factions (Dickinson, 1977, 41), and were actively competing for political power (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 123). In

this situation, the display of weapons at burial would have played a symbolic role, at least in part.

The deposition of rich grave goods, including ordinary and ornamental weapons (especially swords), intensified during the use of Grave Circle B (Harrell, 2014A, 3), and displays of wealth, exotica and weapons could have been used in order to attain followers and justify power (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 62; Acheson, 1999, 99; Wright, 2008A, 243) during a period in which the rulers of Mycenae had not yet been permanently established. The construction of Grave Circle A, a few generations after Grave Circle B, with its more limited burial group within fewer, more closely grouped graves (Dickinson, 1977, 39-40) (fig. 4.3), and an emphatic emphasis on the display of wealth, suggests that a dominant faction was forming amongst the elite (Dickinson, Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Nafplioti, 2012B, 184). The extremely rich burials of some women in Grave Circle A, including possible burials with weapons, indicate that this elite was not formed exclusively of heavily armed men. The face mask given to the female buried in grave IV, the signet rings featuring scenes of hunting and fighting found in the same grave (NMA 240 and 241), and the rich female burial with ritual objects in grave III, indicate that women could have held very high status within this faction (Dickinson, Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Nafplioti, 2012A, 174; 177-178).

Although the origins of the shaft graves can be traced back to the Middle Bronze Age (Dickinson, 1977, 51), the strikingly rich burials of the early Mycenaean period speak of social and political insecurity (Sherratt, 1994, 268; Thomas, 1991, 40), and the need to invest heavily in the legitimisation of a new social order, by those who intended to preside over it (Halstead, 1994, 206). These burials, undoubtedly the richest ever discovered in Greece (Mylonas, 1966, 93), were symptomatic of changes taking place in other parts of the mainland at this time (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 49), and the rich burials at Argos and Lerna also indicate attempts to legitimise power at these centres (Dickinson, Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Nafplioti, 2012B, 184). It is likely that the rich shaft grave discovered at Pylos in 2015 belongs to this period, and there are several similarities with the shaft graves at Mycenae. Accompanying the so-called “Griffin Warrior” were a variety of weapons, including a sword and dagger with gold plated hilts, and piece of boars’ tusk that would have belonged to a helmet (Stocker and Davis, 2016).

The elite burials at Mycenae and elsewhere contained a veritable arsenal of weapons (Mee, 2011, 233), including approximately 85 swords between Grave Circles A and B (Harrell, 2014A, 7), but the military aspect may have been overshadowed by the dazzling display of gold objects and imported luxuries from the Cyclades, Crete and Egypt. Both the exotica displayed at burial, and the likelihood that some of those buried in Grave Circle A were not of local descent (Dickinson, Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Nafplioti, 2012B, 181), suggest that the exhibition of overseas contacts (and perhaps overseas marriage contracts) was important to the ideology of power at this time – and this was probably true for emerging elites all over Greece (Maran and Van de Moortel, 2014, 544). The role of weapons in these graves may have been symbolic, rather than specific references to the military prowess of the dead, and it is by no means certain that early Mycenaean communities were "dominated by a well-armed aristocracy" (Dickinson, 1977, 56). Interestingly, none of the recently re-examined skeletal remains from Grave Circle A show evidence of injuries sustained through warfare, although there were many problems with the storage and preservation of these remains, and it was noted that soft-tissue injuries would of course leave no trace on the bones that were available for study (Dickinson, Papazoglou-Manioudaki, and Nafplioti, 2012B, 181).

It may be significant that many of the burials in the grave circles at Mycenae were accompanied by multiple weapons, especially swords. The richest graves in Grave Circle A were particularly abundant – Grave IV had at least 42 bladed weapons, and Grave V had at least 36 (Harrell, 2014A, 4). Treherne described the sword as "a distinctly individual weapon" (Treherne, 1995, 109), but if this was the case, why would someone be buried with a stockpile of them? It is possible that the weapons were given by mourners as grave goods (Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 207), in which case, they could have played a role in the expression and creation of social identity for both the deceased and the mourners. It has been suggested that the swords were initially given by faction leaders to swordsmen in return for their loyalty, and that these swords were then returned to the leaders on their death (Harrell, 2014A, 15), but at present this seems impossible to validate. A similar situation was proposed for the later tholos tomb at Dendra, where the 11 bronze blades (5 swords, 2 knives, and 4 spearheads) could have been given by followers on the death of their leader (Burns, 2010, 163). If this was the case, then the role of swords at funerals would have been to unite important figures in the community, rather than to express elite exclusivity (Harrell, 2014A, 14).

Obviously a warrior could not use multiple weapons at once during combat (Harrell, 2014A, 4), although one LH IIIC sherd from Kos shows a warrior with a sword in a scabbard, and another in hand (Papadopoulos, 2009, 73), so it is possible that combatants carried spare weapons. That said, if warriors were buried with their personal weapons, then surely excavators should have discovered considerably more spear heads and shield bosses among the contents of the warrior graves (Dickinson, 2014, 70), since it is likely that spears and shields were their preferred equipment in battle (Molloy, 2010, 410). Interestingly, defensive weapons are almost completely absent from the shaft grave burials (Driessen, 1999, 15), but this describes what was thought to be appropriate to deposit in graves, not what warriors actually used in combat (Lewartowski, 2000, 41). In the later shaft graves, the position of weapons within the graves is telling. No longer were the swords placed beside the body; instead they were placed around the body with piles of other grave goods, which indicates an interest in "conspicuous consumption" rather than the placing of personal possessions with their owner (Harrell, 2014A, 4). (Note that swords and other blades feature in some 92% of the post-palatial burials with weapons, and 84% of the graves only contained offensive weapons, but none contained only defensive weapons (table 4.1).)

Treherne described the standard kit of the Bronze Age European warrior as sword and spear, helmet, corselet and greaves (Treherne, 1995, 109), yet this combination has not been recovered together in the Mycenaean graves, or in fact any weapons burials from Late Bronze Age Europe (Harding, 2000, 289). Greaves are especially rare, and Deger-Jalkotzy identified just two pairs among the Mycenaean post-palatial burials with weapons (tomb 3 at Portes:Kephalovryso, and tomb A at Kallithea:Spentzes (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 159-160)). Two further pairs of greaves of LH IIIC date have been identified from graves at Enkomi on Cyprus and the acropolis at Athens (O'Brien, 2009, 289), and a pair of greaves has recently been discovered in cist grave 1 at Kouvaras in Arcanania (Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Jung and Mehofer, 2012, 255), but if they were common, more should have been found.

Images of soldiers also rarely depicted the full kit that has been suggested, and the fighters on the early Mycenaean Siege Rhyton (NMA 477, 504), which was discovered in Shaft Grave IV of Grave Circle A at Mycenae, seem to have been particularly badly equipped (Hooker, 1967, 269-270). On the battle fresco at Pylos (fig. 4.10), soldiers were portrayed wearing helmets and greaves, but did not have body armour or shields. They

used either a spear, or a short sword, but did not carry both. On the post-palatial Warrior Vase (fig. 4.14), soldiers were shown with everything except swords – the very weapons so often implicated in the definition of warrior. Rather than representing the personal equipment of the warrior then, the display of multiple weapons at burial, including those with engravings or other decoration, could have expressed a military "ethos" (Acheson, 1999, 97), which might have had little to do with the individual's military prowess or experience, and everything to do with creating the impression of power in the Shaft Grave Period - a critical point in the development of centralised authority (Halstead, 1994, 206) and a significant intensification of social stratification (Dabney and Wright, 1990, 49). The role of swords in particular may have had both symbolic and social meanings, quite apart from their use as weapons (Driessen and Schoep, 1999, 393; Harrell, 2014A, 15), as will be discussed later.

4.7 Warrior graves at Knossos

Burials with weapons in Crete are frequently included with those of the mainland. There are no detailed osteological analyses of skeletal evidence for the burials in post-palatial Crete (Whitley, 2002, 223; Perna, 2011, 121), but the use of weapons in elite graves echoes their use in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae to a certain extent (Wright, 2008A, 252). At least 18 wealthy Mycenaean-style warrior graves have been discovered at Knossos (Whitley, 2002, 222), constructed during the period when Mycenaeans were said to have either taken power at Knossos, or provided mercenaries from the mainland (Perna, 2011, 121; Molloy, 2012, 119; Wiener, 2015, 133), although there is still no consensus on this point (Preston, 2008, 312; Dickinson, 2014, 70; Wiener, 2015, 138). They were initially described as the graves of a "military aristocracy" (Hood, 1952, 245), but later the variations in wealth in these burials was thought to indicate different ranks within the army, rather than a separate warrior class (Macdonald, 1984, 66-68). These ranks may have been reflected in Linear B records (Driessen, 1984, 49), where higher and lower ranks can be identified (Smith, 2009, 100). However, there are problems with this interpretation of the Knossian graves and the tablets from the period, and particularly the idea of a special warrior class. Most obvious is the fact that not all of those buried with weapons could have been warriors, since some of the dead were not yet adults (Miller, 2011, 81). The skeletal remains have not been analysed in detail, so it is impossible to know whether any of the adults buried with weapons had ever been injured in combat (Whitley, 2002, 223).

Significantly, although these burials included weapons and boars' tusk helmets (figs. 4.5-4.7), various other features suggest that they were not, in fact, the burials of mainland Greeks (Miller, 2011, 111; Molloy, 2012, 119). Rather, these burials seem to have emulated aspects of Mycenaean elite burials, but were carried out by Minoans using mostly Cretan materials and objects during periods of competition for power and influence (Driessen and Schoep, 1999, 389; Baboula, 2000, 71; Wright, 2008A, 252; Miller, 2011, 111). It may be significant that the LM IIIC and SM burials are some of the richest warrior graves known, in that they contained a high percentage of swords (86%) and jewellery or adornments (71%) (table 4.1a), along with impressive inventories of bronze vessels and other valuable objects (Miller, 2011, 107). The first of the rich warrior burials may have taken place at Knossos after the first post-palatial destruction horizon (LM II), and were associated with the Knossian elite's attempts to re-establish authority (Preston, 2008, 316). It is likely that the makers of weapons were concentrated – and of course controlled – centrally at Knossos at this time (Driessen and Schoep, 1999, 396). The second wave of burials with weapons took place at other centres on the island at a time (LM IIIA2) when Knossos had started to decline, and regional leadership could once again be contested (Preston, 2008, 316-317). During this period, evidence for the regional production of weapons corroborates the sense of decentralised control and developing political independence (Driessen and Schoep, 1999, 397). The elite on Crete may have combined the display of weapons with elements of Mycenaean culture to gain influence and support (Perna, 2011, 137), much as the Mycenaeans used weapons and Minoan objects to gain prestige in the Shaft Grave period (Dickinson, Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Nafplioti, 2012B, 185). Thus it is necessary to question whether the burials with weapons in post-palatial Crete can really be considered "warrior graves" (Wallace, 2010, 158; Molloy, 2012, 119), rather than simply the graves of those who would aspire to power.

4.8 The Mycenaean palace period

Back on the mainland, there was a decline in the deposition of weapons in graves in the early Mycenaean period (after the Shaft Graves but before the construction of the palaces), and this was especially the case in the palace period (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 127; Whitley, 2002, 221; Dickinson, 2014, 69), perhaps because a layer of rulers had now become established, with whom it was impossible for non-rulers to compete. There were few instances where a concentration of burials with weapons might indicate a competition for power amongst members of the elite, although the weapons burials in the Agora

cemetery at Athens (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 74) may suggest that leadership at this centre was not quite settled. Elsewhere in Attica the sporadic use of weapons in burials perhaps reflected the desire for communities to express autonomy from Athens, as mentioned in chapter 2. It is possible that the general decline in the number of burials with weapons reflected a restriction on funerary display imposed by palace rulers who wished to monopolise military symbolism (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 152), although this is difficult to verify. However, it was at this time that the palaces became the focus of military display – both by the construction of fortified citadels and the use of frescoes to portray victorious battle scenes (Davis and Bennet, 1999, 115-118). For most palace period weapons burials, it is unknown whether or not these burials were provided for individuals who were warriors in life, but a recent study of the skeletal remains from the Agora cemetery at Athens has attempted to answer this question (Smith, 2009).

In this palace period cemetery, six of the tombs contained weapons. Frustratingly, Smith discounted tomb XV because it had been disturbed in antiquity and did not contain the skeletal remains of a man, although the remains of a woman and a sub-adult were found (Smith, 2009, 103). Of the remaining burials with weapons, none of the skeletons examined showed any evidence for trauma associated with combat (Smith, 2009, 104). This discovery is surprising, if it is to be believed that weapons were buried with warriors who had actively engaged in warfare, despite the difficulties in identifying weapon injuries discussed above. Smith also revealed that, of the remaining burials without weapons, two contained individuals who probably were injured in combat (Smith, 2009, 105). Again this is surprising and needs to be explained, because it would appear that these individuals were active combatants, but were not buried with weapons to signify their status.

It is possible that only the elite were entitled to burials with weapons, and that any fighting they took part in did not involve weapons capable of inflicting detectable injuries, or was less hazardous because of the use of bronze armour. Alternatively, only the best warriors may have been entitled to a burial with weapons – if best means those warriors who, though their superior fighting skills, had avoided serious injury during combat. It is unclear what happened to most of those who died in combat, since only one of the skeletons examined from this cemetery shows evidence of fatal injuries through fighting (Smith, 2009, 106). Thus it would appear that simply being an active combatant in life-threatening encounters – a warrior – may not have been the criterion used in deciding who would be buried with weapons (Smith, 2009, 107). In fact, those least likely to have been injured in

warfare appear to have been more likely to receive a warrior's burial, at least in this cemetery. The conclusion is that it cannot be assumed that those buried with weapons in the palace period ever participated in active combat, which is surely a prerequisite in any definition of "warrior". It is unfortunate that the skeletal material in post-palatial weapons burials has not been analysed in detail, so the question of whether or not they showed signs of active combat remains unanswered.

Without additional detailed osteological analysis of skeletal remains, it is impossible to know if the Athens results would be replicated in other cemeteries, or in the post-palatial period. However, studies from non-Mycenaean cultures have produced similar results to those of the Athens study – i.e. that some of those with battle injuries were buried without weapons, and some of those buried with weapons did not show evidence for participation in combat (Smith, 2009, 107). The evidence from Anglo-Saxon burials in England (5th – 11th centuries CE) is particularly significant. In one study, Härke noted the burial of 17 adult males who showed evidence of weapons injuries, but only five of them had been buried with weapons (Härke, 1990, 36). Weapons were sometimes buried with children, whilst adults with evidence for battle trauma were often buried without weapons (Smith, 2009, 107-108). Surely the deposition of weapons with babies as young as 12 months old (Härke, 1990, 36) argues against the interpretation of weapons burials as warrior graves. There are also cases of individuals with disabilities buried with weapons they could not physically have used in combat (Härke, 1990, 36).

In Anglo-Saxon England, weapons were usually associated with richer graves, and they often contained more grave goods associated with drinking or feasting than burials without weapons, which suggests that wealth played a role in deciding who received weapons at burial (Härke, 1990, 37-38). Most of those buried with weapons were male, but it was not uncommon for women to be buried with knives (McLeod, 2011, 341), and some weapons have been discovered in graves that also contained osteologically female skeletons (McLeod, 2011, 348), or grave goods usually associated with women (McLeod, 2011, 343-344). Skeletal differences suggest that Anglo-Saxons of Germanic origin were more likely to receive weapons than those of Romano-British descent (Härke, 1990, 40). Therefore, differentiation in Anglo-Saxon burial practices seems to have depended on kinship rather than personal occupation, and burials with weapons reflected the status of the family, rather than the role of the buried individual (Härke, 1990, 42). Thus "weapon burial was not the reflection of a real warrior function, but the ritual expression of an ethnically,

socially and perhaps ideologically based 'warrior status'" (Härke, 1990, 43). The evidence from Anglo-Saxon England suggests that burials with weapons neither reflected the occupation of the individual, nor the prevalence of warfare in society (Härke, 1990, 32-33), but other social factors. The same may have been true in Mycenaean Greece.

4.9 The Linear B tablets

Other evidence, besides the skeletal remains, may shed light on the issue of warriors and warrior graves in the Mycenaean period. The only definite evidence available for full time soldiers in Mycenaean Greece comes from palace period Linear B tablets (Chadwick, 1958, 105-106), but even so, leading military figures such as the *lawagetas* and *hequetai* probably had religious and civilian responsibilities, besides their role in military affairs (Fortenberry, 1990, 304; Shelmerdine and Bennet, 2008, 293). In addition, whilst it seems likely that the *hequetai* accompanied groups of soldiers (Chadwick, 1973, 185; Fortenberry, 1990, 296), their supervisory role may not have included participation in combat, and with their chariots, they may have been involved more as messengers than fighters (Chadwick, 1973, 429). Most of the military personnel mentioned in the Pylos tablets, including the 599 rowers listed on tablets An1 and An610, and some 780 watchers guarding the coast of Messenia as detailed on the *o-ka* tablets (Chadwick, 1973, 427; Fortenberry, 1990, 291-292, 299), were probably conscripts (Deger-Jalkotzy, 1999, 124-125) who returned to their lives in the regional settlements after a period in the service of the palaces. They may not have identified themselves as warriors in life, and this period of their lives may not have seemed relevant upon their death, unless they died as a result of warfare. (It is by no means certain, however, that the war dead would have been returned to their communities for formal burial (Ball, 2016).)

Large numbers of weapons were recorded on the tablets, including thousands of arrowheads and the production of spearheads at Pylos (Chadwick, 1958, 110-111), and lists of chariot components produced or used for repairs by the palace (Shelmerdine, 1999, 403). Both weapons and tablets listing weapons and chariots were also found at Thebes (Shelmerdine, 1999, 404), which suggests that this palace had a similar involvement to Pylos in the organisation of military resources. This evidence indicates that the palaces probably produced and distributed weapons to their armies, and the soldiers did not own their own personal equipment (Crielaard, 2011, 94). At Pylos the battle fresco in the Southwestern Building depicted Mycenaean warriors with matching textile clothing

and standardised military equipment (fig. 4.10), which supports this idea. However, the enemy was depicted without armour and wearing animal skins (fig. 4.11), which indicates that the point of the image was to emphasise the "otherness" of non-Mycenaeans (Feuer, 2011, 516), and their conquest by Mycenaeans (Davis and Bennet, 1999, 118), rather than to accurately depict the equipment of real palace troops. The location of this fresco in an area used for feasting made the image and its ideological message periodically accessible to a relatively large audience (Davis and Bennet, 1999, 110).

Soldiers working in the service of the palaces were unlikely to have enjoyed the leisurely, elite lifestyle that has been suggested for the European "warrior aristocracy", and the numbers of soldiers indicated by the tablets vastly outnumber the quantity of warrior graves that have been discovered (Middleton, 2010, 111). The tablets provide useful information about some aspects of military provision, but they do not record actual battles or explain military organisation in detail (Gates, 1999, 279). There is little information regarding the number of troops available or the ways in which they were deployed (Shelmerdine, 1999, 405). As for the proposed professional warriors, men who dedicated themselves to warfare and enjoyed an elite lifestyle, the written records of the Mycenaeans make no mention at all.

4.10 Images of warriors

It is often stated that there was an increase in military iconography in the post-palatial period (Driessen, 1999, 18; Maran, 2006, 143; Middleton, 2010, 103), which suggests that there was an increase in warfare and an interest in militarism at this time. Frescoes were rarely used after the collapse of the palaces, but images of soldiers, armed sailors, chariots, and battles on land and at sea were all depicted on pottery (Eder, 2006; Papadopoulos, 2009). Arguably, the most famous vessel is the Warrior Vase, found in a LH IIIC context near Grave Circle A at Mycenae (fig. 4.14). On one side, a woman with upraised arm looks on as a group of soldiers marches away. On the other side, another group of soldiers with slightly different equipment also marches. Both groups of soldiers appear to be Mycenaeans, but the differences in equipment suggest that they may have represented rival forces (Cavanagh and Mee, 1995, 51). It is equally possible that they represented different divisions of the same army, since they march around the vessel, rather than towards each other. It has been suggested that the woman is waving off the soldiers as they march to war (Iakovidis, 1992, 57), but the Warrior Vase may not be the

“icon of Mycenaean militarism” that has sometimes been suggested (Preziosi and Hitchcock, 1999, 184).

It is unfortunate that the vessel is incomplete so that only one arm of the woman is preserved, and it is not known whether her missing arm was held down or raised. If, in the original image, she had had both arms raised, then she would not have been joyfully waving off departing soldiers, but mourning those lost in combat or about to die (Mee, 2011, 208), since this gesture represented mourning for Greek women from the Bronze Age to at least the Geometric period (Cavanagh, 1998, 105-106). Note that the warriors’ clothes are fringed, which occurs on other depictions of warriors at this time, but is also reminiscent of the processions of mourning women on some of the LH IIIA-B larnakes from Tanagra (fig. 4.15), where the fringe probably represents the tearing of clothes in mourning (Cavanagh and Mee, 1995, 47). The fringe motif continued in use in LH IIIC, as shown by the mourning figurines found at Perati, Ialysos and elsewhere at this time (Cavanagh and Mee, 1995, 51). The warriors’ helmets also bear a slight resemblance to the polos head gear of the mourning Tanagra women. The similarities between the warriors and the women on the larnakes suggests that, on the Warrior Vase, the men may have in fact been the mourners, not those being mourned (fig. 4.16). If this was the case, then the procession of armed men may represent the participants of funeral games.

If the woman's missing arm had been held down, her single upraised arm would have imitated the farewell gesture usually reserved in Greek art for mourning men (Cavanagh and Mee, 1995, 47). In this interpretation, the male gesture of the woman was mirrored by the female procession and mourning clothes of the men. It is impossible to know why this image was created or how it was interpreted at the time, but the funerary symbolism may have been even more potent because of the gender reversal of standard motifs. In either case, the image should be interpreted as a scene of mourning (Hooker, 1976, 143) rather than a celebration of warfare. This scene of grief was depicted on a vessel designed for the mixing of wine, to be used in a communal setting - perhaps, in fact, at a funeral.

One further point connects the Warrior Vase to mourning rather than to warfare. The find spot in the citadel at Mycenae suggests that the vessel may have been used as a grave marker (French, 2002, 140), and this is corroborated by certain aspects of the imagery. Note that the procession of warriors move around the vase in a circular motion, rather than towards a fixed point or focus. This movement was later represented in the circular

procession of women mourners and warriors around the bier in Geometric pottery, and at the funeral for Patroklos in the *Iliad* (Cavanagh and Mee, 1995, 53-54). Perhaps the image of mourning warriors moving around the vase was meant to represent real processions around the bier or grave during the funeral. If this was the case, then the interpretation of this vessel as a grave marker makes absolute sense, even if it cannot now be proved. The breaking of kylikes in the dromoi of tombs seems to have rapidly declined in LH IIIC (see chapter 2), but there may have been an increase in the use of kraters (wine mixing bowls) in the dromoi instead, as attested by examples from the cemetery at Elateia-Alonaki and elsewhere (Cavanagh and Mee, 2014, 52-53), which reinforces the mortuary aspect of the Warrior Vase.

A newly discovered LH IIIC krater sherd from Kynos in central Greece also depicts a military scene, this time on board a ship (Dakoronia, forthcoming). An armed figure watches over another in the process of sacrificing a goat with a double headed axe – real examples of which have been unearthed at Kynos. The most important aspect of this image may not have been the fact that a warrior was present, but that a sacrifice was taking place, either to Poseidon or another Mycenaean god, presumably before launching the ship. The ritual aspect of this scene is amplified by the use of the double headed axe (Papadopoulos, 1999, 270) rather than an ordinary blade, which indicates that, in the interpretation of scenes such as this, it would be unwise to focus on the military aspect alone (Molloy, 2012, 101). Images of sacrifices actively in progress are rare, which raises the question of why it was used on this krater. It is not possible to know how Mycenaeans interpreted the scenes on their pictorial pottery, but it is worth considering that the images used to support the idea of an increased interest in militarism in LH IIIC, may not have carried this message at the time of their use.

There are, arguably, relatively few images of soldiers and warfare in the images of this time (compared, for example, with the classical period), but even if there were more, it would be impossible to estimate the amount of warfare or the number of warriors, based on the number of pictorial references to it (Molloy, 2012, 107). It is not even certain that actual events were being portrayed (O'Brien, 2009, 30), although this has been suggested (Papadopoulos, 2009, 76). It is also the case that images of warfare could have been used to idealise the nature of combat (Thorpe, 2013, 239), or to exaggerate military prowess or success for ideological purposes. The popularity of images of warfare may fluctuate, but not necessarily in direct relation to the existence of warfare in society (Gates,

1999, 281). Therefore, what these images cannot do, fundamentally, is "support the notion of an elite warrior class" (Peatfield, 1999, 72), never mind demonstrate that warfare was more common at this time, so this avenue of research, tantalising as it is, sheds but a faint light on the military conditions of the period.

4.11 Alternative interpretations of burials with weapons

It is not known whether or not post-palatial burials with weapons contained the burials of warriors who had experienced combat, since they were by and large excavated before osteological analysis was systematically practiced. Many of them were discovered and recorded through rescue excavations, and as a result, the data are less detailed than desired (Papadopoulos, 1999, 268). This is extremely frustrating, especially as it is unlikely that osteological analysis of the skeletons can now be carried out. Linear B went out of use with the collapse of the palaces, and as discussed above, the iconography from this period can be interpreted in different ways. If it is not possible to tell whether or not warrior graves were given to actual warriors, then alternative explanations for the deposition of weapons in graves must be considered.

So how should burials with weapons in Mycenaean Greece be interpreted? It is clear that, like any burials, they cannot be interpreted in a straight forward way (Voutsaki, 1998, 41). Hodder demonstrated that burials can be deliberately used for ideological purposes, rather than simply reflecting the reality of social organisation (Hodder, 1982A, 152). Parker Pearson made the point that burials may present an idealised version of the dead, but that this is just one form of reality, rather than a distortion of it (Parker Pearson, 1999, 4). Fowler showed that burials are a transformative process, in which the individual's social identity undergoes change, rather than faithfully reflecting the identity they had at some fixed point in their life (Fowler, 2013, 511).

These points are equally relevant to burials with weapons, despite a tendency for these burials to be interpreted uncritically as warrior graves. It must be remembered that "grave offerings convey what the dead person should be (not necessarily what the dead person was)" (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 119), and that burial practices respond to social change (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 61), developing to suit the needs of the society in which they are used. Burial practices cannot be imported wholesale and inserted into existing burial practices, as the theory of a warrior lifestyle suggests. So, do Mycenaean burials with

weapons really represent the burials of members of a special warrior class, and how is it possible to tell? Osteological, textual, and iconographic sources provide limited evidence about those buried with weapons, especially for the post-palatial period, so it is necessary to compare what is known with interpretive explanations for the use of weapons in burials. A number of possible reasons for the use of weapons in burials will be suggested here, including religion, wealth, leadership and social status. These explanations do not rule out the possibility that weapons were placed with the dead to reflect their real or imagined warrior status.

4.12 Weapons and ritual

Could weapons have performed a ritual function in Mycenaean burials? Weapons were frequently depicted in images of ritual contexts in Mycenaean Greece, and in particular were associated with the sacrifice of animals. The frequent use of images featuring individual combat between humans or animals could be interpreted as representing sacrificial scenes (Peatfield, 1999, 71) (fig. 4.4), rather than understood for their military or hunting aspects alone (Molloy, 2012, 104). At the same time, several weapons were decorated with symbols associated with cult, for example, the sword marked along the blade with a figure-of-eight shield motif, from tomb IV in Grave Circle A at Mycenae (Karo, 1930-3, no. 404). This weapon probably had a specifically ritual function, since the figure-of-eight motif often occurs in other known cult contexts (Papadopoulos, 2009, 72). Another sword pommel from the same grave features a lion attacking a panther (Karo, 1930-3, no. 295), which recalls the representation of ritual sacrifice, and there are three more swords from the shaft graves which feature griffins (Circle B: Mylonas, 1973, Δ-277; Circle A: Karo, 1930-3, nos. 417 and 747), mythical creatures closely associated with cult and the supernatural (Morgan, 1995, 173). These examples indicate that the spheres of warfare and religion were not entirely separate to the Mycenaeans.

Weapons may have been given as cult offerings, as well as being used in ritual activities (Kilian-Dirlmeier, 1990, 158), as the ivory sword pommel found on the altar in the Room of the Fresco at Mycenae suggests (French, 2002, 91). The 19 Minoan swords recently found in a shrine at the centre at Ayios Vassilios near Sparta also confirms the use of weapons in ritual (Wiener, 2015, 134). This practice may have found precedent in Minoan practices, since swords and replicas were also discovered at some important ritual sites in Crete (Driessen and Schoep, 1999, 393). Therefore, it is possible that weapons were

placed in Mycenaean graves for religious, rather than military purposes (Giannopoulos, 2008; D'Onofrio, 2011, 649), but this is difficult to verify. Some weapons were placed in Protogeometric burials at Athens, and this was very likely to have been for religious purposes (D'Onofrio, 2011, 649), but it is not certain that weapons functioned in the same way in earlier burials. It is also impossible to know whether weapons were simply placed with the dead as grave gifts, or were first used in the funeral for the performance of particular rituals, such as the sacrifice of animals, since these activities have left no traces in the archaeological record. However, it is clear that weapons were used in cult contexts, and their use in burials could have emphasised ritual rather than military aspects of social identity, so the religious role of weapons should not be overlooked, even if it is difficult to know exactly what this meant to the Mycenaeans. Molloy argued for a close relationship between military, religious, and civic administration in Bronze Age Crete (Molloy, 2012, 94). If this was true for the mainland, then the military and religious aspects of weapons placed in Mycenaean graves need not be considered mutually exclusive.

4.13 Weapons as luxuries

Weapons may have belonged to a repertoire of luxury goods available to elite burials, and have functioned as expressions of portable wealth and status (Driessen and Schoep, 1999, 394; Baboula, 2000, 74), rather than as indicators that the dead were members of a warrior class. There is no doubt that bronze weapons, and especially the early Mycenaean swords engraved or decorated with gold, rock crystal or ivory, would have been considered as luxury items (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 94), and many of them would have been impractical if used in combat (Acheson, 1999, 97). The gold hilts of the Knossian swords similarly link these weapons to the expression of wealth (fig. 4.5). Their use as grave goods required access to resources that were not available to all (but see chapter 1 on the difficulties involved in the valuation of grave goods). Thus the deposition of weapons in burials could have made an explicit statement about both the wealth of the deceased, and the ability of their survivors to permanently dispose of such valuable objects. If this approach is correct, then weapons were valued for their raw materials and the skills and labour devoted to their manufacture, rather than their use in combat, and those buried with them may not have been warriors in life (Driessen and Schoep, 1999, 395).

Although the Shaft Grave burials were given large numbers of weapons, one might wonder whether the relative lack of weapons in palace period graves denotes a shortage of bronze (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 127), especially in LH IIIB. This idea rests on the assumption that there is a direct correlation between the amount of metal deposited in graves, and its general availability (Baboula, 2000, 71), but this seems unlikely, especially as weapons had greater social importance than simply the value of the materials with which they were made. Alternatively, there may have been an unwillingness to part with bronze in such a final way in the palace period, simply because the role of weapons in the negotiation of social relationships had declined by this time, and other ways had developed. If a shortage of bronze affected the use of weapons as grave goods, then the interruptions to exchange networks in the post-palatial period (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 390) should have made it even more difficult to part with these valuable bronze objects. In fact, it is argued that there was an increase in the deposition of weapons in graves at this time, which suggests that the availability of bronze was not the most significant factor. The Naue II sword probably originated in the Adriatic region in the palace period, and was first imported, and then emulated, in Mycenaean Greece (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 401). The exotic origins of this weapon may have been a contributing factor in its inclusion with grave goods in the post-palatial period, especially in Achaea, which had the majority of weapons burials, and arguably the best connections with Adriatic exchange routes at this time (Giannopoulos, 2008).

Whilst it is interesting to consider the value of weapons in economic terms, “wealth in grave goods does not necessarily correlate with wealth in life” (Renfrew, 1972, 370), so it may be unwise to take the wealth of a burial as a measure of the individual’s social standing before death. Nor would it be wise to treat bronzes simply as exchangeable commodities, since this modern economic perspective necessarily overlooks the symbolic meaning of objects such as weapons (Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 202). It is true that most of the weapons, and especially swords and armour, have been found in the larger, richer tombs, whilst the majority of Mycenaean burials were not accompanied by weapons, which suggests that this was an exclusive form of funerary display. However, some of the weapons were deposited with burials which would not otherwise be considered rich, particularly in the post-palatial period – for example tomb 21 at Langada on Kos, which contained only a sword, a spearhead, and a small number of vases (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 163), or tomb theta at Patras:Klauss, which contained just two vessels and a pair of tweezers besides the weapons (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 165). These burials cannot be

explained as simple expressions of wealth and elitism, so other explanations must be sought.

4.14 Weapons and power

Weapons are, rightly or wrongly, frequently associated with power (Driessen and Schoep, 1999, 393; Harrington, 2007, 336; Harrell, 2014B, 100), and it has been suggested periodically that burials with weapons were given to leaders and those who might aspire to leadership, rather than specifically or only to warriors (Deger-Jalkotzy, 1999, 130; Papadopoulos, 1999, 268; Eder, 2006, 557; Giannopoulos, 2008; Moschos, 2009, 356; D'Onofrio, 2011, 647; Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Jung and Mehofer, 2012, 261-262; Stocker and Davis, 2016). This line of enquiry could be very productive and needs consideration, despite warnings that burial practices should not be explained simply in terms of power relations and the expression of dominant ideology (Tarlow, 1992, 137). In the Shaft Grave period, as discussed above, various factors indicate that burials with weapons were given to members of leading families or factions, whilst their survivors used the overt display of wealth and weaponry at funerals to justify their own claims to power (Cavanagh, 2008, 337). Weapons burials in the palace period may also have been associated with leadership and the expression of military power, but in a less concentrated and competitive way than before. This may have been because it was now not possible for anyone to realistically compete with the rulers of the palaces, who were consolidated in power (Maran, 2006, 143), and used both their palaces and their monumental tombs to express military ideology (Cavanagh, 2008, 335), rather than to reflect on personal military prowess.

So is it possible that the weapons burials of the post-palatial period represent the burials of leaders, and how might this be detected? There are no Linear B records for this time, whilst Mycenaean pictorial art provides no clear portrayal of leadership, and besides weapons, there are no grave goods that can be directly linked with power. Sealstones, rings, and maceheads have at times been linked to leadership (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 404), but may have been treated as luxury objects, rather than used to indicate a specific office or position (Eder, 2007, 37). Many of the seals used in Mycenaean burials were acquired from Crete and were heirlooms at the time of burial, which further suggests that they were considered to be prestige objects (Karytinos, 1998, 84), not marks of office. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the wealth of the burials with weapons, and their spatial

and temporal distribution, in order to gain an understanding of their potential role in political organisation.

Leadership is frequently associated with the accumulation of wealth, since it is both a means of achieving power, and one of the key benefits of (or reasons for) doing so. It is therefore expected that leaders' burials will be amongst the richest. In fact, "archaeological finds rarely give direct evidence of power" (Renfrew, 1972, 370), which means archaeologists are too often forced to use evidence for wealth in place of evidence for status and power, when it is impossible to distinguish between them (Sjöberg, 2004, 23). Certainly, in the palace period, political control was "hardly separable from economic control" (Shelmerdine, 2001, 358), so it is not unreasonable to equate wealth with power for this period. Thus the two very rich tholos tombs at Dendra might well have been used by local rulers, since the choice of tomb type, the richness of the grave goods, and the exceptional suit of armour and other weapons (Whitley, 2002, 221) could have combined to express an emphatic message of wealth and military power. Unfortunately, the majority of tholoi and the richest chamber tombs have been looted (Macdonald, 1984, 67; Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 45; Kontorli-Papadopoulou, 1995, 111), and it is not now possible to discover whether or not they contained weapons as standard expressions of leadership, although it might be assumed that they did (Wright, 1987, 175). In the post-palatial period the majority of burials with weapons also took place in the larger chamber tombs, and were often associated with richer grave goods. However, the relatively poor burials with weapons that took place at this time (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 152; Dickinson, 2006A, 74) indicate that weapons could have been associated with status, and not just with wealth. Therefore it should not be assumed that all burials with weapons were automatically the burials of leaders.

It is worth considering whether the distribution of weapons burials in post-palatial Achaea provides any clues to the political organisation of the region. Generally there were just one or two burials with weapons per cemetery (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 404), which does suggest that this type of formal burial was reserved for high status funerals. They could have been the burials of local leaders or "warlords" (Crielaard, 2011, 95), or even a military monarchy (Moschos, 2009, 360), if each cemetery corresponded to a separate and autonomous community (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 169) (although this was demonstrably not always the case (Dickinson, 2006A, 88)). This may well have been true for Achaea, the region in which the majority of post-palatial weapons burials have been discovered, since

the site of Teikhos Dymaion was fortified, but it was not a palace (Dickinson, 2006A, 25; Giannopoulos, 2008; Moschos, 2009, 347; Arena, 2015, 10), and could not impose its own choice of leaders upon a community. Nevertheless, the nature of leadership in the post-palatial period is not immediately obvious.

If only the burials with weapons are considered, it does not seem likely that power was transferred through inheritance, since the right to burial with weapons was not passed on to succeeding generations. Only one tomb contained a succession of burials with weapons – tomb 2 at Lousika:Spaliareïka, which had three consecutive burials with weapons (Middleton, 2010, 104). The slightly earlier cremations in this tomb (LH IIIC Early-Middle) suggest that the family using this tomb could have aspired to power, and the burials with weapons (LH IIIC Middle-Late) could signal that this had been acquired (Giannopoulos, 2008). That said, other weapons burials, most of which were placed in chamber tombs, were not preceded by particularly rich burials, or followed by further burials with weapons, despite this tomb type typically being used by generations of the same family, which suggests that the use of weapons in graves was not specifically associated with inherited power (Giannopoulos, 2008).

Could the weapons burials of Achaea represent acquired power (Giannopoulos, 2008)? It has been argued that in some areas, post-palatial communities were characterised by a "big man" form of leadership (Whitley, 1991, 184-186), in which power was acquired through a combination of attributes including charisma, force, generosity, wealth, skill, and personal accomplishments (Mazarakis Ainian, 2006, 183). In this type of political structure, leadership was unstable and positions may not have been held for long, since it was possible for rival factions to compete for power. So does the distribution of post-palatial weapons burials in Achaea match this style of leadership? If social status was really fluid at this time (Dickinson, 2006A, 243), if leaderships were insecure and constantly contested, and hierarchies "shifting", as has been suggested (Whitley, 2001, 90), it might be reasonable to expect a concentration of rich graves, with rather more competition in funerary display and considerably more sabre rattling, than the evidence supports. Instead, the burials with weapons were dispersed both geographically and temporally, which argues against an unstable and competitive type of leadership. If leadership was competitively acquired, it has not left a significant trace in the mortuary record, and in other spheres such as architecture (Dickinson, 2006B, 120), there is little to

suggest that power was seriously contested anywhere except perhaps Tiryns, as discussed in chapter 3.

It is possible that leadership positions in the post-palatial period were achieved by the selection of candidates through community consensus. In theory a leader could have been elected on the basis of qualities that were not expressed through competitive display, or at least in ways that have left no trace, but at present this line of thought is purely speculative, since it is unclear what archaeological evidence this form of leadership might present. Maran and others have suggested that leadership was provided by assemblies of "noble" men at Tiryns, Midea, and perhaps Mycenae at this time (Maran, 2006, 142). His interpretation of the developments at the former palace centres (discussed in chapter 3) is intriguing, but the evidence used in support of this theory remains a matter of debate, and there are no signs that Achaean communities practiced any form of democracy at this time.

4.15 Weapons and social status

So if it cannot be proved that weapons burials in the post-palatial period represented the burials of leaders selected or imposed by a palace state, or leadership on the basis of hereditary entitlement, or a form of unstable, contested leadership, or even leadership through democracy, then perhaps burials with weapons did not represent leaders after all. They were certainly important burials – the role of weapons in expressing wealth and status is relatively uncontested – but if not leaders, then who was being buried with weapons at this time? The fact that some of the post-palatial burials with weapons were relatively poor, and that rich or poor, they were relatively uncommon (Driessen and Schoep, 1999, 393; Dickinson, 2014, 70) (Deger-Jalkotzy (2006) identified just 38 of them in mainland Greece and the islands), suggests that this form of burial was provided to individuals who had a measure of social status, but this was not necessarily accompanied by wealth or political power.

If this was the case, then weapons could have been used as prestige objects in order to distinguish certain individuals or convey honour at death, for types of status not obviously associated with either warfare or leadership (Middleton, 2010, 111). Alternatively, excellence in warfare could have been ascribed to certain high statuses, even if the individual concerned had no particular skills or excellence in military affairs (Crielaard,

2011, 94). Although “both prestige and status seem in reality rather vague concepts unless it is made clear precisely how they may be measured” (Renfrew, 1982, 3), the pattern of one burial per cemetery per generation does suggest that burials with weapons were special, they were carried out in recognition of a non-hereditary social position that was held for a long time, and for just one person per community. For Mycenaean Greece, various special roles might be suggested – midwife, priest or priestess, veterinarian, bronze smith, entertainer, healer, and so on. For example, in a period when prestige was acquired by the possession and display of bronze objects in life as well as death, it is likely that bronze smiths, and those able to acquire bronze through exchange, would have had a measure of social status (Sherratt, 1994, 260; Kienlin, 2013, 432-433).

Roles such as these could have been held for a lifetime, and they could have involved specialist skills or rituals which were not accessible to all (Bradley, 2013, 129), but were valued by the community. Alternatively, special grave goods such as weapons could have been presented as prestige objects at death to acknowledge altruistic acts, or to commemorate an unusual death (Fowler, 2013, 515), rather than to express a traditional aspect of identity. If either scenario is valid, then there is no reason why women would not be among those selected for special burials with weapons, and the assumption that weapons burials are male should be rejected. In order for this alternative explanation to be viable, it is necessary to accept that there was a separation between the practical, mundane aspects of objects used by the living, and their symbolic role in the expression of identity at death. This view is contrary to Treherne’s claim that the objects placed in weapons burials directly related to lived identity (Treherne, 1995, 124), but is in keeping with Fowler’s view that funerals were a transformative process for the people, and perhaps the objects, involved (Fowler, 2013, 511).

It is certainly possible that weapons and other grave goods could have been used to express a temporary status or role, rather than to reflect on the lived identity of the dead (Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 209). The argument that the identity expressed in burial reflects the identity of the dead during their life rests on the assumption that identities in life are fixed, but this interpretation is demonstrably wrong. Therefore, it is possible that the warrior identity expressed by the use of weapons could reflect either one aspect of a more complex identity, a temporary phase in the individual’s life, or even an identity that the dead had never held in life, but the mourners wished to express (Fowler, 2013, 518), for example when a child was buried with weapons. Burials were important not in spite of, but

because of their role in the renegotiation of social identities and relationships, but they are better understood as transformative processes (Fowler, 2013, 511), rather than simple snap shots of life at the moment of death. If burials were an opportunity for the renegotiation of the social identities and relationships of the mourners and successors (Voutsaki, 1998, 45-46), then they could also have transformed the social identities of the dead, which means it would be naïve to interpret the evidence in a straight forward manner. If this approach is correct, then the secondary burials practiced by the Mycenaeans might also be interpreted as further negotiations of identity after death (Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 210), as discussed in chapter 2.

In conclusion, there was a range of statuses which might have been honoured, or represented, or created, by the deposition of weapons in graves, and it is not now possible to be certain which aspects were selected and on which occasions by the Mycenaeans. What is clear is that there is not a single, simple explanation for the use of weapons in Mycenaean graves, and to attempt to identify just one must ultimately be fruitless. Yet the idea of a pan-European warrior identity or lifestyle persists, and a reason for this must be sought.

4.16 The "warlike" Mycenaeans

So why has the idea of a warrior class, and the term "warrior graves" been so persistent for Mycenaean Greece? The Mycenaeans are often considered to have been particularly violent or "warlike" (Clark and Piggott, 1970, 294; Cunliffe, 1987A, 12; Papadopoulos, 1999, 267), sometimes described as a "warrior people" (Schofield, 2007, 6), with a "war-minded and militaristic spirit" (Hood, 1974, 113), who promoted a military "ethos" (Georganas, 2010, 305) because they "loved strife for its own sake" (Taylour, 1983, 135). This description contrasts with that of the Minoans, who were characterised by Evans as peace-loving (Cunliffe, 1987A, 12; Fitton, 1995, 137), with a "cheerful way of life" (Gates, 1999, 278), despite some considerable evidence which suggests otherwise (Peatfield, 1999, 67; Day, 2012, 11), and the fact that Greek swords were probably first developed at Mallia on Crete (Georganas, 2010, 313; Dickinson, 2014, 68) before this technology was transmitted to the mainland. It is also the case that the "warlike Mycenaeans" may have acquired their military iconography from the "peace-loving" Minoans during the Shaft Grave period (Molloy, 2012, 120), in the form of seals, rings, and other objects, which were discovered in the elite burials at Mycenae and elsewhere.

It is not uncommon to read that warfare “was a major preoccupation in Bronze Age life” (Harding, 2000, 271), that “the Mycenaean world disintegrated into a mêlée of warring, mobile factions who rampaged through the length and breadth of the eastern Mediterranean for two or three generations” (Cunliffe, 1987A, 15), or that "militarism in Mycenaean Greece appears to be an established fact" (Smith, 2009, 99), despite some indications to the contrary (Thorpe, 2013, 244). It is taken for granted that post-palatial Greece was characterised by warfare and a keen interest in military ideology. Life on sea was no better – whether or not the Sea Peoples were involved in the collapse of the palaces in Greece remains controversial, but their existence is recorded in documents from Egypt and the Near East (Hitchcock and Maeir, 2014, 624-625). The Aegean and eastern Mediterranean are said to have been “violent and unsafe, and sea raids and attacks must have been a reality at the time” (Papadopoulos, 2009, 75). This portrayal of the dangers of the sea contrasts, somewhat, with the realisation that many coastal and island settlements flourished in the post-palatial period (Crielaard, 2006; Middleton, 2010, 90), and that overseas trade may have been the key to their success.

Some of the claims for a war-torn post-palatial period could have arisen because the nature of the collapse of the palace system placed the idea of violent upheaval firmly in the minds of those researching post-palatial Greece (Snodgrass, 1971, 360; Deger-Jalkotzy, 1999, 130; Moschos, 2009, 385). Whilst the causes of the collapse are still a matter of debate (Dickinson, 2006A, 54), it is clear that destruction by fire was widespread, affecting both palace centres and smaller sites, accompanied by a wave of abandonments in subsequent years (see chapter 5 for a discussion on the collapse and its causes). Molloy specifically connects such abandonments and population movements to the effects of warfare (Molloy, 2012, 98) rather than non-violent processes. The idea of invading Sea Peoples may go in and out of fashion (Knapp and Manning, 2016, 122), but even if violence is not accepted as the cause of the collapse, it is frequently assumed to have been one of its consequences (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 404; O’Brien, 2009, 271). At the same time, it is suggested that “military prowess, actual or ideological, may have been a defining factor in the social and political arena” (Middleton, 2010, 103) after the collapse. The increase in burials with weapons in Achaea is frequently associated with a proposed need for militarised leadership at this time (e.g. Giannopoulos, 2008).

Although the sense of a violent and turbulent period pervades much work on post-palatial Greece (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 175), the evidence that might support this view is surprisingly patchy. Logic suggests a level of turmoil and perhaps warfare after the collapse of the palace system (Dickinson, 2006A, 54), but it is not (yet) possible to prove that any site was destroyed by hostile forces, either from within or outside of Greece, rather than by accidental fire or earthquake (Dickinson, 2006A, 49). Nor is there sufficient evidence of foreign material culture to suggest that invaders came from outside of Greece (Drews, 1988, 206). No battlefields have (yet) been identified for any period of Mycenaean Greece (Driessen, 1999, 14). In part this is likely to be because conflict landscapes are difficult to locate and interpret (Molloy, 2010, 403; Flohr, Brinker, Spanagel, Schramm, Orschiedt, and Kierdorf, 2014, 17), which is made more difficult by the practice of removing bodies and equipment after battles (Molloy, 2012, 132; Ball, 2016), but based on present evidence, it cannot be stated with certainty that any battles took place after the collapse, no matter how likely they seem.

Recognisable war memorials or the mass graves of combatants are not known for this period, and although the worship of ancestors was practiced in the Mycenaean period (Cavanagh, 2008, 340), the worship of heroes seems to have begun in the Early Iron Age (Button, 2008, 94). Neither are there written records of warfare, the organisation of military forces, or the procurement of resources for specific battles or armies for this time. Interestingly, most of the post-palatial burials with weapons took place, not immediately after the collapse of the palaces, which is when the most warfare might be expected, but during the middle of LH IIIC (O'Brien, 2009, 335), when many communities experienced economic growth and stability (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 174; Crielaard, 2011, 95). Of those that can be dated fairly closely, only 2 burials were LH IIIC Early (and the burial at Kos:Langada may in fact have been LH IIIB, not LH IIIC Early), 15 were Middle, and 8 were Late (table 4.2a).

There was also a higher percentage of burials with swords at this time (LH IIIC Early 50%, Middle 87%, Late 75%), which may reflect increased access to wealth, rather than an increase in warfare. It seems counterintuitive to attribute the prominence of burials with weapons in LH IIIC Middle to improvements in overseas exchange, better access to resources, and socio-political stability, but it may have been the case that communities required these conditions before they were willing to permanently dispose of luxury objects such as weapons in order to acknowledge socially important burials. Whilst the presence

of weapons in burials and other contexts, the fortification of sites, and an interest in military iconography, are traditionally interpreted as indications that warfare took place, in themselves, they cannot prove that it did (O'Brien, 2009, 29). Therefore, "the degree of instability and unrest should not be overstated" (Crielaard, 2011, 95), and daily exposure to violence should not simply be assumed.

Taking a broader view, and placing Mycenaean Greece within the context of the European Bronze Age, it is clear that the idea of warriors or warrior chiefs has dominated thought on social organisation in this period (Thorpe, 2013, 234). In part this reflects an "androcentric preoccupation with 'male' qualities and values" which emphasises the role of individual powerful men in social organisation and change (Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 203). This approach places greater importance on graves containing weapons rather than, for example, spindle whorls, and negates the social significance of women or those buried without weapons. Weapons are usually viewed in terms of their association with power (Harrington, 2007, 336), and burials with weapons are treated as evidence for competitive display. At the same time, when discussing "the beauty of Bronze Age warriors and their weapons" it is often the case that "the terror of the victims and the destructive effects of warfare on their communities" is overlooked (Thorpe, 2013, 245). The fact that the present study has dedicated so much space to the issue of the so-called warrior graves partly reflects this scholarly tradition, but the intention here is to critically re-evaluate burials with weapons, rather than to reassert their importance.

The other reason for the preoccupation with warriors is that, despite occasional protestations to the contrary, the European Bronze Age is often placed within an evolutionary framework in which chiefdoms, inevitably headed by men with military prowess or resources, simply must have preceded the later state societies. For example, the early Mycenaean shaft grave recently discovered at Pylos has been described as "the tomb of one of the powerful men who laid foundations for the Mycenaean civilization, the earliest in Europe" (Stocker and Davis, 2016), which directly links the ownership and display of weapons with social organisation and the development of civilisation. Thus this period is characterised in terms of unequal power relations centring on powerful individuals (Harding, 2000, 306), whilst other non-hierarchical forms of organisation receive little or no attention (Fowler, 2013, 514-515). It is taken for granted that states could not develop without a class of warriors (Molloy, 2012, 90), whilst the idea that people could successfully organise their lives and communities without the use of force, or participate in

exchange networks without the threat of violence behind the negotiations, is often not even considered. Thus, the way in which the European Bronze Age is conceptualised almost always retains a role for powerful, violent, controlling men (Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 204), even if the evidence in support of such individuals is extremely thin. The fact that so few post-palatial warrior burials have been discovered in Greece indicates that the Mycenaeans, on the whole, were perfectly capable of organising their world without the need to glorify violence. To conclude, "Isn't it high time to free ourselves from the subliminal influence of Homer, and bury the concept of 'warlike Mycenaeans' in the same graveyard as that of 'peaceful Minoans'?" (Dickinson, 2014, 70).

4.17 Regional patterns

As stated at the start of this chapter, it is often said that there was a noticeable increase in the incidence of burials with weapons in the post-palatial period, and sometimes that this is representative of significant social change (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 173; Moschos, 2009, 385; Arena, 2015, 31). However, this view requires some modification because, when a regional approach is taken to the distribution of burials with weapons, the opposite picture emerges (fig. 4.17). Starting with the palace heartlands, there were more burials with weapons in the Shaft Grave period than in the palace period (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 127). The use of military symbolism, including burial with weapons, may have been deliberately restricted in the palace period, and only the highest levels of the elite, and those who might aspire to join them, were entitled to use weapons in this way (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 152). For example, other than the richest tholoi, only a handful of burials with weapons have been discovered in chamber tombs in the Argolid, including 2 burials with swords at Mycenae, and 4 at Prosymna, of which only 1 had a sword, and the others contained daggers (Whitley, 2002, 228 n.4).

After the collapse of the palaces, burial with weapons did not regain popularity in the heartlands. To date, no burials with weapons have been located in the post-palatial Argolid, Laconia, Messenia, Corinthia or Boeotia, and outside of Achaea this type of burial is extremely rare (Dickinson, 2006A, 243). It has been argued that it is only a matter of time before weapons burials are discovered in the Argolid (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 168), but this seems implausible, given the overwhelming number of burials without weapons that have been recovered so far, and the fact that the Argolid has received the most intensive archaeological attention (Voutsaki, 1995, 55). Even if one or two burials with weapons

were eventually discovered in these areas, the overall impression would remain, that weapons were not a significant aspect of burial in the palace heartlands before or after the collapse. In regard to burials with weapons in the Mycenaean heartlands then, there was continuity in practices rather than significant change. Of course other aspects of burial practices did undergo some change, as discussed in chapter 3.

The vast majority of post-palatial burials with weapons have been excavated in Achaea (Giannopoulos, 2008). Why might this be so? In Achaea in the palace period, the use of weapons in burial rituals was fairly common (if sporadic), and several weapons burials have been excavated in cemeteries at Klauss, Kalithea and elsewhere (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 73). Papadopoulos identified a number of late Mycenaean burials with weapons that could not be dated more closely than LH IIIB – IIIC, along with some 26 graves that were probably LH IIIC in date (Papadopoulos, 1999). It continues to be the case that many of the burials with weapons in Achaea are difficult or impossible to date with certainty (Giannopoulos, 2008; Moschos, 2009, 350-351). The majority of post-palatial weapons burials identified by Deger-Jalkotzy were also located in Achaea (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006). This evidence suggests that, in regard to burials with weapons in Achaea, there was actually continuity in practices rather than significant change. Other aspects of burial practices in Achaea and the northern Peloponnese also contribute to the sense of continuity before and after the collapse, including the continued use of chamber tombs and collective burial long after they had been abandoned elsewhere (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 96).

It has been argued that regions beyond the former palace heartlands fared reasonably well after the collapse (Middleton, 2010, 10), and in some cases may have benefitted from the removal of palatial influence (Giannopoulos, 2008; Shelmerdine and Bennet, 2008, 289; Moschos, 2009, 348; Arena, 2015, 30). Certainly Achaea witnessed an increase in population rather than a decline, if the increasing size of the cemeteries is to be interpreted in this way. The contacts between Achaea and southern Italy that had developed in the palace period (Arena, 2015, 17) continued to grow after the collapse (Giannopoulos, 2008; Galaty, Tomas and Parkinson, 2014, 160), especially in the later post-palatial period (Moschos, 2009, 386), and this region seems to have benefitted from the access this provided to exchange networks further afield (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 169). The palaces are usually considered to be a sign of political development, an advance on previous forms of social organisation. However, developments in post-palatial Achaea suggest that not

having a palace may have given some regions an advantage, and protected them from the more devastating effects brought by the collapse of the palace system elsewhere. Where the dividing lines should be drawn is open to debate, but it seems clear that the palatial and non-palatial areas were organised in different ways and followed different trajectories before and after the collapse (Giannopoulos, 2008; Middleton, 2010, 104), even though, in terms of their material culture, they were all “Mycenaean”.

4.18 Summary

A lot of ideas have been challenged in this chapter, and it will be worth summing up some of the intermediate conclusions, before discussing the overall conclusions that have been drawn on the significance of burials with weapons in post-palatial Greece.

First of all, the evidence of women buried with weapons, and the images of women with weapons that have been discovered, show that weapons should not be treated as evidence of male identity, and that violence should not be considered as an exclusively masculine trait. This is not a matter of political correctness, but about accurately interpreting the available evidence, free from assumptions about the importance of men and the insignificance of women regarding leadership and social power. That said, the evidence of richly buried women from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae indicate that they did not require stockpiles of weapons in order to gain power within the emerging elite.

It is not possible in this study to deal with the concept of a pan-European Bronze Age warrior identity as a whole, but I would argue that the burials with weapons in Mycenaean Greece cannot belong to this tradition. Neither the images of warriors nor the assemblages of goods placed in the graves conform to the package of grave goods proposed for the European warrior class. The bones of the dead do not provide evidence that those buried with weapons were actively engaged in warfare, as would be expected from those described as warriors, but there is evidence that some of those who did experience combat were not always honoured with weapons at death. Despite the paucity of the evidence, this surely contradicts the theory that those buried with weapons were warriors. Whilst there is evidence for military organisation in the written records of the Mycenaeans, the Linear B tablets provide little support for the concept of a warrior class. Rather, they describe the conscription of ordinary soldiers, who were provided with military equipment by the palaces, before returning to their lives after a period of service.

Individual weapons placed with the dead may have represented personal possessions, but this was not the case when large numbers of weapons were interred. The huge escalation in the deposition of weapons in the later Shaft Grave period may have been used to symbolise military power, but the stockpiles of swords also demonstrated access to astonishing levels of disposable wealth and significant overseas connections, and were in this way used in the expression and legitimisation of power, at a time when leadership was still in contention. The burials with weapons in the post-palatial period were too dispersed both geographically and chronologically to have represented similar power struggles, and must be considered in other ways.

Weapons in Mycenaean Greece were associated with a variety of functions besides their use in warfare. There is ample evidence that weapons were used for ritual purposes, and it is possible that they were given as grave goods because of their association with cult, and not just with military prowess. Swords and other weapons were made with imported materials and required skill in their construction, which means that ownership or deposition of weapons in graves can be linked to the expression of wealth. It is possible that this was their main function as elite grave goods in the palace period, when they were unlikely to be used as expressions of power in a serious challenge to the palace rulers.

Burials with weapons have been linked to expressions of leadership, and it is likely that they were used in attempts to acquire or justify power in the Shaft Grave period, and in the burials at Knossos. However, in the post-palatial period, there is no model of leadership to which the distribution of weapons burials easily lends itself, and it is unlikely that the later burials with weapons at Athens represent the leaders of separate communities. Weapons burials were significant, but they could have been linked with types of social status or identity that had little to do with power. Weapons may have been placed with the dead to express wealth or association with ritual, to honour an individual's contribution to the community, or to acknowledge an unusual death, but the evidence does not allow a more precise explanation for this practice. None of these circumstances need have anything to do with military performance, since weapons were used in burials to express status, not occupation (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 111).

The idea of a warrior class is linked to theories about social evolution, and the important role of violent men in the leadership of communities. This approach fails to account for the

lack of burials with weapons at different times (including immediately after the collapse) and in various places, and emphasises violence and the role of men at the expense of women and forms of social status not associated with military power. This interpretation of burials with weapons may have developed when archaeological evidence was still relatively limited, and it was necessary therefore to draw upon Homeric epics for an appreciation of life and social organisation in Bronze Age Greece. I would argue that the situation has now reversed, and it is possible to reject notions of the "warlike" Mycenaeans, or the existence of a warrior class.

When the regional distribution of weapons burials is considered, it becomes clear that the post-palatial burials with weapons do not represent significant social change. In fact, burial without weapons continued in the Mycenaean heartlands, and burial with weapons continued in Achaea, much as they had in the palace period. To argue that there was an increase in burials with weapons in the post-palatial period, therefore, is to place the emphasis on change, when in reality continuity would be a more accurate conclusion, at least where the deposition of weapons is concerned.

4.19 Conclusions

There are three main conclusions to be drawn from this discussion of burials with weapons in prehistoric Greece. The first is that there is no evidence to support the idea of a warrior class in the post-palatial period – or, in fact, at any time in the Greek Bronze Age. The presence of weapons in burials is categorically not proof that the dead were warriors in life, and to state uncritically that they were is to perpetuate a fallacy that has seriously hampered the study of life and death in Mycenaean Greece. Whilst it is true that some of those injured in combat in the Shaft Grave period were buried with weapons, it has not been possible to show that this link continued into later periods (although the picture would be clearer if osteological analysis had been carried out systematically). It has been necessary, therefore, to consider alternative reasons for the use of weapons in burials. The occasions on which this practice was appropriate may have varied over time and from place to place (Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 206), and attempting to isolate a single explanation is futile.

The second conclusion is that burial practices must not be interpreted in a straight-forward, literal way. If this literal approach was taken for other types of artefact found in graves, it

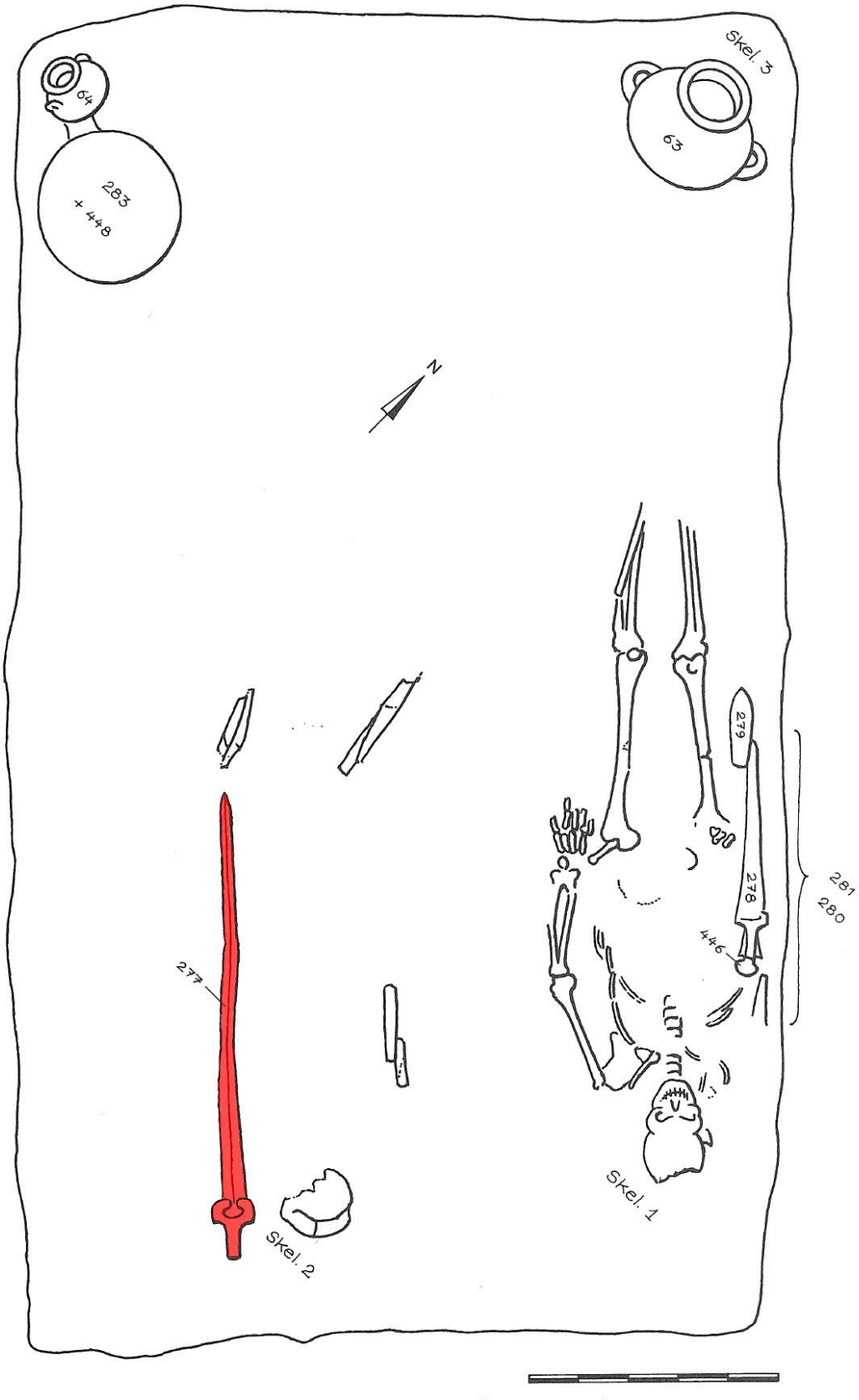
would be assumed that those buried with drinking cups and jugs were wine merchants or producers, and that those buried with combs, tweezers and razors were barbers. This is absurd. Rather, it is necessary to explore both the practical functions and the symbolic nature of objects (Treherne, 1995, 116; Theuws and Alkemade, 2000, 418-419), and to consider the wider social conditions in which they were employed in burial practices (Voutsaki, 1998, 56; Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 200). This approach would be most effective when combined with a regional and chronological perspective that examines broader patterns in the archaeological record. Such an approach could then avoid the generalisations that have characterised some of the scholarship regarding burials with weapons in ancient Greece and beyond.

Finally, the fact that the deposition of weapons does not signify the burials of warriors calls into question archaeologists' ability to identify other roles and social identities with certainty. If it is not possible to identify warriors among the dead, then it may be even more difficult to identify those with other roles or occupations simply by examining tombs and grave goods. The images of women with weapons and the deliberate mixing of gender motifs on the Warrior Vase, for example, indicate that gender identities were not as polarised as is sometimes assumed. However, this difficulty in defining distinct identities in burials may be due in part to the fact that social identities were not simple, well defined or fixed in life (Whitley, 1991, 181; Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 204), and therefore, attempting to identify them in burial remains is bound to be problematic. Similarly, attempting to describe a past that is "neat and tidy" (Shanks and Hodder, 1995, 9) may not be possible, with the archaeological tools currently available.

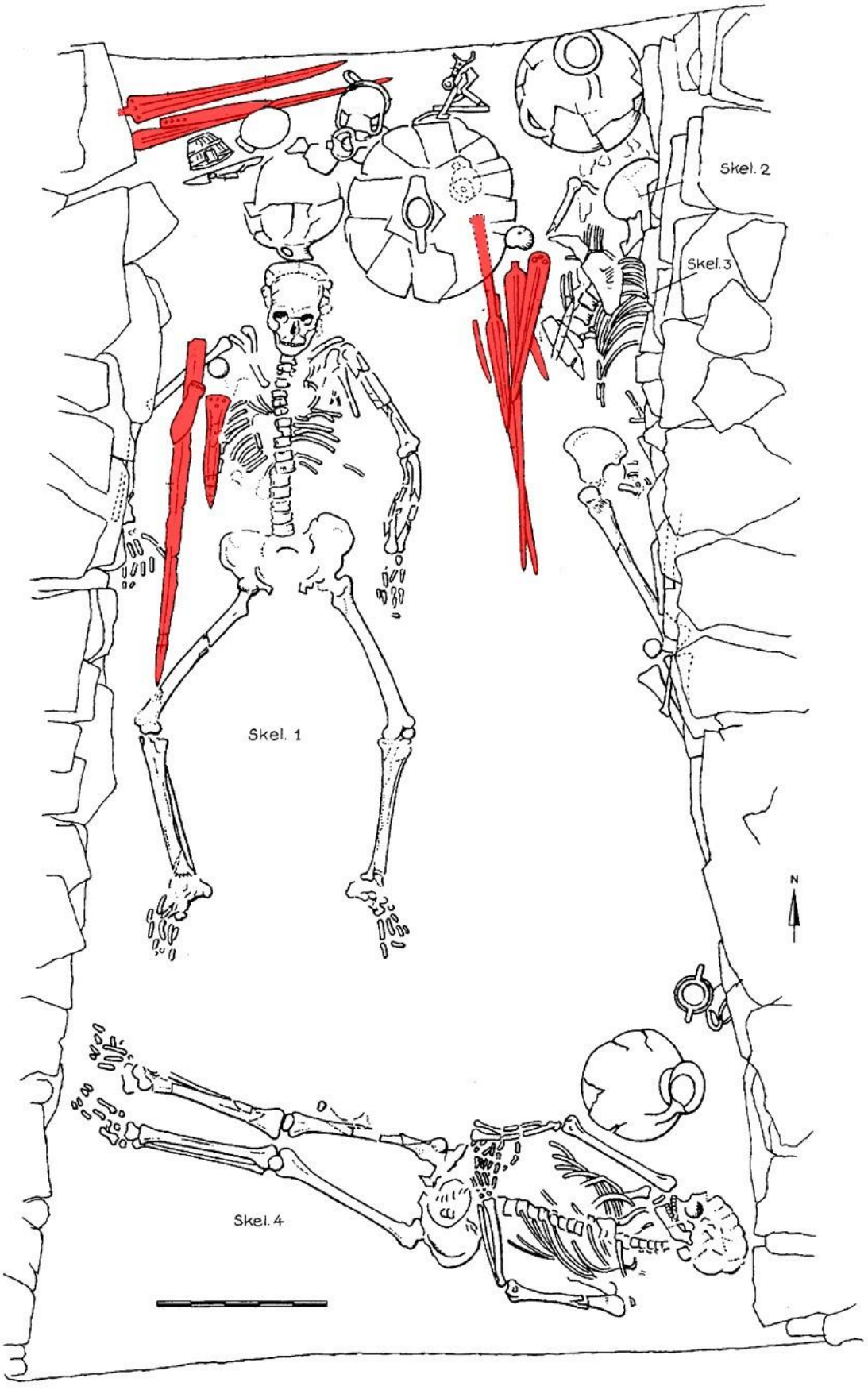
It is important to acknowledge that burial practices did not simply reflect lived social identities in a direct way, but played an active role in creating identities for the purposes of the funeral, and were used to express the social aspirations of the survivors. This may have been especially true during times of change, including the final days of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age in Greece, when burials provided an important arena for social display. The picture of post-palatial Greece thus gained by considering the deposition of weapons in graves is not clear, but suggests that social organisation and social identities varied in different regions before and after the collapse, and that people had to adapt to changing conditions in the post-palatial period. This process of adaptation is reflected in both continuities and changes to burial practices. Whether the situation is considered negatively, as a period of chaos, or considered positively, as a period of

opportunity, is a matter of perspective, but the revival in LH IIIC Middle suggests that life at the end of the Mycenaean period was not altogether *Dark*.

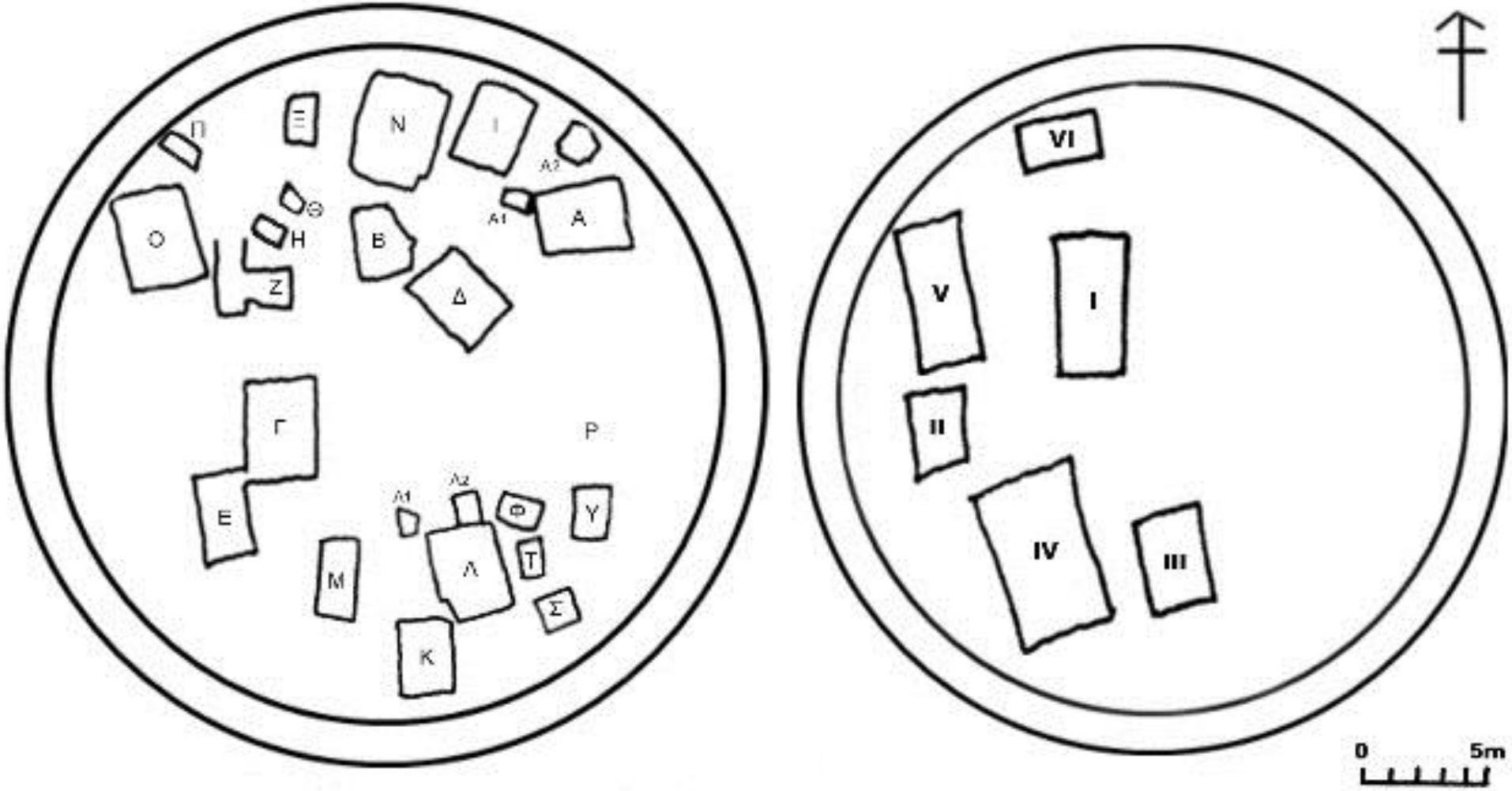
4.20 Burials with weapons: figures



4.1 Grave Delta, Grave Circle B, Mycenae
Sword associated with female burial (skeleton 2) is highlighted
After Dietz, 1991, fig. 33



4.2 Grave Gamma, Grave Circle B, Mycenae, bladed weapons highlighted
After Dietz, 1991, fig. 12



4.3 Grave Circles B (left) and A (right), Mycenae

4.4 Gold seal from grave III, Grave Circle A, Mycenae (NMA 33; CMS I, 9)
Iakovidis, 1992, fig. 36

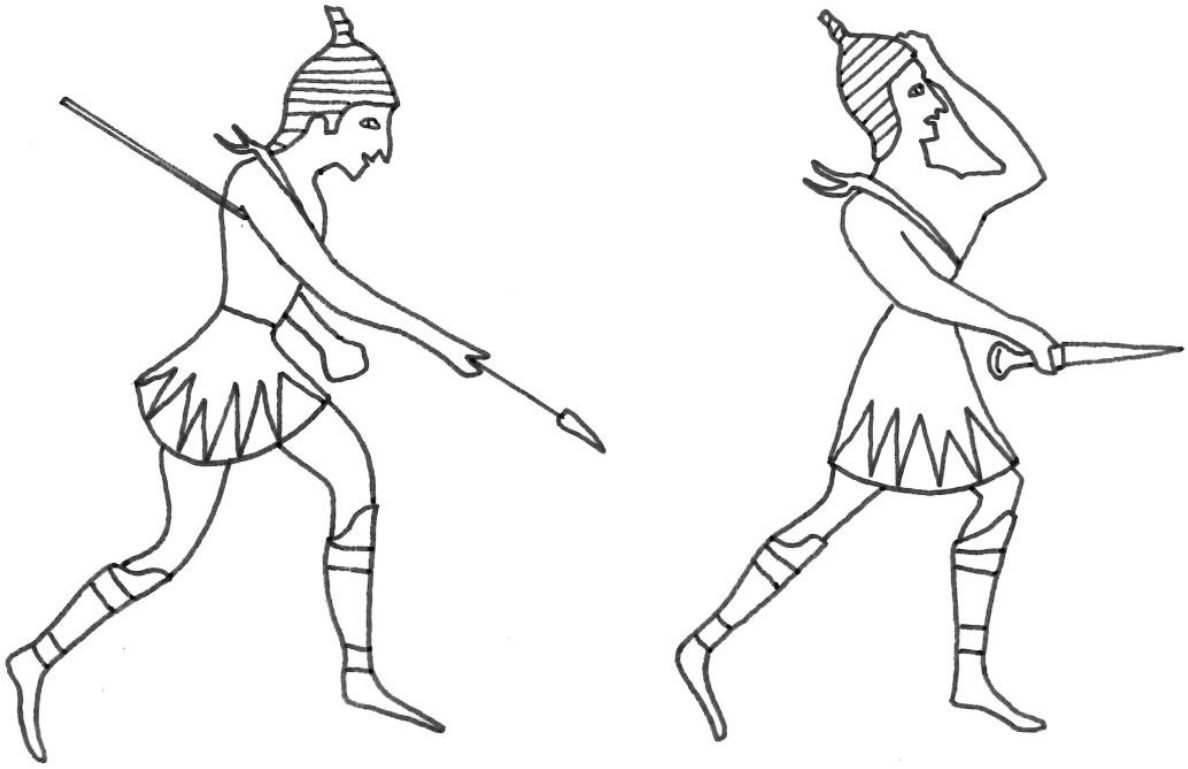
4.5 Weapons from some of the warrior graves at Knossos

4.6 Pieces of boars' tusk found at Mycenae

4.7 Boars' tusk helmet from one of the warrior graves at Knossos

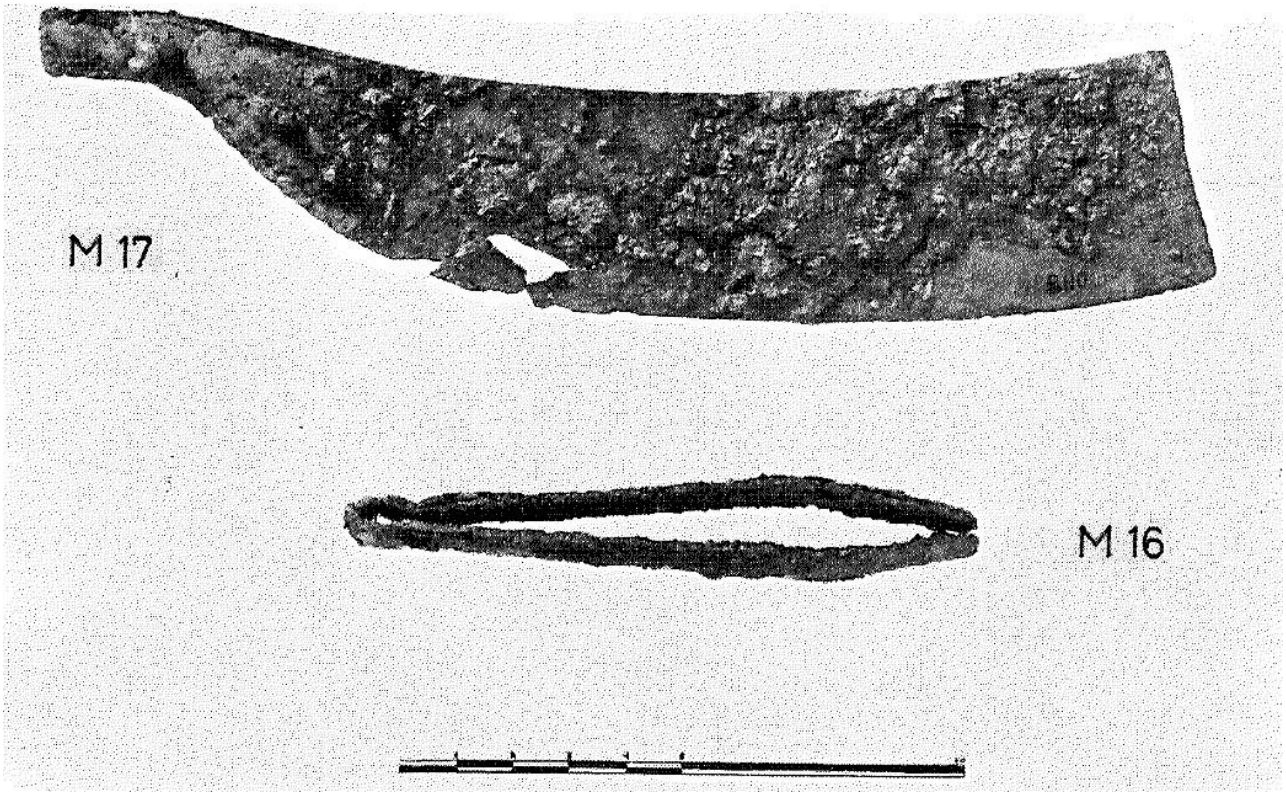
4.8 Woman wearing a boars' tusk helmet, fresco, Mycenae (NMA 11.652)
Michael Fuller, St. Louis Community College (pers. comm.)

4.9 Fresco of a goddess and priestess with sword and spear, Room of the Frescoes, Cult Centre, Mycenae (Archaeological Museum of Mycenae)
Morgan, 2005B, plate 24a

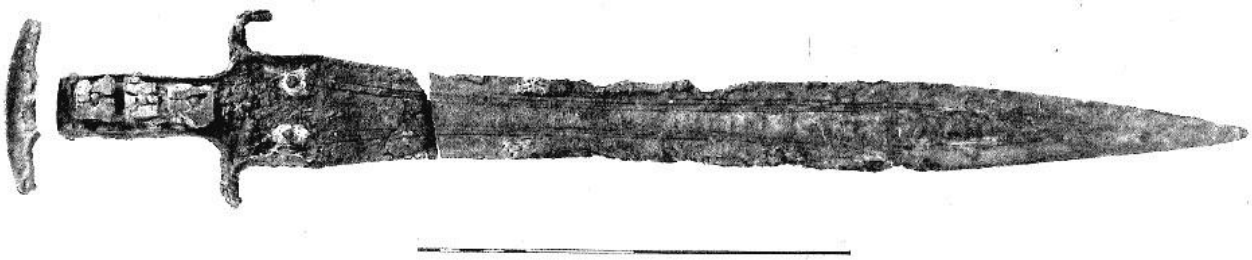


4.10 Mycenaean warriors on the battle fresco, Southwestern Building, Pylos
After Lang, 1969

4.11 Mycenaean (left) and non-Mycenaean (right) on the battle fresco, Southwestern Building, Pylos
After Lang, 1969

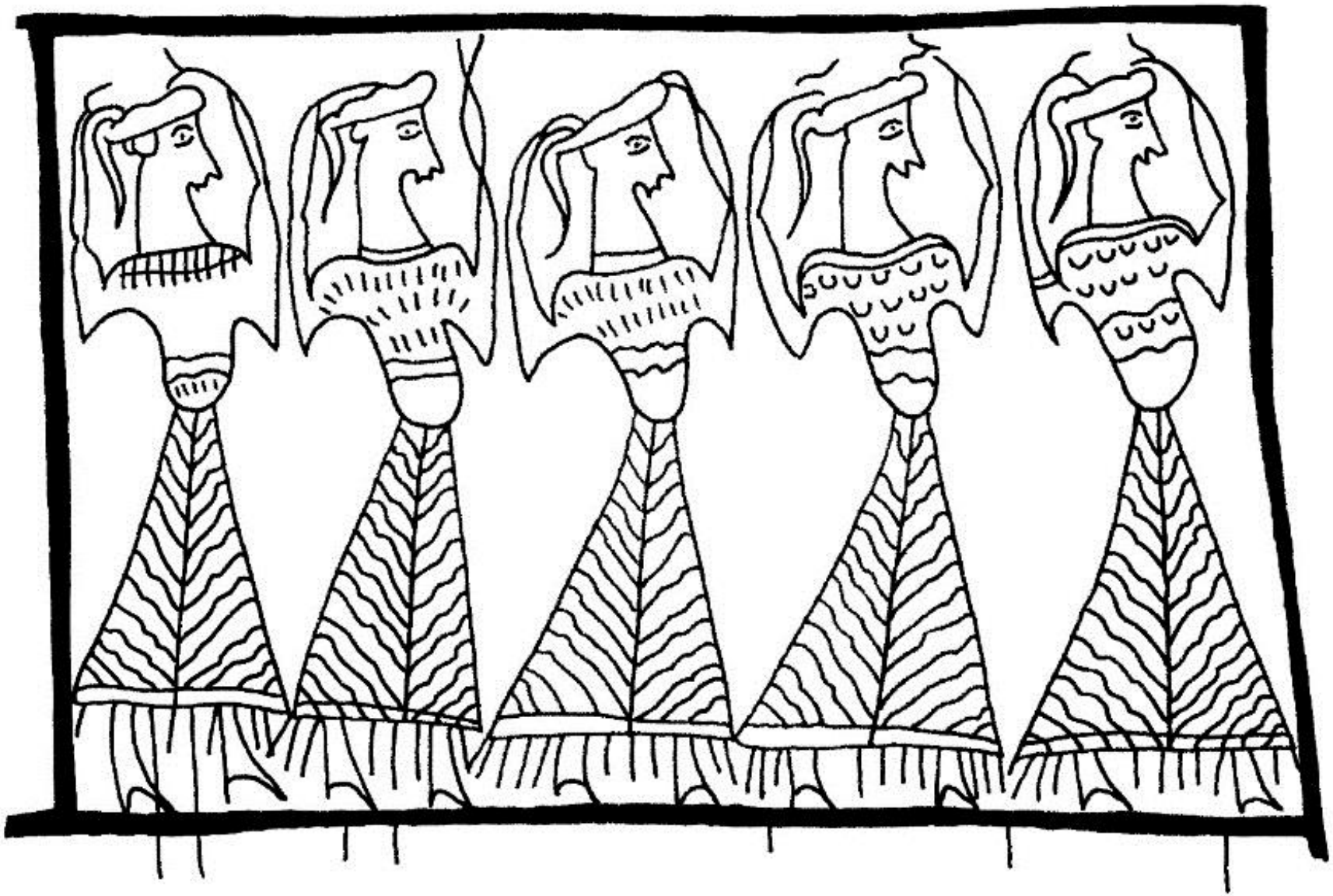


4.12 Razor and tweezers, tomb 5, Perati
Iakovidis, 1970, plate 52b



4.13 Sword, tomb 12, Perati
Iakovidis, 1970, plate 95b

4.14 The Warrior Vase, Mycenae (NMA 1426)



4.15 Procession of mourners on Larnax 9, Tanagra

4.16 The woman with reconstructed arm raised (left) and a warrior (centre) from the Warrior vase, Mycenae, and a mourning woman from Larnax 9, Tanagra (right). (Images are not to scale)

4.17 Former palace states and location of post-palatial warrior graves (some graves, for example those in Crete, are not shown) With reference to Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, fig. 9.2

4.21 Burials with weapons: tables

Table 4.1: LH IIIC / LM IIIC warrior burials and grave goods: arranged by region

Region and Cemetery	Tomb number	Burial date	Sword	Other blade	Sword *or* blade	Sword *and* blade	No blade	Projectile	Projectile *and* blade	Projectile *no* blade	Defensive	Other eg scabbard	Only offensive	Both	Only defensive	Body ornament	Clothing ornament	Either ornament	Grooming equipment	Horse equipment
ACHAEA																				
Patras: Klaus	Θ	LH IIIC	y	y	y	y		y	y				y						y	
Patras: Klaus	Θ	LH IIIC	y		y			y	y				y							
Krini-Drimaleïka	3	Middle Dev	y		y			y	y			y	y			y		y	y	
Lousika-Spaliareïka (1)	2	Early		y	y								y						y	
Lousika-Spaliareïka (2)	2	Middle-Late	y	y	y	y		y	y			y	y							
Lousika-Spaliareïka (3)	2	Middle Adv-Late	y	y	y	y		y	y		y			y			y	y		
Portes-Kephalovryso	3	Middle	y	y	y	y		y	y		y	y		y						
Nikoleïka	4	Middle	y	y	y	y							y			y		y		
Kallithea-Spentzes	A	Middle	y		y			y	y		y	y		y						
Kallithea-Spentzes	B	Middle Adv-Late	y	y	y	y		y	y		y			y			y	y	y	
Kallithea-Langanidia	VI,VII	LH IIIC		y	y			y	y				y							
Kallithea-Langanidia	tholos	LH IIIC?		y	y						y			y			y	y	y	
Monodhendri-Ag. Kons.	?	LH IIIC?	y		y								y							
Agios Konstantinos	2	LH IIIC?		y	y			y	y				y			y		y		
Kangadhi	?	LH IIIC?	y		y			y	y				y							

cont...

Region and Cemetery	Tomb number	Burial date	Sword	Other blade	Sword *or* blade	Sword *and* blade	No blade	Projectile	Projectile *and* blade	Projectile *no* blade	Defensive	Other eg scabbard	Only offensive	Both	Only defensive	Body ornament	Clothing ornament	Either ornament	Grooming equipment	Horse equipment
ATTICA																				
Perati	38	Late	y		y								y							
Perati	38	Late		y	y								y			y		y		
Perati	12	Middle-Late	y	y	y	y							y			y		y	y	
Perati	123	Middle					y	y		y			y						y	
KEPHALLONIA																				
Kephallonia: Lakkithra	A:6	LH IIIC	y		y			y	y		y			y						
Kephallonia: Dhiakata	2	LH IIIC?	y	y	y	y							y			y	y	y	y	
ARCADIA																				
Palaiokastro	6	Middle	y	y	y	y		y	y				y			y		y		
Palaiokastro	6	Middle Adv	y		y								y							
THESSALY																				
Hexalophos	A	Middle	y		y			y	y				y							
PHOKIS																				
Delphi	"chef"	LH IIIB-IIIC Late	y	y	y	y							y			y	y	y	y	

cont...

Region and Cemetery	Tomb number	Burial date	Sword	Other blade	Sword *or* blade	Sword *and* blade	No blade	Projectile	Projectile *and* blade	Projectile *no* blade	Defensive	Other eg scabbard	Only offensive	Both	Only defensive	Body ornament	Clothing ornament	Either ornament	Grooming equipment	Horse equipment
ISLANDS																				
Naxos: Grotta: Kamini	A	Middle	y		y								y							y
Naxos: Grotta: Kamini	nr D	Middle-Late					y	y		y			y			y		y		
Naxos: Grotta: Haplomata	A	Middle	y		y								y							
Kos: Langada	21	Possibly Early	y		y			y	y				y							
Kos: Langada	53	LH IIIC?	y		y								y							
Rhodes: Passia	2	LH IIIC?	y	y	y	y		y	y				y			y		y		
CRETE																				
Crete: Mouliana	A	LM IIIC Late	y		y			y	y				y			y	y	y		y
Crete: Mouliana	A	LM IIIC Late	y		y								y			y		y		
Crete: Mouliana	B	LM IIIC Late	y		y								y			y		y		
Crete: Mouliana	B	LM IIIC Late	y		y			y	y				y			y		y		
Crete: Praisos-Foutoula	?	LM IIIC Late					y	y		y		y	y			y		y		
Crete: Myrsini	A	LM IIIC?	y		y			y	y				y							
Crete: Myrsini	B	LM IIIC?	y		y								y							
		Total	30	16	35	11	3	22	19	3	6	5	32	6	0	15	6	18	9	2
38 burials		**Percentage**	79%	42%	92%	29%	8%	58%	50%	8%	16%	13%	84%	16%	0%	39%	16%	47%	24%	5%

Table 4.1a: summary by region

	Burials	Sword	Ornament	Grooming	Horses	Sword	Ornament	Grooming	Horses
Achaea	15	11	6	5	0	73%	40%	33%	0%
Attica	4	2	2	2	0	50%	50%	50%	0%
Kephallonia	2	2	1	1	0	100%	50%	50%	0%
Arcadia	2	2	1	0	0	100%	50%	0%	0%
Thessaly	1	1	0	0	0	100%	0%	0%	0%
Phokis	1	1	1	1	0	100%	100%	100%	0%
Islands	6	5	2	0	1	83%	33%	0%	17%
Crete	7	6	5	0	1	86%	71%	0%	14%
Total	38	30	18	9	2	79%	47%	24%	5%

Table 4.1b: summary by wider region

	Burials	Sword	Ornament	Grooming	Horses	Sword	Ornament	Grooming	Horses
Attica & islands	10	7	4	2	1	70%	40%	20%	10%
North Greece	21	17	9	7	0	81%	43%	33%	0%
Crete	7	6	5	0	1	86%	71%	0%	14%
Total	38	30	18	9	2	79%	47%	24%	5%

Attica, Naxos, Kos, Rhodes

Achaea, Kephallonia, Arcadia, Thessaly, Phokis

Crete

Table 4.2: LH IIIC / LM IIIC warrior burials and grave goods: arranged by date

Period and Cemetery	Tomb number	Burial date	Sword	Other blade	Sword *or* blade	Sword *and* blade	No blade	Projectile	Projectile *and* blade	Projectile *no* blade	Defensive	Other eg scabbard	Only offensive	Both	Only defensive	Body ornament	Clothing ornament	Either ornament	Grooming equipment	Horse equipment
EARLY																				
Kos: Langada	21	Possibly Early	y		y			y	y				y							
Lousika-Spaliareïka (1)	2	Early		y	y								y					y	y	
MIDDLE																				
Portes-Kephalovryso	3	Middle	y	y	y	y		y	y		y	y		y						
Perati	123	Middle					y	y		y			y						y	
Nikoleïka	4	Middle	y	y	y	y							y			y		y		
Kallithea-Spentzes	A	Middle	y		y			y	y		y	y		y						
Palaiokastro	6	Middle	y	y	y	y		y	y				y			y		y		
Hexalophos	A	Middle	y		y			y	y				y							
Naxos: Grotta: Kamini	A	Middle	y		y								y							y
Naxos: Grotta: Haplomata	A	Middle	y		y								y							
Krini-Drimaleïka	3	Middle Dev	y		y			y	y			y	y			y			y	
Palaiokastro	6	Middle Adv	y		y								y							
Lousika-Spaliareïka (3)	2	Middle Adv-Late	y	y	y	y		y	y		y			y			y	y		

cont...

Period and Cemetery	Tomb number	Burial date	Sword	Other blade	Sword *or* blade	Sword *and* blade	No blade	Projectile	Projectile *and* blade	Projectile *no* blade	Defensive	Other eg scabbard	Only offensive	Both	Only defensive	Body ornament	Clothing ornament	Either ornament	Grooming equipment	Horse equipment
Kallithea-Spentzes	B	Middle Adv-Late	y	y	y	y		y	y		y			y			y	y	y	
Perati	12	Middle-Late	y	y	y	y							y			y		y	y	
Lousika-Spaliareïka (2)	2	Middle-Late	y	y	y	y		y	y			y	y							
Naxos: Grotta: Kamini	nr D	Middle-Late					y	y		y			y			y		y		
LATE																				
Perati	38	Late	y		y								y							
Perati	38	Late		y	y								y			y		y		
Delphi	"chef"	LH IIIB-IIIC Late	y	y	y	y							y			y	y	y	y	
Crete: Mouliana	A	LM IIIC Late	y		y			y	y				y			y	y	y		y
Crete: Mouliana	A	LM IIIC Late	y		y								y			y		y		
Crete: Mouliana	B	LM IIIC Late	y		y								y			y		y		
Crete: Mouliana	B	LM IIIC Late	y		y			y	y				y			y		y		
Crete: Praisos-Foutoula	?	LM IIIC Late					y	y		y		y	y			y		y		

cont...

Period and Cemetery	Tomb number	Burial date	Sword	Other blade	Sword *or* blade	Sword *and* blade	No blade	Projectile	Projectile *and* blade	Projectile *no* blade	Defensive	Other eg scabbard	Only offensive	Both	Only defensive	Body ornament	Clothing ornament	Either ornament	Grooming equipment	Horse equipment
LH IIIC																				
Patras: Klaus	Θ	LH IIIC	y	y	y	y		y	y				y						y	
Patras: Klaus	Θ	LH IIIC	y		y			y	y				y							
Kallithea-Langanidia	VI,VII	LH IIIC		y	y			y	y				y							
Kephallonia: Lakkithra	A:6	LH IIIC	y		y			y	y		y			y						
Probably LH IIIC																				
Kallithea-Langanidia	tholos	LH IIIC?		y	y						y			y			y		y	
Monodhendri-Ag. Kons.	?	LH IIIC?	y		y								y							
Agios Konstantinos	2	LH IIIC?		y	y			y	y				y			y		y		
Kangadhi	?	LH IIIC?	y		y			y	y				y							
Kephallonia: Dhiakata	2	LH IIIC?	y	y	y	y							y			y	y	y	y	
Kos: Langada	53	LH IIIC?	y		y								y							
Rhodes: Passia	2	LH IIIC?	y	y	y	y		y	y				y			y		y		
Crete: Myrsini	A	LM IIIC?	y		y			y	y				y							
Crete: Myrsini	B	LM IIIC?	y		y								y							
		Total	30	16	35	11	3	22	19	3	6	5	32	6	0	15	6	17	9	2
38 burials		**Percentage**	79%	42%	92%	29%	8%	58%	50%	8%	16%	13%	84%	16%	0%	39%	16%	45%	24%	5%

Table 4.2a: summary by date

	Burials	Sword	Ornament	Grooming	Horses	Sword	Ornament	Grooming	Horses
Early	2	1	1	1	0	50%	33%	33%	0%
Middle	15	13	6	4	1	87%	43%	29%	7%
Late	8	6	7	1	1	75%	88%	13%	13%
Total datable	25	20	14	6	2	80%	56%	24%	8%

Note that only those graves with a relatively close date were used.

Table key	Description
Sword	Includes Naue II swords (the majority) and all other types of sword as discussed by Molloy, 2010
Other blade	Includes daggers and knives, including those described as decorative or ornamental
Projectile	Includes spearheads, spearbutts, and arrows
Other	Includes pieces of bronze that could have formed part of a scabbard, or other weapon-associated objects
Defensive	Includes body armour, greaves, helmets and shields
Offensive	Includes swords, other blades and projectiles
Body ornament	Includes finger rings, hair rings, necklaces, pendants, and other items to be worn as jewellery
Clothing ornament	Includes fibulae, buttons or other decorations attached to clothing
Grooming equip.	Includes razors, tweezers, combs, mirrors, and other items used for personal appearance
Horse equip.	Includes pieces of bronze that could have formed part of a harness or other horse-related equipment

Much of this data was compiled from Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, especially tables 9.1, 9.2 (pp. 166-167), and 9.3 (pp. 170-171), but other sources were consulted as appropriate.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to bring together the evidence discussed in the previous three chapters, and to consider the common themes or issues that have emerged from this study of post-palatial burial practices in Greece. It begins with a summary of the conclusions of the case studies on Perati, the Argolid, and the burials with weapons. Although these chapters differ in nature – the first deals with a single cemetery, the second with the burial practices of a whole region, and the third with a particular grave type – there are some themes that are common to them all which require further consideration.

After the summary, the first task will be to reconsider whether changes in burial practices after the collapse of the palace system inform our understanding of social organisation in the post-palatial period. The following section considers whether or not there was a relationship between burial practices and social complexity in Bronze Age Greece. It is necessary to revisit the arguments regarding continuity and change and the concept of "Mycenaean" as a culture in the next section, because the evidence analysed in the case studies has highlighted the fact that change occurred in Mycenaean Greece, but at different times in different places. This leads naturally to questions about how the Mycenaean period is understood in chronological terms. In the final section, it will be necessary to discuss what has been discovered about life in post-palatial Greece through studying the archaeology of this period. These themes have been addressed many times before, but they need to be discussed again in the light of what has been presented in the course of this thesis.

5.2 Perati, the Argolid, and burials with weapons: a summary

At first sight, Perati appears to be the perfect example of a post-palatial cemetery, and it has often been used to illustrate changes in burial practices after the collapse (Dickinson, 2006A, 179; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 93). It continued the Mycenaean tradition of collective burial in chamber tombs that was so common in the palace period, but also featured simple graves, single burial, and a small number of cremations (Iakovidis, 1970) – which is precisely what might be expected of a cemetery constructed at a time of social transition, between a period which inhumed its dead in collective tombs, and a period in

which single burial or cremation in simple graves was the norm. It is only when these practices are considered in terms of the chronological phases of the cemetery, that it becomes obvious that the direction of change is wrong – simple graves did not become more popular over time, but actually declined in use, and cremations did not increase in use over time, but were carried out periodically (if rarely) in all three phases of the cemetery's use. A large number of collective tombs were used for single burials, but simple graves were sometimes used for multiple burials. Perati had all the right ingredients for a cemetery constructed during a period of change, but it was not changing in the right ways.

In order to make sense of these contradictory and unexpected findings, it has been necessary to examine burial practices in palace period Attica, and find out if there were precedents for the practices at Perati. With the exception of cremation, examples of everything that was practiced at post-palatial Perati have been found in the cemeteries of Attica in the palace period (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 62, 67, 69; Lewartowski, 2000, 10). Only cremation was really innovative, and this appears to have been a development from native secondary burial practices, rather than an imported practice or a radically different attitude towards the dead. These discoveries lead to the conclusion that, in Attica, most of the changes in burial practices which are traditionally associated with the post-palatial period actually began before the collapse. It is also the case, therefore, that most of the burial practices identified as innovations at Perati were, in fact, continuities, when considered within a regional context.

There are a number of conclusions to be drawn from these discoveries, many of which contradict traditional interpretations of the cemetery as representing a transitional phase (Dickinson, 2006A, 179; Thomatos, 2006, 260; Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 177). Firstly, Perati was not a post-palatial cemetery as such, but it was an Attic cemetery. This means that it must not be used as an example of post-palatial burial practices for the whole of Mycenaean Greece. Secondly, whatever caused the people of Attica to use smaller chamber tombs, to use collective tombs for single burials, to place multiple burials in simple graves, and perhaps to accept cremation earlier than in other Mycenaean regions, was not related to the collapse of the palaces. Either Attica had always been different from other regions (Privitera, 2013), or something had prompted change during the palace period. As for the collapse, it did not seem to have caused noticeable change in Attic burial practices – continuity rather than change characterised the post-palatial period in

this region. The third conclusion is that regions need to be studied separately (Voutsaki, 1998, 56). Archaeologists have relied too heavily on Perati as an example of a post-palatial cemetery, generalising from developments there instead of looking at sites in a regional context. This is understandable – Perati was newly built in LH IIIC and was a large cemetery which was relatively recently excavated. But to continue treating it as the type-site for all of post-palatial Greece is now untenable. It is especially important that Perati is not used as an example of post-palatial burial practices when discussing former palace states, because Attica did not have a palace in the palace period, and the changes in burial practices in this region began *before* the collapse.

The starting assumptions for the Argolid chapter were fairly straight forward – burial practices *must* have changed, because social change *must* have happened, because the region had two palaces, both of which were destroyed during the collapse (Middleton, 2010, 13-15). Analysis of the available data has demonstrated that, against expectations, burial practices in the Argolid in fact continued to be recognisably Mycenaean throughout the post-palatial period. Single burial had not been uncommon in the palace period in this region, but the occurrence of single burial decreased after the collapse – the very opposite of what is usually suggested for post-palatial Greece (Snodgrass, 1971, 153; Desborough, 1972, 266; Whitley, 2001, 78; Dickinson, 2006A, 181; Snodgrass, 2006, 133; Thomatos, 2006, 169). Neither did the practice of cremation rapidly increase (*contra* Desborough, 1972, 266; Whitley, 2001, 78) since, with the exception of the high status cremations in the tumuli at Mycenae and Argos, it was not practiced in the Argolid until after the post-palatial period had come to an end. On balance, therefore, burial practices in the post-palatial Argolid were more similar to the practices of the preceding palace period, than the subsequent Protogeometric period.

It may be the case that traditional interpretations or generalisations about changes in the whole of Mycenaean Greece were initially based on changes in burial practices in Attica, where cremation and single burial both became popular earlier than in the Argolid and many other regions (Snodgrass, 1971, 177). Privileging the evidence from Athens, and especially the Submycenaean-Protogeometric Kerameikos cemetery, has helped to create expectations about post-palatial burial practices that do not match regional evidence at all well (Dickinson, 2006A, 176). It could also be the case that the prevalence of single burial and cremation in the Protogeometric period has led to the expectation that there should be early signs of these practices in the post-palatial period (Snodgrass, 1971, 189; Mee and

Cavanagh, 1984, 61), especially if the collapse of the palace system is considered to be the moment at which Greece entered the Dark Age, as will be discussed later.

Exceptional, high status burials ceased in the Argolid once the palatial ruling class was removed from power, but to all intents and purposes, ordinary people continued to bury their dead in much the same ways as before. Few new chamber tombs were built, but people preferred to use or re-use chamber tombs, rather than to switch immediately to simple graves (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 97). This study demonstrates, very clearly, that burial practices in the Argolid did not change as a result of the collapse of the palace system. In fact, burial practices continued in much the same ways as before, *despite* the destruction of the two most impressive palaces in the Mycenaean world. If burial practices in the Argolid were meant to have gone through a period of transition in the post-palatial period, this thesis demonstrates that the evidence for such changes is distinctly lacking. Rather, the most significant changes in burial practices in the Argolid occurred not immediately after the collapse, but at the end of the post-palatial period.

The next chapter focussed on the so-called warrior graves, which were thought to have increased in number after the collapse of the palace system (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 168; Dickinson, 2006A, 74; Cavanagh, 2008, 335; Middleton, 2010, 101; Crielaard, 2011, 95). It has been suggested that the increase must have been related to a change in leadership style, which was prompted by the social change initiated by the collapse of the palaces (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 404), and the improved social conditions in Achaea in LH IIIC Middle (Giannopoulos, 2008; Moschos, 2009, 356). Rather than acquiring positions of power by tradition and inheritance, the increase in warrior graves could have indicated that there were now opportunities to acquire power and influence based on personal attributes and achievements, including military prowess and leadership skills (Mazarakis Ainian, 2006, 183; Giannopoulos, 2008). If this were the case, it would indicate that fundamental changes had occurred in Mycenaean Greece, that social mobility between classes was easier after the collapse of the palaces, and that there were now greater opportunities for individuals to determine their own destinies.

These starting assumptions were soon proved to be incorrect. It can now be demonstrated that there was not a significant increase in burials with weapons in the post-palatial period. The vast majority of these burials took place in Achaea, a region in which burials with weapons were not uncommon in the preceding palace period (Cavanagh and

Mee, 1998, 73; Papadopoulos, 1999). Conversely, there were few burials with weapons at all in the palatial or post-palatial cemeteries of other regions of mainland Greece (Dickinson, 2006A, 243). This leads to the conclusion that warrior graves did not represent change as a result of the collapse, but continuity in burial practices, specifically in Achaea. Whatever inspired some people to bury their dead with weapons in this region was not caused or noticeably affected by the collapse of the palaces.

There is a long history in Greek archaeology of treating those buried with weapons as warriors (Thorpe, 2013, 237), and assuming that a warrior class, or indeed a warrior aristocracy, played an important role in social developments during the Bronze Age (Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 212). This approach to burials with weapons was further encouraged by Treherne's (1995) influential article on the European warrior grave tradition, which romanticised the lifestyle and importance of well-armed, well-groomed, rich and powerful men (Hanks, 2008, 265). The concept of an assemblage or package of grave goods, including weapons, personal adornments, grooming equipment, drinking vessels, and items related to horse riding, was used to support the notion of a rich and leisurely lifestyle for the warrior elite (Treherne, 1995, 124). The existence of a warrior class was also used to support the argument that warfare was a daily concern to people living in Bronze Age Europe (Harding, 2000, 271). The majority of the post-palatial burials with weapons, in fact, coincided with improvements in exchange networks and a period of relative *stability* and prosperity in LH IIIC Middle, which argues against an increase in warfare or the need for military leadership.

Further examination of the evidence reveals that the existence of a class of elite warriors cannot be proved for either the palace period or the post-palatial period in Greece. Nor do any of the graves of those buried with weapons in any period of Bronze Age Greece contain the assemblage of grave goods that has been proposed for the European warrior class (Harding, 2000, 289). There is very little tangible evidence for actual warfare in the Mycenaean period (Driessen, 1999), before or after the collapse, and the Linear B evidence for military organisation by the palaces describes conscripted soldiers rather than an elite fighting force. These soldiers may not have considered themselves as warriors, especially once their period of military service was over, and they returned to civilian life. Even during their time in military service, when they were provided with weapons and equipment by the palaces, it is unlikely that they enjoyed the elite lifestyle that has been proposed for a warrior class who, in reality, never existed in Greece. To continue to

support the idea of an elite warrior class, therefore, is to perpetuate myths about the warlike nature of the Mycenaeans that have no basis in reality.

After dismissing the idea that those buried with weapons were warriors, the question remains, why were some people buried with weapons? In studying the distribution of the warrior graves in Achaea, it has become clear that they could not all be the graves of leaders (*contra* Moschos, 2009), because the distribution over time and space does not match any known model of leadership. Simply associating the practice with the construction of male identity will not suffice either, since women and children were sometimes buried with weapons. In conclusion, burials with weapons may have been used to express status, but this status was not necessarily connected to wealth, leadership, or military prowess. There was a range of important or skilled roles that could have attracted social status in life, and could have been honoured in death in a variety of ways (Fowler, 2013, 515), including the presentation of weapons, which were both luxurious (Driessen and Schoep, 1999, 394) and symbolically significant objects (Kilian-Dirlmeier, 1990, 158).

It might seem a little disappointing to have drawn such vague conclusions about burials with weapons, since the argument for the existence of a class of elite warriors that has so often been presented had, at first glance, seemed so certain. However, this analysis of the use of weapons in burials demonstrates that it may not be productive to seek evidence for fixed and individual identities in Mycenaean Greece at all (Fowler, 2013, 513). What is expressed in burial rituals is not the true, fixed status or social identity that the dead had when they were living (*contra* Binford, 1972, 226; Wells, 1990, 128), but an idealised representation of what the mourners considered as important and appropriate to represent at that time (O'Shea, 1984, 10; Morris, 1987, 37; Voutsaki, 1998, 41; Cavanagh, 1998, 106; Button, 2008, 76), even if this meant transforming the dead into somebody they had never been in life (Fowler, 2013, 512-513).

This identity may not have represented the personality or personal identity of the dead, but their social relationships and relative position in the community (Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 204). Therefore, attempting to work back from a burial to a living individual is, to a certain extent, futile. People do not occupy single, well defined social categories, but move through different categories throughout our lives, and can occupy different and perhaps contradictory categories at the same time (White, 2009A, 5; Fowler, 2013, 512). To expect

Mycenaeans to live less complex lives, to fit neatly into the categories designed by archaeologists – such as warrior, ruler or woman – is to underestimate and misrepresent them (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, 2005, 12; Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 209). That is not to say that burial practices cannot be used to understand the lives of those who lived in the past, but simply to note that they cannot be interpreted in a straight forward manner. This is especially true of the burials with weapons, which have sometimes been interpreted too literally.

This summary of the previous chapters demonstrates, with alarming clarity, that many of the traditional interpretations about the collapse of the palaces, changes in burial practices, and post-palatial social organisation, are wrong and must now be revised (Legarra Herrero, 2012, 325), perhaps because they were established before the more recent archaeological evidence came to light, and it was necessary to speculate about life in the post-palatial based on what was known of the periods before and after it. The concept of the Greek Dark Age has been particularly misleading in the quest to discover more about the lives and deaths of those who survived the collapse of the palaces, as will be discussed later. The post-palatial Mycenaeans encountered in this thesis did not behave as expected, and it is only by interrogating burial practices in Attica, Achaea and the Argolid in detail, and by seriously considering both chronological and regional perspectives (Voutsaki, 1995, 63; Button, 2008, 79), that it has been possible to gain a truer understanding of life and death after the collapse. The evidence discussed in the previous chapters also challenged the underlying theoretical basis of this thesis – that changes in burial practices reflect changes in social organisation – and it is this question that needs to be addressed next.

5.3 Burial practices and social change

It has often been argued that changes in burial practices reflect changes in social organisation (O'Shea, 1981, 52; Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 58; Morris, 1987, 29; Dabney and Wright, 1990, 52; Whitley, 1991, 29; Lemos, 2002, 185; Dickinson, 2006A, 183), but is this theory correct? If this is the case, then the collapse of the palace system towards the end of the Bronze Age in Greece must surely have provided the impetus for such changes in social organisation, and as a result, burial practices must surely have changed as well. That was the premise upon which this study of post-palatial burial practices has been carried out, but, as discussed above, it is clear now that many of the starting premises

were wrong. When the cemetery at Perati was reconsidered in the context of Attic burial practices in the palace period, it was shown that there were changes, including an increasing tendency to use collective tombs for single burials, and the use of simple graves for multiple burials, but these practices obviously began in Attica *before* the collapse of the palace system. Similarly when burials with weapons were reconsidered in the context of burial practices in palace period Achaea, it was shown that there was a continuous tradition of burying people with weapons in this region of Greece before *and* after the collapse, which again means that the collapse did not cause an increase in the deposition of weapons in graves.

It may have been the case that, as neither Attica nor Achaea were dominated by palaces (Arena, 2015, 3), and they were relatively distant from the palace heartlands in the Argolid, Messenia and Boeotia, they experienced less social disruption and change in the wake of the collapse (Foxhall, 1995, 244; Dickinson, 2006A, 243; Petropoulos, 2007, 264; Moschos, 2009, 348; Middleton, 2010, 1). But this does not explain why the things that are considered to have been caused by the collapse – an increase in single burials (Snodgrass, 1971, 177; Thomas and Conant, 1999, 30; Whitley, 2001, 78), and the use of weapons in graves (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2006, 168; Dickinson, 2006A, 74; Cavanagh, 2008, 335; Middleton, 2010, 101; Crielaard, 2011, 95) – began before the collapse. Evidently, there were other developments, unrelated to the condition of the palaces, which caused people to continue or alter their burial traditions.

The issue of the relationship between social change and burial practices became especially pressing with the discovery that, on the whole, the preference for chamber tombs, collective burial and inhumation in the Argolid did not change when the palaces were destroyed. There can be no doubt that the collapse had a significant impact in the Argolid (Dickinson, 2006A, 242), since it had not one but two major palaces (both of which were destroyed), and a number of other smaller palace-like centres, all of which provide evidence for significant disruption and destruction events over a generation or more. Not only this, but almost 60% of the cemeteries that had been used in the palace period were abandoned after the collapse (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 98-102), which suggests either significant population decline and / or movement, or social disruption on such a scale that a large part of the population abandoned all forms of formal (i.e. archaeologically detectable) burial.

If burial practices reflect social change, how was it possible for burial practices in the Argolid to remain essentially the same (if noticeably reduced in number) after the collapse of the palaces? I have considered three possible explanations for this. The first is that the collapse did not bring about significant social change. It is clear that those most affected by the destruction of the palaces and the dismantling of the palace system were the rulers of the palaces and their associates within the palatial bureaucracy (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 392). However, it does not seem appropriate to treat the collapse as a simple change of government, a slightly different style of regime, or a political coup (Dickinson, 2006A, 242). If this were the case, it would not explain why sites that were not themselves also palaces, such as Berbati and Prosymna in the Argolid, were abandoned (Hooker, 1976, 150; Middleton, 2010, 15), why much of the population of the Argolid was suddenly uprooted, or why order was not restored with the installation of new *wanaktes* once the period of destructions had passed. To treat the collapse of the palace system in the Argolid as a superficial political event that only affected the upper tier of society would be to ignore a considerable amount of evidence to the contrary, so this explanation for a lack of significant changes in burial practices must be incorrect.

The second explanation attempts to adapt the basic premise of this thesis. If it is accepted that the collapse of the palace system in the Argolid brought about significant social change, *and* that burial practices did not change for a century or so after the collapse, then there must be something wrong with the theory that changes in social organisation cause changes in burial practices. Could it be the case, however, that changes in social organisation *do* in fact bring about changes in burial practices, but there is a delay before these changes occur? It is not unreasonable to imagine that people find solace in their traditional practices during times of trouble and hardship, and that they are therefore reluctant to give up familiar rites and rituals at first. Perhaps traditional burial practices, like religion more generally, acted as “the heart of a heartless world” (Marx, 1844), at least for a while.

This explanation would be plausible, if it could be shown that people gradually switched from collective to individual burial, and if there was a gradual increase in simple graves during the post-palatial period, but in the Argolid this does not seem to have happened. Traditional Mycenaean burial practices continued to be used throughout the post-palatial period, and although there was a decline in the use of chamber tombs, there was no corresponding increase in the use of simple graves at this time (Lewartowski, 2000, 14).

The same might be said of the post-palatial cemetery at Perati. Chamber tombs gradually became smaller (Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 171), but there was a decline in the use of simple graves over time, not an increase (Iakovidis, 1970, 465). The big changes took place at the transition between the post-palatial and Protogeometric periods, around a century and a half after the collapse of the palaces (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 136; Thomatos, 2006, 170). The gap between the collapse and the changes in burial practices is too great to be thought of simply as a delay, as there is little definite evidence to link the proposed cause to the effect (Johnson, 2010, 63). It has been demonstrated that aspects of ritual practice can persist for generations, whilst other aspects may go through very rapid change (Cavanagh, 1998), which means that burial practices are not inherently conservative or slow to change (Stout, 2013, 22). Therefore, this explanation represents an unacceptable compromise, a generalisation that fails to explain what happened.

The third explanation also represents an alteration of the basic premise that burial practices reflect social change. Here I would argue that changes in burial practices *are* brought about by social change, but that in Late Bronze Age Greece, these social changes were not related specifically to the collapse of the palace system. In the chapter on Perati, it was suggested that the move away from collective burial and towards the burial of smaller families and individuals may have come about because kinship and ancestry had become less important in the construction of social identity in palace period Attica. The wider kinship relationships that characterised social organisation in the Middle Helladic and early Mycenaean periods (Wright, 2008A, 242-243) may have outlived their usefulness (in terms of protecting individuals from hardship), and by the later Mycenaean period had become a fetter on the construction of new social relationships in this non-palace territory.

People may have been willing to discard their kinship associations if they were no longer beneficial to them, and this may have been even more the case in Attica after the collapse, when new communities such as the one using the cemetery at Perati are an indication of significant population movement within Greece. In this new community, the possessions, skills and abilities of individuals and small families would have been more important in the establishment of relationships with the rest of the community, than the kinship relations and ancestral connections left behind in the old communities. This new focus on smaller families and the achievements of individuals may explain the shift towards smaller

chamber tombs and the significant number of single burials, even though there remained a commitment to the use of traditional tomb types for a while.

In the chapter on the Argolid, it was argued that kinship was still an organising principle in the palace period, and that the rulers of the palaces may have enforced ancestral rights and obligations as a way of maintaining the *status quo*. The palaces certainly related to people as groups since, with the exception of members of the elite and craftsmen working for the palaces, most taxation records name the obligations placed on communities rather than individuals (Shelmerdine and Bennet, 2008, 301-302), and individuals are rarely mentioned by name (Shelmerdine and Bennet, 2008, 308). When the palace system collapsed and the central authorities were displaced, there was no longer any reason to retain kinship connections if they did not provide any tangible benefits to the participants.

It seems very likely that there was considerable population movement within and beyond the Argolid after the collapse of the palaces. Again, as in Attica, relocation to new communities necessarily severed old kinship connections, and people were free to renegotiate their relationships with others on new terms. At Tiryns, the establishment of rival elites may also have offered an opportunity for individuals to realign their allegiances according to present needs, rather than retaining their ancestral obligations. The changes in burial practices that came about at the end of the post-palatial period, therefore, rather than representing a rejection of Mycenaean culture or palatial ideology (Lantzas, 2012, 66-67), may have reflected real changes in the way that people had come to relate to each other as individuals and groups in life (Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 63; Dabney and Wright, 1990, 52).

Wright argued that the introduction of the palaces began the process of dismantling Middle Helladic kinship structures and replacing them with nuclear families, headed by a leading male, economically oriented towards the palace (Wright, 2008B, 149-150). He would therefore locate the breaking down of kinship structures in the palace period. It now seems more likely that kinship structures became less significant in Attica during the palace period, even though there was no palace in control of the region. In the palace states, kinship structures remained intact during the palace period, and were renegotiated after the collapse of the palaces, with the removal of palatial control. The number of people being buried together is of crucial importance in supporting this alternative proposition. I would argue that in the palace states during the palace period, too many

people were usually buried in chamber tombs for them to represent small, nuclear families (at Prosymna there were on average at least 8-9 individuals per tomb (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 55), but archaeologists usually underestimate the number of burials in graves by a factor of two (Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 56)). In the post-palatial period, the significantly reduced number of people buried in chamber tombs (at Perati there were on average 2-3 people per tomb (Iakovidis, 1970, 422), and elsewhere the number of single burials in chamber tombs increased) suggests that this is the time when burial groups began to represent significantly smaller families.

Two separate levels of social organisation were in existence in post-palatial Greece. One form of social organisation related to the palaces and the administration of the centralised, bureaucratically controlled state, and the other related to the day-to-day relationships of people belonging to traditional and long-serving kinships. There is no doubt that the collapse of the palaces effectively wiped out the mechanisms of social organisation at the state level (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 390), since the evidence at Tiryns, Mycenae and elsewhere indicates that the palaces were never rebuilt, centralised power was not successfully reintroduced (at least, not for a long time), and those who did achieve a measure of authority never acquired the level of power or command of resources enjoyed by the former palace rulers (Dickinson, 2006A, 75). But this does not mean that the kinship structure was also immediately wiped out. The disintegration of old kinship relationships could have taken generations to complete, which explains why traditional, family chamber tombs continued to be used throughout the post-palatial period, but burial groups became smaller in size.

This is even more the case in those regions that were not dominated by a palace, and it could be argued that in Attica the process began before the collapse. How people lived and worked, where they lived and the marriages they entered into, where they were buried and the tombs they were entitled to use, could still have been shaped by the families to which they were related, and the relationships their kinship had with others. It is not proposed that in the palace states these social relationships were immediately dismantled after the collapse of the palaces (Middleton, 2010, 92), but that people gained the ability to renegotiate their relationships once the palace rulers were gone. These negotiations and realignments could have taken place over a long time, and have eventually led to the changes in burial practices witnessed at the end of the Bronze Age.

If this interpretation is correct, then changes in burial practices *do* reflect social change, but in Bronze Age Greece (or at least, in Attica and the Argolid) this was at the level of the day-to-day organising principles of the communities in which people lived, and not at the level of the state. The number of people buried together in a single tomb, the number of tombs grouped in a cluster or separated from other graves by a peribolos, and the spatial organisation of groups of tombs within cemeteries, could all have related to the membership of meaningful social groups in life (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 56; Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 63). Without examining additional burial evidence, it is not possible to know if the same can be said of other regions of post-palatial Greece, or for the subsequent Protogeometric period, but if it could be shown that burial practices in both Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Greece responded to social change at the kinship level, rather than at the level of the state, the ramifications would be not inconsiderable.

5.4 Burial practices and social complexity

As discussed in chapter 1, burial practices have been used by processualist archaeologists in order to measure social complexity (Binford, 1972, 226; Chapman and Randsborg, 1981, 7; O'Shea, 1984, 13), in terms of the structural arrangements that regulated the relationships between members of a society (Rothman, 1994, 4). To summarise, the number and range of available ranks represented in a cemetery (as measured by the energy expenditure of tomb construction and the wealth and variety of grave goods (Chapman and Randsborg, 1981, 7; O'Shea, 1984, 16)) was thought to correspond with the level of complexity of the living community (Binford 1971, 18; Brown, 1981, 28; Morris, 1987, 110; Maggidis, 1998, 97-98; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, 2005, 3-4; Chapman, 2013, 49). This view was moderated to a certain extent by the contention that the ranks represented among formal burials may represent a variable proportion of the population (Morris, 1987, 110). The processualist approach sounds very plausible, but the argument was undermined by Hodder's observation that burial practices can be used to obscure social hierarchy by playing down the differences in access to wealth, and therefore, burials do not accurately reflect complexity (Hodder, 1982A, 152; Morris, 1987, 39; Johnson, 2010, 101; Fowler, 2013, 513).

The discovery that Mycenaean burial practices did not change according to the type of administration (palace state, village arrangement, etc) adds weight to Hodder's theory. Kinship structures were independent of the state, they existed and played a meaningful

role in both palace and non-palace states. Therefore, if the theory proposed above is correct, burial practices may have reflected the condition of kinship relationships in a community, but they did not reflect the level of complexity in terms of Service's tribe, chiefdom or state (Service, 1962). Of course, burial practices do not only reflect social organisation in a passive way. It has been convincingly argued that they were also used to enact social relationships (Morris, 1987, 31-32; Voutsaki, 1998, 44-45; Brück and Fontijn, 2013, 207; Stutz and Tarlow, 2013, 7-8). In effect, the performance of these public rituals, combined with the location, size and elaboration of the tomb, the variety and richness of the grave goods, and the social identity assigned to the dead in various ways, all played a role not just in reflecting current social relationships, but in creating, renewing, maintaining, or altering the social relationships of the living (Voutsaki, 1995, 57; Goldhahn, 2008, 63).

It was the gap between existing social identities, and the identities which could be expressed in burials, that provided room for negotiation during these public rituals. This may not have been appreciated by the processualists, because they viewed aspects of social identity such as age or gender as natural and fixed (O'Shea, 1984, 42), rather than constructed and negotiated (Lucy, 2005, 43; Harrington, 2007, 335; Sørensen, 2007, 42, 46; Agostinone-Wilson, 2013, 173). In fact, it was the opportunity to enhance, exploit, alter or negate aspects of the social identity of the dead during ritual performance, and thereby renegotiate the social relationships of their living survivors, which made burial practices such important social occasions in Bronze Age Greece. Again this was about the real day-to-day social relationships people had with the other members of their community. It was not about making a comment about the state, or about affirming state ideology.

It has been argued that the use of collective tombs during the palace period was a response to, and an identification with, palatial ideology (Wright, 2008B, 148-149; Lantzas, 2012, 42), or perhaps a form of burial that was imposed by the palaces (Thomatos, 2006, 169), but it has not been explained why collective tombs would have had anything to do with state ideology. It has also not been explained why, if this was the case, collective burial was practiced in regions that were not united under a palace. Collective tombs of various kinds were very common in the cemeteries of Attica in the palace period, even though the commitment to local variations in practices indicates that people outside of Athens were resistant to a centralised state based at this site (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 78; Mee, 2010, 286; Arena, 2015, 5-6). If collective burial was practiced in support of

centralised palace states, it should not have occurred in such high numbers in Attica. It has also been noted that chamber tombs were used in Achaea in the palace period, but this could have been a case of emulation, rather than a connection with centralised leadership in the region (Wright, 2008B, 148-149).

For these reasons, it is not possible to support the argument that collective burial was especially associated with the maintenance of palatial ideology. In fact collective burial began before the palaces were established, continued for generations after the collapse, and was practiced in regions which never had palaces at all (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998). These observations lend support to the theory that the choice of individual or collective tomb, and the number of people typically buried together, related to the day-to-day social relationships in the communities – the kinship structures that defined the rights and responsibilities due to members of different social groups.

The idea that burial practices were related to kinship structures also argues against the theory that Mycenaean culture was imported or invented, and somehow imposed on the people of Greece (Snodgrass, 1972, 186). It is completely implausible to argue that kinship structures were imposed on communities by newly arrived overlords, given that it has been shown that these kinship relationships originated in Middle Helladic Greece. I would argue that collective burial originated in the kinship structures that were formed in the Middle Helladic period, and that neither kinship nor collective burial were designed as a method of ideological control by the palace rulers. It has been argued that the palace system started to dismantle kinships and encourage social identities based on smaller families, and individual relationships with the palaces (Voutsaki, 1995, 60; Wright, 2008B, 147). However, given the number of burials placed within collective tombs (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 55), as discussed above, it would seem that in the palace states in the palace period, chamber tombs were still intended for use by larger family groups than the nuclear family, and that therefore kinship was still an organising principle in society. Only in the post-palatial period do burial practices indicate that burial groups were becoming smaller and more focussed on the present generation (Dickinson, 2006B, 118). Changes in burial groups may have started earlier in Attica, but this was a region not controlled by a palace, and not subject to the ideological requirements of palace rulers. Again this is not about social complexity at the state level, but about how people related to each other on a day-to-day basis in communities that either never had, or were subsequently freed from, palatial control.

Returning to Hodder's point that burial practices can be used to obscure social hierarchy, in general this seems to be true, but it does not seem to have been the case in the palace period of Mycenaean Greece. The construction of monumental tombs (especially the huge, elaborate tholoi at Mycenae), and the display of rich grave goods including luxuries and exotica, all suggest a society in which the display of wealth was an important element in the creation of prestige (Voutsaki, 1995, 60), and ultimately in the legitimisation of power. The size and elaboration of ordinary people's tombs, and the wealth deposited in them, also indicate that expressions of status were important in the creation of social identity more generally. There do not seem to have been any efforts to deliberately conceal wealth or obscure social differentiation, in fact, until perhaps the post-palatial period.

In the chapter on the Argolid, it was suggested that two or more elite factions attempted to acquire power at Tiryns in the post-palatial period (Maran, 2006, 125; Mühlenbruch, 2007, 247; Middleton, 2010, 101). But it is also significant that no exceptional burials have been observed for this period at the Profitis Ilias cemetery. Expressions of wealth seem to have been confined to the construction of elaborate buildings and the display of heirlooms and exotica. Perhaps it was not considered politically advantageous to advertise excessive wealth and social status at funerals at this time. If those who sought power wanted to unite their followers around the concept of shared experiences and hardships, a lavish funeral would have been very undermining. So at Tiryns in the post-palatial period, the burial evidence does not reflect the competition for power amongst elite groups, or give many clues to the level of social complexity at this site. In this instance, then, Hodder is correct – the cemetery at Tiryns obscures rather than highlights social differentiation. A similar situation has been suggested for Achaea in LH IIIC Early, a period for which few high status burials have been found. It is proposed that the elites may have wished to obscure social differences by avoiding ostentatious burials that recalled the behaviour of palace rulers (Moschos, 2009, 353).

The processualists' approach to the analysis of burial practices is appealing because it offers the opportunity to study, measure and analyse evidence in a systematic and objective way (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, 2005, 4; Johnson, 2010, 26; Chapman, 2013, 48). Unfortunately the burial practices discussed in this thesis do not support one of the key processualist principles, which is that social complexity and complexity in burial practices

are positively linked (Chapman and Randsborg, 1981, 7). Mycenaean burial practices reflected and enacted social relationships at the ordinary day-to-day level, but did not comment specifically on the complexity or condition of the state. This is why burial practices in Attica could go through changes in the palace period without there being a catalyst in the form of an obvious social change, and in the Argolid burial practices were able to continue with relatively few changes, even after the collapse of the palaces.

5.5 Culture, continuity and change

Earlier in this chapter, a situation was described in which Achaea had a tradition of using weapons in burials before and after the collapse whilst other regions did not, similarly burial practices in Attica began to change in the palace period, ahead of the other regions, and burial practices in the Argolid remained recognisably Mycenaean all the way through the post-palatial period. In addition to this, regions such as Achaea, Thessaly and Messenia retained the use of collective tombs long after the start of the Protogeometric period (Georganas, 2011, 628). This situation, in which burial practices varied by region, and changed at different times and at difference paces, makes it rather difficult to answer the question that has preoccupied the scholarship of the post-palatial period for many years: to what extent was there continuity or change in Mycenaean culture in the post-palatial period?

The problem with this question is that it presupposes that there is a standard and static Mycenaean culture against which the culture of the post-palatial period can be compared (typically this would be the palace states in LH IIIB (Voutsaki, 1998, 42; Shelton, 2010, 144; Privitera, 2013, 45)). Yet the situation so far described shows that Mycenaean Greece was anything but static and homogenous (Sahlén, 2005, 133; Arena, 2015, 32), in either the palace or post-palatial periods. Unless a standard Mycenaean culture can be defined, it may be impossible to assess the level of continuity or change in culture in the post-palatial period. So what is meant by the term “Mycenaean” (Davis and Bennet, 1999; Cavanagh, 1998, 103; Dickinson, 2006B, 115; Feuer, 2011)? To simply use the term for a geographical region and a chronological period (e.g. Wright, 2004B, 14; Button, 2008, 79) is convenient but in no way explanatory. Not only this, but it raises the question of boundaries – to what extent did the Mycenaean world spread north of Greece or across the Aegean (Dickinson, 2006A, 24-25), and how long did Greeks remain Mycenaean after

the collapse? To use the term Mycenaean in a simple descriptive sense in fact generates more questions than it answers.

So how is a culture defined (Morgan, 2003, 11-12; Johnson, 2010, 68)? Sometimes aspects of material culture are used in order to map the boundaries of a culture (Wright, 2004B, 14; Hodos, 2010, 20; Feuer, 2011; 510; Stout, 2013, 21). For the Mycenaeans this might be the presence or absence of stirrup jars in excavations for this period, for example. The difficulty with this method is that non-Mycenaeans (such as the Egyptians or Cretans) could use Mycenaean objects acquired through trade or exchange (Middleton, 2010, 1; Feuer, 2011, 511), so it is hard to define the geographical borders of the culture simply based on the distribution of objects. Deciding what represents a Mycenaean community, a community that traded with Mycenaeans, or a community that imitated their pottery shapes and styles, is not necessarily straight forward (Morgan, 2003, 3-4; Feuer, 2011, 521-522).

There is a further difficulty in deciding what objects should be considered as definitely Mycenaean, since it is hard to select one object that was equally present in all areas of Greece (Middleton, 2010, 4; Feuer, 2011, 528). For example, if kylikes were used to map Mycenaean Greece, Achaea would be placed beyond the border, for the wine toast was rarely practiced in this region (Cavanagh, 1998, 107). Similarly, the use of figurines as grave goods seems fairly widespread, but there were local variations in their use. If they were used to map Mycenaean culture, then Eleusis, which regularly featured figurines as grave goods, would be more Mycenaean than, say, Brauron, which never used them in graves (Cavanagh, 1998, 109). To draw Brauron out of the map of Mycenaean Greece would be absurd. Clearly, the area considered to be Mycenaean Greece would have to be agreed first, in order to select the best object to be used to map its boundaries, but the circularity of this approach is obvious. There is also a chronological difficulty with this method – does the continued use of stirrup jars in Crete in the Protogeometric period mean that the Cretans were very late Mycenaeans? This does not seem logical. Perhaps the use of objects is a poor indicator of the geographical or chronological boundaries of a culture, after all (Hall, 1997, 185; Knapp and Manning, 2016, 134).

An alternative approach is to consider social practices such as religious rituals or burial practices as the diagnostic traits of cultures (Stout, 2013, 22). For example, if the use of figurines as grave goods and the smashing of wine cups at the graveside toast were used

as an indicator of Mycenaean religious beliefs and practices, then their decline in the post-palatial period (Cavanagh, 1998, 109) might be treated as a sign that Mycenaean culture was also in decline at this time. However, it has also been suggested that the use of collective burials (especially in chamber tombs) was associated with Mycenaean cultural identity (Cavanagh, 1998, 103; Sjöberg, 2004, 84; Middleton, 2010, 4; Lantzas, 2012, 42; Privitera, 2013, 173), and for this reason, the use of collective tombs long after the collapse indicates that much of Greece remained culturally Mycenaean throughout the post-palatial period (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 135). The continued use of collective tombs in regions such as Thessaly, Messenia, Phocis and Locris, when the material culture was now Protogeometric (Dickinson, 2006A, 246) also presents a problem. Were these areas still culturally Mycenaean, or were they Protogeometric? Again the chronological boundaries of Mycenaean culture are impossible to define with certainty using this method.

Actually, this is not really a problem at all. In the Protogeometric period, the people of these regions found a combination of social practices and material culture that served their needs (Middleton, 2010, 1), and were probably not at all concerned about which culture they belonged to. From an emic point of view, we only become aware of culture when we encounter one that is different from our own (Hall, 1997, 32). The only problem is the archaeologist's understandable desire to parcel the past into neat, easily defined geographical and chronological categories (Lantzas, 2012, 16), however "ragged" the boundaries may be (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 136). Such efforts are only possible if the centre or main cultural zone (the "heartlands", perhaps) is defined first.

The Argolid is most likely to be selected as the standard for Mycenaean culture (Sjöberg, 2004, 11; Middleton, 2010, 4; Feuer, 2011, 515; Lantzas, 2012, 2), unless discussing the Mycenaean economy, in which case Pylos is the obvious candidate, because of the quantity of data available in the form of Linear B tablets. This focus on the palace states in LH IIIB occurs perhaps because palaces are, consciously or unconsciously, treated as a central or defining feature of Mycenaean culture (Shelton, 2010, 139), because they were socially more complex than the non-palace states. In contrast, the non-palace states are sometimes treated as peripheral (Giannopoulos, 2008; Middleton, 2010, 5; Arena, 2015), regardless of their proximity to the geographical centre of Greece. However, it is clear that much of Greece shared the material culture and social practices of the Mycenaeans but did not have palaces (Dickinson, 2006B, 116; Shelmerdine and Bennet, 2008, 289), and

therefore the palace states should not be treated as the standard against which other areas are compared. It would not help to replace this approach by suggesting that the non-palace states should be treated as the standard either. The point is that what is meant when we say Mycenaean is a heterogeneous culture (Middleton, 2010, 4).

Even if an alternative centre for Mycenaean culture was selected, this would inevitably create a centre-periphery model which defined the further reaches of the Mycenaean world as less Mycenaean than the centre (Hall, 1997, 24; Middleton, 2010, 4; Feuer, 2011, 528; Arena, 2015). It is likely that communities on the edges used a mixture of Mycenaean and foreign material culture, and blended the social practices of different cultures (Feuer, 2011, 518; Galaty, Tomas and Parkinson, 2014, 160). However, perhaps Mycenaean culture should in fact be defined in terms of its porosity to other cultures, rather than seeing these influences as somehow diluting the purity of the culture (Dickinson, 1994, 295). It may have originated from the native Middle Helladic culture of mainland Greece (Dickinson, 1977, 15; Davis and Bennet, 1999, 112; Wright, 2008B, 145), but in the development of Mycenaean culture, the importance of contacts and exchange between Greece and Crete, South Italy and the Near East, should not be underestimated (Voutsaki, 1998, 47; Shelton, 2010, 140; Feuer, 2011, 515; Galaty, Tomas and Parkinson, 2014, 157). There is of course ample evidence for the importance of these contacts in the objects deposited as grave goods throughout the Mycenaean period.

Because of the various foreign influences on Mycenaean culture, and its internal development over time (Wright, 1990, 48; Davis and Bennet, 1999, 114; Hodos, 2010, 15-16), it does not make sense to stop the clock at the palace period, and use this as a snap shot against which to compare the Mycenaeanness of other periods, or to consider the non-palace states and geographically peripheral regions (which may have featured a mixture of both Mycenaean and foreign material culture and practices) as somehow less Mycenaean. Mycenaean culture was a blend of native and foreign cultures, and it developed over time (Dickinson, 2006B, 116; Galaty, Tomas, and Parkinson, 2014, 171), and all the time. If this was the case, then it is easy to see post-palatial Greece as still Mycenaean, even if it was changing. Change may in fact be one of the key characteristics of Mycenaean culture, indeed, of all cultures (Clark, 1960, 246; Rees, 1998, 83; Johnson, 2010, 97; Agostinone-Wilson, 2013, 68). Perhaps the question that has plagued Aegean archaeologists for so long – why did Mycenaean Greece change – was the wrong

question. Alternative questions could include these: Was it ever really stable (Shanks and Tilley, 1987, 139; Tilley, 1998, 311; Dickinson, 2010, 485)? Why did it not change sooner?

To consider Mycenaean Greece as in a constant state of change, and to accept that there were no absolutely fixed geographical or chronological boundaries, makes for a rather vague definition of a culture. But the issue of continuity and change cannot be adequately addressed if it is simply treated as a comparison between something that is fixed in time and geographically bounded (which it was not), and something further away or in a later period. This gets us nowhere. An alternative (and somewhat post-processual) approach would be to pursue the argument for a regional approach to its extreme conclusions – that is, to say that all the regions of Mycenaean Greece were unique, and therefore no comparisons can or should be made between them. Such a strategy would involve separating each of the regions of Mycenaean Greece and studying their practices independently.

Ultimately this approach, which focusses on differences rather than similarities in material culture and social practices, would generate such diverse and individual accounts of each region as to render the term Mycenaean redundant. Such an approach would not enhance understanding of Mycenaean Greece, and should be rejected. This thesis argues for the importance of recognising regional diversity in terms of social and cultural development, but it is also necessary to consider the broader context within which each region developed. It would not make sense, for example, to study the pattern of tholos use in Attica (some communities built them, but others seemed to reject this type of tomb in favour of local traditions) without considering their use as elite tombs in the Argolid. Mycenaean Greece may not have been a unified entity, but its regions were connected, and influenced each other.

Clearly there were some aspects of material culture and some social practices which were shared, by both the elites and those below them, among the different regions of Greece, whether or not they were palace states, or were at the peripheries and blended native and foreign material culture and practices. It is this shared material culture and these shared practices that define the Mycenaean world, even if it is not possible to draw fixed chronological or geographical borders around it. The survival of many aspects of Mycenaean material culture into the post-palatial period (Rutter, 1992, 70; Dickinson, 2010, 488-489), along with the continuity in burial practices that has been demonstrated,

albeit in different ways, indicate that the people in the regions covered by this thesis continued to be Mycenaeans in the post-palatial period (Snodgrass, 2006, 119).

To a certain extent this should not be surprising – the people who lived in and shaped the post-palatial world, whether or not they had wanted the destruction of the palace system, at first had only the material culture and social practices of the palace period at their disposal (Rees, 1998, 72; Agostinone-Wilson, 2013, 68), and a physical environment that had already been shaped by Mycenaean culture. Therefore, even if the social organisation of the post-palatial period was different, much of the evidence that made it into the archaeological record would be similar to that of the palace period, and the culture of Greece, from an archaeological point of view, would be recognisably Mycenaean for some time to come. The significant changes in culture, then, occurred in the transition from the post-palatial to the Protogeometric periods (Snodgrass, 2006, 170). It is clear that Mycenaean culture included a variety of types of social organisation (Middleton, 2010, 5), a variety of objects and innovations brought from or inspired by neighbouring cultures, and the capacity for individual regions to develop and change at different times, but this is not a problem to be resolved. This is, in fact, what it meant to be Mycenaean.

5.6 Chronology and its discontents

As stated in the introduction, the main problem with the term Dark Age is that it combines part or all of the post-palatial period with the following Protogeometric period. (Earlier uses of the term Dark Age often placed the start of it immediately after the collapse (e.g. Drews, 1988, 207), although it is more common now to place it part way through the post-palatial period (e.g. Morris, 2000, 7; Whitley, 2001, 78; Lantzas, 2012, 9).) This makes it difficult to recognise the distinctions between changes in the post-palatial period, and those that came afterwards. For example, Lantzas, despite arguing against the use of the term Dark Age (Lantzas, 2012, 16), repeatedly stated that there was a decrease in collective burial and an increase in single burial in the period covered by her study (2012, 64), which included the post-palatial and Protogeometric periods (Lantzas, 2012, 66). Yet the results listed in the text and some of the tables (e.g. 2012, 61, table 27) show that the most significant changes in the Argolid happened in the Protogeometric period, rather than in the post-palatial period. By treating two periods as one, she has obscured the importance of the chronology, and made it seem as if the most important watershed was the collapse of the palaces, rather than the transition from post-palatial to Protogeometric.

Papadopoulos also treats the post-palatial and Protogeometric periods together, because there were, he argues, social and economic changes in the post-palatial period that ultimately led to the rise of the polis (Papadopoulos, 2014, 186). This attitude to the post-palatial period connects with a long tradition of seeking the origins of the classical Greek culture in the Dark Age, and often not being interested in this period of history for its own sake (Morris, 2000, 92; Whitley, 2001, 77; Cherry, Margomenou and Talalay, 2005A, 10; Dickinson, 2010, 484; Lantzas, 2012, 16). The centralised social organisation of the palace states was brought to an end with the collapse of the palace system, but there was considerably less disruption to the social organisation of the non-palace states. It is only by emphasising the importance of palace states (Lantzas, 2012, 107), ignoring the non-palace states (Middleton, 2010, 116), and dismissing many continuities in Mycenaean material culture and social practices, that the collapse can be seen as the point at which culture changed. The burial evidence discussed in this thesis, however, illustrates that the culture of Greece remained Mycenaean until the end of the post-palatial period.

The post-palatial period is often described in rather negative ways (Morris, 2000, 78; Papadimitriou, 2006, 533; Snodgrass, 2006, 129; Lantzas, 2012, 16), and in part this is attributed to a "serious deterioration in material culture" (Dickinson, 2010, 484), and in particular the loss of literacy and a lack of decorative arts after the collapse of the palaces (Taylour, 1983, 162; Rutter, 1992, 70; Papadopoulos, 2014, 181; Knapp and Manning, 2016, 126). These losses are cited as one of the reasons that the term Dark Age was used to describe the later post-palatial and Protogeometric periods. These attitudes stem from ideas about civilised society and issues of social complexity (Clark, 1960, 223). It is undoubtedly the case that post-palatial communities were less socially complex than the literate palace states, but this does not meant that the inhabitants were completely unsophisticated. It may simply be that literacy and the decorative arts were no longer needed (since there was no longer a layer of bureaucrats between leaders and led, or a demand for decorative arts from the palaces (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 405)), and people put their efforts into more useful pursuits. The one form of art that may have developed during this period – oral history and poetry – (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 406) unfortunately leaves very little archaeological trace (Clark, 1960, 224), so it cannot be proved conclusively.

Judging the level of social complexity or civilisation on the quality of decorative art produced may not be the best approach. It is significant that iron technology first reached

Greece in the post-palatial period, initially in the form of imported luxury objects such as jewellery and ornamental weapons. Perati is regarded as a particularly rich cemetery in part because of the number of iron objects deposited in the graves (Iakovidis, 1970, 463). It is unlikely that the skills required to produce iron were learnt in the post-palatial period (Snodgrass, 2006, 132-133), but the extensive contacts with Cyprus and the east that were forged and expanded in this period (Crielaard, 2006) undoubtedly provided the route that this technology later travelled. The introduction of iron is one of the most important technological developments in human history (Snodgrass, 2006, 129), and in Europe it had its roots in the post-palatial period and subsequent Early Iron Age of Greece (Ruppenstein, 2009, 329).

Seen in this light, the temporary loss of figurative decoration on frescoes and pottery does not seem especially important. Nor does it justify ignoring this period of Greece's history, as has often been the case in the past (e.g. Clark and Piggott, 1970, 316; Finley, 1970, 68). Sometimes the term Dark Age is replaced by Early Greece (Lemos, 2002, 225), but the term Early Iron Age may be a more positive description, because it encapsulates the technological developments of the period, and has the advantage of beginning after the end of the Bronze Age, rather than part way through the post-palatial period (Snodgrass, 2006, 129).

The term Submycenaean has been notable for its relative absence in this thesis. It has been avoided on purpose, in acknowledgement of the fact that agreement is yet to be reached on the validity of Submycenaean as a distinct period, falling between LH IIIC and Protogeometric (Lemos, 2002, 7; Ruppenstein, 2007, 1; Lis, 2009, 203; D'Onofrio, 2011, 647; Papadopoulos, Damiata and Marston, 2011; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2014). Undoubtedly, much pottery has been identified as Submycenaean, especially in Attica and central Greece (Ruppenstein, 2007, 270; Lis, 2009), but it is not certain that this was produced during a separate chronological period (and by association, a separate cultural period), and it could have been made at the same time as either LH IIIC or Protogeometric pottery was being produced (Morris, 1987, 13; Whitley, 2001, 79; Giannopoulos, 2008; Lis, 2009, 215; Papadopoulos, Damiata and Marston, 2011, 199). A study (e.g. Ruppenstein, 2007) which focussed specifically on the transition from the post-palatial period to the Protogeometric period in Attica could not avoid the issue, since so much Submycenaean pottery has been found in this region, but the issue will not be resolved until such pottery can be identified in a distinctly separate stratigraphical layer, perhaps in future excavations

(Papadopoulos, Damiata and Marston, 2011, 200). Even so, the unevenness in the distribution and chronological phases of Submycenaean pottery mean that it may not be possible to support a distinct chronological phase for the whole of mainland Greece (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2014, 47).

A better understanding of the chronology of LH IIIC and Submycenaean pottery could also make it possible to retrospectively remedy some of the more ambiguous data for the palace and post-palatial periods. Problems with the dating of buildings, objects and burials have been encountered throughout this thesis. The main issue with the cemetery at Perati is that approximately 100 of the graves cannot be securely dated to one of the three phases of the cemetery's use (Iakovidis, 1970, 465-466). If this issue could be resolved by dating the grave goods more closely, it might be possible to understand more fully the growth and decline of the cemetery, and through this, the life cycle of the community that used it. If the majority of undated graves were in future assigned to the final phase of the cemetery, for example, this would suggest that either the settlement was suddenly abandoned, or a new location and/or type of burial was rapidly established. This has implications for the nature of change at the end of the Bronze Age.

In terms of burial evidence, the main dating concern for the Argolid is the large number of simple graves that have not been precisely dated, and are described as LH III or simply Mycenaean (Lewartowski, 2000, 63-93). Most important amongst these must be the intramural burials in the Lower Citadel at Tiryns. There are too many graves for them to be dismissed as an anomaly, but agreement is yet to be reached on whether they were dug before or after the collapse. If they were dated to the palace period, these graves could belong to the tradition of single burials that was observed at Argos for this period, and raise questions about the sharing of practices between sites. If they were dated to the post-palatial period, however, they could feature in the discussion about strategies for the control of different areas of Tiryns by separate factions of the post-palatial elite. The lack of grave goods with these burials makes it difficult to establish their date with certainty (Catling, 1979, 16; Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 69), but there may still be room for new interpretations of this important piece of evidence.

The main issue for the warrior graves is the large number of graves in Achaea that are described as Late Mycenaean, but cannot be securely dated as occurring before or after the collapse. Again the accurate dating of these graves would affect interpretations of the

tradition of burials with weapons in this region, but problems with the original excavation, recording and preservation of artefacts associated with these graves (Papadopoulos, 1979, 51) mean that closer dating is now unlikely. To advance this area of research further, new discoveries and the application of modern excavation and recording techniques may be required. It is hoped that all future excavations of burials in Greece involve osteological analysis of human remains, as this is one area in which there is great potential for advances in knowledge about life and death in the Bronze Age (Smith, 2009, 99). The widespread application of archaeological sciences more generally would be very welcome.

5.7 Life in post-palatial Greece

It is time now to consider what life was generally like for those who survived the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system. Social organisation within Tiryns and Mycenae was discussed to a certain extent in the Argolid chapter, and there were some suggestions about the nature of the community at Perati, but it will also be useful to consider settlements and social organisation beyond these sites. This is usually the point at which studies of the post-palatial period run into difficulties. Excavations have, understandably, been focussed more on the citadels and other central sites than on the smaller settlements (Shelmerdine and Bennet, 2008, 308; Shelton, 2010, 140), and although this is gradually beginning to change, it is still the case that settlement evidence is patchy and rather limited for the post-palatial period, especially compared with mortuary evidence (Morris, 1987, 8; Dickinson, 2006B, 118; Giannopoulos, 2008; Lis, 2009, 203). New excavations and surveys notwithstanding, there are gaps in knowledge that at present can only be bridged with a certain amount of speculation about what happened (Dickinson, 1977, 16). It has been observed that “it is very difficult to reconstruct the everyday life of the inhabitants of prehistoric settlements” (Mühlenbruch, 2009, 316), but what is known and what can be imagined (Shanks and Hodder, 1995, 2011) about life in post-palatial Greece will be summarised here.

Both excavations and surveys have observed that there is a decrease in the evidence for human occupation in many areas of Greece in the post-palatial period (Middleton, 2010, 71). It is possible that a proportion of the population lived and died in ways that are now archaeologically invisible, but it is very difficult to speculate about the lives of people who cannot be detected. It also seems likely that there was considerable population decline at

this time (Dickinson, 2006B, 117), and a variety of reasons have been suggested – warfare, hardship and migration are the usual choices. Some people probably left Greece, and found new homes in Cyprus and other parts of the eastern Aegean (Dickinson, 1994, 308), but it is migration within Greece that requires further consideration here.

It is often assumed that people left their homes because of hardship or insecurity, and moved to communities that seemed safer (Drews, 1988, 217; Papadimitriou, 2005, 533; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 405), but there may have been positive as well as negative reasons for relocating (McAnany and Yoffee, 2010B, 6). The community at Perati thrived on overseas trade (Crielaard, 2006, 281), and this site may have offered lucrative opportunities to those who were willing to undertake or support this hazardous occupation. It is unlikely that migration occurred *en masse*, but rather, those who were most able to travel, and had the means to support themselves, may have been more likely to leave their old communities in search of safety or better opportunities. This could also have been a factor in the distances people were prepared to travel. It is impossible to know exactly who moved, and where they moved to, because population movements in this period were not documented, but recent and well-documented examples of significant population mobility caused by civil war and hostile external intervention (which constitutes a type of systems collapse) may suggest possible routes for further enquiry.

Demographic statistics for Syrian refugees, although not directly comparable to the population mobility suggested for Late Bronze Age Greece, may be relevant here. Since the civil war began in 2011, over four million refugees have relocated to the countries closest to Syria – especially Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey – but fewer than 700,000 have ventured as far as Europe (UNHCR, 2015A). Of those refugees who remain in the Middle East, approximately half are children, whilst the adults are evenly split between men and women, and only 3% of the refugees are aged 60 or over (UNHCR, 2015A). Of those Syrians entering Europe by sea in 2015, only 22% were children, and 16% were women (UNHCR, 2015B). The refugees I worked with on the island of Kos in 2015 were mostly young men in their twenties and thirties, although some young women, often with very young babies, had also made the journey.

In order to reach the European shores, each refugee pays a human trafficker several thousand euros, which indicates that, although they arrive with very few possessions, they are not the poorest refugees. It is possible that older family members, who are unable to

manage the journey, assist their younger family members financially in making the journey to safety. It is likely that those with the fewest resources make the shortest journeys in their escape from war. Over six million displaced Syrians remain in Syria (World Vision, 2015), although many of them have left their homes and sought refuge in bigger cities such as Damascus. The differences between those staying in or close to Syria, and those travelling to Europe, suggest that younger people, and especially men without children, are most likely to make the furthest and most hazardous journeys, especially if they have the financial resources to do so. Those less able to travel because of physical or financial restraints may be unable to escape at all. Interestingly, the Syrians entering Europe generally arrive with very few possessions (besides the clothes they are travelling in, and life jackets purchased in Turkey), which means they make a relatively feint signature in terms of changes in the material culture of their destination countries.

Although the causes of the refugee crisis in modern Syria and the causes of population movement in Late Bronze Age Greece are very different in nature and scale, this data makes it possible to move beyond the simple statement that there was population decline and mobility, and consider who might have moved, and where they might have gone. The disruption caused by the collapse of the palace system may have caused a migrant crisis in parts of post-palatial Greece (especially the former palace states), at least in the years immediately after the collapse. If this was the case, and in the light of the evidence for Syrian refugees, then it might be expected that those least able to travel remained in their old communities, and younger and wealthier people took the opportunity to relocate to communities which seemed safer or more prosperous. This could have exacerbated population decline at sites such as Mycenae, whilst sites such as Tiryns or Perati, which recovered or grew more quickly, may have attracted a younger population. It could also have been the case that those with the most valuable skills (for example, working with bronze) found it easier to migrate and make a living (Dickinson, 2006A, 66), and those who had no specialist skills remained in their old communities. Again this could increase the rate of decline in some communities, as others continued to develop.

It has been observed that houses in the post-palatial period were generally simpler in design than those constructed in the palace period (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 397), and that villages consisted of “self-contained and economically independent households” (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 403), which indicates that there were changes in membership of the *oikos*, and, presumably, the organisation or size of units within kinships, at this time. A reduction

in the size of houses would, to some extent, confirm one of the key conclusions of this thesis, which is that there was a reduction in the size of burial groups, which in turn was related to a reduction in the size of social groups in life. Analysis of a broad range of evidence of domestic architecture would be necessary to confirm this – but unfortunately such work is beyond the scope of this thesis. Towards the end of the post-palatial period, it is thought that most people lived in relatively small communities. They are usually described as small hamlets and villages (Drews, 1988, 215; Dickinson, 2006A, 70), but these terms are rarely defined, and considerable disagreement remains.

Some scholars argue that settlements comprised "disorganised scatters of such houses, lacking a clear street layout" (Dickinson, 2006B, 118), or that "settlement layout seems rather loose, lacking uniformity and any apparent coherence" (Philippa-Touchais, 2011, 37). This "looseness" of community planning may be analogous to a similar looseness of social organisation and planning, which suggests that formal political structures were unnecessary. The lack of formal planning, or designation of areas for specialist functions, is further indicated by the introduction of intramural burials at many sites (Philippa-Touchais, 2011, 37) at the end of the post-palatial period.

Other interpretations suggest the development of "tightly-knit settlements" (Fox, 2012, 60) which were extensively occupied (Morris, 1987, 146), and fewer but larger sites (Rutter, 1992, 70; Wallace, 2011, 62) as the settlement pattern was "drastically thinned" (Snodgrass, 2006, 134) in the Early Iron Age. The settlement in the Lower Town at Tiryns, which may have accommodated a process of nucleation in the Argolid, might be described as "tightly-knit" during the post-palatial period, but this planned and structured community became more dispersed and, presumably therefore, less organised, during the Early Iron Age. It has recently been suggested that Athens became more centralised and condensed at the beginning of the post-palatial period, although it was unable to control the rest of Attica as a palace territory (Privitera, 2013, 174). If sites were "tightly-knit", this would suggest that some level of formal organisation at settlement-level would be required, even if the palace system was not (re)introduced. The nucleation that may have taken place at Tiryns and Athens relatively soon after the collapse does not seem to have lasted. Former centres such as Athens, Argos, Asine and Tiryns are described as still large sites at the end of the post-palatial period, but more dispersed patterns of occupation developed (Morris, 1987, 63; Maran, 2010, 731; Philippa-Touchais, 2011, 35).

Were post-palatial communities loose and dispersed, or concentrated and tightly-knit? It is likely that a difference of opinion exists because there were both small, scattered settlements, and a handful of more densely occupied sites, especially in the later Early Iron Age (Philippa-Touchais, 2011, 37). Another reason for the ambiguity in the size and nature of post-palatial and later communities is that insufficient settlements have been fully excavated for this period, particularly in the non-palace states (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 397; Giannopoulos, 2008), and many sites continued in use through the Protogeometric and later periods (Lemos, 2002, 149), which makes it very difficult to estimate the size of the settlements, or the type of social organisation they would have required (Clark, 1960, 219; Morris, 1987, 145). The lack of major construction programmes (such as the roads, dams or fortifications built during the palace period (Rutter, 1992, 70; Dickinson, 2006A, 74)) indicate, however, that these communities lacked either the will or the resources to tackle large scale projects of any kind. It is likely that they practiced mixed farming, including cultivating many of the products familiar from the palace period (Dickinson, 2006B, 118), and bronze working, pottery and textile production would have continued (Iakovidis, 1970, 469), but it is difficult to elaborate much more on this.

It is likely that kinship or extended family relationships remained an organising principle in the older communities for some time after the collapse (Philippa-Touchais, 2011, 38), although the removal of the palace rulers could have provided an opportunity to renegotiate the rights and obligations associated with the relationships between different kinship groups. At Perati, the occupants of this new community buried their dead singly or together in very low numbers, which may have been because kindship connections had been severed, and the meaningful social groups in life were now much smaller. In the Protogeometric period, when single burial became much more common, people could still have acknowledged their family connections by placing single graves together, or separating them from other graves with a low wall (Lemos, 2002, 154; Morris, 1987, 90). This indicates that, although people may have received an individual grave, their family and kinship relationships were still an aspect of social identity. The shift to smaller tombs and single burial in this period, however, does indicate that there was less concern for either the ancestors or future generations than is suggested by the longer term use of collective tombs in the palace period (Wright, 1990, 52; Cavanagh and Mee, 2009, 1778), and a more present outlook prevailed.

In the Early Iron Age, it became more common in some areas to differentiate between male and female burials by placing different grave goods with the dead (Lemos, 2002, 155; Dickinson, 2006A, 185). Adults and children might also receive differential treatment (Morris, 1987, 62), either by placing them in separate cemeteries, or inhuming rather than cremating the remains of children (Lemos, 2002, 153-154). The differences between men and women, and adults and children, were not especially pronounced in Mycenaean burials, but it is possible that this practice developed in the later post-palatial period, if people began living in small communities that were not highly stratified in terms of obvious social classes. Categorisation on the grounds of age or gender may have become more important when other aspects of social identity, such as a relationship with the palace, or membership of the elite, diminished in significance (Morris, 1987, 40; Morgan, 2003, 1), although the emphasis on age or gender should not be taken as an indication that the societies of the Early Iron Age were necessarily egalitarian (Morris, 2000, 99), as some have suggested (Binford, 1972, 230; Brown, 1981, 29; Hodder, 1982A, 152).

It is not clear who was in charge of the village communities, or even if a ruler was required in the smaller settlements, although it is likely that they featured “simple social and political structures” in comparison with the former palace states (Lantzas, 2012, 13). It has been argued that the local officials who had worked for the palaces may have retained a measure of power after the collapse (Foxhall, 1995, 247; Mazarakis Ainian, 2006; Palaima, 2006), but it is not absolutely certain that the *basileus* of the Mycenaean period was the same as this office holder hundreds of years later (Crielaard, 2006, 292). There was also no reason for people in the non-palace states to adopt a term for leadership that was derived from palatial bureaucracy (*contra* Moschos, 2009, 384), so other reasons for the survival of the term *basileus* into later periods may be more valid.

It is possible that the larger settlements were chiefdoms governed by ‘big men’, who acquired followers based on a variety of factors including their own wealth, and their willingness to share it, by hosting feasts for example (Mazarakis Ainian, 2006, 183). One of the problems with this explanation, however, is that “big man” leadership was competitive and volatile, but competitive display in the form of elaborate burials is not especially evident for this period. There were some larger houses, which could have belonged to wealthier members of communities, but it is not certain that the occupants would have constituted a separate ruling class (Dickinson, 2006B, 120), and wealth does not necessarily equate with the right to rule others. It has been suggested that in the Early

Iron Age, chiefs were buried in warrior graves (Galaty, Tomas, and Parkinson, 2014, 170), but it does not seem likely that the many burials with weapons found in Protogeometric Athens, for example, could have all represented chiefs (Dickinson, 2006A, 88), so the distribution of burials with weapons may not support this theory.

It seems just as likely that small village communities did not have any sort of formal or centralised leadership (Philippa-Touchais, 2011, 39-40), and such decisions as needed to be made were agreed on an *ad hoc* basis. Those with greater access to wealth may have had more weight in the decision process, or older members of the community may have been entrusted with the more important decisions. It seems likely that these small communities were independent and to a certain extent self-reliant (Snodgrass, 2006, 135), although the necessities of trade probably brought them into regular contact with each other. It was only in the Protogeometric period that the establishment of communal sanctuaries suggests a developing sense of regional identity, but even then, it is unlikely that there was also the establishment of regional power.

5.8 Conclusions

The principal aim of this thesis was to examine whether changes in burial practices after the collapse of the palace system in Bronze Age Greece could inform our understanding of social organisation in the post-palatial period. It was only by studying the burial practices of the post-palatial period in detail, and considering some of the developments in burial practices from the Shaft Grave and palace periods, that it has become clear that this was not the right question to ask. Burial practices in Attica had started to change in LH IIIB, before the collapse of the palaces, and many of the elements that were considered to be innovations were in fact present before the collapse. In Achaea and Mycenae burial practices continued to be recognisably Mycenaean throughout the post-palatial period, and in Achaea some traditional practices continued to be employed even after that. Clearly burial practices did change in the Mycenaean period, but the collapse was not the cause of change.

Once again this raises the issue of the nature and importance of the collapse. The fact that the causes of the collapse are still not known (Snodgrass, 2006, 119; Knapp and Manning, 2016, 100) (although every Aegean prehistorian has one or two preferred theories) is probably the biggest obstacle to understanding the nature of social

organisation in the immediate post-palatial period. Older theories which propose a single cause for all of the destructions – such as hostile actions from within or outside of Greece, natural causes, or systems collapse – have more recently been replaced with the realisation that there could have been different causes at different palaces, or a combination of circumstances which led to the collapse (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 392; Dickinson, 2010, 489; Shelton, 2010, 146; Crielaard, 2011, 87; Lantzas, 2012, 13; Middleton, 2010; Knapp and Manning, 2016, 113). Although this is likely to be the case, such explanations lack precision or certainty, and it may be the case that new evidence must be sought in order to explain the destructions. Although the recent excavations at Ayios Vasileios on the Plain of Sparta have discovered Linear B tablets which might indicate that this was the site of a palace (Arena, 2015, 2), these discoveries may not shed light on the issue, unfortunately, as the complex of palace-like buildings were destroyed in LH IIIA (Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2015), some time before the main period of destructions at the end of LH IIIB.

If the collapse could be meaningfully defined (Finley, 1970, 63; Tainter, 2010, 709; Lantzas, 2012, 12), the causes and the effects separated (Knapp and Manning, 2016, 135), and the reasons understood, it might be possible to predict how people would have responded afterwards, but this is difficult when most of the destructions cannot be definitely linked to warfare, insurrection, economic crisis (including similar collapses elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean), earthquake or disease (Knapp and Manning, 2016, 123). It is especially frustrating not to know whether the destruction of the palaces was something that happened to the Mycenaeans, or was something that they themselves brought about. If the palace at Tiryns, for example, was destroyed by a rival faction of the Tiryns elite, then order could have been restored, and life could have returned to normal relatively quickly, albeit under new leadership. Alternatively, if the palace had been destroyed by an army under the command of Mycenae, or any other hostile force, it is unlikely that life would have returned to normal quickly. The fact that the palaces were not rebuilt, and a large number of sites were abandoned in the years which followed, particularly in the Argolid, suggests that things did not quickly return to normal after the palaces were destroyed.

Although most people recover well after disasters and are fairly resilient (Sjöberg, 2004, 47; Bonanno, 2008, 106-107; McAnany and Yoffee, 2010B, 11), some of the survivors of the collapse could have been traumatised by events (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 405). After a

traumatic event or series of events, the people most involved or affected can experience "psychohistorical dislocation" in response to the breakdown of social organisation, which leads to questions about "family, religion, social and political authority, sexuality, birth and death, and the overall ordering of the life cycle" (Lifton, 2007, 75). Post-traumatic stress symptoms include flashbacks, strategies to avoid flashbacks, numbness and hyper-arousal (Chen, Zhou, Zeng and Wu, 2015, 4), which can be very troubling to the traumatised individual and others around them. But many people will also experience post-traumatic growth, which specifically involves changes in self-identity, changes in how relationships with others are viewed, and changes in world view, which "facilitate adjustment and relieve trauma-related distress" in the longer term (Chen, Zhou, Zeng and Wu, 2015, 7).

In communities that experienced the collapse as a series of traumatic events, the disruption to daily life, therefore, could have been particularly difficult to deal with at first, but recovery and readjustment would have involved individuals and groups reinventing their social identities, and renegotiating their social relationships with others, as they developed a new world outlook (Morris, 2000, 229; Philippa-Touchais, 2011, 39) and came to terms with "the vicissitudes of their time" (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008, 406). After all, people are not just the passive objects of social change. We make and change the world we live in, and by so doing, we make and change ourselves, and the ways in which we view the world (Rees, 1998, 71; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, 2005, 6). It is against this background that the argument for the renegotiation of kinship relationships after the collapse of the palaces begins to seem very plausible as an explanation for the eventual changes in burial practices at the end of the post-palatial period.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

At the start of this thesis it was stated that no particular theoretical model had been selected in advance of collecting and evaluating the evidence for post-palatial burial practices. It is obvious now that this was not, in fact, the case. The aim of the thesis was to find out whether changes in burial practices after the collapse of the palace system informed our understanding of social organisation in the post-palatial period. In reality this was a question about whether or not there was a predictable link between changes in burial patterning and changes in social organisation. The conclusion that there was a positive link between the numbers of people buried together and their group identities (kinships) in life, is clearly in keeping with traditional archaeological models (e.g. Saxe, 1970; Binford, 1971; Tainter, 1977; Brown, 1981; O'Shea, 1981) which assumed that "an individual's treatment in death bears some predictable relationship to the individual's state in life and to the organization of the society to which the individual belonged" (O'Shea, 1984, 3).

There is a further traditional (or perhaps processualist) conclusion that can be drawn from this examination of post-palatial burial practices. It has been demonstrated that the type of tomb does not relate directly to a specific social class, and the size of tomb is not the most consistent indicator of wealth. Through studying the tomb sizes at Perati, and considering Mycenaean tomb sizes generally, it now seems more likely that the size and permanence of the tomb (in terms of its visibility in the landscape) was a comment on chronological identity, rather than just wealth. Those who constructed large tombs (for example the monumental tholoi at Mycenae or the larger chamber tombs constructed during the early palace period in the Argolid) may have wanted a sepulchre in which the earliest occupants would become the ancestors of future generations, and those who constructed small tombs (including the small chamber tombs built at Perati and the palace period subterranean pit or cist graves in the Argolid, which did not leave a permanent mark on the surface) may have only been interested in providing for those alive at the time of construction. This would also explain why the majority of cremations were placed within the larger tombs at Perati (Dickinson, 2006A, 181), and why many of the burials in the tumuli at Argos and Khania were cremations. Cremation rapidly transformed the dead from known, identifiable individuals, into anonymous ancestors, which would be an advantage for those who were concerned with chronological identity and a sense of permanence. This conclusion argues against one traditional model (i.e. that tomb

expenditure relates to wealth (Tainter, 1977)), but replaces it with another (i.e. that tomb size relates to chronological identity).

When it comes to the deposition of grave goods, however, the conclusions drawn by this thesis significantly depart from traditional models that propose a direct link between social identity in life and the social identities portrayed at funerals. It has long been known that the Mycenaeans used funerary rituals as an opportunity to renegotiate the social relationships of the living (Voutsaki, 1998, 44-45), and one of the main ways of doing this was by the manipulation of the social identities of the dead through the use of grave goods. The discovery that there was no elite class of warriors in Mycenaean Greece, and that the burials with weapons were expressions of status but not expressions of the true identity of the dead, strongly supports this argument.

The conclusion is that it is not possible to correctly identify the dead on the basis of the objects buried with them, and it is not possible to accurately estimate the number and range of ranks within a cemetery, because grave goods demonstrate what the living wished to express, and not the real identities of the dead (D'Onofrio, 2011, 657). This conclusion echoes the many criticisms that post-processualists have made of traditional analyses (Hodder, 1982B), and acknowledges that social identities in life *and* in death are social constructions.

This thesis departs even further from the processualist approach by arguing that people did not simply select the type and size of tomb or value and variety of grave goods on the basis of a standard formula imposed upon them by the palaces. The palace rulers did use ideology to justify and maintain their social superiority over others, but it is difficult to find obvious traces of palatial ideology in the burial practices of people who did not belong to the palace elite. They may have echoed the dromos-stomion-chamber arrangement of tholos tombs in their chamber tombs (although this was also a practical measure for tombs that needed to be regularly re-opened), but the number of people they buried together and the social identities they assigned to the dead were related to the meaningful day-to-day relationships and identities they had in life, rather than to unthinking reflections of palatial ideology.

This was even more the case after the collapse of the palaces, when people in the palace states regained the ability to reject kinship relations that no longer served their needs, and

renegotiate new relationships. The types and sizes of tombs, the number of people buried together, and the social identities represented by the use of grave goods, therefore, were the result of the conscious, deliberate, strategic choices of the living, and not the unconscious reflection of social arrangements in which they played a passive role. Again these conclusions echo many of the criticisms that have been levelled at traditional models, and bring more contemporary issues of agency and ideology to the fore (Shennan, S.J., 1982).

Whether or not Mycenaeans were involved in the destruction of the palaces and the dismantling of the palace system remains to be seen, but this seems more likely if they are considered as social actors or participants, rather than the passive victims of events beyond their control. The aim of ideology may be to obscure the reality of unequal class relationships, but there is a tension between what people are asked to believe, and what their daily experience tells them, and ideology is not always successful in its aims.

At present, the main conclusions drawn by this thesis can only be said to apply to the areas that have already been discussed, and especially Attica and the Argolid. It would be very interesting to find out if there was a relationship between the burial groups of the dead and the kinship groups of the living in other parts of Mycenaean Greece. One subject that could be perfect for further investigation is the appearance of dormitory tombs in Achaea and Kephallenia in the post-palatial period. Whereas in other regions, tombs were becoming smaller, and fewer people were being buried together, the dormitory tombs were a type of large chamber tomb, furnished with regularly placed pits that received large numbers of burials.

The number of people buried in these tombs cannot possibly represent small family groups, and it is likely that they represented a level of social organisation and group identity that was above the level of the kinship. Collective burial emphasises the similarities between people, rather than the differences, so it would be interesting to find out why such levelling measures were needed at this time. It will be necessary to consider the local traditions in collective burial in this region in more detail, as well as the connections between Achaea and Kephallenia (Mee and Cavanagh, 1984, 60), before this phenomenon can be fully explained.

Returning to the issue of warrior graves and social identity, a further area of study could be the noticeable increase in burials with weapons at Athens in the Early Iron Age (D'Onofrio, 2011), including some very small swords made of iron that could have been ornamental (Ruppenstein, 2007, 203). The only burials with weapons known in post-palatial Attica are the three at Perati, so the sudden introduction of this type of burial is significant, especially as it constitutes some 5% of all burials at Athens (D'Onofrio, 2011, 647). Some of the weapons have been associated with ritual activities, especially shield bosses and triple axes (D'Onofrio, 2011, 649), but is unlikely that all of the weapons burials should be associated with religious ritual or expression.

It has recently been argued that Athens experienced decline during the palace period, but recovered towards the end of LH IIIB2, and that the Mycenaean constructions on the acropolis, which should now be dated to the period of the collapse, rather than indicating that Athens was making preparations for attack, illustrate that the city was beginning to flourish just as the other Mycenaean citadels were being destroyed (Privitera, 2013). If this was indeed the case, then the lack of burials with weapons would indicate a period of relative stability in the leadership of the post-palatial period, but the rapid increase in the number of burials with weapons in the Early Iron Age could be a sign of further political developments (Ruppenstein, 2007, 270), or evidence for the decentralisation of power at Athens.

It has been suggested that the burials with weapons in Early Iron Age Athens were given to leaders, because there tends to be just one weapons burial per cemetery (D'Onofrio, 2011, 647), but it is unlikely that each cemetery represented a separate community (Cavanagh and Mee, 1990, 62-63; Dickinson, 2006A, 88; Ruppenstein, 2007, 270). If the use of weapons in burials was concentrated at specific cemeteries in Athens, rather than being dispersed, and it was associated with the deposition of other rich grave goods, this might be indicative of power struggles and instability (Cavanagh, 2008, 337), but the evidence does not support this interpretation, despite the presence of fibulae and other jewellery in some of the graves (D'Onofrio, 2011, 649). In fact the burials with weapons at Athens and elsewhere in the Protogeometric period were characterised by a lack of rich grave goods (besides the weapons themselves) (Dickinson, 2006A, 185), which argues against these graves being associated directly with leadership. These important burials need to be studied in conjunction with developments in settlement evidence, and the ways

in which status was expressed in other burials from the same period, if their social significance is to be properly understood.

If the conclusions of this thesis were to be extended into the Protogeometric period, then the next obvious place to investigate would be the cemeteries of Lefkandi. The settlement of Xeropolis was destroyed and carefully rebuilt at least once in the post-palatial period (Lefkandi excavations, 2009), and new cemeteries were established towards the end of the post-palatial period and into the Protogeometric (Thomas and Conant, 1999, 88), so just as Perati was declining in use, Lefkandi began to rise in importance. The cemeteries of Lefkandi have already been studied in detail (Popham, Sackett and Themelis, 1980), but it would be interesting to find out whether or not the chamber tombs and clusters of simple graves at this cemetery (Dickinson, 2006A, 185) were intended for use by smaller families rather than wider kinships, as has been proposed for Perati.

It may be significant that cremation was used extensively (but not exclusively) at Lefkandi (Lemos, 2002, 161; Dickinson, 2006A, 186). Perhaps this demonstrated the desire to rapidly create ancestors and thereby establish a permanent connection to the area – as has been suggested for Perati. The inclusion of heirlooms with the inhumed woman who was buried next to the cremated man in the Heroön, and the use of an antique vessel for his ashes (Dickinson, 2006A, 187), indicates that connections with the past were of some importance to those using the new Toumba cemetery (Lemos, 2002, 168). There was also a large number of burials with weapons at Lefkandi (Dickinson, 2006A, 192) (including the woman in the Heroön, who received a particularly long iron dagger (Harrell, 2014B)), which suggests that competitive display was becoming an issue at this time. Lefkandi was an important node in the sea trade of the east-facing *koine* (Thomas and Conant, 1999, 1993; Crielaard, 2006), so it would be interesting to investigate whether there was a connection between the decline of Perati, and the rise in the importance of Lefkandi. The burial practices at Lefkandi (in terms of the ratio of collective to simple graves, and the use of inhumation and cremation) were not exactly the same as those at Perati, but it could be useful to consider whether the similarities were the result of emulation, the relocation of people, or other causes.

There is one more aspect of the archaeology of Bronze Age Greece that requires further attention. This thesis is concerned with the social identities and relationships of people in families and wider kinship groups, but it has not been possible to describe these groups in

great detail. This is because most of the skeletons from the burials discussed in this study have not been assigned an age-at-death or biological sex through osteological methods (Cavanagh and Mee, 1998, 127; Smith, 2009, 99). Often sex, and sometimes age, has been inferred by the presence or absence of particular grave goods, especially when weapons have been placed in the grave. If a large number of burials were initially sexed by osteological analysis of the skeletal material, and then compared with grave goods, it would be possible to test the accuracy of using grave goods to identify sex. So far, the limited use of osteological analysis has not made this possible, which makes it necessary to speak of families and kinships without being completely sure of the identities of their members.

Of course, skeletal remains can provide evidence of much more than just the age and sex of the dead. It would be particularly informative, for example, if stable isotope and palaeopathological analyses were carried out, in order to compare the diet and nutritional status of those living in the post-palatial period with those of the palace period, as this would provide insights into the health and wealth of the post-palatial population, as well as indicating any changes in the ways in which food sources were accessed. Similarly, if skeletal remains were examined for evidence of work-related stresses, diseases, and injuries, it would be possible to compare evidence for occupation, hazards and health before and after the collapse. At present, these types of study have not been carried out on a large scale, and it may not be possible to conduct tests on the skeletal remains from older excavations, so much of this potential evidence may now be lost. But it is a matter of some urgency to note that the skeletal remains discovered in future excavations must be examined in as many ways as possible, so that more evidence of this nature can be used to enrich the study of life (and death) in Bronze Age Greece.

Mycenaean Greece was rediscovered in the late nineteenth century, with the first systematic excavations at Mycenae. Great advances in knowledge have been made since this first “age of discovery” (Fitton, 1995, 40), but it is still the case that the reasons for the collapse of the palace system, and the ways that people coped afterwards, are not fully understood. In the last few decades, however, more evidence has come to light regarding life in the period after the collapse, and it is now no longer appropriate to refer to the post-palatial period as the first phase of the Greek Dark Age. With the exception of the seminal works by Snodgrass (1971) and Desborough (1972), the final years of the Mycenaean age have been, by and large, accorded little more than a footnote in most accounts of Bronze

Age Greece, but recently (and especially since the turn of the century) post-palatial Greece has become a subject in its own right, with several publications (including Deger-Jalkotzy and Lemos, 2006; Dickinson, 2006A; Snodgrass, 2006; Thomatos, 2006; Deger-Jalkotzy and Zavadil, 2007; Bachhuber and Roberts, 2009; Deger-Jalkotzy and Bächle, 2009; McAnany and Yoffee, 2010A; Middleton, 2010; Wallace, 2010; Mazarakis Ainian, 2011; Lantzas 2012) dealing specifically with this challenging yet intriguing period.

The present study has demonstrated some of the ways in which people re-organised their communities and re-invented themselves in the years after the collapse, by examining specific aspects of the available burial evidence. It is anticipated that future discoveries, the application of modern archaeological methods, and new interpretations of the evidence, will continue to enrich our knowledge of this period of prehistoric Greece. After all, it is clear that those who survived the collapse of the palace system and rebuilt their communities showed remarkable resilience and adaptability under very challenging circumstances, and the story of their achievements deserves to be told.

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Abbreviations

CMS Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel
NMA National Archaeological Museum, Athens

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