On the Move: Mobility in Southwest Anatolia and the Southeast Aegean during the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age Transition

by

Jana Mokrišová

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Christopher J. Ratté, Chair
Dr. Despina Margomenou
Professor Lisa C. Nevett
Professor Henry T. Wright
Professor James C. Wright, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens

Jana Mokrišová

jmokriso@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0002-7237-1201

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EBA Early Bronze Age

EIA Early Iron Age

EG Early Geometric

EPG Early Protogeometric

LBA Late Bronze Age

LG Late Geometric

LH Late Helladic

LM Late Minoan

LPG Late Protogeometric

MBA Middle Bronze Age

MG Middle Geometric

MM Middle Minoan

MPG Middle Protogeometric

ABSTRACT

The end of the Late Bronze Age has long been considered a period of heightened mobility after the collapse of a number of polities, namely the Hittite Empire of central Anatolia, the Arzawan lands of western Anatolia, and the Mycenaean kingdoms of Greece. One such major population movement according to ancient historians was the so-called 'Ionian migration', traditionally understood as a large-scale unidirectional migratory event of Greek speakers into western Anatolia. Recent literary and historical studies, however, have suggested that these accounts represent invented traditions created centuries later after the events they purported to record. This dissertation re-evaluates the archaeological evidence for this supposed migration in the period spanning the end of the Late Bronze Age and the dawn of the Early Iron Age (ca. 1200-800 BCE). More generally, it examines the connections between mobility, intercultural contact, and identity formation in southwest Anatolia (Ionia, Caria, and Lydia) with a focus on ties to the southeast Aegean.

This dissertation shows that, rather than seeing a large-scale influx of new people into Anatolia at the end of the second millennium BCE, this period witnessed a more complex admixture of concomitant processes. These include more localized forms of mobility, continuing practices established before the 13th century BCE; increased interaction between communities across southwest Anatolia during the gradual process of the emergence of new Early Iron Age polities; and a slow conceptual shift from more open-ended notions of communal identity in the earlier periods to the establishment of more sharply defined and oppositional identities (e.g.,

between Greek and non-Greek) by the end of the Early Iron Age. Mobility had been a fact of life for the communities of the Anatolian littoral for centuries. Rather than a large-scale migration, it was this protracted low-intensity movement of smaller social groups that enabled southwest Anatolian communities to form and maintain close contacts across both local and regional economic and social networks, combining existing local networks with those of the incoming individuals.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Mobility is an inherent element of human experience, which has waxed and waned throughout history. In the eastern Mediterranean, the end of the Late Bronze Age has been considered a period of heightened movement, in part caused by crises experienced by powerful states and civilizations that had dominated much of the region for centuries. In particular, this period of instability is said to have been followed by an increased movement of the Greek speakers across the Aegean Sea to Anatolia; that at least is the impression given by the legends of Greek migrations to western Anatolia after the Trojan war.

It is interesting that the Greeks of the later periods themselves understood the 'Hellenization' of Ionia in terms of immigration after the fall of Troy in the distant past. Foundation stories of 'Greek' cities on the Anatolian littoral circulated different legends describing movements of individuals as well as groups, in addition to tensions and conflict with the local inhabitants, followed by eventual coexistence or seizure of territory. The ancient narratives describing this distant past, however, are far from unanimous. Instead, they offer competing stories and explanations of how, when, and why the Greek-speaking ancestors arrived to Anatolia. This incongruence was not problematic to the Greeks of Classical and Hellenistic times, but by the time of Strabo and Pausanias, a more unified narrative of the Ionian migration had been born, which was also widely embraced by early modern scholars.[1] This supposed Greek

[1] Curtius 1855; Hogarth 1909; Beloch 1913; Meyer 1915; Caspari 1915; Roebuck 1955, esp.37. For a major reassessment of the ancient tradition see Mac Sweeney, forthcoming.

migration, traditionally dated to the 11th century BCE,[2] was conceptualized as a relatively sudden event, which resulted in the introduction of ethnically Greek peoples and ways of life, as attested by material culture, to western Anatolia after the destruction of the Bronze Age centers of mainland Greece and the Hittite empire. The ancient narratives were treated as sources of historically accurate information and have had a major impact on modern archaeological investigations. Indeed, excavations carried out since the late 19th century have emphasized the presence of Greek material culture in Anatolia and searched for archaeological evidence for the events described in the texts, rather than sought to understand Anatolian material culture on its own terms.

In the past two decades, there has been a marked explosion of interest in intercultural contact on the Anatolian littoral in the light of the expansion of archaeological knowledge, the increased interest in identity formation in historical studies, and new approaches to comparative studies of human mobility. A new wave of constructivist reading of Greek myths has shed new light on the significance of the foundation stories. Rather than being historically accurate records for the period they described, they were social constructs containing significant but 'invented traditions'.[3] According to this approach, the stories of movement were central to the identity and sense of belonging of the inhabitants of southwest Anatolia during Archaic and Classical times, but should not necessarily be understood as literal records of the past.[4] In other words, the legends of movements of people from the Greek mainland to Anatolia were vehicles through

[2] Henceforth all dates are BCE unless otherwise noted.
[3] Gehrke 1994; Hall 1997; Crielaard 2009; Mac Sweeney 2013. See also Hobsbawm 1983.
[4] Among ancient testimonies were various myths of origins and works such as those of Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Mimnermus, Timotheus, Hecateus, and many others. For recent treatment and emphasis on the heterogeneity of traditions see Hall 2002; 30-55; Crielaard 2009; 46-57; Mac Sweeney 2013; 2016.

which people of the Classical period tried to establish linkages between the eastern and the western Aegean littorals in their past as well as in their present.

Nonetheless, the tradition of tracing the Ionian migration in the material culture of southwest Anatolia continues. It is, therefore, my aim to take a step away from conflating archaeological and textual sources, and consider the archaeological evidence from the late second millennium southwest Anatolia on its own terms. I focus on the character and attributes of mobility at the end of the second millennium in order to assess the deep-set assumption that this period witnessed a high degree of relatively unidirectional immigration to Anatolia from the west. Teasing out the dynamics of such processes is particularly important in the case of southwest Anatolia, which at certain points in history was more closely culturally affiliated with the Anatolian interior, as in the Late Bronze Age, and at other times with the maritime zone and territories to the west, as it came to be the case in the course of the Early Iron Age.

The fundamental question this dissertation examines is whether or not the southwest Anatolian communities did in fact experience increased immigration at the end of the second millennium. My analysis concludes that a 'cultural reorientation' of the Early Iron Age period can be explained without positing that large-scale migrations took place at the end of the second millennium. Rather, I argue that long-standing patterns of regional contact facilitated the sharing of knowledge and the creation of relationships that persisted from the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age, ranging from trade to technological transfers, as well as cultural, political and social customs, and the formation of identities.

In *The Corrupting Sea*, a grand narrative on the Mediterranean from the antiquity to the Middle Ages, P. Horden and N. Purcell—followed by C. Broodbank with his seminal *The Making of the Middle Sea* that focused on the Mediterranean before the Classical period—

highlighted mobility and connectivity as some of the exceptional properties of the Mediterranean basin, allowing people to connect across fragmented microregions and to take advantage of resources and opportunities away from home.[5] Some periods were more mobile than others. Similarly, some places were better conduits of human mobility than others. Southwest Anatolia, combining mainland, coast, and islands, was one of those more mobile arenas, but also one that has traditionally been omitted from the treatment of these phenomena, with the other regions around the Aegean receiving the spotlight.

Various archaeological and historical studies have reexamined the Ionian migration, and the subject has begun to receive increased synthetic treatment in recent years. I do not wish to duplicate these efforts here.[6] Instead, I look beyond the traditional focus on the twelve cities of the Ionian dodecapolis in order to trace the patterns of southwest Anatolian mobility more generally. While it is true that during the Early Iron Age similar sociopolitical organization in the form of the city-states emerged both in Greece and Anatolia, parallel processes of state formation, though with varying outcomes, also took place in the neighboring Anatolian regions of Caria and Lydia. While Ionia became more closely aligned with the developments to the west (in the Aegean and on the Greek mainland) demonstrated by a slow reorientation, whereby the emergent polities progressively embraced Greek sociopolitical identity, this process cannot be understood simply within the framework of interaction with the 'Hellenic' sphere. Similarly, Caria experienced parallel processes of identity formation, albeit anchored in the Anatolian heritage. This period also witnessed the emergence of the Lydian kingdom, the only larger state-like polity in western Anatolia, and the process of self-definition that eventually led to the

[5] Horden and Purcell 2000; Broodbank 2013.
[6] Kerschner 2006; Cobet 2007; Lemos 2007; Crielaard 2009; Vaessen 2014a; 2015; Mac Sweeney 2013; 2016, forthcoming.

formation of the Ionian identity also took place here. Indeed, it can even be argued that the interaction with Lydia was a major factor that fueled the process of 'becoming Ionian'.[7]

In certain cases, short-distance but relatively frequent habitual movements, or mobility, rather than pronounced migration across boundaries can be the determining force that structures the sociocultural character of societies. The main argument in this dissertation is that rather than seeing a large-scale influx of new people into Anatolia at the end of the second millennium, this period witnessed a more complex admixture of concomitant processes. These include more localized forms of mobility and continuing practices established at least by the 13th century; increased interaction between communities across southwest Anatolia during the gradual process of the emergence of new Early Iron Age polities; and a slow conceptual shift from a more open-ended conception of communal identities to rather oppositional identities by the end of the Early Iron Age.

Most importantly, the protracted low-intensity mobility of smaller social groups enabled some residents to form and maintain close contacts across both local and regional economic and social networks, combining existing local networks with those of the incoming individuals, including itinerant traders, craftspeople, travelers, and others. In other words, even though people moved beyond their immediate surroundings, most of the movement was contained within a familiar sphere. I propose that because of this sense of familiarity created by repeated previous contacts, mobile groups were willing to adopt certain behavioral practices of their destination communities in a relatively short time. At the same time, this familiarity also meant that local communities of southwest Anatolia were more willing to accept what the travelers had to offer, including, for example, portable objects, raw materials, and technological skills. This habitual

[7] To paraphrase J. Hall (2002, 45ff, following Myres 1930, 538), who suggests that it is more fitting to talk about *becoming* Greek, rather than the *coming* of the Greeks.

mobility maintained social diversity of southwest Anatolian communities, and at the same time, led to the creation of rather flexible local material signatures.

Chapter 2 presents the background information to the study of southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean during the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Ages (*Figure 1* and *Figure 2*). It begins with an overview of geographical parameters and issues of terminology and periodization. The core of the chapter discusses archaeological as well as historical data, both of which need to be taken into consideration in the study of mobility and interaction in this region. The chapter concludes with a critical review of previous approaches to the study of mobility within the Aegean and Anatolian studies.

Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical considerations pertaining to the archaeological study of mobility and the related phenomena of identity change in pluralistic societies. Drawing on anthropological, archaeological, and historical studies of migration and mobility, it presents a conceptual framework for the examination of movement, and provides a formal distinction between the concepts of mobility and migration.

Chapter 4 presents the archaeological evidence from southwest Anatolia and the southeastern Aegean to provide contextual information for further analysis of individual regions (Lydia, Caria, and Ionia) in the following chapters. Despite an increase in archaeological exploration of this area over the past twenty years, much of the information is still preliminary. Nonetheless, the continuing archaeological interest makes the time ripe for a synthesizing approach to the study of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age social processes.

The second part of this dissertation (Chapters 5 through 7) deals with three southwest Anatolian regions—Lydia, Caria, and Ionia. Chapter 5 focuses on Lydia. It addresses the development of western central Anatolia, home to two large polities—the Seha River Land in the

Late Bronze Age and the Lydian Kingdom in the Early Iron Age—and dissects their interaction with the smaller polities on the Anatolian littoral. This chapter emphasizes that the Ionian city-states did not develop in the shadow of an unchanging entity, the Lydian kingdom. Rather, the communities on the littoral formed alongside the nascent Lydian polity.

Chapter 6 tackles questions of identity formation in Caria. It argues that both Ionia and Caria were shaped by similar processes of engagement with regional southwest Anatolian/southeast Aegean networks, and that the trajectory of both was influenced by prolonged low-intensity mobility within a local and regional setting at the end of the second millennium. During the first millennium, however, the communities of Caria embraced Anatolian, as opposed to Greek identity, despite undergoing similar social transformations. Moreover, by examining the putative difference between the Carians and the Lelegians, supposedly a pastoralist group said to have been the early inhabitants of Caria, the chapter provides an alternative to the model of identity formation driven by preoccupation with ethnicity.

Chapter 7 focuses on three selected case studies—Ephesos, Miletos, and Iasos—and addresses the central question of this dissertation, whether there is any evidence that movement of people, described as migration, increased significantly at the beginning of the Early Iron Age. The comparison between these three sites demonstrates a continuation of regional mobility throughout the late second millennium. This chapter also briefly contrasts the Anatolian trajectories to those of Kos to highlight features unique to Anatolian communities. Finally, Chapter 8 presents the conclusions of this study.

This dissertation is broad in scope, and offers new avenues of thinking about mobility and the archaeological record of southwest Anatolia. It dissects the character of human and artifactual movement in this region, paying particular attention to its links with the southeast

Aegean. Although archaeological in its core, it draws on and connects archaeology with the disciplines of history and classics. It examines a formative period in an archaeologically rich area, southwest Anatolia. In scholarship, however, this region has been considered a frontier between the Hittites and the Mycenaeans in the Bronze Age, and the Greeks and the non-Greeks in the Early Iron Age, which reflects the modern fault-line between the modern nation states of Turkey and Greece. For the different communities of the Ionians, the Carians, and the Lydians this was home and not just an interface. I consider southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean as historically integrated, and this work crosses the long entrenched regionalism of the archaeology of the Aegean versus that of Anatolia. My fieldwork experience on Kos and in western Anatolia made me aware of how much these regions shared during their early history, even though they are now separated by the modern political boundaries. Moreover, this project investigates movement and interaction diachronically and on multiple scales. It thus bridges the disciplinary divide between the study of the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, commonly considered to be a dividing line between prehistory and the dawn of history.

And finally, this dissertation provides a synthesis of the treatment of mobility in archaeological studies and goes beyond previous scholarship by applying an integrated approach to the study of human communities and their identities in a mobile and interactive environment. It applies novel ways of thinking about past mobility onto published information, comprising datasets collected over more than a hundred years of international archaeological work, which varies greatly in terms of accuracy, resolution, and scope. An explicit methodology is therefore needed to deal with such a heterogeneous body of evidence, and it is hoped that this dissertation provides the necessary context-sensitive, yet fresh, approach.

CHAPTER 2: SETTING THE STAGE: BACKGROUND, COLLAPSE, AND MOBILITY

Introduction

This chapter presents the background information necessary to set the stage for the discussion of archaeological material from southwest Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age (henceforth LBA) and the Early Iron Age (henceforth EIA). First I define terminology and periodization used throughout this dissertation, then I move on to consider the history of research on the LBA to EIA transition and the role of migrationist scenarios, briefly considering the way movement has been seen as a result of collapse. Since a number of monographs, dissertation theses, as well as articles investigating various aspects of the Ionian migration from discursive to archaeological have appeared recently,[1] this overview does not seek to duplicate those efforts. Instead, a critical examination of the basic tenets of previous scholarship will be presented, followed by a focus on previous research on the role of migration and mobility within the context of the LBA to EIA transition in the eastern Mediterranean. This chapter sets the background upon which one of the principal arguments of this dissertation—that short-distance mobility and movement had increased in the region well before the end of the LBA—will be built and explored.

[1] Crielaard 2009; Mac Sweeney 2013; 2015; 2016; Vaessen 2014a, 2014b; 2015; Fragkopoulou 2015, among others.

The Geography of Anatolia and the Aegean

I use *Anatolia* to refer to the landmass of the rugged peninsula enclosed by three bodies of water, the Aegean, Mediterranean, and Black Seas, and now fully part of the Republic of Turkey. I prefer Anatolia to the term 'Asia Minor', as the latter is used more often in the archaeology of the Classical to Roman periods, while the former tends to be the more popular nomenclature in the scholarship on the Bronze and Iron Ages. Though the Bronze Age inhabitants of the central part of this land, the Hittites, referred to it as Assuwa, this term originally designated only the central part of the large peninsula. The Greek term, meaning "the land of the rising sun", is thus preferred as it refers to the entire landmass.

The *Aegean Sea* is the body of water north of but connected to the Mediterranean Sea, enclosed by the Anatolian and Greek peninsulas and the island of Crete. The sea is relatively small and encloses many islands and archipelagos in relative close proximity to each other. This geographic configuration has had a pronounced impact on capacity for travel in this region, the significant feature of which is the high level of travel and connectivity between the island and the littoral communities from as early as the late third millennium.[2]

This dissertation focuses on the southwest part of Anatolia and the relatively larger Aegean islands just off its shores. Its northern limit consists of the ancient Hermos (modern Gediz) River valley, while the southern limit includes the Knidian and Bozburun peninsulas. The western limits of this region are marked by the Aegean Sea, which acts both as a dividing and a uniting body. Its eastern extent is roughly a north-south line delineated by the ancient Marsyas (modern Çine) River. Three historical regions were situated within these boundaries: inland Lydia with its heartland in the central Hermos River valley and extending over the mountain

[2] Broodbank 2000; 2006.

ridges of Dibek Dağ in the north and Mt. Tmolus (modern Bozdağ) in the south; Ionia extending south of the Hermos River down to the ancient Meander (modern Büyük Menderes) River along the coast; and its southern neighbor Caria extending over the rugged hilly landscape of southwestern tip of Anatolia down to the Bozburun peninsula and the ancient Indus River delta by the settlement of Kaunos. Of course, these boundaries were not permanent but often contested and represent a simplified picture for the purposes of this discussion.

The geography of southwest Anatolia has profoundly shaped the course of its cultural, economic, and social development. The mountain ranges to the east of the coast separated the landmass into a number of distinct microregions, which in turn channeled the main communication routes to central Anatolia in east-west direction through the two large valleys of the Hermos and Meander Rivers. It should not come as a surprise that southwest Anatolia, physically separated from the areas further inland, has always been deeply affected by the maritime sphere. In order to reflect this configuration, the Aegean islands of Samos, Kos, and Rhodes are also included in the analysis. Altogether, this is a relatively large region explored by archaeological research to varying degrees, and it is therefore impossible to devote equal attention to all its parts. Evidence from better explored regions will be highlighted and used for the analysis, especially from the areas known in ancient times as south Ionia, situated south of the ancient Cayster (modern Küçük Menderes) River, and coastal Caria.

Much of this work will focus on the exploration of sea-land dynamics, and the interaction of communities in close proximity to the coastline. A number of studies advocating a more inclusive approach to coastal areas have emerged in recent years, treating them as active arenas

rather than as liminal points in a rather formalized land-sea dichotomy.[3] The importance of maritime travel has been emphasized in a number of recent works, which highlight the ease of travel across the seas provided that the participants master the specialist knowledge of technology, geography, sea and wind currents, and the skills that this mode of travel requires.[4] This form of travel, however efficient, was inherently fickle, as it depended on weather and seasons. While it did not require the same energy input from a crew as walking, and it made the transport of commodities easier, a ship could only transport a relatively small number of people. Despite these dangers and limitations, people were inquisitive, and continuously pushed the limits of possibility as sea travel became a vehicle for cross-Mediterranean long-range connectivity in the EIA.

In his work on EBA seafaring, C. Broodbank emphasized the role of cognition and recognition in navigating through seascapes,[5] and similar observations can be extended onto Anatolian terrestrial landscapes as well. Movement through different types of landscapes is grounded through visual perception of markers in the landscape, such as peaks and valleys, noticeable natural formations, rivers, and the proximity of the coast and islands on the horizon. Mutual visibility between the Aegean and Anatolia must have played an integral role in spurring movements between them. At the same time, the high peaks and mountain ranges further inland were obstacles to human sight, and therefore, might have been deterrent to feelings of familiarity, even though a traveler could traverse them with relative ease.

[3] The concepts of coastscapes, islandscapes, and the focus on maritime networks between them has bridged the disconnect between land-based points in space (settlements) and linear features (routes of maritime travel) into a more cohesive whole that can be explored at a number of scales (e.g., Berg 2010; Broodbank 2013; Tartaron 2013).
[4] Furthermore, the permanent settlements on the Aegean islands were inherently dependent on the maritime modes of travel (Papageorgiou 2008).
[5] Broodbank 2000, 23.

Terminology for the Study of Cultural Interaction

Reconstructing the ways in which people moved and interacted within the region comprised both southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean, and investigating it through the evidence of archaeological materials is one of the objectives of the study. It is important first to set the basic terminology used in this dissertation in order to clarify the basic building blocks used in theoretical as well as data-focused arguments.

As will be shown in Chapter 3, one cannot arrive at a definition of migration and mobility with ease in part because both migration and mobility are highly variable processes. Therefore, here I limit my suggestion to a short general definition of each term that stems from what I perceive as the main difference between them. In broad terms, *migration* can be defined as a physical relocation across distance with the purpose of settling either permanently or at least for an extended period of time. It is a social process involving a subset of population, which can lead to biological, sociocultural, economic, and linguistic changes in both the migrant as well as the host populations.[6] *Mobility* designates a more open ended interaction both between regions, but also within a region,[7] which includes frequent and shorter-term movement across variable, often shorter, distances.

The designation of a *local* material assemblage is preferred to indigenous or native, as it does not bear the connotation of a permanent continued occupation.[8] Local simply implies that the population occupied that area during the time under consideration to distinguish it from other groups that might be either contemporarily settling in the area or more mobile within a given time frame. The continuity of occupation in archaeological terms does not necessarily imply that

[6] Sensu Anthony 1990. Cf. Cabana and Clark 2011.
[7] Regions can be defined based on geographic, environmental, or cultural characteristics; as such, regionality is often a human conceptualization rather than an inherent quality of the landscape (sensu Thonemann 2011).
[8] Sensu Hodos 2006, 15.

the same community occupied a given locus for that period of time; rather, it is possible that different groups could come in and out, and the incoming groups can begin to think of themselves as local, even though they are not strictly speaking indigenous to the area.

Anatolian and *Greek* are used as geographic referents for people and things coming or being from Anatolia and the Greek mainland. They are used in their geographic sense and do not imply anything about the cultural affiliation of the communities. When referring to these and similar terms that have been used in previous scholarship, which then bear value-added interpretative connotations (such as Mycenaeanizing, Anatolianizing), single inverted commas will be used to distinguish them as such.

Interaction refers to engagement between communities, which can but does not have to have a physical impact on material culture assemblages. It includes a wide variety of forms from individual contact to trade, knowledge, technology, and idea exchange between two or more parties. It creates relationships of variable durability with both positive and negative associations, ranging from personal ties and marriage to diplomacy, trade and exchange, cooperation, and competition. I prefer to avoid terms that are often used to describe different forms of interaction, such as entanglement or hybridization, among other '-ization' terms, as they are connected to a set of very specific theoretical considerations. Their use in archaeology is often divorced from their original connotation, or bear implicit assumption of power imbalance.

The aim of this dissertation is to be sensitive towards the heterogeneity of the social landscape in order to avoid the pitfall of treating relatively large collectives of individuals of different age, sex, social ranking, etc., as unified bodies. The basic units of my analysis are social groups and communities within individual settlements scattered along the Anatolian littoral rather than large cultural units (e.g., the Ionians or the Carians). I will thus use the term

community to describe a collection of varied people living in one settlement. In turn, a community consists of various smaller social units, such as families, peers, and so on. Lastly, I am conscious that correlating continuity of an occupation of a settlement with persistence of the same community there is not always necessary, and one of the goals of this dissertation to identify changes in community composition.

Periodization: Absolute and Relative Dating

This dissertation advocates for a diachronic approach to the study of movement and interaction with a focus on changes in sociocultural milieu after the demise of the LBA political systems. In this introduction, I pay more attention to explaining the background of the end of the LBA on the western side of the Aegean Sea and in the eastern Mediterranean in general, as these regions are important for contextualizing the processes in southwest Anatolia and will not be dwelled upon elsewhere in this dissertation. The core of my study begins during the period of the collapse of the so-called Mycenaean palaces and the disintegration of the Hittite empire, traditionally dated to around 1200 corresponding to the end of the Late Helladic (LH) IIIB2 period in Greek/Aegean terms or the beginning of the Late Bronze 3 (LB 3) period in western Anatolian chronology.[9] The following 12th century, or the LH IIIC period, together with the beginning of the EIA, the Protogeometric (PG) period (11th-10th centuries), are at the focus of this work. This chronological frame, however, will be extended in most cases, as providing a long-term perspective can be more informative to the larger issues at hand.

Arriving at a working supra-regional chronology is no small task for the eastern Mediterranean during the Bronze Ages, and this section will present only a succinct summary of

[9] But see Pavúk (2015) who suggests an alternative bipartite division into LBA 1 and 2 with further subdivisions.

the most recent debates. Before moving onto an overview of these chronologies, it is worth noting that the choice of specific labels for longer periods of time and the organization of these periods into 'ages', an approach long-entrenched in the archaeological thinking, artificially divides a continuous flow of life.[10] Periodizations are interpretative; they impose a certain interpretation of the past, dictate terms of analysis, and carry the assumption of change between individual periods.[11] There are undeniable discontinuities between the LBA and the EIA, including the end of the fortified central settlements of Hattuša and Mycenae and a slow shift of sociopolitical configurations. The archaeologists and historians, however, have tried to define a turning point of this historical trajectory, which over time became increasingly exaggerated. The difference in the way of life between the LBA and the EIA is now deeply rooted and has long fueled the assumption of far-reaching discontinuities. Change takes time, and it is a process rather than an event.

A major issue in constructing a periodization is a divergence in terms of the absolute chronologies (with their High, Middle, and Low variants) and the relative chronologies based on changes observed in the stylistic traits of pottery. The latter provide relative, but often detailed and locally specific sequences, but one needs to account for divergences in terms of regional sequences, such as the Minoan on Crete, Mycenaean in parts of the Greek Mainland, Anatolian and Hittite in Anatolia, and so on. Thus, while the periodization proposed in this chapter is widely accepted, it is far from straightforward, and the commonly used relative dating remains

[10] Morris 1997, 96-111; Kotsonas 2016, 240-241. Additionally, these chronologies rigidly follow Christian Thomsen's 19th century CE three-age system of classification, which divides each era into three neat categories, often of similar duration, represented by changes in ceramic style. This is, of course, an oversimplification, which affects the understanding of past cultural developments.

[11] For instance, the use of the term the Dark Ages as opposed to the EIA bears a negative qualitative connotation suggesting a period of impoverishment. While certain developments of the EIA might be perceived as a set-back when compared to the palatial societies of the LBA, the period nonetheless deserves to be studied in its own right, as opposed to within a constant reference to the preceding times that were deemed more successful or developed (Sherratt 2003, 37; Kotsonas 2016).

unsatisfactory.[12] This is primarily for two reasons. First is the reliance on painted pottery sequences as opposed to a wider range of artifact classes. Second is a lack of emphasis on the precision of the terms used, as the name of a certain ceramic style at the same time designates a specific time period bearing a specific cultural connotation (e.g. Mycenaean LH IIIC Early). While major stratigraphic breaks and destruction horizons are important for dating, there is no good evidence that ceramics can readily reflect changes in sociocultural, historical, and political contexts. For instance, as J. Maran observed, the post-palatial LH IIIC Early vessel types were already present in the destruction LH IIIB2 horizon at Argive palaces, but the new IIIC phase is defined only after the destruction.[13] This is a problem especially pertinent to the Aegean and Greece. The absolute chronologies in Mesopotamia and Egypt, on the other hand, are relatively more reliable, as more data have been analyzed from these regions, and the information gained from them has been checked against recorded astronomical observations mentioned in Bronze Age sources and king list compilations. The relationship between popular dating schema across these regions seems to suggest that the higher Aegean chronology accords better with the Egyptian chronology, reflecting more accurately the current scientific information.

The following chronological scheme is applied in this dissertation. The LBA period on the Greek mainland is traditionally dated between the 17th and the 12th century.[14] In the Aegean, it is equated with the rise, existence, and fall of the Mycenaean civilization and the period is termed Helladic. It is subdivided into three major phases: Late Helladic I (LH I), II, and III (the latter with a further subdivision into A, B, and C) (*Table 1*). The end of the LH IIIC, or the post-palatial period, is generally assumed to be around 1075/1050. Some accept that there is a

[12] Jung 2012; Manning 2012; Pavúk 2015.
[13] Jung 2012, 175.
[14] Shelmerdine 2008, 1-4; Manning 2012.

transitional Submycenaean phase, dated between 1085/1080 and 1070/1040, but such a phase seems to be valid only for the funerary assemblages of Attica,[15] rather than being reflective of a real trend of the wider Aegean and Anatolian regions. The Early Protogeometric (EPG) period ends around 1000, the Middle Protogeometric (MPG) ends ca. 950, and is followed by a Late Protogeometric (LPG) phase until 900.[16] Following Lemos, the Early Geometric period spans 900-850, followed by a longer Middle Geometric (MG) between 850-750, and a shorter Late Geometric (LG) between 750-700.[17] Due to the flattening of the radiocarbon calibration curve around 800 to 400 and a lack of good resolution dendrochronological data, the EIA chronology has heavily relied on more traditional sequencing, such as interregional synchronisms of the pottery styles.[18]

Creating a working chronology for western Anatolia is rather difficult. We lack a finetuned understanding of most local sequences, which is primarily due to a lack of excavated and published stratigraphic sequences from western Anatolian sites.[19] As a result, the material from Anatolia tends to be compared to the better understood examples from mainland Greece, rather than being understood on its own local chronological and stratigraphic terms. Likewise,

[15] Rutter 1978; Ruppenstein 2009; Papadopoulos et al. 2011.
[16] A recent work from Kalapodi, Corinth, and Lefkandi by Toffolo et al. (2013) suggested that following the conventional Aegean chronology might be more suitable for the PG period. Thus, while the beginning of the EIA has been set following the High chronology to around 1070/1040. They proposed a date of 1020/1000. They consider the original date for the onset of the PG, proposed by Weninger and Jung (2009), to correspond with the beginning of the Submycenaean period. However, as it was noted above, such a ceramic phase is not readily distinguishable in the Anatolian material record. This dissertation follows the chronology proposed by Weninger and Jung.
[17] Lemos 2002.
[18] Papadopoulos 2014, 184. For chronologies see Manning et al. 2001; Lemos 2002; Manning 2012; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 393 with references. See Pavúk 2015 for revised Anatolian chronologies and a new proposed western Anatolian sequence followed here. Jung (2012) has embraced a very detailed chronology of LH IIIC dividing it into Early, Middle, Developed, Advanced, and Late, but this represents highly regionalized sequences based on well understood stratigraphic sequences, usually from major production centers in specific regions.
[19] In addition to Troy and Beycesultan, better documented stratigraphic sequences come from sites located in the proximity of the coast: Panaztepe, Limantepe, Çeşme Bağlararası, Bademgediği Tepe, Ayasoluk/Ephesos, Miletos, Iasos, Müsgebi. See Pavúk 2015, 83 with references.

synchronizations between larger regions rely on this stylistic dating, as absolute dates are usually not published.[20]

The relevance of this relatively detailed overview is to demonstrate the deep-seated tradition of reconstructing history based on painted ceramic material from mainland Greece. This method has severe implications for the way we understand change, continuity, connections, and mobility (for instance, the question of the Ionian migration), and how we assign dates and think of interaction. The particular ceramic classes, the pattern painted Mycenaean, PG, and Geometric, have been prioritized in making chronological sequences, even though they have often been based on stylistic criteria rather than stratigraphically-anchored sequences. Such an approach therefore skews our perception of difference between chronological periods, while at the same time projects a perceived homogeneity within the said periods. Especially from the 12th century (LH IIIC period) onward, however, ceramic styles were rather regional, and this is even more so the case of the PG pottery, which displays sign of a further increase in regionalization and local production.

'Collapse' and Demise of Late Bronze Age Polities

The end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th century was a period characterized by a series of destructions and upheavals in political centers in the eastern Mediterranean, but less so in southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean, where large administrative centers have never been found. Most of the palatial centers in mainland Greece and in the Near East never fully recovered, and the last stages of the LBA were characterized by shifts in regional sociopolitical

[20] In a recent reconsideration of coastal Anatolian chronologies, P. Pavúk (2015, 85-6; Fig. 1) has stressed that the traditional periodization does not reflect well the local developments in many sites in the region. On the coast, it seems that what can be considered LBA in terms of material assemblages should be dated earlier than previously suggested, to Troy VIb/c— Limantepe III1/2— Beycesultan IVc levels (1700-1600).

trajectories. Understandably, explorations of this phenomenon and its underlying causes together with attempts at reconstructing events and processes surrounding them have figured prominently in the archaeological scholarship. To date, efforts of varying success have been dedicated to the explication of the end of the Bronze Age polities, and it is easier to trace archaeologically certain outcomes of the breakdown of the Bronze Age societies, as they left behind physical traces, such as abandonment or destruction. These are, however, only a part of the outcomes of crises. The causes are not so readily distinguishable, and there is a disagreement over the impact of the environmental versus human contributions.

Much of archaeological work to date has been focused on understanding the fall of administrative and political centers, providing a top-down view of the 'collapse'. This bias is somewhat mitigated by environmental approaches that focus on issues, such as effects of climate change on agriculture. Most importantly, the emphasis on the collapse of palatial centers neglects to consider the situation in some areas of the eastern Mediterranean, namely southwest Anatolia, which is characterized by a different political organization than the Mycenaean palatial regions of mainland Greece or the large states, such as the Hittite Empire.

Rather than reiterating the history of scholarship on this topic, in the following pages I briefly outline the current state of knowledge pertaining to the demise of the centers in the eastern Mediterranean.[21] As foreshadowed above, the oft-cited causes for the systemic collapse of the Bronze Age political structures can be divided into two broad categories: environmental (such as long term climate deterioration, natural disaster, followed by spread of diseases, etc.) and anthropogenic (migrations, Sea Peoples' raids, international political destabilization, tension

[21] The situation in various southwest Anatolian regions will be explained in detail in following chapters (Chapter 5 for Lydia, Chapter 6 for Caria, and Chapter 7 for Ionia with selected case studies).

between centers and controlled territories, and internal strife).[22] The early scholarship favored climate change and natural disasters as the motivating factors of the supposed increased movement of peoples in the eastern Mediterranean, including the Sea Peoples and various Greek tribes (Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians).[23] Moreover, while most of the early approaches sought an overarching account explaining the 'collapse' in its entirety,[24] more recent contributions seek to address the variability and differential punctuation of 'collapses'.[25] Indeed, the demise of a number of polities in the wider eastern Mediterranean region took place over 150 years, from the late 13th century until the end of the 12th century, and the contributing causes were multiple, complex, and most importantly, variable in each individual case.

Paleoenvironmental research has shed new light on the changing environmental conditions in the course of the LBA.[26] The more recent reconstructions suggest that the end of the second millennium coincided with a period of prolonged arid climate that continued until the early first millennium.[27] As B. Drake suggests, the changes at the end of the LBA in the eastern Mediterranean, namely decreased precipitation resulting in arid spells, would not have created a crisis event; rather, they would put a continuing stress on communities over the course of several generations.[28] These climatic changes could have affected agricultural production, thus

[22] E.g., Carpenter 1966; Weiss 1982; Drews 1993; Bachhuber and Roberts 2009; Middleton 2012; Cline 2014.
[23] E.g., Weiss 1982.
[24] E.g., Carpenter's (1966) thesis of climatic deterioration resulting in famine and eventual movement of people, including the Dorians.
[25] Middleton 2010, 31-53; Dickinson 2010.
[26] Middleton 2012; Knapp and Manning 2016, 102ff with bibliographies.
[27] Drake (2012) examines a wide range of available data, including the paleorainfall derived from stable oxygen-isotope speleothem records, stable carbon isotope chronologies from pollen records from Greece, alkenone sea surface temperatures from Mediterranean sediment cores, and paleotemperature proxies from Greenland ice cores, among others. He suggests that an improvement in climate took place as late as the 4th century, but Manning (2013) suggest an earlier date for this reversal in the 8th century. For a recent reflection and critique see Knapp and Manning 2016, 108-113.
[28] Drake 2012, 5. Data from Anatolia and the Levant, in particular, also confirm that drying up of the environment coincided with the end of the LBA period. The consequences of climate change, however, depend on the sensitivity of the landscape and the possibility of mitigation of its adverse effects by human communities (Roberts et al. 2011).

endangering centers that relied on high levels of agricultural productivity. Over time, such a situation could have created a domino effect leading to decreased cultural productivity in larger regions, increased movement of people, disruption of trade and political stability, as well as increased military tensions. An interpretative complication, however, arises from differential quality of data at hand, as many seek to relate these broad climatic reconstructions with specific historical episodes and abandonment processes. While environmental reconstructions often work with low resolution dataset modeling centuries of development across large regions,[29] the information provided by archaeology and written sources is localized. This disjunction makes it often difficult to link the outcomes of crisis—that is, the specific episodes demonstrated in the archaeological record— with the potential factors that brought them about.

Textual evidence gives indication of problems in several cities, mostly in the Levant and central and eastern Anatolia. For instance, in separate accounts we learn that the Hittite king Suppiluliuma II called on the Ugaritic fleet to fend off a sea-borne enemy off the shores of Lukka.[30] Furthermore, a local fleet was requested to be stationed permanently at Ugarit by the Hittite king. Soon an arrival of enemy ships was reported, and finally the king ordered the city to withstand a siege until the arrival of reinforcements.[31] Further information concerns the circulation of agricultural products. The 13th century Hittite, Ugaritic, and Akkadian documents requesting grain shipments to quench famine and grain scarcity suggest that at least some areas controlled by the Hittite empire suffered from shortage of food.[32] Many of these tablets from various Hittite and Ugaritic archives, however, cannot be dated with accuracy, as the recipients

[29] For in-depth discussion of this problem see Knapp and Manning 2016, esp. 113-226.
[30] RS 34.138 (Singer 2000, 27).
[31] The city, however, was destroyed at the end of the 13th century (RS 19.11; RS 88.2009; see Singer 2000, 22).
[32] Singer 1999, 715ff; 2000; selected contributions in Cohen et al. 2010; see also Knapp and Manning 2016 for discussion. Broodbank (2013, 460-1), however, has assumed a minimalist position arguing that the information merely points to long-distance shipments of grain.

and senders are often unknown and, as a result, it is not certain that they all relate to the same episode of grain shortage. In general, however, they attest to concerns for large-scale food procurement by prominent centers.

Some texts mention the operations of mobile bands of raiders across the eastern Mediterranean, collectively known as the Sea Peoples. In his narrative of victorious deeds at the temple at Medinet Habu, Egyptian pharaoh Ramses III states that he fended them off the shores of Egypt, and these reliefs have been read as attesting migrations of peoples across the Mediterranean.[33] An interpretation of this inscription suggests that they originated from different parts of the Mediterranean, from Sardinia to Anatolia and Mesopotamia.[34] The texts do not provide a coherent picture of their activities or a description of the magnitude of their raids, and neither do they offer any hints about the organization of these groups. Attempts to determine this information from the archaeological record stem from the desire to isolate groups of historical peoples from the inscriptions and to associate them with a specific material cultures and places of origin. This exercise, however, is highly problematic because of not only the limitations of evidence and the difficulties associated with connecting ethnic groups from written sources to material culture, but also the propagandistic nature of the inscriptions, which might not always correspond to the actual turn of events. For instance, as G. Middleton points out, even though Carchemish appears on the list as one of the casualties of the Sea Peoples' siege, there is no discernible destruction layer that could be associated with it.[35]

[33] Drews (2000) argues that such a reading was a product of modern 19th century CE imagination. For archaeological considerations see Roberts 2009; Middleton 2015, esp. 47. For critical reading of written sources see Redford 2000.
[34] Identified with a range of peoples mentioned in LBA sources: Peleset (the Philistines?), Tjeker, Shardara (Sardinia?), Shekelesh (Sicily?), Lukka (Lycians), and others (Middleton 2015 with extensive bibliography).
[35] Drews 2000, 167-168; Middleton 2015, 47.

While human agency precipitated many of the many above-mentioned events, the documented prolonged shift into dryer conditions might have overall acted as a contributing factor that affected the ultimate breakdown of the LBA political systems.[36] Thus, a combination of negative environmental conditions on already strained societies would eventually lead to a lack of resilience due to increasing stress. This might also explain why 'collapse' is more detectable in regions governed by a central authority. Palatial societies were considered as overspecialized and overcentralized, and as a result unable to cope with extended environmental stress combined with other forms of natural disasters, such as earthquakes.[37] C. Broodbank has summed this lack of ability to deal with the crisis as follows: "It is likely that neither superpower could really diagnose what had hit them and their regulating regime, let alone fix it, and certainly their responses were all too predictably ineffective."[38] The less developed centers, on the other hand, seem to have recovered more quickly, and this differential resistance of less complex communities is an important factor that shaped the following EIA developments.

Alternatively, some have favored economic explanations suggesting that a weak point of central authorities was their overreliance on international trade routes and the need for the acquisition of metals. S. Sherratt argued that trade routes were reconfigured in the 13th century, and the Mycenaean palaces that depended on long-distance trade routes providing exotica and a wide range of commodities were not able to survive after that, as during the post-palatial period trade and economic relationships functioned at a different scale.[39] With respect to long distance trade, a shift of trade routes through Cyprus and the increase of intensity of freelance traders has

[36] More favorable climatic conditions followed only later during the EIA from the 8th century on (Manning 2013, 112-114).
[37] Dickinson 2006a, 45.
[38] Broodbank 2013, 471. See also Monroe 2009, 297.
[39] Sherratt 2003, esp. 40.

left an unrecoverable impact on the Aegean palaces.[40] Similarly, C. Mee suggested that the breakdown of state controlled trade network led to palatial demise in the Near East.[41] While these models explain why Mycenaean palaces collapsed and never regained their economic and political prominence, they fail to account for the destruction of some centers in the eastern Mediterranean. Shifts in trade patterns, therefore, must be one of the contributing factors to the weakening of the palatial and elite-centered power, but they cannot be the primary reason why palaces suffered their destructive fate.

Despite the vast scholarship on the eastern Mediterranean collapse,[42] the only clear point is that there is no straightforward answer to what caused it and each LBA center followed its own trajectory. A recent work by A. B. Knapp and S. Manning demonstrates what characterizes this phenomenon is diversity in terms of causes and symptoms:

> "Most Late Bronze Age polities in the region [the Mediterranean] gradually—some rapidly—disintegrated, as did the always-vulnerable interaction sphere(s) that had sustained them. In short, while external factors like the Sea People surely played a part during these troubled times throughout the region, so too, did international troubles (social, political, economic), if not the climate, in all these different areas."[43]

Knapp and Manning seem to attribute a higher impact to the internal factors, such as sociopolitical power crisis at the palatial level coupled with wide-spread political instability that could lead to the collapse of political structures and shifts in the nature of the transport and exchange systems. While they do not deny some population movement during this period, they stress that the oft-envisioned scale of these migrations must have been smaller in reality. In general, they point to a continuity of internal developments and prolonged change rather than

[40] See also Broodbank 2013, 470.
[41] Mee 2008.
[42] Most recently by Middleton 2010; Cline 2014.
[43] Knapp and Manning 2016, 122-123.

ruptures of archaeological sequences at many sites in the Levant, on Cyprus, as well as in Anatolia. At the same time, however, they emphasize that the sociopolitical tensions at the end of the palatial period led to violence; destructions took place, people were dislocated, and centrally organized polities: "that had perhaps become all too closely interdependent on the continued operation of an elite-dominated, largely agrarian-based system of political, ideological, and economic interaction and exchange" collapsed and were eventually replaced by much smaller polities.[44] While some of the points in this recent review may seem contradictory at times, the lesson here is that 'collapse' can often be gradual and not always a negative restructuring of the social order. Changes in various aspects of life can unfold differentially depending on local conditions even in the case when centers experience similar pressures. Therefore, decline or collapse should be envisioned as complex and prolonged multifaceted processes and series of events.

How Does Anatolia Fit into the Picture?

Let us now consider the situation in the Hittite empire in central Anatolia and the smaller polities on its western edges. As I previously alluded, most of the scholarship on collapse has focused on examining the fate of Mycenaean and eastern Mediterranean palatial centers, where the demise—not necessarily restricted to destruction and sudden abandonment, but also including slow dwindling—was more pronounced. Although the end of Mycenaean polities on the Greek mainland can be easily documented by tracing the occupational patterns of the palatial centers, it is not as easy in western Anatolia. Many of the Bronze Age coastal sites like Miletos were participants in the maritime sphere and had significant links with Mycenaean Greece, but

[44] Knapp and Manning 2016, 136.

their organization does not seem to have been palatial. Southwest Anatolia was characterized by a different sociopolitical structure, comprising regional polities and individual settlements, many of which remained occupied into the EIA. A further complication is the somewhat disjoined nature of the evidence in archaeological and historical terms, and both will be drawn upon at length in this and the following chapters.

The LBA written evidence provides a top down view of political organization. It suggests that western Anatolia was primarily inhabited by speakers of the Luwian language and that the region was divided into a number of polities, which were at some points during the 17th and the 16th centuries loosely aligned as Arzawan lands, in addition to Karkiša (perhaps in the territory of later Caria) and Lukka (in the territory of later Lycia). All of them were ruled by local potentates. Archaeological evidence, on the other hand, suggests a degree of shared material culture between these regions. Individual settlements of small to medium size were located close to the coast and more complex polities emerged further inland. Some of these are known to have continued to flourish into the Iron Age and beyond, but there is almost no evidence that could trace the extent and illuminate the functioning of these polities.

Most believe that these lands were settled by people speaking the Luwian language, an Anatolian branch of the Indo-European family and a predecessor to the EIA Anatolia languages, such as Lydian, Lycian, Carian, and Sidetic.[45] The use of the Luwian is attested through rock cut inscriptions at Karabel and Akpınar, which are in borderland territories in central western Anatolia in an area later occupied by the Lydians. There is no direct evidence as to what

[45] Bryce 2011, 365. Though see Yakubovich (2010) who argued that these regions were predominantly inhabited by speakers of proto-Carian (attacked by Hawkins 2013a but also see Hawkins 2013b). See Chapter 6.

language was spoken along the littoral, however.[46] By the late 8th century, Greek was spoken in Ionia, but Carian and perhaps even Lydian might have been spoken there, too.[47]

The Hittite sources discuss the activities of the Arzawan lands, a loose organization of smaller polities of Wilusa, Seha River Land, Mira-Kuwaliya, Hapalla and Arzawa proper or 'Minor' that was a prominent player in the 14th century, and at times also subservient to the Hittites.[48] Arzawa is first mentioned in the annals of Hattusili I (1650-1620 BCE) (*Table 2*). Hostility between variously allied Arzawan countries and the Hittite empire persisted for several centuries and included events, such as tensions over a sheltering of refugees from the Hittite lands during the reign of Suppiluliuma I (1350-1322) and Mursili II (1321-1295), and a conflict concerning Millawanda/Miletus during the reign of Tudhaliya IV (late 13th century).[49]

Archaeological investigations so far yielded no evidence for settlement hierarchy akin to that observed in the Hittite territory or in several areas of the Greek mainland. One exception was the central Hermos (modern Gediz) River valley, where a settlement hierarchy consisting of a large central site at Kaymakçı and a number of smaller secondary citadels have been recognized recently.[50] Otherwise, the southwest coastal region seems to have been occupied by smaller autonomous settlements. Historical reconstructions of political and linguistic attributes of the LBA Anatolia is difficult because of the limitation of the written evidence. While a successful reading of the Karabel monument by D. Hawkins has locked some of the territorial

[46] Niemeier (2005, 12) identifies a possible Linear B sign incised on a pot, but the identification is still contentious and it is incised to an object that might have been traded widely.
[47] For discussion see Chapters 5 and 6.
[48] Or "dukedoms" as called by Hawkins (1998). Hawkins has argued that Arzawa was superior among them and the hereditary rulers were often torn between supporting the Hittites and the Arzawan royalty, but that remains debatable. It is generally agreed that the Hittites were interested in controlling the Arzawan polities and having their actions aligned with the interest of the Hittites. Rebellions and disobedience were not taken kindly by the Hittite rulers, as evidenced by the diplomatic letters addressing issues in western Anatolia (Beckman 1996).
[49] Heinhold-Krahmer 1977; Beckman 1996; Starke 1997; various contributions in Melchert 2003; Bryce 2011; Alparslan 2015.
[50] Luke and Roosevelt 2009; Roosevelt et al. 2014. See Chapter 5.

polities into place (*Figure 3*),[51] due to the lack of written documents from western Anatolia we do not have information pertaining to the position of their boundaries or the location of their seats of power. While the positions of the Arzawan polities, discussed in detail below, and the Lukka Lands have now been confirmed, the independent polity of Karkiša is difficult to pin down, even though a majority of scholars accept its position to be in southwest Anatolia.[52] Karabel pass marks a boundary between the Seha River Land, spreading over the central Hermos (modern Gediz) River valley, and Mira-Kuwaliya to the south, lying in the Meander (modern Büyük Menderes) and Kaystros (modern Küçük Menderes) River valleys (*Figure 4*). Apaša has been equated with Ephesos, and is known as the seat of local Arzawan ruler Uhazitti, who tried to usurp power during Mursili II's reign and had to flee to the islands (ca. 1321-1295).[53] The city of Millawanda, discussed in a letter (dated to ca. 1240) by Tudhaliya IV to Tarkasnawa, the king of Mira,[54] has been equated with Miletos. Arzawa proper might center on Beycesultan in the upper Meander River valley. Wilusa was located in the Troad, and the treaty between Muwattalli II and Alaksandru of Wilusa, one of Muwatalli's vassal, raised a number of question relating to the historicity of the Trojan war.[55]

A problem that one needs to grapple with is the oft-incommensurate forms of evidence brought together to create an overview of the LBA history. While the Hittite archives provide a glance at the complex political threads of alliances and relationships between individual Anatolian polities, as well as their interaction with the Ahhiyawa, the archaeological evidence has not yet provided more indication whether the current reconstructions of political geography

[51] The rock cut relief depicts a male figure wearing a tall peaked cap and armed with a bow, spear, and a sword with a pommel. As identified by Hawkins, the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription bears the name Tarkasnawa, a 13th century king of Mira. Hawkins 1998; 2015. See also Marek 2016, 88-91.
[52] Most recently Hawkins 2015; Simon 2015.
[53] See CHT 181, 182, 211.4; Beckman 1996.
[54] Hawkins 1998, 24.
[55] CTH 214.12B (Beckman 1996). See also Bryce 2003a.

are correct. Nonetheless, a few broad conclusions can be put forth here. In general, the written records show the volatility of the order that the Hittites wished to maintain in southwest Anatolia and the importance of this region as a strategic connector. It seems that the Arzawan lands can be roughly equated to the extent of Iron Age Ionia and Lydia and perhaps also a part of northern Caria and southern Aeolis. Moreover, prominent first millennium settlements of Miletos and Ephesos also played a role in the second millennium due to their strategic position allowing access to both maritime and riverine resources and trade as well as strategic communication routes.

Additionally, it is important to note that the interaction in western Anatolia was relatively marginal to Hittite interests, though Hittites wanted to maintain a certain order and obedience and used resources offered by the region, such as timber, livestock, and manpower.[56] Specialists in the Aegean Bronze Age often elevate Hittite interaction with the Ahhiyawa to an issue of real concern from the Hittite aristocracy, but when one compares the volume of preserved documents dedicated to the affairs in the west to those in the east, however, it becomes obvious that it is rather slim, even if it is likely that the Ahhiyawa had active interests and were at times present in Anatolia during the 14th and early 13th centuries.[57] Moreover, so far there is no evidence that the Ahhiyawa participated in direct correspondence with the great powers, Egypt and the Hittites, or could read the cuneiform Akkadian script, the *lingua franca* of royal diplomacy. The Arzawan polities did not participate in such exchange either, although Tarhundaradu of Arzawa corresponded with pharaoh Amenophis III (1390-1352) concerning the adequacy of gift exchange prior to a possible marriage of his daughter to the pharaoh.[58] This tablet provides some

[56] Bryce 2003a 46ff.
[57] Singer 1983; Beckman, Bryce and Cline 2011, esp.274 (cf. to the corpus presented by Beckman 1996).
[58] Marek 2016, 89.

indication that Arzawa enjoyed temporary prominence beyond the Hittite purview, a status that remained beyond the reach of the Ahhiyawa.

Arzawa remained a nuisance to the Hittites throughout its existence, and the Hittites had to wage a number of campaigns to keep events in the southwest in check. T. Bryce has even argued that during the 14th century Arzawa might have been close to achieving political and military control over much of western Anatolia, even encroaching upon the Hittite territories.[59] Eventually, however, Mursili II managed to quell a number of rebellions on the edges of the Land of Hatti, subjugated and split the Arzawan lands into their smaller respective territories, and forced a deportation of a large number of people from Arzawa to Hittite heartland. Arzawa does not appear in Hittite texts past this point and it is generally assumed that the polity was disbanded,[60] but there is genuinely too little information to reconstruct the extent of the political events with high precision. Moreover, G. Beckman and his colleagues have suggested that the evidence from the Milawata letter points to a waning of Ahhiyawa's influence in western Anatolia.[61]

The conclusion that can be drawn from material evidence is somewhat disparate when compared to the Hittite archival sources. While the Luwians are known as a linguistic entity and Arzawan lands as a political one, the material culture in western Anatolia tends to be portrayed in terms of cultural affiliation as either Anatolian or Greek (Mycenaean). Yet, both archaeological and written evidence suggest that western Anatolia was inhabited by communities with heterogeneous affiliations and that it was an active arena in terms of sociopolitical relations and intercultural contact, as will be shown in Chapters 4 through 7.

[59] Bryce 2007; 2011, 364-5.
[60] Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 136-147; Bryce 2011, 266; Alparslan 2015, 138-139.
[61] They also suggest that fragmentary letters point to a cessation of contact in the middle to late 13th century (Beckman, Bryce and Cline 2011, 279). See also Milawata letter (AhT 5= CTH 182).

Mobility after the 'Collapse'

When we return to the issue of how Bronze Age political formations transformed and declined, human mobility is often invoked both as a contributing factor and a result of social unrest. In short, a number of large-scale migrations have been proposed in the wake of the 'collapse' as either its contributing factors or its aftermath or both. As already discussed, these should not be considered as causes; rather they might have been the result of a prolonged crisis. Much of the mobility proposed to have taken place at that time seems to have been seaborne,[62] namely:

- The 'marauding' groups of Sea Peoples into the Levant and southern Anatolian coast in the end of the 13th century,[63]
- The migrations from the Aegean into the Levant and Cyprus at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th century,[64] including the Philistine migrations into the Levant in the 12th and the 11th centuries,[65]
- The Greek migrations into Anatolia, variously dated to the 12th and the 11th centuries. The migrations of the Dorians have now been refuted on archaeological grounds, but the Ionian migration remains a subject for discussion,[66]
- Migrations from the Balkans into northwest and central Anatolia (to Troy and Gordion) in the 12th and the 11th centuries. This type of movement has been documented with

[62] Evolution of sailing technologies that can be dated to mid-14th-12th centuries include increased versatility of the sail, double hulls, and a diversification of ship types to suit particular purposes of travel (Broodbank 2013, 464-5).
[63] E.g., Sandars 1987, selected contributions in Oren 2003; for critical overview see Sherratt 2013.
[64] E.g., Yasur Landau 2010; Jung 2012.
[65] E.g., Killebrew and Lehmann 2013; Middleton 2015.
[66] Niemeier 2007; Herda 2009; 2013; Herda and Sauter 2009; Fragkopoulou 2015.

greater success at Gordion, which shows a break in occupation and an introduction of new types of assemblages that indicate differential cooking and living practices.[67]

Mobility in the LBA eastern Mediterranean has traditionally been tied to the end of the Bronze Ages, and the previous section highlighted how invasions and migrations have become linked to the post-palatial turmoil. This is in no small part due to the information provided by the already mentioned Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources, and also the narratives from the later Classical times, which stressed the peripatetic past of the mythical ancestors—whether it was the return of the Heraklidae, or the various movements after the Trojan war from the Greek mainland to western Anatolia. In terms of evidence synchronous with the end of the LBA, the investigations of mobility in western Anatolia during the late second millennium draw on two types of resources—written texts (Mycenaean Linear B tablets and Hittite diplomatic records) and material culture. Although both attest contact and some form of population exchange, there are significant challenges in working with these sources concurrently, as they provide discrete kinds of information, and which function at different scales of resolution.

Textual evidence clearly points to different kinds of physical movements of people in the LBA Mediterranean. For instance, in addition to Hittite texts mentioning diplomatic contacts between Anatolian polities and the Mycenaeans as well as a forced movement of people, the Linear B tablets (dating to the 14th and 13th century) indicate a physical movement of people from Anatolia to the Mycenaean territory.[68] While these sources belong to the period preceding

[67] Henrickson and Voigt 1998; Voigt and Henrickson 2000.
[68] E.g., the mention of Knidians and Milesians working in the palace is attested in the Pylos tablets from the A series (Nikoloudis 2008). See also Bryce's discussion on the resettlement of people in western Anatolia during the mid-13th century (2002, 259). For political relations between the Hittites, the Ahhiyawa and Arzawan lands see Beckman 1996; Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011.

the troubled times in the eastern Mediterranean, they demonstrate that movement was already a part of life at the time. This very specific scale of human mobility at the level of small groups of individuals tied to a specific historical episode is, however, extremely difficult to isolate archaeologically.

While this dissertation reconsiders the character of mobility in southwest Anatolia, which will be discussed in depth in the following chapters, let me offer a very brief comment here on what the various treatments of these posited migrations have in common. The detection of possible migrant presence is in most examples based on pottery styles, in particular the proliferation of the Mycenaean-style LH IIIC wares and figurines, and isolated architectural features, such as hearths and 'bathtubs', common in Greece during the palatial period.[69] This link between pots and people, though, has been challenged—ceramic containers can be moved around and stylistic traits can spread without the kinds of migrations as proposed in connection to the post-palatial period. Moreover, though the LH IIIC period witnessed a spike in production of the Mycenaean-style pottery, both G. Van Wijngaarden and S. Sherratt have highlighted various aspects of the popularity of Mycenaean-style wares in the eastern Mediterranean and have stressed its longevity. [70] This was not a phenomenon exclusive to the 12th century. Rather, the ceramic style was in circulation for around two centuries before the post-palatial period and therefore it should not be necessarily linked to the dispersal of people who previously participated in the Mycenaean palatial culture.

The presence of marauding groups and groups coming from afar looking for more favorable living conditions was certainly a possibility during a time of political upheaval at the end of the LH IIIB2 period in the eastern Mediterranean. Yet, it is also possible that the situation

[69] E.g., see examinations by Yasur-Landau 2011.
[70] Van Wijngaarden 2008; Sherratt 2013.

in the Aegean during the following centuries was not as dire. Much of the archaeological record points to continuity and gradual transformation of the material culture and there is no persuasive evidence so far to suggest a significant increase in migration. Certainly, mobility and movement could have heightened during a time of crisis, when many of the strong administrative and political centers lost control over their territories. Yet, the scenarios discussed above have envisioned an unprecedented scale of movement that helped shape a new world order and resulted in pronounced ethnic changes in the make-up of communities.

Furthermore, these migrationist scenarios have been criticized for their lack of solid theoretical basis, an overreliance on interpretation based on literary references, and limited datasets.[71] In addition to these already-voiced criticisms, a few other problems need to be highlighted. Many of pro-migration arguments have assumed that migration was a highly organized phenomenon, which might not be applicable to a time of increased social turmoil. Some also sought to trace the motivations, the actual routes and parameters of interaction (such as the number of people involved, the duration of the move, etc.), and the final destinations of the migrants.[72] While this might be possible to demonstrate in case of more recent migrations where it is possible to trace multiple aspects of physical relocation, our data resolution does not allow it. Furthermore, some of these studies translate the presence of foreign materials as evidence for immigration, without considering the possibility of locally driven processes of adoption and adaptation resulting from a participation in a connected LBA world.[73]

Ultimately, approaches that built upon an assumption that migrations happened seek to find them in the archaeological record, instead of testing a number of different hypotheses and

[71] For a summary see Middleton 2015, 48; Knapp and Manning 2016.
[72] E.g., Yasur-Landau (2011) following the methodology of Anthony (1990) and Burmeister (2000).
[73] On LBA connectivity see Broodbank 2013, 459ff; Knappett and Kiriatzi 2016; Kristiansen 2016.

asking how the material signature can inform what processes that took place. Rather than operating under the assumption that movement must have increased after the upheavals of the end of the 13th through the 12th century, the dynamics of movement in this part of the world needs to be examined within a long-term perspective in order to determine whether or to what degree the movement increased during the following LH IIIC period. In other words, the very assumption that movement of peoples increased as described by the written sources (whether those of the LBA or the Classical period) needs to be tested archaeologically.

Mobility in Late Bronze Age Southwest Anatolia and the Southeast Aegean

The spread of material culture from the Greek mainland, as well as Crete, originally into southwest Anatolia during the second half of the second millennium has often been conceived as a result of a relatively significant movement of people from the core areas, either Crete or mainland Greece depending on the period of history, into surrounding areas. In the case of the LBA remains, the discourse on movement and cultural dynamics has always been considered by combining the disciplines of archaeology, Greek myth, Classical historiography, and toponymy.[74] Three major areas of interest can be identified: the coming of the Greeks, the Minoan expansion in the Aegean or Minoan *thalassocracy,* and the subsequent Mycenaean expansion exemplified by the tradition of the Trojan War.

Those, who believe that migrations took place, attempt to anchor events described in the Greek epic and mythical traditions chronologically and spatially. Troy is a prime example of this. Even after almost hundred and fifty years of excavation at the site of Hissarlık it is impossible to divorce the archaeological debate about the nature of the settlement and the documented series of

[74] As demonstrated by Haley and Blegen 1928.

destructions from the stories surrounding the mythical Trojan War. Troy is the most prominent settlement in northwest Anatolia, famous not only for its rich archaeological past, but also as the setting for one of the Homeric epics. The Iliad invoked great struggle, eventual collapse, and population displacement, and even though the epics date to the late 8th century, it is notable that similar events were discussed also in the chronologically earlier inscription from Egypt and records from Mesopotamia.

C. Blegen supported the arrival of new people as a cause of changes "so unheralded, so widespread, and so far-reaching" at the beginning of the MBA Troy VI phase.[75] He attributed new fortification construction and the introduction of new pottery. He posited a similar scenario for the end of the sixth settlement of Troy, when a new population moved in after the settlement was supposedly shaken by a devastating earthquake.[76] These invaders were identified as related to the Greek speaking peoples wandering into Greece, who carried with them gray Minyan pottery and the skill of horse riding. Similarly, Blegen believed that the end of Troy VIIa was a result of a siege.[77] As J. Rutter succinctly stated, if one believes the tradition of the Trojan war, this destruction might have indeed been the best candidate for it.[78]

New data from the transition into the EIA at Troy brought to light by the recent German-American excavations, however, suggests that most of the migrationist scenarios proposed by Blegen do not hold up against the new evidence. In contrast, the evidence from the VIIb phase, suggests an increased participation in regional northwest Anatolian/northeast Aegean interaction

[75] Blegen 1963, 111. See also Blegen's introduction to the historical narrative (1963, esp.20).
[76] Blegen 1963, 145-146.
[77] Blegen 1963, 161-162. Mee (2008, 372) has suggested that if it was true, this episode might have been an inspiration for the Homeric epics. However, as he noted, the unstable situation during the LH IIIB/C makes it unlikely that Mycenaean states could wage an expedition together, as they each were preoccupied with strengthening their citadels, attested by the increased building activities on the citadels and followed by episodes of destruction.
[78] Rutter 2013 (http://www.dartmouth.edu/~prehistory/aegean/?page_id=630, accessed 5/7/2016)

networks, which might have been a result of some immigration. According to C. Aslan and P. Hnila, the key transformation during the VIIb2 period was the arrival of a small group of migrants from Thrace and the Balkans that mixed together with the local population.[79] The first PG phase represented strong continuity in terms of popularity of the handmade coarse ware, supplemented by PG plain cooking jugs and painted amphorae, made of similar clay recipe to the handmade coarse ware jars of the preceding period.[80] The PG Group 1 amphorae were found not only here, but also in the northern Aegean, suggesting a strong link between the settlements in the wider northeast Aegean/southern Balkan region. As opposed to desolation, therefore, the inhabitants of the settlement continued to live at the site, albeit on a smaller scale, and might have mixed with a new population that previously inhabited areas to the northwest. Destruction thus does not fit as a model anymore, rather, sociopolitical restructuring and downscaling of occupation seem as more appropriate explanations.

To sum up, as demonstrated by the example of Troy, many migrationist perspectives were influenced by later narratives in the Greek sources, most prominently concerning the Achaeans (proto-Greeks), the Dorians, and the Ionians, and the earlier movements of people were often described in terms of colonization or trade connections. The latter has been applied to the Minoan and Mycenaean presence in the southeast Aegean and at Miletos based on the evidence from the ceramic record from the late 17th/early 16th to the 12th century. It is not my

[79] Aslan 2009, 151; Aslan and Hnila 2015.

[80] Based on the evidence for changing preferences as reflected by the ceramic record, they noticed that in the first stages of the VIIb1 period, the handmade cooking ware was used for cooking and low-volume storage, while the tablesets continued to be made in gray and tan wheelmade wares of the VIIb1 period. This new cooking ware replaced the Gritty Ware. This shift might have corresponded to a change in cooking habits, as the two seem to make functionally complete assemblages, and the shapes and decoration of coarse ware was different from the Gritty Ware, which was its predecessor. The quantity of tan and gray wares dropped from 70% to 39% of the entire assemblage during the VIIb2 phase. By the end of the period (ca. 1070/1040 BCE), this part of the site appears to have been abandoned, but sherds of PG amphorae and ritual pits and deposits attest some activity around the ruins of the LBA Terrace House (Aslan 2009, 149; Aslan and Hnila 2015, 177).

intent to dwell on the linguistic and philological arguments made in favor of various migrations, though in course of this dissertation I evaluate whether they can be considered historical facts. Primarily, however, I explore how archaeological arguments in favor of movement were constructed. Subsequently, I move on to the more recent reconsiderations of the dynamics of movement in the Aegean and Anatolia.

The Dorians and Other Mobile Peoples of the Late Bronze Age

The Dorian and other migrations were proposed to have taken place in the LBA based on a combination of historical linguistic evidence and prevalent stories of movement and wandering in Greek myth. Moderns scholars took the legends of migrations and linked them to questions concerning the mechanism of linguistic change, namely the nature of the engagement that could lead to an adoption of a new language, the size of populations needed to precipitate it, and the physical markers attributed to it. These topics were a popular subject allowing for a simultaneous engagement between Classical literature, the newly excavated material remains, and linguistics. Simply put, it was argued that each major branch of Greek dialects was spread by waves of immigration from possibly as early as the late third millennium. The final destruction of the Mycenaean culture at the end of the 13th century was attributed to the Dorians, the last invading tribe of the Bronze Ages, and migrations of the Ionians and the Aeolians to Anatolia were thought to have followed shortly after, at the beginning of the EIA.

The treatment of the Dorians deserves a longer comment here, as the character of their spread and ethnogenesis occupied a prominent place in Classical scholarship since the 19th century CE, and the migration hypothesis has since been dismantled.[81] The legends of migrating

[81] E.g, Beloch 1890; Hammond 1931. The subject of the Dorians regained popularity in the 1970s (Schweitzer 1971, 22; Robinsohn, 1975), but was quickly reexamined in light of new knowledge that came from the deciphering of the

Dorians and the return of the Herakleidai were linked to the dissemination of the Doric dialect (from northwest Greece) by pushing out speakers of the East Greek (including Mycenaean) dialects out of the Peloponnese.[82] In short, scholars used the legendary event of invasion (or migration) as an explanation for the linguistic and material changes between the Bronze Ages and Classical period, in line with culture-historical methodologies. The Classical tradition and the distribution of dialect groups were taken as evidence for the link between the Homeric Dorians and the Classical inhabitants of the Peloponnese and the historicity of the migration tradition. The texts have also had a long-lasting effect on archaeology and the propositions pertaining to the end of the LBA polities.[83] In terms of material evidence, the Dorians were linked to a series of destructions of citadels in the Peloponnese and Attica during the LH IIIB/C Early period. South-moving hordes of invading tribes were envisioned to have subsequently moved into Crete and the Dodecanese.

With increasing archaeological work and better chronological grip on the stratigraphy of LBA horizons, it became clear that such an argument could not be supported, as there was no evidence of invasion that could potentially be caused by mechanisms like those described in the sources. Material culture that replaced the hallmarks of the Mycenaean civilization—such as the introduction of cist graves, new metal objects (e.g., Naue II type swords and violin bow fibulae),

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Linear B tablets (Chadwick 1976, Thomas 1978 argued that Linear B is in fact proto-Doric; contra van Soesbergen (1981 and 2003), who suggested that there is no trace of proto-Doric in Linear B and hence supports the original thesis of late Dorian arrival. See also Hooker 1979. It has been established, however, that Mycenaean Greek bears traces of Attic-Ionic as well as Arcado-Cypriot dialect (Thompson 2010). See Hall 1997 and 2002 with references.

[82] Though the Dorians and the Herakleidai were associated, they were originally considered as two separate groups: the Dorian invaders and the returning Herakleid exiles (Hall 1997, 59-60). Later, however, they became assimilated, and the return of the Herakleidai became assimilated to the legend of the Dorian migration/invasion, and both of them have been said to have taken place in the Bronze Age.

[83] E.g., Blegen 1967. While direct mentions of the Dorians were scarce in *The Iliad*, scholars emphasize that *The Odyssey* (19.172-177) implied the presence of the Dorians on Crete and documented the practice of the rite of cremation, which was seen as a Dorian practice. For a recent reappraisal of the link between the Homeric epics and the tradition of the Dorian invasion in archaeology see Guzzetti 2006 with references.

and new pottery styles, such as the Handmade Burnished Ware—was attributed to the Dorians.[84] Their use, however, was shown to have stemmed from the already established practices, and an increasing number of studies on LBA collapse showed that the end of the Mycenaean palaces was a heterogeneous phenomenon, as shown in the previous section.[85] A lot of the disruptions of local sequences could be more satisfactorily explained through means other than migration.[86]

It was thus necessary to reconsider the dating of the migration/invasion. Yet, an effort to chronologically pinpoint the Dorian invasion to a different period was not successful either. The other possible candidates were presented by the upheavals either at the end of the EBA or the end of the MBA.[87] The early LBA developments could be comfortably traced to the MBA,[88] and the EBA date was rejected on the grounds that the Dorians considered themselves to be late-comers to the Greek mainland.

Ultimately, the tendency to document physically the events described in ancient sources confounds the different forms of evidence—archaeological data are used to prove and fit the confusing series of legendary events, and legendary events, in turn, are treated as direct historical accounts. Yet, just as in the case of the Ionian migration, the ancient writers were not of uniform opinion concerning the events surrounding it, and their accounts presented a diverse and often

[84] Desborough (1964, 251-252) connected the appearance of cists to an immigration of a new ethnic group.
[85] Snodgrass 1971, 184; Thomas 1978, 22; Hooker 1979, 356-357; Lemos 2002, 191-192.
[86] Chadwick (1976), for instance, argued in favor of the rising role of local low-standing officials after the disruptions of the 13th century, who introduced the Doric dialect into the written record (supported by Thomas 1978). He, however, found opposition from linguists (Bartoněk 1973; van Soesbergen 1981). Robinsohn (1975) reconstructed two waves of migration corresponding to first the series of destructions of Mycenaean citadels and then the beginning of the PG period. See Thomas 1978; Hooker 1979; Hall (2002, 73ff) for arguments against a strict historicity of the events associated with the legendary migration/invasion. Hooker (1979) rejected Robinsohn's argument in favor of migration/invasion and argued in favor of coexistence of the Dorians (defined by him as 'Doric-speakers') with the Mycenaeans.
[87] For a brief rebuttal see Thomas 1978. The form of Greek used in the Linear B tablets originally led Chadwick (1976) to suggest that the proto-Doric dialect was present in Greece at least since the end of the MBA, thus implying that Mycenaeans were speakers of the Doric dialect. For a more recent comment see Lemos 2002, 192.
[88] E.g., Wright (2004, 14) has defined 'Mycenaeans' as the peoples, who inhabited LBA polities on the Greek mainland, whose roots can be traced back to the end of the MBA period.

contradictory body of evidence. Thus, more appropriate are the explanations that sought to approach the myth of the Dorians migration/invasion and the return of the Herakleidai to the Peloponnese as discursively meaningful to negotiating world order and ethnic identity of the Classical period, at a time when these narratives gained popularity.[89] For instance, J. T. Hooker suggested that the legends echoed a memory of the end of LBA citadels (thus bearing a kernel of historical truth), but this memory was shaped during the time of the emergence of Laconian identity and served to negotiate realities connected with the Spartan expansion.[90] Alternatively, J. Hall argued that these legends were as a part of composite system of ancestral stories with diverse origins. The beliefs underwent a process of syncretism for the purpose of defining a link, and at the same time maintained the difference, between ethnically diverse groups in central, southern, and northern Greece, which sought their origins outside of the area they inhabited during the first half of the first millennium.[91] The stories of the Dorian migration were thus shown to have discursive rather than historical value connected to the processes of the negotiation of fragmented identities and ethnic differences between the inhabitants of first millennium Greece.

Nonetheless, the migration as any-time explanations for cultural change and linguistic and social differences enjoyed a long popularity in Aegean studies and Classical Archaeology. Even in the 1970s, Aegean archaeology produced a number of works that continued to trace movement of various peoples through Greece and the Aegean, primarily the Dorians, Ionians, and other mobile groups mentioned in the Classical texts, albeit they did so without addressing

[89] Hall (1997, 61) rightly pointed out that the wide circulation of the myth of the return to the ancestral homeland of the Heraklids does not present a proof of a genuine migration.
[90] Hooker 1979, 360. See also various contributions in Musti 1985.
[91] More specifically, Hall (1997, 64-65; 2002, 73-82, 89) has argued in favor of an 8th century date for the emergence of Dorian identity.

criticism brought about by processual archaeology and its emphasis on process and internal change. Following the method of his earlier major work,[92] N. G. L. Hammond in *Migrations and Invasions in Greece and Adjacent Areas* explored migration routes and archaeological culture of invaders and migrants in the Balkans and Greece.[93] Embracing the information from Classical sources as historically accurate, he posited that movements mentioned in various ancient literary sources (including the Dorians) must have taken place in the past. As a result, he relied on information from written sources rather than a re-examination of evidence when he considered chronologically different episodes of movement from the southwest Balkans to Anatolia. His culture-historical approach was based primarily on tracing geographic transmissions of individual traits, such as pottery or burial styles, and was often intermixed with conjectures, such as the one describing the timing of the coming of the Dorians: "the tradition of these movements seems to have come from Mycenaean sources and to have been transmitted orally."[94] His and similar contributions did not reflect the more theoretical and methodological conversation in archaeology past the Aegean and Mediterranean boundary, a trend that was decried by some scholars of the Cambridge School.[95]

An important proposition by F. A. Winter based on historically documented migrations has not received much support at the time. While analogical thinking is not without pitfalls, as each event and process is anchored within a specific historical circumstance, analogies can be helpful in illuminating possibilities of human behavior. Winter observed that in case of the 3rd century Galatian invasion and the 6th century CE Slavic invasion into Greece, migrations might often be invisible in the archaeological record or leave no marks in terms of destruction, as these

[92] Hammond 1931-2.
[93] Hammond 1976.
[94] Hammond 1976, 135.
[95] Renfrew 1980.

populations were willing to adopt material culture and practices during their move.[96] His argument for the presence of the Dorian invaders from less complex societies in Greece was not embraced, a few archaeological studies have since demonstrated a possibility that this form of migration could have taken place in the past (e.g., the EIA immigration at Gordion).[97] The idea of the Dorian migration has been rejected by now, but Winter's proposition challenged the long established ideas of how migrations occurred.

Among more intriguing suggestions on how to deal with tricky issues pertaining to tracing movement of past peoples were presented in an edited volume entitled *Bronze Age Migration in the Aegean*, which focused on both archaeological and linguistic problems.[98] Though earlier in date than Hammond's *Migrations*, this volume aimed to asses critically the extent and nature of archaeological evidence that could indicate the arrival of a substantial population and to understand what language change might signify in terms of population dynamics.[99] The book emerged as a reaction to the increased criticisms of the use of migration as an any-time explanation for culture change and the consequent unpopularity of this paradigm, which came about as a result of its uncritical application. Admittedly, though the focus of the book was linguistic rather than archaeological, and some of the contributions focused on retrospectively applying information from the Greek epics onto the earlier periods, it provided a first attempt at a methodologically aware approach for the study of migrations in the Aegean.

The link between migration and economic and political control was made explicit in the approach to the distribution of Minoan and Mycenaean assemblages in the Aegean and western

[96] Winter 1977. See also Alram-Stern and Eder (2004, esp.8) for an overview of different historically documented migrations and their relationship to the archaeological record.
[97] Thomas 1978; 1980.
[98] Crossland and Birchall 1973.
[99] Crossland 1973, 6-8.

Anatolia. The expansion of the Minoan influence through the Aegean from the MM III to LM IB period (1750/1720-1490/1470) was archaeologically identified primarily in terms of distribution of Minoan ceramics (both imports from Crete and locally produced Minoan shapes and decoration), but also decoration (frescoes) and architectural features (pillar crypt, polythyra, lustral basins, horns of consecration), elite objects, and in some cases also isolated presence of Linear A writing.[100] In short, the Minoan influence has been interpreted as cultural and economic superiority linked to the control of trade with metal, and a large number of traveling craftsmen, who operated in the Minoan society as well as abroad, and spread Minoan styles and material culture throughout the eastern Mediterranean.[101]

However, an increasing call to re-examine the processes at the dawn of the LBA combined with an emphasis on bottom-up examination of evidence has led to a shift in thinking about the nature of not only the Minoan expansion, but also movement in general. E. Schofield brought a valuable reconsideration of Minoan migrants in the Aegean, traditionally linked to Minoan *thalassocracy* and colonial activity at islands such as on Rhodes, Kea, Melos, and Thera.[102] After questioning the traditional emphasis on pottery, she moved to address the social aspects of movement. These included the size of the migrating population, their proportion within the local population, as well as their reception and role in the new environment. When addressed through the lens of social practice, the sudden appearance of new types of ceramic containers and burial practices did not seem too helpful indicators for tracing an incoming

[100] The distribution of these features centered on Kastri on Kythera, Phylakopi on Melos, Akrotiri on Thera, and Ayia Irini on Kea, the Cyclades in general, and to a lesser degree some settlements in the eastern Aegean, western Anatolia (though more at Miletos) and the Greek mainland. See also various contributions in Hägg and Marinatos 1984 and in Laffineur and Greco 2005; Macdoland, Hallager, and Niemeier 2009. See also Cline 1995; Niemeier 2005.

[101] Described in terms of emulation without much movement of people as Versailles effect of Wiener (1984; 1990); see also various contributions in Hägg and Marinatos 1984. For a recent reaction to similar models see Davis and Gorogianni, 2008; Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2008.

[102] Schofield 1983.

smaller group of people. This observation led her to conclude that every day habitual activities were more helpful in trying to understand movement and social mixing. Furthermore, she made two other valuable suggestions. First, in some cases migrants could become more self-aware of their identity after their move, which could result in a more prominent material signaling of one's attachment to the original homeland. Second, much of the material habitat of migrants could not be transferred during the move, and, therefore, large amounts of foreign items might be traced back to trade relations rather than migration.[103]

Whereas the Minoan expansion tended to be explained as a result of economic and cultural supremacy, the increased circulation of Mycenaean and Mycenaean-style material culture has, on the other hand, been often viewed in terms of military supremacy and territorial control. In more neutral terms, the term 'Mycenaean' designates the material culture of the inhabitants of LBA polities on the Greek mainland, whose roots can be traced back to the end of the MBA.[104] Nonetheless, Mycenaeans have often been identified as belonging to the elite classes residing in palatial centers, as the usage of this term was inextricably linked to the discoveries of fortified palaces of the LBA in mainland Greece.[105] For a long time, therefore, the label 'Mycenaean' was synonymous with palatial, and to study the Mycenaeans meant by default looking at the archaeology of the citadels and tracing the distribution of items the production of which was controlled by the palaces. The most common cultural definition of interaction was thus linked to the ideology of the ruling class in certain regions of Greece and it inevitably traced

[103] Schofield 1983, 295-296. Further theoretical concerns were developed in her short reflection on the possible presence of Cycladic immigrants on MM III-LM I Crete (Schofield 1996). For the role of trade also see Knapp 1993.
[104] Wright 2004, 14.
[105] For discussion see Bennet 1999; Feuer 2011, 509.

the dissemination of artifacts and styles characteristic linked almost exclusively to the palatial centers.

While the best known model for the spread of the Mycenaean material culture proposed by K. Kilian explicitly acknowledged that there was no single form of Mycenaean colonization, it nevertheless operated under the implicit assumption that the circulation of movable objects would not have happened independently of the settling of the Mycenaeans.[106] Kilian posited presence of colonies based on individual artifact classes, which served as proxies for the spread of Mycenaean sociopolitical organization and religion. Yet, colonization models cannot explain fully the patterning of material culture during the LBA in the region. For instance, he argued that changes in Macedonia during the LH IIIB/C period—the expansion of storage, appearance of fluted ware in LH IIIC and the broadening of meat sources and increase of lentils—reflected "an alteration in economic conditions which was the result of a change in the composition of the population, due to the arrival of immigrants."[107] This diffusion, defined by Kilian as the primary mode of Mycenaean expansion, could also be described in terms of the growth of trade networks between the north and the areas to the south combined with a diversification of the consumption sources. The evidence as presented does not necessarily prove the presence, but neither does it disprove the absence, of inhabitants from the Mycenaean core areas.

In an attempt to tease out concrete links between changes in material culture and the movement of people, S. Sherratt questioned what it meant to be Mycenaean in cultural, linguistic, and archaeological terms and scrutinized the link between pots and people on Cyprus.[108] She pointed out that it is possible to distinguish archaeologically cases in which the

[106] Kilian 1990.
[107] Kilian 1990, 452.
[108] Sherratt 1992.

distribution of pottery can be connected with the transfer of learned skills (thus signifying transfer of skills necessary for pot making between generations). This co-occurrence between the products and technological know-how was not always the case of the Mycenaean pottery production, especially at the height of the palatial era (LH IIIA2-B), when it was organized on a large scale and traded widely.[109] Indeed, as she observed, it did not always take a Mycenaean—an inhabitant of the Mycenaean core on the Greek mainland—to make a Mycenaean pot. Instead, she has argued that small-scale relocation of people was always present in the LBA Mediterranean, and that processes of identity formation, acculturation, and integration took place at the same time, thus making it difficult for archaeologists to trace migrants' identity and material imprint.[110]

The most recent trends in Aegean archaeology have rejected the traditional top-down emphasis on the ruling class, and instead focused on craftspeople within the framework of practice-centered perspectives. Here the movement of both the maker and the product is acknowledged, and all aspects of sourcing and production are investigated within the approach of *chaîne opératoire*, which investigates the whole sequence of technological production step by step. Craft production is socially embedded and combines conscious actions with unconscious habits during the entire production process, all of which are reflective of the learning environment.[111] Even in cases of new inspirations or while learning a new production process from the members outside of one's learning environment—comprising a so called community of practice in which craftsmen share common knowledge and tend to do things in a similar way—

[109] See also Sherratt 1980; 1982.
[110] Sherratt 1992, 319-322.
[111] Dobres 2000; 2001.

motor habits and gestures are deeply ingrained and tend to remain conservative, and can thus present a good clue to membership in different communities of practice.[112]

In fact, some posit that that the wide distribution of pots might have resulted from the movement of potters looking for employment rather than finished pots, especially at a time when the breakdown of palace-centered commercial networks might have led to a decreased demand for the kinds of vessels that were previously favored by the palatial elites.[113] Craftsmen moved because of different motivations, whether for the purposes of apprenticeship, mobile work environment, permanent relocation to explore new markets, or for personal reasons, and across variable distances.

Furthermore, this perspective explicates the processes involved in the creation of regional similarities. Spatially close communities of practice may learn from each other, which can then lead to innovation and even a creation of a regional style. The latter form of exchange of ideas, adoption and adaptation of techniques requires prolonged communication and face to face contact between craftspeople, and can be a successful lens through which one can investigate a certain type of mobility in more vigorous terms. As these communities interact for extended periods of time, the chance of population exchange (such as moving to become a member for a new workshop or exogamous marriage in a familiar environment) can increase, if societal norms permit it.

These recent studies of small-scale movement, and the transfer of potting knowhow in particular, brought fresh perspectives and constructive approaches to the utilization of a subset of

[112] Gosselain 1998; Dobres 2000. For an application to the Aegean see Abell 2014; various contributions in Kiriatzi and Knappett 2016.
[113] Lis, Rückl, and Choleva 2015. See also Jones and Rutter 1977 for a groundbreaking venture into potters' mobility; Papadopoulos 1997; Broodbank and Kiriatzi 2007 for the case of Kythera and Abell 2014 for Ayia Irini. Only Lis, Rückl, and Choleva (2015) argue for the movement of potters as the primary factor for a widespread distribution of ceramic styles (in this case, the Aeginetan cooking pots).

mobility theories from anthropology and archaeology. The observations gained from such studies will be drawn upon in Chapter 7. For a long time, Aegean and Classical archaeology tended to be out of sync with the anthropological and social theories of interaction and movement, but in the past ten years it found a way to engage with them through studies that provide microscalar approaches to understanding changes within the non-elite spheres. While they focus on investigating a few types of archaeological materials, as a virtue these recent explanations work within the limits provided by the datasets that they utilize. Changes in pottery technologies are explained by a bottom-up examination of the subset of society that makes the pots, taking the spotlight away from the elite behavior, such as conspicuous consumption and exchange of exotica, and giving it to the other members of a community. As a result, these studies can highlight movements of smaller subsets of people over shorter distances, and provide a counter point to models that have traditionally sought to identify elite and state driven enterprises, such as the establishment of colonies.

Mobility in Early Iron Age Southwest Anatolia and the Southeast Aegean

The period of the EIA has inadvertently been tied to the questions of migration and movement of Greek speaking populations. Most prominent of those inquiries were the efforts to confirm the presence of the Greek-speaking Ionians, who supposedly moved from Athens and Euboea to the coast of Anatolia. A parallel scenario was put forth also in the case of the Aeolians, who travelled from central Greece (Thessaly, Boeotia, Achaia) to northwest Anatolia and founded Greek cities there after the Trojan War. The migration model was accepted by

historical, classicists, and archaeologists as sufficiently explaining the EIA 'Greek' material culture at Troy and other settlements north of the Hermos (modern Gediz) River Valley.[114]

The growing emphasis on mobility and connectivity of the EIA has slowly broken down the image of isolation and backwardness, explicitly resonating within the old name for the period, the Dark Ages.[115] In general, the collapse of palatial polities opened some avenues for movement—physical (such as the concern for borders of palatial polities), economic (collapse of palatial control of trade, increased ability to move for work), as well as social. O. Dickinson has rightly emphasized the propensity of the Aegean populations for movement,[116] which also helped fuel the formation of new sociopolitical configurations of EIA Greece. Abandonment of one's homeland meant to break ties with customs in the process of becoming accommodated to new conditions, and the indication that people were willing to do that is significant. Furthermore, a number of changes that emerged during the EIA stemmed from a prolonged close engagement between people with different skills, be it the adoption of the alphabet, the local imitation of Greek pottery, or shared style of metalwork. Therefore, it can be posited that at least some of these deep changes came from a close continued cohabitation of diverse communities and individuals, who learned from each other and exchanged ideas and skills.

The Ionian Migration

While not necessarily chronologically the earliest,[117] substantial accounts of the immigration of the Ionians into Anatolia come from the 5th century writings of Herodotus and

[114] For a critical archaeological/historical and linguistic/historical reappraisal respectively see Rose 2008; Parker 2008 with references.
[115] Most recently Lemos 1998; van Dommelen 2005; 2014; Crielaard 2009; Hodos 2014; Papadopoulos 2014.
[116] Dickinson 2006b, 117-118.
[117] The earliest reference to Ionian cities seems to be a fragment of a poem by Sappho referring to Ionian cities in Anatolia (fr. 28.12; late 7th/early 6th century). An elegy of Mimnermus of Smyrna (fr. 9; late 7th century) narrates

Thucydides. They described how various Dorians, Ionians,[118] and Aeolians came to the shores of Anatolia at some point in the distant past after the Trojan War.[119] Ancient authors, however, were not unanimous about precisely how and when it happened. In brief, ancient sources mentioned three main variants of the story of Ionian migration. They maintained that the Ionian migration happened sometime after the Return of the Herakleidai to the Peloponnese, the Dorian migration, and the migration to Aeolia. They did not agree on the dating of the supposed moves; Thucydides suggested that it happened around 80 years after the fall of Troy, while others preferred a later date. The stories developed over time and were especially popular from the 4th century on.[120] The later versions provided by Strabo and Pausanias provided synthetized and expanded accounts of individual large migrations, though the myths of individual cities and families were often contradictory and provided alternative traditions, such as in the case of the legend of Neleus.[121]

One particular feature of the myth of the Ionian common descent—one that is also relevant to the parallel Dorian and Aeolian traditions—is the role of movement of substantial

how his people first came to Kolophon and then resettled at Smyrna is one of the earliest mentions of the migrations into specific cities on the Anatolian coast. See Crielaard 2009, 42 and 50-51.

[118] The ethnikon 'Ionian' (i-ja-wo-ne) has first been attested one two fragmentary Linear B tablets from Knossos, dating to around 1400, but it is not clear where they came from (Driessen 1998/1999, 84ff). The next mention of the Ionians is in the Assyrian records. The term Yaw(a)naya refers to inhabitants of western Anatolia in general, though scholars in general tend to attribute it to the Greek speaking Ionians (Rose 2008, 403). Ionians can be found in Homer's *Iliad*. Interestingly, in these early works, the Ionians are mentioned only sporadically and seem to be coming from Euboea or Attica, not from Anatolia. The future leading cities of Ionia, such as Miletos, are mentioned as being in control of Karians, a native Anatolian tribe (*The Iliad* 2.615). Other natives, such as the Lydians, Phrygians and Lycians are mentioned too; interestingly though, most of these cultures came to occupy Anatolia only after the collapse of the Hittite empire. The absence of Ionians is a remarkable contrast. Even if it is considered in keeping with the tradition that they migrated into Anatolia after the Trojan war, as traditionally suggested, other Iron Age peoples of Anatolia are included in the poems. Moreover, Ionian and Aeolic elements are dominant in the language of the Iliad and the thorough description of the Anatolian topography also betrays good knowledge of this area (West 1988, 165; Crielaard 2009; Mac Sweeney 2013). The Ionians are also mentioned in Neo-Assyrian documents of the 7th/6th centuries, though an earlier mention from the second half of the 8th century has been interpreted as describing the Euboeans (Burkert 1984, 17ff).

[119] Hedorotus 1.145ff; 5.76; Strabo 14.1.3; Thucydides 1.12.4. Lemos (2007, 713-715) provides an extensive summary; see also Vaessen 2015; Mac Sweeney 2016. For the Aeolian migration see Rose 2008.

[120] Mac Sweeney 2016, 417 and 422-426.

[121] Crielaard 2009, 53-54. Mac Sweeney, forthcoming.

population in general. The ancient authors believed that the Ionian migration was a historic event of great significance. It offered both a notion of common origin and an explanation for the formation of distinct group identities resulting from encounters with other communities. Interestingly, although the establishment of the Ionian dodecapolis—including Phokaia, Klazomenai, Erythrai, Teos, Lebedos, Kolophon, Ephesos, Priene, Myus, Miletos, Chios and Kos, and later added Smyrna—received prominent attention, similar stories were part of founding legends of other cities, too, such as Halicarnassos.[122] On the other hand, some cities that claimed Ionian heritage, such as Magnesia on the Meander, never became a part of the league.[123]

These stories did not provide a unified narrative; rather, they presented diverse, and often contradictory, episodes that related to the identity and customs of the cities.[124] By the Roman imperial period, some authors, including Pausanias, told the story of the entire migration in relation to Athens.[125] The accounts were believed to contain a kernel of historical truth by modern scholars, too. The beginning of the 20th century CE marked a period of increased archaeological activity in western Anatolia, revealing material evidence that was deemed pertinent to the debate on the veracity of the legendary migrations, and archaeology was used to provide physical evidence in support of these stories. Following the ancient nomenclature, the terms 'migration' and 'colonization' were used interchangeably and in the broadest sense, identifying general and unidirectional influx of population from Greece and the Aegean into Anatolia, who then came into contact and conflict with local populations. Some of this effort was

[122] See Chapter 6.
[123] Mac Sweeney 2013, 173ff.
[124] For an overview of the heterogenous, and at times even competing, traditions see Mac Sweeney 2016, 416ff; forthcoming.
[125] Pausanias 7.2.1-4.

inspired by the conundrum how to relate freshly excavated material evidence to the world described in the Homeric epics and other literary testimonials, while additional concerns were raised pertaining to chronological questions.[126] Whereas most had difficulties in precisely dating the migrations, some argued that they must have taken place sometime between 14th and 11th century,[127] while others maintained that they could be dated precisely to the 11th century.[128] A few suggested a much later date for the migration. J. H. Jongkees, for instance, noticed that most Ionian material culture, which can be identified as 'Greek', dated only to the 9th century and later.[129]

The migration stories, although fragmented, created a lens through which archaeological analysis of the region and time period was viewed. G. M. A. Hanfmann presented a similar argument when he suggested that the PG witnessed contact dominated primarily by trade and warfare, while the colonists began arriving into Ionia in the EG period. [130] He noticed that the pottery sequences of some of the islands, such as Crete and Rhodes, seemed to have been continuous, and foreign influences in western Anatolia came not only from the west, but also from the south (Cyprus) and the Near East, thus creating a material culture with distinct yet mixed attributes.[131] He noted, however, that the pottery alone could not be used as an indicator of migration; instead, he argued that the study of architecture should be included in such analysis as well.[132] Furthermore, As the earliest habitation at Kalabaktepe at Miletos and the occupation at

[126] E.g. Hanfmann 1948, 1953. This theme was explored more recently at the EPOS Aegaeum conference (Morris and Laffineur 2006).
[127] Beloch 1913, 299; Sakellariou 1958, 307-311.
[128] Hogarth 1909, 41; Nilsson 1933, 99. A useful summary of early 20th century CE opinions is provided by Jongkees 1948. See also Vaessen 2015, 814.
[129] Jongkees 1948, 75.
[130] Hanfmann 1953, 10-11.
[131] Hanfmann 1948, 148-155. See also Jongkees 1948, 76-77.
[132] Hanfmann 1953, 6.

Old Smyrna could be securely dated to the 8th century, he argued that the earliest EIA Greek material from Ionia can be thus dated to the middle of the 9th century at the earliest.

With the increase of archaeological projects in the area during the second half of the 20th century CE, it became clear that the PG period is better represented that previously thought. The new discoveries from Miletos and other sites in Ionia and Caria led V. Desborough to suggest a continuity of Greek settlements in the region from the LBA, albeit with a short break after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces.[133] His interpretation rested on two tenets: that the PG ceramic style presented a break from the Mycenaean painted pottery tradition and that it was conceptualized by Attic potters and as such it spread from the Athenian epicenter.[134] Desborough thus dated the Ionian migration to the 11th century. This dating, together with the emphasis on Athenian involvement, was embraced by others and became and still is the most widely accepted.[135]

These two groups of scholars—those, who favored a Mycenaean background of the migration, and those, who suggested a PG or later date—all considered the developments during the so-called Dark Ages as inextricably tied to the collapse of the Mycenaean society, the distant memories of which were captured in the Homeric epics.[136] Linked to the efforts to trace the spatial expansion of Mycenaean material culture in the eastern Mediterranean was the assumption that myths concerned with some form of movement——both voluntary and involuntary—contained a kernel of historical truth and could thus be treated as an additional clue in reconstructing the interactions between the Greeks and the others. Ultimately, the

[133] Desborough 1964, 158-163.
[134] Desborough 1948, 1952, 298-299. See also Vaessen 2014, 141.
[135] E.g. Huxley 1966, Cook 1975; Emlyn-Jones 1980. More recently see Niemeier 2005; 2007b; Kerschner 2006; Vanschoonwinkel 2006; Herda 2009; 2013; Fragkopoulou 2015.
[136] E.g., Cook 1946, 67-8; Nilsson 1933; Roebuck 1955, 34ff.

developments that became characteristic of the Archaic and Classical Greek material culture were retrospectively traced back to the archaeology of prehistoric Anatolia.

Up to that point archaeological findings tended not to be examined on their own terms; rather, they were explained with explicit reference to literary evidence (often post-dating the material in question by more than 600 years), leading to circular and teleological explanations for the distribution of Greek material culture outside of the Greek mainland. New research primarily based on archaeological data, however, began to question the possibility migrations at the very end of the second millennium. A. Snodgrass' seminal work, *The Dark Age of Greece*, for the first time focused solely on archaeological evidence, though he accepted the basic historicity of the Ionian migration. While he maintained that a migration (in the widest sense of the term) had happened in the 11th century, he demonstrated that there were idiosyncrasies in material culture between the Anatolian coast and the Greek mainland and the alignment of Ionia toward the Aegean progressively increased in the course of the EIA.[137] Most importantly, Snodgrass recognized that the EPG pottery sequence was somewhat independent of the Attic one despite strong Attic influences; an observation seems to have been concordant with the pattern observed in the funerary evidence. More recently, I. Lemos re-examined the PG evidence and suggested that a low quantity of PG material combined with evidence for low activity in Attica do not support the idea of a large-scale migration.[138] Instead, she reasoned that such a migration could have only happened during the LH IIIC period.

[137] Snodgrass 1971, 66 and 158. The PG material from western Anatolia remains relatively scanty due to limited excavation.
[138] Lemos 2007.

A reconsideration of myth through the lens of constructivist approaches to literary evidence has led to a more nuanced understanding of these legends.[139] They should not be considered as documentary, providing historically indicative information, but rather as a symbolic and powerful media through which people negotiated contemporary social and political relationships and realities. J. Hall has set a more decisive trend in arguing that these stories were products of Archaic and later—rather than EIA—history and should be contextualized within traditions invented as a part of Greek ethnogenesis of the 6th century and the Classical period.[140] He demonstrated why these reconstructed stories carried so much meaning and were believed to be true, even if they were not so. They provided a narrative of a common past experience and negotiated appeals to affiliation, affirmed by active performance of shared cultural, ritual, and religious practices.

In a study of the function of foundation myths in Archaic and Classical Ionia, N. Mac Sweeney emphasized that foundation myths, including those linked to the movement of the Ionians into Anatolia, comprise an extremely heterogeneous body of narratives that were used to construct and negotiate a wide range of cultural and sociopolitical relationships and differences among Ionian cities of the 6th and 5th centuries.[141] Similarly, the idea of the migration has been increasingly questioned in light of a wave of post-colonial perspectives in archaeology and its emphasis on local agency, and this trend will be closely examined in the following chapters. In a study combining archaeological and textual evidence, J. P. Crielaard rejected the idea of the Ionian migration by highlighting the links of the Ionian cities to the Mycenaean world. He has,

[139] For a commentary on positivist and constructivist readings of Greek myth see Mac Sweeney 2013, 10-11. See also Hall 1997; Gehrke 2001; Cobet 2007; Foxhall, Gehrke, and Luraghi 2010; Mac Sweeney 2015.
[140] Hall 1997, esp. 52.; 2002, 30ff.
[141] Mac Sweeney 2013, esp. 7-16.

moreover, suggested that these stories should be read as the "mechanism of creating a mythical past as part of a process of ethnogenesis" that became especially prominent in the 6th century. [142]

In short, in the past two decades there has been a marked explosion of interest in intercultural contact on the Anatolian littoral in light of the expansion of archaeological knowledge of these periods, the increased interest in identity formation in anthropological, archaeological, and historical studies, and new approaches to comparative study of human mobility. Yet, even the long-standing interest in material transformations has not been able to reconcile the two extreme views—while some believe that the Ionian migration was indeed a historical reality and posit that changes in the archaeological record corresponded to radical breaks brought on by a mass immigration, others argue in favor of local developments and gradual shifts in cultural affiliations. Despite important reconsideration of evidence and increasing emphasis on evidence for continuity in many places in Anatolia, the studies in general suffer from two shortcomings. First, those that try to confirm whether migrations took place along the lines described by the ancient sources try to piece together a narrative from asynchronous and miscellaneous evidence—archaeological evidence belonging to the LBA and EIA and textual belonging to the Archaic and later periods. Second, archaeological investigations tend to give primacy to ceramic assemblages. While ceramics is by far the most abundant material medium preserved, it is questionable to what degree changes in ceramic assemblages readily reflect real-life sociopolitical changes.

[142] Crielaard 2009, 39, following Hobsbawm's "invention of tradition" and Gehrke's notion of "geglaubte/intentionale Geschichte" (Hobsbawm 1983; Gehrke 1994). R. Vaessen (2015) and N. Mac Sweeney (2016) have argued in similar terms and highlighted the connection between the Anatolian littoral and Greece and Aegean.

Interaction and Movement in the Early Iron Age

The examination of processes of movement and intercultural contact has often been presented in terms of cultural distance between ethnically different communities (e.g., the Greeks and the Phoenicians). The emphasis on ethnic divisions between populations fostered an inability to imagine these communities engaging in deep technological and cultural exchange. For example, J. N. Coldstream's interest in Greek Geometric pottery, its modes of dissemination, and its artistic influence led him to develop an interest in the movement of people around the Aegean and beyond. Believing that cross-cultural learning happened only with difficulty, he posited that special circumstances, such as marriage bonds in the 'right kind' of environment, might have eased the exchange of ideas across ethnic divides.[143]

One of such right environments, according to Coldstream, could have been Anatolia, where the Carian women were said to have been forced to marry Greek immigrants. Because of that, he argued, Caria became Hellenized earlier than other parts of Anatolia.[144] While Coldstream was right to emphasize that the mixing of Greek and Carian ceramic styles happened very early on, his examination privileged the agency of the Greeks, leaving the Carian counterparts in a role of a recipients of what the Greeks had to offer. Moreover, his model of colonization relied on the picture painted by Greek sources according to which such expeditions were events driven by male leaders with male followers, rather than movements of men and women, children and adults, elites and non-elites. Nonetheless, the focus on intermarriage and the emphasis on inherent multicultural aspect of 'Greek colonization' was an important step forward.

[143] Coldstream 1993. This region will be examined in Chapter 6 as to evaluate whether similar patterns of interaction to those in Ionia took place.
[144] Herodotus 1.146; Coldstream 1993, 96-97.

For some, however, mobility during this period became a key indicator of a unifying EIA experience. After all, the notion of distance is relative; the perception of what is far or near depends on a variety of factors other than physical geography (e.g., transport options and the cost of travelling), and the EIA witnesses a period of shrinking of some of the long-haul distances between the eastern and the western Mediterranean. To many, this phenomenon is epitomized by the establishment of Greek and Phoenician trading posts and colonies in the Mediterranean.[145]

As already discussed, a lot of non-archaeological explorations of this phenomenon have relied on the evidence from later historical accounts, which were often written as late as five centuries after the period they sought to describe. They were also written with certain motivations in mind, be they etiological, historical, or political, and portrayed the past and present events to fit the grander purpose of their narratives. Thus, they tell us more about the time in which they were written, rather than the time about which they wrote.[146] While some of the processes described by them, such as the increased mobility and travel into more distant regions, were certainly taking place at this earlier time—evidenced by the wide range of Greek imports and the local imitation in the Mediterranean—one needs to be sensitive to the time frame used. Therefore, the evidence pointing to an increased 'globalization' of the Archaic world should not be projected back onto the earlier stages of the EIA.

A concern that whether migration took place has often not been questions has already been raised before, but I would like to return to it briefly one more time with respect to the related phenomenon of colonization. Movements have often been investigated in retrospect by trying to locate material evidence that could fit events described in the chronologically later literary sources (e.g., the migrations into specific loci, the formation of *apoikiai*, and so on).

[145] Osborne 1998; Hodos 2006; 2010; Van Dommelen 2014; Malkin 2011; 2016.
[146] Crielaard 2009, esp. 53-55; Mac Sweeney 2016, 420ff.

While ancient authors refered to both migration and colonization interchangeably, modern scholarship drew a line between the two.[147] Conventionally, the first stages of the EIA (ca. 1100-800) have been seen as periods of migration in which large portions of the population relocated, while the emergence of the *apoikiai* and the colonization of small subsets of population of the mother city have been considered as the main driving force of interaction during the following Archaic period (down to 500/480).[148] In modern scholarship, colonization is linked to private enterprises or the rise of the polis and the spread of this institutional form beyond the Aegean, while the earlier migrations are envisioned as movements of large subsets of population.

The problem with reconstructions based on literary evidence is that they, depending on what they perceive as the initial motivations, tend to see migrations as either large scale movements (as they are viewed as an accumulation of episodic migrations) lacking in intent and organization or as individual enterprises led by male leaders. New anthropological and archaeological research, however, has increasingly shown that such processes are relatively infrequent both in the past and the present, and movement is often a kinship based phenomenon.[149] Therefore, these two forms of movement might be more similar in terms of their underlying mechanics—that is a movement of a subset of population to a new location for specific reasons—than previously imagined. Both migration and EIA-Archaic colonization were

[147] Osborne 1998; Antonaccio 2007, esp. 203; Malkin 2016.
[148] Malkin 2016, 288-289. This distinction mirrors the one made by Thucydides concerning the ancient times. He identified the Trojan War as the beginning of a turbulent period characterized by movement (Book 1). Malkin has argued that according to Thucydides the era of colonization started already with the Ionian migration. The process of colonization was advertised through a clear emphasis as a city-led enterprise headed by a founder, the *oikistes*, and resulted in a foundation of an *apoikia*—a home away from home. A colony may have had independent cultural identities, diversified by interactions with the host (local) community; on the other hand, it could, but was not compelled to, maintain more or less formalized ties to its mother community through some shared cultural practices or through continuous interaction with the homeland, especially at the beginning of its existence (Osborne 1998; Antonaccio 2001). The mother community did not dominate its implanted settlement, which rather could acquire an independent cultural, economic, military and political identity
[149] See Chapter 3.

diverse processes. The main differences between the two, however, rests in size of moving groups, distance traversed, and the type of the new environment (whether familiar or unfamiliar), all of which affect the component processes and ultimately lead to different end results.

Even though it is indisputable that long-haul movements with the aim of establishing permanent settlements took place from the 9th and 8th centuries onward, with an intensification during the 6th- 4th centuries as a result of city-state-driven enterprises,[150] this phenomenon was very different from that of the earlier stages of the EIA. The difference does not stem from the formalized distinction between migration and colonization as outlined above. Rather, the high degree of connectivity within a relatively small setting of the Aegean had a long-standing precedent in the Bronze Ages, and the processes that took place in the same region during the EIA resulted from its intensification and restructuring, rather than from an emergence of a new phenomenon of connectivity.

Conclusion

This chapter has emphasized that the cessation of political and administrative structures did not necessarily entail the systemic collapse of all aspects of the LBA societies. Despite a destabilization of centralized authorities in some areas (Greece, central Anatolia, and the Near East) due to prolonged environmental stress and increased social, political, and military tensions, a degree of continuity in spheres not directly linked to the top tier of political control should be expected. Indeed, changes intermixed with subtle continuities cumulated in a process of differentiation. This protracted redefinition of sociopolitical structures can be perceived already during the 12th and the 11th centuries, with further changes in the early first millennium.

[150] Most prominently by Athens, Carthage, and later Rome (van Dommelen 2012, 395).

Mobility was always a constant in life of the inhabitants of this part of the world. I argue that the increased inclusion of the Anatolian settlements into the Greek sphere was a protracted process that took place in the course of the second half of the LBA through the EIA, and as such qualitatively differed from the phenomena witnessed in the rest of the Mediterranean. To talk of migrations in the Aegean and western Anatolian setting is inexact; rather, the long-standing, perpetual, yet at times relatively low-intensity, mobility within this region had a pronounced effect by creating a multicultural environment characterized by high connectivity, in which the inhabitants were especially receptive to the developments in the Aegean. Anatolia was also an attractive place for those, who wished to move from mainland Greece and the Aegean, as it was more familiar than more distant regions and remained relatively stable after the upheavals at the end of the LBA.

The overarching goal of this dissertation is thus to ask how communities formed, interacted, and changed through time at the end of the second millennium. This work also stresses that, first and foremost, intercultural and intracultural communication and ideological exchange can articulate a wide range of more formal relationships, from trade to technological transfers, as well as cultural, political and social customs, and lead to increased propensity for movement. Teasing out the dynamics of such processes is particularly important in the case of southwest Anatolia, which at certain points in history was more closely affiliated with the Anatolian interior, as it was in the LBA, and at other times with the maritime zone and territories to the west, as it increasingly became in course of the EIA.

CHAPTER 3: ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON MOBILITY

Introduction

The following words of G. Cabana and J. Clark from a recent volume concerned with migration in the Americas underline the importance of movement:

> "Human migration is not merely physical movement from point A to point B but also entails a complex swirl of biological, sociocultural, and linguistic activities. Human migration, past and present, is important to what it is to be human."[1]

Different forms of movement—migration and mobility—have tended to be investigated as major drivers of cultural change, but the dynamics of the movement itself came as a secondary objective of research agendas, which primarily wished to understand the characteristics of changes in assemblages and other material markers rather than the process of movement per se. Identity and mobility are also intricately intertwined, as movement necessarily forces people to re-evaluate their identities and sense of belonging when they come into a new environment, but the process and characteristics of movement itself should be understood first. Thus, even though movement brings about change, the change does not define it.

This chapter reflects on archaeological, historical and anthropological approaches to investigating the dynamics of movement in the past. It distinguishes between three 'Ms': movement, migration, and mobility, whereby mobility and migrations comprise different ranges

[1] Cabana and Clark 2011, 3.

along the continuum of movement. Migrations are defined as movements across significant social, environmental, and cultural boundaries. To date, much attention has been paid to long distance connections between communities, while more proximal connections received much less consideration.[2] Central to the present study, however, is the concept of small-scale and frequent, semi-permanent or permanent mobility of diverse groups of people within an already familiar area. In migration research, this type of mobility has often been dismissed as a kind of a background noise to more pronounced phenomena, [3] but this dissertation will bring mobility to the forefront of investigation and show its lasting impact on the sociocultural milieu of LBA and EIA southwest Anatolia. Most importantly, thinking in terms of mobility of peoples allows one to reconsider our preoccupation with boundaries, origins, and destinations in order to move toward more complex considerations of interactions which took place in this region at the dawn of the EIA.

In the following pages, I set the necessary theoretical and methodological conditions for the study of movement during the LBA and the EIA in southwest Anatolia and southeast Aegean by first providing an overview of the history of archaeological investigations of migration and mobility followed by an outline of the current state of the question at hand. I will highlight the importance of close social and economic relationships within these smaller regions, and examine ways in which these smaller units were nested within larger networks and social and spatial units.

[2] But see Knappett 2011; Tartaron 2013.
[3] For a recent comment see Tsuda et al. 2015, 19-20.

Archaeological Explorations of Movement: A Brief Review of Past Approaches

Material connections expressed through the distribution of objects remain vital to the reconstruction of human activity in the past. The archaeological record, however, is a palimpsest of past actions and post-depositional processes, which makes it difficult to distinguish between movement of peoples and technological and material transmissions. Very often, diverse processes—trade, elite exchange, and different forms of human mobility, such as seasonal or permanent movements—can create similar material patterning. The movement of objects, raw materials, and exchange of knowledge and information happens only through contact among people, but tracing the particularities of such contact archaeologically is challenging due to the complexity of material connections in the past and the nature of the archaeological record. While it might be able to discern many aspects of past mobilities, the answer to the key question of the relationship between circulation of material evidence and the movement of people is not straightforward. Applying a methodology that is sensitive to context can provide beneficial ways to tackle this complicated methodological issue.

Studies of movement have a long and difficult history, and I will touch only on the most important milestones of Anglo-American archaeology.[4] Interestingly, considering movement as a vehicle for cultural change is not exclusive of modern historical and archaeological scholarship. Ancient Greeks, for example, understood the 'Hellenization' of western Anatolia in terms of migrations. These stories had an immense influence on early modern European scholarship, and antiquarianism in particular, and migrations were used as an aid to explain how cultural change occurred. Early studies focused on defining relatively large but discrete populations, which were also often considered ethnically distinct, and traced their supposed movements or expansions to

[4] For a reflection of the German tradition see Härke 1998 and Burmeister 2016.

explain cultural differences and similarities. Historical linguistics and Indo-European studies in particular also effected the way archaeologists thought of movement and change. Furthermore, evolutionary archaeology, and the emergence of nationalist agendas in Europe during the tumultuous 19th century CE also directed some of the early agendas.[5]

The growing interest in past civilizations, now characterized through archaeological cultures, eventually led to the development of a type of archaeology known as culture-history. The working method of culture-history relied on a classification of artifacts as belonging to an archaeological culture, and the aim was to understand how these cultures developed through observing temporal and spatial variation of a culture's artifact assemblage. Certain geographic areas were associated with particular traits that corresponded to a presence of a particular group of people. Thus, when similarities in terms of artifact assemblages were observed in certain localities, it was assumed that people moved and brought the corresponding material culture with them. Overall, however, the concept of culture was not explicitly defined; the term vaguely described knowledge and beliefs or an "essence" of humanity, transmitted by teaching and imitation. [6] The concept of cultural areas remains alive and well even today.[7]

[5] Most prominently, German linguist and archaeologist Gustaf Kossinna (1911) proposed a model of Kultur-Gruppen, which bore explicit ethnic implications. Kossinna linked the past with the present by insinuating that the variability in archaeological assemblages equaled differences between individual cultural areas—defined as sharing similarities of material culture across space—which in turn mirrored ethnic variability up to the present times. He believed that cultural continuity was reflective of ethnic continuity and that homelands of modern groups (the Germans, the Slavs, and others) could be identified by using a combination of ancient written sources and material culture. This reasoning was the premise of his Siedlungsarchäologie, a study of homelands of historic and modern ethnic groups. For a reflection on history of migration studies in archaeology see Trigger 2006, 207ff; Hakenbeck 2008.

[6] Diaz-Andreu 1996, 48; see also various contributions in Shennan 1989. The development of the concept of culture is extremely complicated; the present discussion here centers on a very specific use of the concept of culture area from the perspective of archaeological studies of movement.

[7] The concept of culture area imposes a division of social and geographic landscape into blocks encompassing shared material traits, assumed to reflect some common characteristics of a population living within its boundaries. Usually defined by a common material manifestations of lifeways, such as burial customs, household architecture, and others, it creates an impression of a rather homogeneous entity residing in a specific area with associated common (ethnic) identities. For a critical take see Bernardini 2005, 31-32; Roberts and Vander Linden 2011.

The culture-historical paradigm as championed by V. G. Childe at the beginning of his career held that the appearance of new features in the material record can be attributed to the coming of groups of people with shared material culture, language, and ethnicity, and suggested that these groups belonged to an archaeological culture.[8] Defined by co-occurrence of certain types of artifacts and other traces of past lifestyles, emphasis was placed on traits of human behavior dependent on group membership.[9] Although Childe became increasingly interested in more functional aspects of change and social behavior mapping based on an association of artifacts and built environment over the course of his career, his paradigm remained based on a rather normative and static view of culture, according to which societies changed as a result of new circumstances brought on by population movement. Nevertheless, Childe's conclusions were based on a meticulous observation of artifact types' chronological and spatial attributes. His resulting interpretation of European prehistory focused on the distribution of various cultures in time and space and connections between them. Most importantly, he hypothesized that some artifacts were more indicative of the physical movement of people than others. For instance, he argued that while burial customs and home-made pottery reflected local preferences, utilitarian tools and major technological inventions (such as copper smelting, introduction of the potter's wheel, and so on) were likely to have diffused from single centers of origin.[10]

[8] Childe accepted some of Kossinna's methods, but outright rejected the nationalistic and racial components of Kossinna's work. At the beginning of his Prehistoric Migrations in Europe Childe stated: "Perhaps I should remind you at the outset that culture and race do not coincide" and he continued further: "There are no grounds for assuming that the creators and bearers of a culture were always a single race, all of whose members shared distinctive genetic characters" (1950, 1).

[9] Childe's definition of an archaeological culture in his early works is rather brief as: "certain types of remains—pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, house forms—constantly recurring together" (1929, v-vi). Later, he revised the definition to the following: "a culture is defined as an assemblage of artifacts that recur repeatedly associated together in dwellings of the same kind and with burials by the same rite" (1950, 2). Despite increased influence of Marxist agendas on his career, it can be argued that Childe never fully abandoned the culture-historical approach to archaeology, as diffusion and migration always played an integral role to his explanations of change. For critical remarks see Adams, Van Gerven, and Levy 1978, 484.

[10] Childe 1950, 9-10. See also Trigger 1980 and Kristiansen 1998, 13-16.

These initial explorations of migrations within the culture-historical paradigm have shaped the way the concept was perceived through much of the 20th century CE.[11] Cultural areas together with social boundaries corresponding to geographic boundaries were used as basic building blocks of archaeological investigations. Childe's and similar approaches distinguished diffusion broadly conceived in terms of the transfer of material traits from one culture to another as the main principle, and migration as the main motor for the spread of cultures.[12] Essentially, changes were envisioned as constructed through the ebb and flow of peoples and objects, and the concept of archaeological cultures represented a central methodological approach. Migration, in effect, was used as a label describing the superseding of one material assemblage by another, without much attention to the way this process occurred.

The rise of 'New Archaeology' caused a theoretical shake-up, and the main focus of research became internal differentiation and systemic integration of cultures.[13] Ultimately, social behavior was considered to have been influenced by the environment, and societies were envisioned as self-contained systems that were able to adapt themselves to the changing ecosystem around them in order to maintain an optimal equilibrium. Behavior was assumed to consist of regularities that were the result of adaptation, which was considered inherently internal to culture, and historical explanations together with event-oriented approaches were rejected. It was argued that a migration was not an explanation, but rather an inferred process requiring an explanation.[14] The study of migration at that time was often conceived in terms of events, and

[11] For recent critique and reflection on culture history with respect to the archaeological investigations of movement see Anthony 1990, 896-897; Chapman and Dolukhanov 1992; Chapman 1997; Hakenbeck 2008, 14ff; Burmeister 2016.
[12] Kristiansen 2005.
[13] Especially Binford 1962; see also Trigger 2006, 392-403.
[14] L. Binford stated that "if migration can be shown to have taken place, then this explication presents an explanatory problem; what adaptive circumstances, evolutionary processes, induced migration?" (1962, 218). In short, if migrations are historical events rather than archaeological processes that create material patterning, then

therefore seen as a historical explanation. New Archaeology's focus on universal principles underlying the inner workings of systems precluded the incorporation of the external movement viewed a set of punctuated events into the explanatory framework. This was, in part, derived from how a systems' boundaries were conceptualized—internal and external spheres could vary depending on what unit was chosen as the basic building block of a system, such as a region or a settlement.

W. Adams, D. van Gerven and R. Levy developed a constructive critique of past uses of migration as an unscientific explanation of cultural change in an article entitled *The Retreat from Migrationism*.[15] Primarily, their reproach was focused on the uncritical application of migration in cases where it was invoked as an explanation for cultural change and equated with the distribution of material traits with ethnic and linguistic boundaries. The authors highlighted that migration research was influenced by historical particularism, thus being a view that contradicted the mantra of New Archaeology, but they agreed that tracing trait distribution in conjunction with site patterning was the best method for distinguishing migration.[16] As they pointed out, however, archaeological attributions were often based on fragmentary evidence, rough chronological attributes, and on overreliance on selected traits such as architecture and pottery styles which might not have been as diagnostic of the movement of people as believed. Overall, they proposed that while migration could be linked to anomalous site distribution (such as site abandonment), external migrations could not always account for the introduction of intrusive (that is, non-local) material traits. Their conclusion was that theories based on trait distributions alone were less robust and therefore deserving of critical review.

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there is always another explanation for the said patterning. See also White 1959; Binford 1972 [1965]. See also Champion 1980, 34; Trigger 2006, 396ff; Burmeister 2016, 43-44.

[15] Adams, Van Gerven, and Levy 1978.

[16] Adams, Van Gerven and Levy 1978, 498-499.

Nonetheless, the 1970s brought a renewed interest in the relationships between societies and culture as well as external stimuli of social change, including the movement of people. In order to avoid nebulous and quasi all-encompassing concept of culture by advocating for a more functionalist approach, B. Trigger and C. Renfrew independently urged a switch to investigating the internal organization of societies. More than fifty years ago, B. Trigger underlined that it was not enough to simply identify which traits were diffused between cultures; rather, it was important to understand why these traits were adopted and how they were utilized by that society.[17] In short, it became clear that it was not sufficient just to identify the presence of foreign items, as has often been done by what can be called check-list approaches—listing each non-local trait as either present or absent—but it was equally important to quantify them and to understand how society incorporated and transformed them. The theories examining the role of human movement centered on large scale processes, such as the spread of agriculture, Neolithic lifestyle, and population movements, such as in a series of works of C. Renfrew on the dispersal of Indo-European languages, peoples, and agriculture.[18]

The systemic view of culture was challenged by proponents of post-processualism, and while migration studies were not at the forefront of their interests, the theoretical turn and the rejection of evolutionary and universalist principles had a profound effect on the conception of cultural change. The deterministic nature of previous models was not satisfactory for a lot of archaeologists interested in migration, and they turned to other social sciences, such as anthropology and sociology, to develop models of a more dynamic conceptualization that

[17] Trigger 1968, 531. Renfrew divided culture into the following subsystems: subsistence, technological, social, projective/symbolic, and trade and communication (1972:22-23). Cf. Renfrew's related work on interaction spheres and peer polities (1986).
[18] E.g. Renfrew 1987. The link between the Neolithic lifestyle and the spread of language has been rejected.

accounted for regional variability and local receptivity.[19] While this approach brought with it certain dangers of imposing modern specifications onto the limited material datasets archaeologists work with, it also allowed more productive approaches to the study of movement by emphasizing that to move is to be human and that people both in the past and present moved for a variety of reasons. Overall, these approaches have proposed more nuanced models of migration that account for heterogeneity. Rather than consisting simply of large-scale movements of socially bounded ethnic groups, migration began to be seen as a highly variable social strategy.[20] Nonetheless, the influence of systemic approaches could still be felt in these new investigations, as they tended to consider migration as a structured event, whereby a group of migrants moved to a destination over a period time, and scholars tried to find some universal principles behind people's motivation to relocate. Migration, however, is not always such a well-defined discrete event; rather, it is a heterogeneous process.

Studies of Movement in Recent Archaeological Scholarship

It is worth noting at this point that terminology and theoretical frameworks for the study of migrations come from history, anthropology, and sociology, rather than archaeology itself.[21] In order to understand as many aspects of past movement as possible, archaeological studies of migration have made an active effort to incorporate theoretical, methodological, and practical findings from other disciplines studying aspects of more recent human experience, including

[19] In a number of ground-breaking studies, D. Anthony's study of migrations in the Pontic steppe during the Chalcolithic emphasized that migration is a patterned behavioral process, which could be documented by paying particular attention to choices, strategies and outcomes, while S. Burmeister's re-evaluation of Anglo-Saxon migrations aimed at developing methods for the study of the material signature of migrants (Anthony 1990; 1992; Burmeister 2000).
[20] E.g., Anthony 1992, 174. See also Hakenbeck 2008, 17ff.
[21] E.g., Tilly 1978; Greenwood et al. 1991; Basu and Coleman 2008; Brettell and Hollifield 2008; Peregrine, Petros and Feldman 2009; Clancy-Smith 2013.

sociology and cultural anthropology, and to create a bridge between past and present human behavior. D. Anthony's seminal article was based on the insights stemming from the study of modern migrations.[22] He has argued that migration is a fundamental characteristic of human behavior, and thus studies of modern migration can provide valuable insights into general attributes of human movements, both past and present.

Assessing the degree to which migration patterns and motivations of contemporary societies reflect movement in the past is, however, a crucial question. Primarily, discrepancies include a strong emphasis on economic and demographic drivers in modern migrations that investigate movement of workers in capitalist economies,[23] mechanisms of political control, scale of industrialization, technology (especially transport options), levels of communication, connectivity between different parts of the world (as the world has increasingly become a smaller place), and, most importantly, the differential resolution of archaeological, ethnographic, and contemporary datasets at hand. Migrations are complex processes that include both measurable—including geophysical distance, objects taken, modes of transportation—as well as immeasurable components—such as feelings, personal experiences, and suffering. These have very different physical imprints. Multidisciplinary investigations vary accordingly; some seek to focus solely on aspects of movement demonstrated in material traces, while others try to incorporate sensual experiences highlighted in more recent experiences. Ethnographic and modern historical examples highlight the complex dynamics of the latter, which is, however, unhelpful for archaeological explorations. Furthermore, these studies tend to explore the

[22] Anthony 1990. See also Duff 1998. For critique and subsequent debate see Chapman and Dolukhanov 1992; Anthony 1997; Chapman 1997; Chapman and Hamerow 1997; Baker and Tsuda 2015.
[23] For a further commentary see Anthony 1990; Tsuda 2011; Baker and Tsuda 2015; Tsuda 2015. For a brief overview of modern mobility see Pooley 2013.

universality of movement,[24] but at the same time remained too focused on the psychological and economic experiences.

While modern migrations can at times be documented through the entire process and their duration takes place within a relatively short time-frame, archaeologists work with fragmented remains of past actions and thus investigate the results of prolonged processes in retrospect. As such, an archaeological study of movement focuses on an accumulation of events which took place over a long span of time, and which are eventually transformed by postdepositional processes. This inevitably means that the resolution and chronological scale of archaeological datasets vary immensely from contemporary ones, but when used with caution, anthropological and ethnographic studies combined can provide invaluable insights and inspiration for the study of the social dynamics of past migrations.

Insights from historically recent migrations can be productively used in archaeological studies, not because the character of population movement has remained the same—I do not wish to embrace uniformitarian and generalizing approaches—but because it can aid our understanding of the accompanying dynamics within the complexities of movement. This can then inform our thinking about varied aspects of movement, such as group and family fissioning and dynamics, information exchange and communication, conditions upon arrival, and subsequent adjustment to the new environment including assimilation and cohabitation. A successful study thus needs to combine an understanding of the universality of the human experience together with its historically contingent parameters. After all, the degree and character of mobility is context-specific. Combining these two very distinct conceptual scales is

[24] Such studies are often characterized by a reliance on concepts such as transnationalism (Howard 2012), the Middle Ground (White 1991), and hybridity (Card 2013), all of which are anchored within rigid political structures and power imbalance.

challenging, and, therefore, arriving at a working approach will become a significant focus of this chapter.

How to Define Migration and Why Is a Definition Needed?

After a cursory browse of literature, it becomes clear that arriving at a definition of the 'three Ms', movement, migration, and mobility, is not an easy task. Most periods of human past and present have witnessed a certain degree of movement, though this might fall into the trap of approaching human movement with a broad ahistorical and uniformitarian approach. Even if movement is a constant element of human experience, its form and dynamics varied significantly depending on the particular historical situation. We therefore need to ask a few crucial questions: what are the particular determinants affecting how people move given the spatial and temporal limits? What is the intensity and tempo that make it more significant than the 'background noise'? And furthermore, what is the material imprint of different forms of movement?

If we begin by looking at migration, which has figured most prominently in scholarly discourse, it soon becomes clear that a unified theory of migration as an explanation of change in human history has never been formulated. Since it was evoked so often as an explanation of cultural change, however, a number of unspoken assumptions about its character and form remain prominent even today.[25] For a long time it was assumed that if geographic areas shared material traits, they must have experienced a dispersal of large groups of peoples sharing common identity (think, for instance, how a particular style of pottery was used to trace the spread of Bell Beaker peoples or metal ornaments of the Hallstatt and La Tène cultures of the

[25] Anthony 1990; Chapman and Dolukhanov 1992; Chapman and Hamerow 1997; Peregrine, Peiros, and Feldman 2009; Bernardini 2011; Cabana and Clark 2011.

Celts).[26] Complimentary to it were investigations of a very narrow range of migrations described by the intrusions of new people from distant areas, who established residence in a new area or by a complete abandonment of a settlement. All of these models assumed the maintenance of a distinctive identity and material culture. The emphasis on cultural areas—defined as geographic territories with material traits assumed to reflect common characteristics within a population with shared identity—has since been dismissed as simplistic and flawed,[27] but the struggle to define and trace the physical imprint of past migrations persists.

Thus, the culture-historical, processual, and postprocessual turns in archaeology each left a mark on the way we consider migrations in current archaeology. The outcome is a diverse pool of knowledge, methods, theories and goals that are applied to a wide range of situations and contexts. Often, migrations were cast as different ends of a spectrum of movement, rather than categories describing a diversity of human movement. At the most coarse-grained scale, they were equaled to population displacement. For instance, to I. Rouse, migrations were movements when "the people of one area expand into another area replacing the latter's population."[28] Along similar lines, J. J. Clark defined migration as a residential relocation by a discrete social group over significant economic, cultural, political or linguistic boundaries. His definition of migration also eliminated a wide range of movement:

> "a long-term residential relocation beyond community boundaries by one or more discrete social units as the result of a perceived decrease in the benefits of remaining residentially stable or a perceived increase in the benefits of relocating to prospective destinations."[29]

[26] See Collis (2003) on the Celts and argument against the perceived homogeneity of Iron Age cultures. See Woolf (2013) for a commentary.
[27] Ultimately, the concept of cultural area is an archaeological construct designed to attribute a set of significant material correlates, most commonly pottery, to a specific geographic area. Thus, it is anchored in the scholarly endeavor to classify rather than reflecting past realities. E.g., Kramer 1997; Eerkens and Lipo 2007; Roberts and Vander Linden 2011.
[28] Rouse 1986, 13.
[29] Clark 2001, 2.

Small-scale movements over relatively short distances, thus, were often seen as background noise to more pronounced processes and not deserving of study of its own.

The traditional view of migrations as movements *en masse* across social, cultural, and physical boundaries as the most common type has since been dismissed, but a more important lesson learned in this case is that there are different ways to gradate the spectrum of movement. Migration is a social process, embedded in a combination of unique social, cultural, and economic conditions.[30] Relocation does not usually consist of a large-scale influx of a homogeneous population; instead, differently-sized groups or individuals move back and forth, creating complicated patterning in material culture as moving to one place and returning might not be done by the same group of people (*Table 3* and *Table 4*). Related to this is the concomitant movement of commodities and possessions, not only back and forth but also to other locations. The overall imprint on material culture might appear as homogeneous when examined at a broad chronological and spatial scale, but it can be far more nuanced.

The heterogeneous character of human movement therefore calls for multi-pronged research strategies to address both the character and mechanism of human movement as well as its impact on a society. Social character also varies between large scale and small scale movement. Rather than simply consisting of large-scale movements of socially bounded ethnic groups, most migrations are often social enterprises involving a specific subgroup of a population usually sharing closer social ties other than those based on ethnicity. Whereas movements of smaller bounded social groups can primarily rely on kinship connections or close social relations (e.g., that of neighbors, community),[31] movements of larger number of people

[30] Anthony 1990; Rouse 1986; Duff 1998; Burmeister 2000; Cabana and Clark 2011.
[31] Anthony 1992, 174.

need to rely on higher organizing principles that transcend kinship. Common goals or reasons for migration or a presence of central authority might, in this case, exert a unifying force. As already mentioned, however, such migrations seem to have been rare in history.[32]

Apart from group size, different types of movements can be identified depending on various factors such as the social profile and size of the group that decides to move, choice of destination, form of transportation, and goals and motivations. Groups of different sizes can decide to relocate on a local, regional, or even long-distance scale for a variety of reasons–of which social and ideological factors are equally as important as economic ones.[33] However, our understanding of movements is often a matter of definitions, especially when trying to distinguish what constitutes an actual migratory movement as opposed to mobile lifestyles for subsistence procurement, such as transhumance, seasonal rounds, and others.[34]

In short, individuals as well as groups of varied size and composition move across different distances for different purposes using different modes of transportation. Migration is only one grade on a wide spectrum of movement. Movement can be voluntary or forced, small-scale or large-scale, permanent or temporary, and so on. The numerous possibilities make any attempt at a definition difficult. Therefore, a truly unified theoretical approach to the study of movement might not be possible, especially if one wants to embrace an inclusive approach to its varied forms.

[32] Adams, van Gerven and Levy 1978; Hakenbeck 2008.
[33] Anthony 1990; Burmeister 2000.
[34] Varien 1999, 24; Cameron 2013, 219.

Push and Pull Factors and Other Types of Movement Dynamics

In a number of ground-breaking studies, D. Anthony's analysis of migrations in the Pontic steppe during the Chalcolithic emphasized that migrations are patterned behavioral processes which could be documented by paying particular attention to choices, strategies and outcomes, while S. Burmeister's re-evaluation of Anglo-Saxon migrations aimed at developing methods to study the material signature of migrants.[35] In an effort to make migration research more theoretically rigorous, Anthony suggested that a few parameters can determine the structure and form of migration. He maintained that migration is "a behavior that is typically performed by a defined subgroup (often kin-recruited) with specific goals, targeted on known destinations and likely to use familiar routes."[36] Since Anthony's work created a stimulus for a recent wave of migration studies, his suggestions deserve further consideration.

Influenced by studies in geography and demography, Anthony's formulation of migration represents the dynamics of movement akin to cost-benefit analysis—that is, as a result of the negotiation between the negative feedback from the homeland (or the so-called push factor) and the positive attraction of the target destination region (or the pull factor). The push factors can involve, but are not limited to, environmental stresses and economic differences such as population density, land suitable for cultivation, and so on. Among pull factors are technological ability, curiosity, possibility of social advancement, and memory or knowledge of distant places. Hence, the various forms of migration can be considered as outcomes of the interplay between negative feedback from the homeland (or the so-called push factor), positive attraction of the target destination region (or the pull factor), and transport options.[37]

[35] Anthony 1990; 1992; 1997; Burmeister 2000.
[36] Anthony 1990, 895-6.
[37] Rouse 1986; Anthony 1990, 902-4; Schofield 1996, 41-2; Snow 2009, 10-11; Tsuda et al. 2015, esp. 21-22.

Loosely following C. Tilly's six-fold classification of modern migrations (into local, circular, chain, career, colonizing, and forced),[38] Anthony has distinguished four basic types—local, long distance, chain, and return. Short distance migrations occur within a local area and tend to be flexible and are related to kin, individual, or community strategies such as marriage, work, and subsistence, while long distance movements require much more planning and access to information about distance places. The movement of Neolithic farming communities is one example that could fit this category. Long-distance migrations tend to occur along well established routes, and thus proceed in streams or through 'leapfrogging' whereby large areas may be bypassed to get to desired destinations.[39] The European colonization of the Americas, for instance, can be described as belonging to this type of migration. Here again, the model places a strong emphasis on knowledge sharing, which is possible only if populations have previously come into contact. For certain long-hauled movements, however, exploration of the unknown was a key feature. Take, again, the first Europeans who colonized the American shores and the early explorers such as trappers and traders. Furthermore, studies of migrations in the more recent past have documented participants moving along certain routes to a number of specific destinations, suggesting that migrations do not happen in waves but rather in streams whereby people follow a known route and use similar means of transportation.[40] This observation can explain why some settlements attract more attention, tend to receive a larger foreign population, and become multicultural hubs as a result.

Not every migration is long-term. In addition to short term repeated movements, such as seasonal and nomadic movements along with pastoralism and transhumance, return migration is

[38] Tilly 1978.
[39] Anthony 1990, 901ff.
[40] Schofield 1996, 46; Anthony 1997, 27; Burmeister 2000, 546ff.

yet another significant type of human movement.[41] On the one hand, returning home facilitates the continuing flow of information about new destinations, and contributes to a small restoration of the original demographics. However, it might disrupt the social and economic structure of the original community depending on the success of the returning population. Many population movements during the migrations of the Gauls into Anatolia in the 3rd century and the movements witnessed during the Roman Empire might fall into this broad category, including those for military purposes and trading.[42]

Admittedly, while this typology provides a basic structure to the study of the myriad of different forms of movement, it is set within a rather behavioral structure, placing a spectrum of movements into a number of rigid categories, which might not reflect the fluidity between the different forms. A group of people can move for varying reasons and might have different goals in mind. Moreover, people respond to stimuli and make strategic decisions in reaction to circumstances during the process of movement which may change the original goals. In order to understand those, however, one needs to be able to trace movement in its entirety, which is not always archaeologically possible.

When archaeologists attempt to define the parameters of migration, they inevitably struggle with the scarcity of information about some aspects of movement, as they seek to identify motivations, routes, availability of information, and the size of migrating groups. In one example from the Mediterranean, A. Yasur Landau failed to identify all these parameters in his study on the immigration into the Levant at the end of the LBA, as the corresponding archaeological evidence does not provide enough data to understand the specific mechanisms of

[41] Tilly 1978; Anthony 1990; Burmeister 2000, 545.
[42] Woolf (2013) for the Roman Empire. See also Isayev 2013.

movement.[43] In order to mitigate this, and partially also spurred also by the traditional positivist approach of Mediterranean archaeology to written sources, archaeologists then rely on literary testimonies from the Classical period to discuss social and other push and pull factors, which are then evoked as reflective of the socioeconomic dynamics at the end of the second millennium. Thus, any theoretical and methodological model needs to be data sensitive; that is, in an effort to understand the process of migration, one needs to take into account the resolution of the available dataset and formulate research questions accordingly.

The crux of mobility is in its context. Movement varies depending on different constraints, which are highly variable according to differing political and economic systems, social customs and their accompanying restrictions. This results in multivalent forms of movement that might be better represented as refined gradations along a continuum, rather than through a typology. Thus, the push/pull dynamics as an organizing principle for migration typology, while a useful tool in initially conceptualizing the motivations and drawbacks behind the decision to migrate, cannot account for the decision-making process and the human movement. It does not indicate why people chose to move, and, moreover, is deterministic in nature. Since human mobility represents a spectrum of related forms, different situations might not often fit comfortably into rigid categories created by such classifications.

Diversifying the Categories

One of the additional shortcomings of Anthony's classificatory model—even if it can aid in the explanation of possible causes of relocation—is that it is positivist and assumes a strong degree of logical decision making and planning, which might not be reflective of all migratory

[43] Yasur-Landau 2010, 98ff. For a discussion of migrationist perspective in the Mediterranean and Classical archaeology and on the possibility and character of Aegean immigration into the Levant see Chapter 2.

situations. For instance, C. Cameron has noted that many forms of movement documented ethnographically cannot be pigeon-holed into such neat categories, and both voluntary and forced migrations took place in the past.[44] Captive taking, fissioning of social groups, or unplanned movement can also fit under the umbrella of 'migrations', and can involve groups of varying sizes and with biased gender and age ratios.[45] The re-settling of groups into western Anatolia during the 13th century under Hittite rule, already mentioned in Chapter 2, is also an example of coerced movement.[46] Expansion is yet another social process that might involve forced migration, and the Neo-Assyrian Empire, for example, used methods such as deportation and relocation of skilled communities to regions that needed new development.[47]

Though in this chapter I am generally interested in varied forms of past movements, the debate so far has centered on migrations in the hope of narrowing down the different types of movement to be considered when looking at interaction in southwest Anatolia. Can we, however, arrive at a unified definition of 'migration'? The preceding overview has demonstrated that there might not be one classification system of the term or a common definition. Rather, migration is a phenomenon created by a myriad of stimuli, actions, and outcomes. The concept incorporates a broad spectrum of differential movements, without sharp distinctions between them—the different types comprise gentle gradations along a continuum rather than separate categories of a definite scale.

To the participants of the 2005 symposium at the American Anthropological Association meetings organized by G. Cabana and J. J. Clark, it seemed advantageous to define migration in

[44] Cameron 2013.
[45] See also Ortman and Cameron 2011.
[46] Bryce 2002a, 259. See also Bryce (2003a, 85) on the removal of 7000 Hittite subjects from Lukka Lands to Ahhiyawa and coerced movements of people as labor force.
[47] Potts 2013, 2.

minimalist terms without any preconceptions of motivations and processes, which then could be elaborated upon by researchers in each individual discipline depending on their particular case studies. Thus, their minimalist definition of migration states that it is "a one-way residential relocation to a different "environment" by at least one individual".[48] Such movements can occur when either individuals or small groups decide to act independently based on common motives or are compelled to move by central authority. To satisfy the definition, however, there must be a clear indication of origins and destinations, and the residential relocation must be permanent. Return movements therefore seem to be excluded. On the other hand, this definition is relatively open ended and fluid, incorporating a scale of possible dynamics. It makes no assumption about causes and consequences, but places emphasis on the act of relocating to a conceptually or physically new environment and boundary crossing, be it conceptual or real, permeable or fixed.

In a similar vein, S. Ortman together with C. Cameron have advocated a distinction between migration and movement, in which migration usually refers to movement across a boundary (especially in the modern sense of the world in terms of more formal political boundaries), while movement describes an action by individuals or small kin groups from one community into another in which they retain, at least for some time, links to their homeland.[49] In short, all migration implies movement, but not all movement implies migration.

A more recent definition incorporating insights from both past and present migrations has proposed that migration was "the movement of people across *significant sociocultural, political, or environmental boundaries* that involves uprooting and *long term relocation*."[50] This definition omits two forms of movement: internal within sociocultural, political, or environmental

[48] Cabana and Clark 2011, 5.
[49] Ortman and Cameron 2011, 234.
[50] Tsuda et al. 2015, 19 (with original emphasis).

boundaries, and temporary movements such as seasonal, return, and transhumance. The emphasis on boundary has in part been articulated based on the feasibility of detecting different forms of movement from the archaeological record. While long distance movements and migrations can be traced archaeologically with the aid of skeletal and genetic methods, short term and localized movements are often impossible to trace, despite remaining prevalent in the dynamics of the past.[51]

A brief look at boundaries seems necessary at this point, as the majority of studies presented so far have distinguished between internal and external migrations according to criteria involving boundary-crossing. As archaeologists, we look for boundaries when we try to define interaction, meeting and mixing, influences, and other phenomena of contact, as well as in our attempts at defining change and continuity. Social boundaries, however, are often concepts projected onto a landscape and are not an essential quality of the physical world. Physical boundaries such as land and sea, might not follow the official political and social boundary (or boundaries) between different social groups.[52] Furthermore, they only mirror the firmer physical boundaries (e.g., political borders) in certain circumstances. Boundaries are flexible and changeable over time depending on new modes of transport, environmental change, political situation, local and communal identities, and other factors.

Furthermore, boundaries are permeable, which is attested even today as many modern nation-states in Europe try to curb the flow of migrants from the Middle East. Permeability therefore does not deny the existence of boundaries, social exclusions, and differentiation, but highlights that boundaries are not insurmountable.[53] In a thought-provoking inquiry, *Symbols in*

[51] Adams, van Gerven, and Levy 1978, 488-489; Anthony 1990, 901-902, Burmeister 2000: 547; Cabana and Clark 2011, 4-7; Tsuda et al. 2015, 19-20.
[52] Bernardini 2002, 14ff.
[53] Barth 1969, 10.

Action, I. Hodder investigated how material culture transforms rather than reflects social organization, and reflected how this might have an impact on archaeological investigations.[54] The value of this work lies in the more nuanced understanding of group strategies and relationships across social boundaries. This last point is especially important when considering the material legacy of past interactions. The nature and extent of preserved materials dictate to a great degree how archaeologists conceptualize boundaries and their significance, with an implicit assumption that there will be sharp distinctions between groups settled on different sides of a border or a frontier. Indeed, differentiation can exist despite frequent interaction, and even intermarriage and movement of whole families may not erode them.[55]

Yet, frontiers and borders do not represent discrete areas mirrored by the distribution of a particular style of material culture; rather, they are arenas in which cultural negotiation and contact take place. Let us take as an example ceramic styles and distribution, the most widely accepted archaeological indicator of mobility. Ceramic styles tend to cut across major conceptual boundaries, including ethnic and political, though many assume that their distribution bears meaningful patterning analogous with sociopolitical, cultural, and ethnic developments. The ethnographic work conducted by M. Dietler and I. Herbich in Kenya, though focused on investigating the impact of the distribution of ceramics on both the producers and consumers, it also reflected on the relationship between social and physical boundaries.[56] As has already been emphasized, boundaries are not linear divisions imposed on the landscape but are zones of cross-cutting social networks and ties in which culture traits often change.[57] In short, archaeological

[54] Hodder 1982.
[55] Shennan 1989; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Eerkens and Lipo 2007; Schachner 2012, 12ff.
[56] They also point to the complicated relationship between style, function, ethnicity and their archaeologically visible correlates in production, distribution, and consumption contexts (Dietler and Herbich 1994).
[57] Hodder 1982; Dietler and Herbich 1994; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998; Stark 1998; Roberts and Vander Linden 2011; Tsuda et al. 2015.

and ethnographic studies indicate that boundaries should be perceived as heterogeneous zones of interaction rather that clear-cut conceptual or physical divisions. The interactions that happens across them cannot be predicted according to a specific set of rules, as they are contingent on specific historical, sociopolitical, economic, and cultural circumstances as well as various strategies of social groups (such as ideology, interaction, and integration, among others).

Defining Mobility

While previous research has often shoehorned migrations into concrete analytical categories based on attributes such as boundary crossing, distance, and the strength of bonds between origins and destinations, such divisions often might not be representative of the fluidity and diversity of human movement. After all, social groups consist of an admixture of people of varying social standing, gender, and age. Depending on the group size, composition, collective motivation and goals, movements can take many different forms. To reflect this variable nature, a more inclusive notion of 'mobility' has come into use.[58] Mobility is a useful term, which encompasses a range of interactions of differential intensities and frequencies along a single continuum. Admittedly, the concept of mobility is too broad and, to a large degree, depends on one's definition of difference from migration. I nonetheless argue that mobility's invaluable advantage is that it allows us to move away from the simplistic distinctions between migration, colonization, trade, and other forms of interaction by encompassing a wider spectrum of gradated forms of movement. Thinking in terms of the mobility of peoples allows one to reconsider our preoccupation with boundaries, origins, and destinations in order to move toward more complex

[58] Varien 1999; Lightfoot 2008; van Dommelen 2014.

considerations of interaction. Moreover, it also lets us consider movement within a bounded geographic or sociopolitical unit.

To many, processes associated with short- range movement never became the focus of inquiry. Following D. Anthony, A. Duff has suggested that internal migration (also termed residential mobility) within a familiar sphere of habitually interacting social groups in a region, was more or less a contact process associated with life cycle changes conditioned by cultural and demographic factors such as marriage rules, availability of mates, and so on.[59] Such movements—akin to the working definition of mobility in this work—have been then deemed "not associated with major changes in the material record,"[60] and the understanding of such processes was limited to their role in mitigating adverse environmental or sociopolitical factors.

This dissertation, however, brings short range movements into a sharper focus by contending that frequent movements across smaller distances constituted the key parameter that shaped the sociocultural dynamics of southwest Anatolia at the end of the second millennium. Here, changes in a connected and mobile sphere were propagated dynamically and led to a creation of a shared material vocabulary defined by increased similarity of types and styles of material culture. This process did not only involve residential mobility, as defined by Anthony and others, but rather it comprised forms of permanent and semi-permanent relocations within a familiar sphere originally created by social contacts between communities. These relocations can archaeologically be traced through the proxy of more formal relationships of trade and exchange, documented throughout much of the Bronze Age.

[59] Anthony 1990, 901; Duff 1998, 32.
[60] Duff 1998, 32.

Mobility in Southwest Anatolia and the Southeast Aegean

The material culture of LBA southwest Anatolia exhibited significant affinities with the Aegean, signaling that settlements in the former region were closely tied to the social, political, and cultural networks of the latter. It is no wonder, then, that themes of connectivity and contact—mobility, trade, exchange, material transformations, and hybridization—have figured prominently in the current discussion of the cultural dynamics of this part of the Mediterranean system.[61] In the case of Anatolia, any analysis is based on a fragmentary archaeological record. While the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, and Crete have received a great deal of archaeological attention, most Anatolian sites are known only through limited excavations and surveys, as will be shown in the overview of archaeological evidence in the following chapter. The situation is further complicated by our over-reliance on the Aegean and Mesopotamian periodization for anchoring western Anatolian chronologies.[62] In addition, certain classes of evidence, such as the pattern-painted Mycenaean, PG, and Geometric wares, tend to receive special emphasis in publications, making it difficult to form a comprehensive picture of a site's assemblages.

These obstacles may be one of the reasons scholars have favored 'check-list' approaches to identifying cultural interaction, based on the presence and absence of what are considered culturally significant traits, as opposed to focusing on the daily practices of settlement inhabitants. Such approaches inevitably create a somewhat homogenizing image of the archaeological record. In order to mitigate this, scholars often operate either at macro-scales, expanding the temporal and spatial frame of analysis to make up for the coarse chronological resolution of data, or at micro-scales, focusing on individual objects in an approach which, while

[61] E.g., Mee 1998; Manning and Hulin 2005; Collins, Bachvarova, and Rutherford 2008; Davis and Gorogianni 2008; Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2008; Maran and Stockhammer 2012.
[62] Except from Troy (Pavúk 2015).

extremely informative, makes the archaeological study of patterns of behavior during population movement (whether by groups or individuals) difficult.

Local Networks, Mobility, and 'Collapse'

Despite the complexity of the subject matter and the paucity of data at hand, it is possible to arrive at some guiding principles of interaction between Anatolia and the Aegean. First, I would like to emphasize that geographical closeness and long-standing intercultural ties articulated through the exchange of goods had visibly intensified already in EBA II.[63] A combination of these factors were the key precondition to more permanent kinds of mobility within the region—ongoing information flow and familiarity kept the door open for segments of population to move from one place to another. Mobility was distinctive of the prehistoric Aegean, where tradesmen, seamen, artisans, and other travelers established connections between geographically distinct areas. Movement within this context could be characterized by supra-local yet relatively short-range mobility. Even though people moved beyond their immediate surroundings, most of the movement was contained within a familiar sphere as social networks and information flow reduced the risk involved in relocating to a new place.

Information exchange was a crucial precondition for movement, and the establishment of links between places and people eventually led to making the Aegean and Anatolian region a small place. After all, distance is not solely an attribute of geography; it is also socially conditioned. Therefore, we can hypothesize that, in the LBA, mobile groups were willing to adopt certain behavioral practices of their destination in a relatively short time due to the sense of

[63] The Aegean and western Anatolia exhibited elements of cultural closeness since at least the EBA II, sharing some common material expressions such as the popularity of tankards and depas cups (Broodbank 2000; Şahoğlu 2005; Kouka 2009).

familiarity created by previous contact and, at the same time, the Anatolian communities were willing to accept what the travelers had to offer.

Likewise, certain times and sociopolitical conditions were more conducive to mobility than others. State control is often cited as one of the main inhibitors of mobility, as states have high stakes in protecting their frontiers and regulating the flow of people and goods.[64] Further restrictions can stem from political control, economic and social factors, as well as the environment. The end of certain types of centralized political economies, then, might have opened new avenues for the movement of goods and people. One such period came after the collapse of the LBA polities of Anatolia and the Aegean, namely the Hittite empire, the Arzawan polities of western Anatolia, and the Mycenaean polities at the end of the 13th century.

Societal collapse was never absolute; rather, it involved the restructuring of sociopolitical configuration accompanied by shifting social roles and the creation of new social identities.[65] Therefore, after a collapse, socioeconomic and economic disintegration left behind fragments of the old regime which could then be creatively re-assembled into a new complex form of social formation.[66] In the case of second millennium southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean, the local sociopolitical systems in place were redefined and readjusted. The polities that emerged during the EIA were articulated in a somewhat similar manner to their predecessors, and were primarily focused on the settlements proper (especially in the Aegean and mainland Greece). The situation in the Hittite heartland and in Lydia, as will be shown in the following chapters, was different. Here, the symbols associated with the higher-tier of political control, the fortified

[64] E.g., on modern examples and their reference to archaeology see Chapman 1997; on ancient states and empires see Woolf 2013.
[65] Yoffee 2005, 134ff; Middleton 2010, 25-26.
[66] Yoffee 2005. See also Fowles (2016) on a general reflection about scholarship on state collapse.

settlements, were abandoned, perhaps as a sign of symbolic rejection.[67] As will be demonstrated in the following Chapters 4 through 7, this reshuffling took place primarily during the 13th century, which structured the long-lasting trend of mobility within more localized settings that continued over the course of the LH IIIC as well as the following PG periods.

In recent years, a number of new studies have aimed to detect the movement of materials and networks of contact across the Mediterranean to understand these networks within their regional social, economic, and political context.[68] The role of trade has been considered pivotal to the expansion of culture contact in the eastern Mediterranean during the LBA. While such approaches cannot account for the complexity and variety of dynamics of interaction in this period (as they focus on economic activity), they nonetheless provide an important stepping stone to the issues of mobility, as they demonstrate the wide range of interactions and connections. In a useful example, S. Sherratt has argued against the notion of the demise of the long-distance trade networks after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces. She pointed out that the 13th and 12th centuries witnessed an increase of circulation of metal through Cyprus, and argued that the eastern Mediterranean traders, who operated within an informal commercial trade in pottery substituted by a wider range of goods, ignored the nodes controlled by Mycenaean palatial centers. The loss of control of these nodes gave way to other type of commerce, which also coincided with an intensification in the production of iron weapons.[69] Sherratt's argument highlighted the complexity of LBA trade and the possibility that much of commercial avenues were not directly controlled by centralized authority, leaving some mechanisms of transmission

[67] Roosevelt and Luke 2017.
[68] E.g., Van Dommelen and Knapp 2011; Tartaron 2013; Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2014; Vaessen 2016.
[69] Since iron weapons were regarded as objects of high value, their introduction into the circulation compensated for the progressive devaluation of bronze (previously valued in palatial economies) caused by its increased circulation in the Mediterranean during the 13th century (Sherratt 2003, 41-43).

in place even after the demise of these centers. Thus, she counter-argued the often-cited assumption that increased mobility in this region was a direct result of systemic collapse of LBA polities. Rather, the demise of larger nodes of economic control allowed for a flourishing of more opportunistic trade relationships, which were not directly tied to it, but had existed alongside the more formal trade.

In sum, the phenomena of increased connectivity through the LBA have been investigated through a variety of approaches, which have only recently begun to focus on the role of proximal networks and maritime connectivity in the Aegean at local scales.[70] They all touch upon the useful concept of small worlds and regional networks within multilayered webs of interactions, whereby connectivity was first nested within regional flows. In turn, these regional flows were connected to wider networks of contact, forming together particularly strong affiliations. These studies, however, have primarily focused on the islands of the Aegean and the Greek mainland, omitting much of the developments from settlements on the Anatolian littoral.

With respect to trade and exchange networks, it has been proposed that a shift of emphasis toward more regionally oriented connections in a less regulated and opportunistic manner already existent during the 14th/early 13th century, strengthened after the dismantling of the elite superstructure.[71] This shift, however, has been explored through the mobility of goods rather than in terms of human mobility from theoretical and methodological angles. Yet, the movement of objects through trade is inexorably the outcome of a much wider spectrum of pre-existing less formal forms of human interaction and contact.

[70] E.g. Broodbank 2000; 2013; Knappett 2011; Tartaron 2013.
[71] Sherratt 2003; Tartaron 2013, 22ff.

Tracing Mobility through Archaeological Remains

This dissertation advocates that tracing and understanding the entire process of movement through material culture continues to be a valid endeavor despite the complicated history of archaeological studies of movement. Before embarking upon a characterization of the material signatures of past action, one crucial question needs to be answered: to what degree does artifact distribution correlate to the actual movement of people? One of the basic archaeological assumption is that if a group interacts with another, their material assemblages become more similar.[72] Another one is that moving groups disperse their cultural property as they move, which can then be used to trace their movement. Both assumptions, however, stem from a very static understanding of material culture as unchanging and spatially circumscribed. As noted already, human movement leaves a physical imprint on the world in many shapes and forms, and mobility often results in interaction cross-cutting social boundaries, which also causes the dispersal of physical materials beyond such boundaries.

Despite the diversity of possible responses to new social milieus created by the coming of new peoples, there are some general patterns that can inform our approach. Movement in archaeology is discerned through indirect means of evidence—including not only material objects such as possessions and belongings, equipment, and tools, but also the knowledge and technological know-how of the mobile population. These are often considered to make up a package indicative of the immigrants' cultural affiliation. The association between migrants and objects—between pots and people—is, however, complex and depends in part on what kinds of objects migrants are or are not able to bring with them to a new place.[73] While pottery provides the most ubiquitous medium in the archaeological record, and a powerful source of evidence for

[72] In a study of the 14th century CE northern Iroquois, Hart, however, contends against this premise (2012).
[73] Burmeister 2000, 540.

interaction, ceramic styles often cut across social and political boundaries, as highlighted by previously mentioned ethnographic examples. It is important to note that recent archaeological studies testing such hypotheses seem to reach a similar conclusion.[74] While this of course cannot be taken as a universal rule—the variation of material culture in times of contact is historically contingent—it raises the question of how reliable ceramic evidence is as an indicator of cultural distance and mobility.

Furthermore, as people move, they adjust to new environmental and social situations. Recent research on modern migration suggests that migrants tend to assimilate relatively quickly, creating only a small impact on host societies.[75] Moreover, when people choose to relocate, they consider what they can take with them or leave behind, what technological and other skills can help them create a new home, or how they can find subsistence in another place. As a result, what people actually carry alongside them can vary considerably. Portable artifacts alone do not have the ability to indicate a presence of incoming groups. Any analysis must combine different levels of evidence, including non-portable and portable, as well as be able to trace changes in the ways in which people interact with their environment in daily practices, including patterns of food preparation, trash disposal, and the structuring of activities within built space. This point will be further discussed in the following section.

In an early investigation of migration in anthropology, M. Kearney suggested that the basic definition of migration was invariably tied to demography since "in a strict sense migration is the movement of people through geographic space."[76] Limiting the inquiry to demography, however, neglects the myriad of accompanying processes. These include the interception of

[74] E.g., Hart (2012) showed that decorative patterns on the 14th century Northern Iroquois ceramics indicated that decorative similarities between sites crosscut historical ethnic territories, sometimes at great geographical distances.
[75] Tsuda 2011, 328-9.
[76] Kearney 1986, 331.

social and material spheres, and revolves around issues such as the mechanisms of encounters, material carried during the move, and the evolution of social dynamics and identity in the process of this interaction. To emphasize the interrelatedness of these parts of human experience, P. Basu and S. Coleman recommend a focus on the concepts of "migrant worlds" rather than migrations per se, as they are not only concerned with "the materiality of migration itself, but also with the material effects of having moved, perhaps many years earlier, to a new place, and with the inter-relatedness of the movements of people and things."[77]

While this particular example stems from anthropological inquiry into modern phenomena, the idea of migrant worlds might also be transferred to the framework of prehistoric mobility. First of all, it is an inclusive term that encompasses the relatedness of all participants' spheres (including whence they came) and the interaction between people and objects on this journey. Furthermore, the physical aspects of the world are intricately tied to the non-physical. For instance, a trade route is inherently a multilayered space. While it can be a physical space through which people move together with their goods and equipment, it is also a social and conceptual arena of interaction in which people engage with ideas and experience, and share knowledge. The exchange of knowledge, a by-product of interaction along routes, is a crucial prerequisite for more permanent kinds of mobility as it provides information about local conditions, potential avenues for travel, socio-political and economic conditions at other places, and so on. Such exchange determines different aspects of behavior and practice, which leaves a physical mark.

[77] Basu and Coleman 2008, 313.

Mobility as a Social Process

Mobility is a social process, the discussion of which cannot be divorced from social theory and concepts such as habitus, agency, and structure. Habitus, as defined by P. Bourdieu, is an acquired system of dispositions towards culture and social structures, in which the individual participates.[78] As such, habitus is an unconscious and internalized propensity towards certain patterns of behavior, practices and perceptions generated by the conditions of a particular environment. The exploration of the relationship between structure (which constrains behavior and at the same time is also enabled and shaped by it) and individual and group agency has been explored through the concepts of practice theory[79] and structuration theory.[80] The key aspect in this case is the regularity and commonality of individuals' actions, which produce and reproduce the structure.[81] The archaeological record by its very nature is an aggregate of past actions transformed and erased by formation processes, and, therefore, archaeologists can more comfortably investigate the cumulative effects of such an agent-structure relationship than individual actions.

The discussion of habitus (including the customs and ideology of a society), ways of making things, and style as a means of social signaling, have often been evoked with respect to exploring the material footprint of movement, social boundaries, and interaction. J. J. Clark's study of movement in the Tonto Basin has suggested that material culture traits with low social message potential tend to be retained by the migrants.[82] In other words, mundane and less visible artifacts tend to reflect the "enculturative background" of a person.[83] In a new environment,

[78] Bourdieu 1977; 1990.
[79] Bourdieu 1990.
[80] Giddens 1984.
[81] Burmeister 2000, 542-3; Varien 1999, 25-27.
[82] Clark 2001.
[83] Clark 2001, 13.

people will choose to adapt certain more overt aspects of their culture to fit into the new environment, while at the same time deeply embedded patterns of behavior will take longer to change. Ideally, therefore, the most indicative traits are those that have either little social significance or little functional effect on outsiders, and thus are not present in the arena of negotiation and assimilation between disparate communities.[84] Among these are garbage disposal, cleaning patterns, house food preparation, and the structuration of daily tasks. Alternatively, some traits can reflect enculturative background in terms of making things, for instance, through prolonged exposure to particular techniques or techniques learned in childhood.[85] These habitual actions produce traits without an intention to transmit a particular social signal to the viewer.

However, at a certain point during relocation, it is possible that the newcomers begin to recognize differences in mundane activities, and whether these then become manipulated or not depends on the context of encounter. As S. Ortman and C. Cameron have noted, the distinction between low and high visibility attributes might not always be valid as the engagement of people with the material world around them depends on how they choose and manipulate their markers of identity.[86] Therefore, the best practice is to look at change in a variety of material categories and to pay attention to the social context of interaction. This point will be taken up in Chapter 7 that presents three cases studies in which it is argued that many of the southwest Anatolian contexts mark special deposits rather than activities connected to enculturative backgrounds of local communities.[87]

[84] Lightfoot, Martinez, Schiff 1998; Burmeister 2000, 542.
[85] Bernardini 2002, 104.
[86] Ortman and Cameron 2011, 239.
[87] Though the archaeological record of southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean allows one to examine certain aspects of enculturative background, such as the ceramic production sequence, information about the structuring of daily tasks such as garbage disposal and food preparation is often beyond our reach. This is primarily for two reasons. First is the preservation of material and disturbance caused by later building activities. Second is the nature

The increasing amount of research on mobility has deconstructed some of the prevailing assumptions about archaeological recognition of population movement. Our goal should not be to investigate the formal characteristics of objects and materials, but to understand culturally sensitive behavior and ways of doing things through the material remains. The traditional approach of classification and check lists of non-local attributes reflecting purported intrusions needs to be amended in favor of more constructive investigations sensitive to the performance of daily tasks, which are the residues of habitual and deep-set learned social behavior. It can be hypothesized that the most conservative assemblages belong to the domestic activities.[88] Additionally, the structure of a settlement in terms of location and the configuration of houses might also be a highly diagnostic trait, while categories such as pictorial art (especially in the form of frescoes), as well as writing and monumental architecture might not be highly indicative of deep-seated cultural changes. Rather, they might reflect discursive engagement in shared supra-local practices, which provide a common vocabulary through which intercommunity relationships and engagement in a common world-order are negotiated.

When addressing issues of population change, burial evidence is often invoked as one of the main indicators of the presence of foreigners,[89] but the complex relationship between the manipulation of identity and material culture, as discussed earlier, is also manifested in the funerary record. We cannot rely on the assumption that the treatment in death reflects some predictable relationship to an individual's status in life and to the organization of society to which the individual belonged.[90] This has been best demonstrated by a flourishing re-

of archaeological methods and research questions applied during the 20th century CE, when most of these sites were excavated. They reflected the status quo of Classical archaeology at the time, aimed at understanding building and ceramic phases to provide a comprehensive overview for the purposes of classification.

[88] See, however, Lis (2017) for a new approach.

[89] E.g., the discussion surrounding the "warrior graves" on Rhodes from Ialysos (Mee 1982; Girella 2005).

[90] Parker Pearson 1999, 73ff.

examination of evidence from British cemeteries dated to the end of the Roman and the Anglo-Saxon period.[91] While archaeological investigations posited a high degree of influx of groups from continental Europe based on funerary materials (including both the type of grave, internment, and grave goods), the subsequent stable isotope analyses have shown that in many cases the material expression of identity at death does not necessarily equal the place of origins.[92] Therefore, funerary data should be used with caution.

To sum up, in accordance with the premises of practice theory, it is more productive to look for traces of incoming people in the introduction of new cultural and spatial practices, rather than in the appearance of new objects alone. During contact, cultural transformations tend to occur at a faster pace among the upper levels of the socio-economic hierarchy and in public settings, as both local and incoming groups define themselves in relation to each other, as they establish relationships.[93] Activities within the domestic sphere, however, tend to remain more conservative, as the members of the incoming group can maintain their identity in their own private habitus.[94] In short, material culture plays an active role in the creation of social identities and in the negotiation of new social relationships. It can be hypothesized that while the presence of a relatively narrow range of foreign objects might be a result of trade, exchange or elite emulation, deeper changes across several classes of material evidence pointing to technology

[91] The rigor of these studies stems from examining multiple lines of evidence (archaeological assemblages and skeletal remains) and through varied methods, including stable isotope analysis and studies of ancient DNA. Mobility studies have gained a momentum in recent years not in small part owing to the advances made in scientific methods, such as stable isotope analysis, which have demonstrated that mobility was a profound phenomenon of early history and that identity, place of origins, and material signaling do not always correspond to each other (for a comment see Moreland 2010). The present study, however, focuses on archaeological evidence alone. This is primarily because as an archaeologist I have a strong belief that material evidence can identify meaningful patterns in past human behavior.

[92] For a summary of results of studies see Härke 1998, Moreland 2010.

[93] Burmeister 2000, 542; Yasur Landau 2010, 16ff.

[94] Lightfoot, Martinez, Schiff 1998; Paz 2009; Webb and Frankel 2013.

transfer and new spatial use of domestic assemblages may be clearer markers of the co-habitation of diverse groups in a socially plural environment.

Comparative Models from North American Archaeology

Considerations of a narrow range of movement came under sharp critique from a number of scholars investigating movement in North American archaeology, which led to the diversification of migration and mobility research in the past two decades.[95] The recent reassessments of past mobility in the southwest United States have produced theoretically sophisticated models that can profitably inform our approaches to short-range and small-scale but persistent movement in southwest Anatolia, and these deserve a longer comment here. Some of the new research is ethnographic in nature, and therefore can be used only cautiously as an inspiration for thinking of how mobility can impact material patterning.[96] Furthermore, mobility in the southwest United States was also a historical phenomenon, meaning that it took place in and was fueled by specific sociocultural and historical context.[97]

Nonetheless, the following case studies provide useful points of discussion for a number of reasons. First, they focus on small social units and non-state societies which moved over smaller distances. Second, they highlight the complexity of local and small-scale regional mobility. Third, as the data resolution from this part of the word has benefitted by cutting-edge research methods, the theoretical frameworks articulated based on these datasets have good

[95] See Varien 1999; Clark 2001; Bernardini 2005; Ortman and Cameron 2011; Schachner 2012; Cameron 2013 with bibliographies.
[96] The difference rests in incommensurability of archaeological versus ethnographic datasets, and the danger of falling into ethnocentric and essentialist explanations.
[97] They are not the only useful studies of movement that one might look at. Recent work on the Maya, central European Iron Ages, and Anglo-Saxon period in Britain have shed light on theoretical and methodological aspects of the study of ancient movement.

control over a wide range of processes associated with mobility such as the form of movement, interaction and negotiation, fissioning, as well as changes of identities. In short, they demonstrate that people in the past moved in different ways than previously imagined.

The janiform approach that put sedentism and the mobility of agricultural societies in direct contrast was effectively challenged over fifteen years ago by M. Varien.[98] In his study of household mobility in Mesa Verde during the beginning of the second millennium CE, he has highlighted the importance of the low frequency residential movement of households and communities. This type comprises non-seasonal and non-subsistence related movements of agricultural societies as a complementary social strategy to sedentism. By emphasizing the multi-tiered nature of societies made from buildings blocks of individual-household-village-community-locality-region, he has focused his investigations of multiple scales of mobility of varying duration and distance from local to regional—including seasonal, annual and supra-annual movements, short and long term sedentism, as well as abandonment. While Mesa Verde communities were smaller than LBA and EIA Anatolian communities, this study highlighted the effect of social processes on mobility patterns. Varien has shown that mobility is varied and multidimensional, and cannot be easily separated into discrete classifications, an exercise often attempted in archaeological scholarship.

W. Bernardini's exploration of movement among the Hopi in Arizona during the Pueblo IV period (1275-1400 CE) has stressed the importance of an approach focused on small social groupings (clans) that moved together as opposed to larger cultural units or entire communities, which were by nature heterogeneous, as they comprised many clans and families. His approach distinguished different processes and stages of community engagement, including settlement

[98] Varien 1999.

organization, integration, and disintegration through coming together and fissioning.[99] Bernardini took into consideration the Hopi oral traditional knowledge, which emphasized complex and frequent movements of small but socially distinct groups throughout its history.[100] Observations stemming from oral knowledge were then used to generate archaeologically testable hypotheses.

His findings challenged the uniform view of the Hopi culture. Rather, Hopi villages were composed of families with different histories and identities resulting from frequent movements of small groups. The negotiation of social divisions and the structuring of relationships within each village were integral to Hopi society. Most importantly, movement and fragmented identities did not preclude the establishment of common social memory; rather, the history of migration itself served to cement institutional memory of the Hopi as a group.[101] In this case, habitual mobility fueled a genesis of shared milieu. This dissertation argues that a similar process took place also in southwest Anatolia, whereby the legends emphasizing the peripatetic nature of ancestors in the southeast Aegean and southwest Anatolia were used to cement bonds between communities during the Classical period and after.

The model of serial migration—repeated, uncoordinated movements of independent groups across familiar landscape—emphasizes the fluidity of social landscapes, which is an important point to think about in the case of Anatolian communities, too. While Bernardini painted an image of a migrating society, southwest Anatolian communities were primarily settled with only a small part of mobile members. Nonetheless, Anatolian communities maintained a high degree of social fluidity that allowed them to engage in interactions across communities, resulting in the creation of wide reaching shared cultural norms and material expressions.

[99] Bernardini 2002; 2005.
[100] Bernardini 2002, 51-3.
[101] Bernardini 2011, 40-41.

The last example that I wish to highlight is G. Schachner's model of population circulation, a "mobility that transfers people, goods, and information *within* networks of proximate settlements or territories that we often group together as a region."[102] This form was an understudied yet vital factor in shaping the creation and maintenance of social systems on both local and regional levels. In his study of the early farming communities among the Zuni (13th century CE), he noticed an almost inherent lack of archaeological markers of social boundaries by asserting that:

> "frequent population circulation actively undermines many of the defining characteristics of archaeological definitions of community, including stable, well-defined membership, territorial control, shared identity, internally focused social ties, and permanence."[103]

In the long run, such movements can impede a development of stable regional boundaries. Traditionally, however, defining common traits that characterized cultural regions has been the focus of archaeological investigations, which ultimately denies that prehistoric social landscapes were always changing and dynamic. His model was applied to small scale farming societies with flexible or often indistinguishable social boundaries due to incessant movements of variable durations. Looking at this type of community highlighted the crucial role of regional-scale population movements in promoting social fluidity and increasing diversity of social groups. Moreover, the population circulation model has also questioned permanence as a property of social groups.[104] In other words, movement created constant change in societies, and a community should therefore be seen as an emergent and flexible social unit.

[102] Schachner 2012, 3. The term originated in geography and social anthropology to describe constant flow and movement back home of labor migrants in developing countries during the mid-20th century CE (Schachner 2012, 9).
[103] Schachner 2007, 30. For additional comments see also Bernardini 2011, 35-36.
[104] Schachner 2012, esp. 21ff.

While the specific historical trajectories and complexity of social groups in these case studies vary, the common thread that ties them all together is the idea that uncoordinated movement of varying intensity and tempo across small regional units can lead to pronounced changes in group identity and increased fluidity of social boundaries. The Hopi example in particular demonstrates that, while people remained aware of social boundaries between communities, their penetration by moving families was integral to creating supra-communal identities. Movement between heterogeneous communities served as a cementing force. These two observations are also highly pertinent to the social dynamics of southwest Anatolia during the LBA and the EIA, as will be shown in the following chapters which investigate issues of mobility and identity change in regions of Lydia, Caria, and Ionia.

Conclusion: Mobility in Anatolia

During the LBA, the Aegean and southwest Anatolian formed a unit with a high proportion of shared elements of material culture, one of whose principal characteristics was a frequent small-scale population mobility. Previous approaches to the study of movement in southwest Anatolia, however, focused on the identification of intrusive Greek elements into the otherwise local material culture to fit the historical reconstruction of evidence, as described by Classical and later textual evidence. Yet, by the end of the LBA, the social and cultural boundaries were harder to determine in this region. This dissertation argues that protracted mobility in the area fueled cultural fluidity and created inter-community links. In the following chapters, it will be shown that labeling settlements in southwest Anatolia according to the degree of Minoan or Mycenaean influence or acculturation in the LBA and of 'Greekness' in the EIA denies much of the rich history of interaction, in which southwest Anatolia was a place where

heterogeneous groups met and negotiated their relationships.[105] Because of the long-standing contact between the Aegean and Anatolian communities,[106] southwest Anatolian communities were characterized by the ability to readily combine a number of 'foreign' elements into their habitus,[107] which were over time adapted and became inherent to local practices.

Thus, tracing the more proximal connections within this region through a diachronic perspective is particularly important for our understanding of the transition into the EIA during the late second millennium. It is hypothesized that the emergence of shared material culture stemmed from inherent sociocultural pluralities of southwest Anatolian communities brought about by protracted small-scale movements. Such mobility was in part enabled by specific geographical and environmental conditions.[108] Certain geographical locations are more conducive to mobility than others, and the geographic diversity of southwest Anatolia is one of those places. Coastal zones, by definition, carry the potential for increased mobility; they are arenas in which heightened contact can blur cultural differences as they comprise interfaces characterized by different modes of travel, the transfer of objects, information, and knowledge. The coastal zone was conducive to mobility, and islands close to the Anatolian shores served as bridges to the wider Aegean, enabling both short-term movement—for instance, for trade

[105] To talk about Greek identity in the EIA is somewhat anachronistic, as it only emerged at the end of the Archaic period, if not even later (Hall 1997). In the EIA context, therefore, it is more precise to speak of material culture that is associated with Greek-speaking people.

[106] This contact can be traced as early as the second half of the third millennium. For example, Broodbank has emphasized that the introduction of sailing technologies during the EM III-MMIA period entailed a revolution in seafaring ideology (Broodbank 2000: 342). At the same time, extensive trade networks across Anatolia and the Aegean emerged (Şahoğlu 2005).

[107] By 'foreign elements' I mean any object that either comes or seems to imitate objects from the Aegean or the Greek mainland either in form or decoration, or is made of materials from the Aegean or the Greek mainland, or is made by imitating their methods of manufacture.

[108] Environment influences the way human communities engage with it, although it is definitely not a determining factor of interaction. Rather, as P. Thonemann suggested in his study of the historical geography of the Meander Valley, human behavior is shaped and limited by the environment, and, in return, the environment is constantly reshaped by human activity (2011, 4).

purposes or seasonal work—and long term relocation—for marriage and long-term employment, among others.

Movement is a constant of the human experience, a complicated, multidimensional, and diverse phenomenon. Its crux is in its context, which calls for an adoption of an approach sensitive to particular sociocultural conditions within a particular time and space. The basic units of my analysis are small social groups and communities within individual settlements scattered along the Anatolian littoral rather than large cultural units (e.g., the Greeks). By taking into account the whole spectrum of available material culture, namely architectural and ceramic datasets in different types of settings, including domestic, ritual and funerary, I try to understand how members of these communities engaged with their lived environment, and what kind of practices they implemented. I then situate this information within a broader regional framework in order to determine whether general patterns between settlements differ.

This dissertation challenges the notion that social trajectories of communities were primarily focused on internal dynamics; rather, social interaction with other communities is seen as the key in shaping social, political, ritual, and economic structuring.[109] Though investigations of movement should also take into consideration the complete landscape, my primary objective is to understand how communities interacted and engaged with each other in selected regions—Ionia, Caria, and Lydia—and settlements—Ephesos, Miletos, and Iasos—as those are the ones that have received most archaeological attention and thus provide good datasets for examining processes of interaction. Innovation, rather than pronounced change, across a wide spectrum of material culture in the domestic context—traced through available datasets, most commonly

[109] Sensu Watson 1985; Schachner 2012.

ceramics and architecture— should be visible in both public and private domains if indeed there was a relatively regular influx of people.

A multipronged diachronic approach combining several lines of evidence is crucial, as it compares the tempo, sequence, and degree of changes. Since proximal mobility influences all participants—the mobile population, their original community, the people they come to contact with during the move, and the region to which they move—the impact of movement needs to be considered within all areas that might have participated in such networks of interaction. Therefore, I look not only at southwest Anatolia, but also at the immediately adjacent Aegean islands.

I propose that frequent proximal mobility was commonplace even before the collapse of the palatial societies of the LBA. After the loosening of power of these polities, however, the proximal networks assumed a more prominent role, shaping increased connectivity between southwest Anatolia and the coastal Aegean at the end of the second millennium. The already established contacts and relationships from preceding periods situated these movements within a familiar setting, enabling a higher level of continuity than in surrounding areas such as mainland Greece and central Anatolia. These movements brought social diversity into southwest Anatolian community, and at the same time maintained links in light of the upheavals at the end of the 13th and through the 12th century.

CHAPTER 4: SETTING THE SCENE: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SOUTHWEST ANATOLIA AND THE SOUTHEAST AEGEAN

Introduction

Before a more indepth look at three southwest Anatolian regions that comprise the focus of this dissertation, it is necessary to provide a more complete overview of the archaeological discoveries in southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean. The last centuries of the second millennium in Anatolia, Greece, and the Aegean were characterized by dominance of medium-sized fortified settlements. Though the 'collapse' touched a number of them—the citadels in mainland Greece and the major Hittite centers in particular—it was by no means absolute and there is a certain degree of continuity in some regions.[1] In southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean, however, palatial centers have not been documented and the sociopolitical formations were rather heterogeneous in southwest Anatolia. These factors combined resulted in varied patterns of persistence and demise between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 11th century. The aim of this chapter is to take a closer look at the archaeological evidence from not only the area under investigation, but also the flanking regions—central Anatolia to the east and wider east Aegean region to the north and west—to demonstrate these patterns. This approach is

[1] In Greece, LH IIIB2 destructions can be documented at Dimini, Gla, Midea, Mycenae, Orchomenos, Tiryns, but regions of Argolid, Attica, Boeotia, Corinthia, Laconia, and Messenia yield little evidence for such activity (e.g., Deger- Jalkotzy 2008; Middleton 2010). Hattuša, however, was abandoned without signs of struggle. On the collapse of the Hittite empire see Schoop 2003; Yakar 2006; Genz 2013.

necessary in order to put in context the material from southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean discussed in the following Chapter 5 through 7.

An Overview of Evidence from the End of the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age

As has been discussed in Chapter 2, the commonly cited causes of the upheavals at the end of the LH IIIB2 (late 13th century) include a combination of the following factors: climate deterioration, earthquakes (though only in localized instances and primarily on the Greek mainland, such as in the Argolid), degradation of the power of palatial elites and their control of agricultural supplies and trade (which could impact the networks in the Aegean), civil strife, migrations, and loss of international trade and political relations.[2] However, getting a precise chronological understanding of the sequence of events and processes is difficult due to limited excavations and poor preservation of important deposits.

The only large state-like polity in the broad region was the Hittite empire. Though outside of the core region of this dissertation, its collapse happened at approximately the same time as that of the Mycenaean centers, and as the Hittites had an interest in western Anatolia, the disintegration of their power must have had an impact on the sociopolitical conditions outside of its borders. The Hittite empire was a large state, which controlled a number of dependent territories and had interest in more autonomous units, including the political formations of western Anatolia. Here, a dwindling of power as a result of a combination of economic, political, and military factors has been suggested, and the destabilization of dynastic control has been attributed to stress in the form of rebellions, military attacks, and disruptions in different parts of the empire and along its frontiers.[3] The abandonment of Hattuša, however, was preceded by a

[2] Rutter 1990; Small 1997; Maggidis 2009; Maran 2009; Dickinson 2006a, 41ff; 2012.
[3] Singer 2000, 25ff; Genz 2013.

disintegration of central power of the royal authority, a sign of a prolonged strain on the upper tier of political authority.[4]

The subsequent period, the so-called Postpalatial period in the Aegean terms (LH IIIC, ca. 1200/1190-1075/1050), can be characterized by the increased regionality of material culture not only in the Aegean, but also in the eastern Mediterranean, which contrast to the degree of relative homogeneity of material expressions of the preceding LH IIIB period at least in Mainland Greece and the Aegean. Though this material homogeneity should not be considered necessarily reflective of sociopolitical uniformity, the increased regional divergences after the LH IIIB2 are significant in as much as they suggest a higher freedom of diversification, as some regions were able to play a more active role in exchange than others by continually taking advantage of preexisting connections and networks. These regions included the eastern Aegean, the Dodecanese and south Aegean, central Greece, and Achaea, which maintained prosperity in this period, perhaps because they managed to maintain a level of sociopolitical and economic stability. Palatial centers, on the other hand, did not fare well.[5] In general, the 12th to the 10th centuries were a period of realignment, characterized by sociopolitical consolidation, the slow emergence of new regional political structures, and increasing emphasis on maritime communication.

The core of this dissertation, comprising Chapters 5 through 7, discusses specific (and often less well known) case studies, rather than provides a general introduction to the

[4] De Martino 2009.

[5] Sherratt (2003) has emphasized the role of shifting overlapping networks of trade through a diachronic overview of the links between the east Mediterranean and the Aegean. The attention to overlapping networks of LBA is crucial here. On the one hand, there was small scale shipping with the Aegean and Aegean centers at important choke points such as the Argolid, Corinthia, as well as at Euboea also controlled smaller segments of longer trade routes. On the other hand, large-scale Mediterranean circuits intercepted localized networks at a few Aegean points, such as Rhodes and Crete. Following her argumentation, one can suggest that Anatolian centers were marginal to the big circuits and participated in them through their engagement with larger transshipment points.

archaeology of the region. Therefore, the following overview will present data from major sites in the region to provide the reader with a better understanding of the developments in the settlements of southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean. In chronological terms, only evidence from the LH III and PG periods will be outlined here, but the following Chapters 5 through 7 will approach the evidence from a diachronic perspective.

The End of the Late Bronze Age: The Southeast Aegean

The Aegean Sea has played a major role as a connector between Anatolia, the Greek mainland, and southwest Europe in general, and its islands figured as important hubs of the maritime trade networks spanning the Greek Mainland and the eastern Mediterranean. In the southeast Aegean, different material classes suggest varying patterns of development on each of the islands. Regional particularism is a pronounced characteristic of the period in general.[6] Larger islands that present the main point of interest—Samos, Rhodes, and Kos—followed individual trajectories; while Samos and Kos seem to have strengthened their position in the post-palatial period, data from Rhodes point to island-wide reshuffling, possibly including internal migration and relocation of settlements.

The LBA evidence from Samos is relatively meager, and the EBA, Geometric, and Archaic era occupation at the Temple of Hera is much better understood than that of the second half of the second millennium.[7] V. Milojčić reported remains of a prehistoric settlement below

[6] Desborough (1964, esp. 228) identified the Dodecanese as belonging to the LH IIIC koine, since the islands shared common cultural expressions, such as the use of chamber tombs and similarities in pottery styles. More recently, Mountjoy (1998 and 1999) defined an "East Aegean koine" based on similarities on pattern painted Mycenaean and Mycenaean-style ceramics. However, similarities based on ceramic styles might not be reflective of meaningful social patterns.

[7] Kyrieleis 1981; Niemeier and Maniatis 2010; Kouka 2015.

the Heraion and there is also some evidence for 10th century activity.[8] More recently, the continued research by W.-D. Niemeier and O. Kouka suggested that the origins of cult activity at the site can be traced to as early as the LM IA period.[9] Niemeier investigated a tree stump without roots associated with the paving of the third altar of the second half of the 8th century, which was deposited here in the place of the sacred tree. Underneath the stump was a cache of conical cups of Minoan type placed upside down, and it has been suggested that such a configuration might be evidence of ritual (*Figure 5*).[10] The excavated area, however, is relatively small and lacks clear stratigraphy, and while the cache might indeed have some ritual significance, it is difficult to interpret as anything more than that. A few PG sherds were discovered at Pythagorio northeast of the Heraion, but a noticeable increase of building activity is attested only in the MG and LG periods.[11] Overall, the end of the second and the beginning of the first millennium represent a gap in our knowledge.

The data from Rhodes are rather uneven, and while the earlier stages of the LBA are relatively well understood, the end of the second millennium presents an enigma, especially in the area of Trianda/Ialysos. LH IIIB and C sherd scatters were identified at the Acropolis of Lindos, where the associated strata have been destroyed by subsequent building activity at the acropolis, Vati, and Ap. Lelos (Figure *6*).[12] Trianda, the most important second millennium settlement on the island of Rhodes is known chiefly through rescue excavations, and interpreting the material record is made especially difficult by a lack of well-stratified deposits excavated to

[8] Milojčić 1961, 68-69; Jarosch 1994.
[9] Niemeier and Kouka 2010, 114; Kouka 2015, 223.
[10] Morgan et al. 2009-2010, 157; W.-D. Niemeier, personal communication (August 2014). There are also a few Mycenaean sherds, perhaps including one or two Argolid imports.
[11] Tsakos 2007.
[12] Hope Simpson and Lazenby, 1973, 151 with references. See also Macdonald (1986, Fig. 2) for a list of LBA cemeteries.

date.[13] This is primarily for two reasons. First, the modern settlement is located on top of ancient habitation, and second, it is possible that the early settlement moved at some point during the end of the 14th and beginning of the 13th century. The settlement evidence from the LH IIIB2 period onward seem to have disappeared, and some assume that it reflects a reduction in population or a shift of the settlement of Trianda to a new location. New research has suggested that relocation is probable, as there is an indication that an overwhelming flooding might have contributed to the abandonment of the area.[14] At the same time, the occupation of the rest of the island and in the southeast in particular, seems to have increased.[15]

Even with the absence of evidence for settlement activity at Trianda, the cemetery of Ialysos, which belonged to it, continued to be in use. The cemetery spread over two hills, with clusters of chamber tombs arranged in loose rows cut into the soft bedrock. While more funerary activity of the LH IIIB period was documented at Macra Vounara, it seems that Moschou Vounara was the preferred locus in the LH IIIC.[16] The funerary evidence points to increased activity at this period, which followed a slight lull in the LH IIIB.[17] Some of the 12th century burials even reused LH IIIA2 funerary chambers. Additionally, while some new features were introduced, such as cremations in urns (found in 8 burials) and a presence of pits in burial chambers (found in 18 burials), continuity of burial practices is demonstrated in terms of tomb orientation and predominance of primary burials.[18]

[13] Karantzali 2005; 2009; Marketou 1988; 2012.
[14] Perhaps in reaction to increased alluvial activity and the collapse of the flood control system (Marketou 1998, 61-63).
[15] Dietz 1984.
[16] Mee 1982, 28; Thomatos 2006; 163; Marketou 2012, 786-7.
[17] The earliest chamber tombs on Moschou and Makria Vounara date to the LH II period (Maiuri 1923-4; Jacopi 1930-1; Georgiadis 2009, 95; Marketou 2012, 786ff. See also Girella 2002; 2005). Overall, M. Benzi calculated that 39 of the 79 tombs were in use in the LH IIIC compared to only 13 during the LH IIIB, pointing to an increase of activity during the 12th century (Benzi 1988b, 67).
[18] At other Dodecanesian islands, secondary burials predominate throughout the LBA (Georgiadis 2009, 96).

C. Mee speculated that the island-wide phenomenon of tomb reuse should be attributed to the newcomers from the Peloponnese.[19] Though M. Benzi agreed that this explanation might apply to some tombs, he noted that the ceramic composition does not support this argument, even though a significant change occurred in the composition of vessels deposited in the tombs.[20] While most of the Mycenaean pottery placed in the tombs during the LH IIIA and B phases came from the Argolid, the LH IIIC vessels were primarily of local production.[21] It is possible that the higher quality vessels from the Argolid might have been imported for this specific purpose. On the other hand, the LH IIIC vessels seem to have been used more widely, in both mortuary and daily contexts, showing particular local idiosyncrasies of the so-called 'East Aegean koine'.[22] It is conceivable that while the Argive imports were treated as relatively prestigious items, the shift in the LH IIIC might be a result of increased local production and use of more localized resources. There can be several reasons for this phenomenon, such as the diminishing role of trade networks linking it with the Mycenaean heartland in the Argolid, a reorientation toward more regional networks of production and consumption, as well as a conceptual shift, which made utilization of these vessels in diverse social contexts possible.

As a final remark on the archaeology of Rhodes, a few possible explanations of the material patterning should be put forth. Though the reconstructions of the last century of the LBA have traditionally relied on a limited range of assemblages from the tombs, such as pottery and weapons, certain tendencies can be highlighted, namely the shift of the major settlement of Trianda to a new location, an increased repopulation of the rest of the island, and emphasis on utilization of more local resources in course of the 12th century. It is possible to suggest that this

[19] Mee 1982, 89-90.
[20] Benzi 1988b, 68-69.
[21] Jones 1986, 501-508. See also Karantzali 2009.
[22] Benzi 1988b, 66ff; Mountjoy 1998, 53ff; see also Vlachopoulos and Georgiadis 2015, 351-352.

period might have represented a time of heightened movement on the island, as advocated by Benzi and others, rather than a time of an increased immigration from across the sea, as proposed by Mee.[23] Small scale immigration into Rhodes, however, is very likely, as the island was located along an important artery of east-west trade networks.

In contrast to Rhodes, there is good evidence for LH IIIC occupational activity on the island of Kos. Kos seems to have flourished during the LH IIIC, though most of the recent scholarly interest has focused on the interaction between the island, Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece during the first and second stages of the LBA.[24] The town itself was excavated to a limited extent, but the excavated loci lack good stratigraphy (Figure *7*). The ceramic evidence points to continuity into the LH IIIC period. Morricone has originally defined four 'cities' at the settlement of the Serraglio, but this chronology has since been redefined by T. Marketou and S. Vitale.[25] Moreover, while the LH IIIC evidence from the settlement is not abundant, the restudy of local types of pottery—that is, non-pattern-painted that could be traced to Minoan or Mycenaean prototypes—suggests continuity of production of this kind of pottery well into the 12th century.[26]

An important piece of evidence for the later stages of the LBA comes from the so-called House of the Figs in Zone II excavated by L. Morricone. A recent restudy of the material of a burnt deposit of LH IIIA2-IIIB date associated with an interior floor, on which lay a pile of carbonized figs, discovered that the seemingly homogeneous stratum that comprised an important point in the original chronology of Morricone was rather heterogeneous and yielded

[23] Benzi 1988b, 70; cf. Mee 1982, 89-90. The LH IIIC Late finds are scarce on the island, but at Ayia Agathi in the southeast of the island, a cemetery of cist tomb yielded a 'Submycenaean' finds (Zervaki 2011). Macdonald also believes that the island witnessed increase in population numbers, and rejects Mee's suggestion of immigration (1982).
[24] Vitale 2006; 2007; 2012; Vitale and Hancock Vitale 2010, 2013; Vitale and Trecarichi 2015.
[25] Morricone 1975; Vitale 2006; 2012.
[26] Vitale and Trecarichi 2015.

mixed material, including that of PG date.[27] The loss of many of Morricone's original field books during World War II unfortunately preclude a highly desirable restudy of his original stratigraphy and conclusions.

Eleona and Langada, the cemeteries of the Serraglio, now situated in the southwest edge of the modern town, continued to be used into the LH IIIC period, and a similar trend to that of Rhodes can be seen here, as many of the chamber tombs were reused rather than built anew.[28] An exception to that is the area called Halasarna on the southeast coast of the island, where small sites appeared on low hills around the coastal plain in the LH IIIC period.[29] While the alluvial activity on the plain makes it difficult to distinguish settlement patterns, it seems that ancient settlement of Halasarna emerged as a small center at this time.

Nonetheless, the population predominantly nucleated in the northeastern part of the island. The remaining areas produced less evidence for settlement and burial activities.[30] The 12th and 11th century evidence come primarily from the cemeteries around the Serraglio. Most of these tombs were reused from previous periods, contained only vessels, and were relatively modest in nature. Similarly, a LH IIIA2 tholos tomb discovered southwest of the Serraglio was reused in the LH IIIC period.[31] Moreover, Tomb 21 (of LH IIIB/C date) at Langada contained a Mycenaean warrior burial, and yielded a ritually killed Naue Type II sword.[32] This evidence has often been interpreted as suggestive of Mycenaean presence on this geographically strategic island in proximity of the Anatolian shore.[33]

[27] Morricone 1975, 89-92; Vitale 2006.
[28] Vlachopoulos and Georgiadis suggest that this increase might point to an increased immigration to the islands during the postpalatial period, but such a suggestion should be treated with caution in light of a lack of solid supporting evidence (2015, 350). See also Morricone 1967; Vitale 2012.
[29] Georgiadis 2005-6, 5, 12.
[30] Vlachopoulos and Georgiadis 2015, 352 with references.
[31] Marketou 2012, 766.
[32] Morricone 1967, 136-142.
[33] Marketou 2012, 766; Vitale 2007.

Overall, the pattern in the postpalatial period seems to follow the previously established local traditions with respect to tomb and assemblage types deposited in the burial chambers. The LH IIIC period can be characterized by an increase of burials in the main cemeteries on both Kos and Rhodes, while on Kos smaller cemeteries were used to some extent at the same time.[34] This pattern suggests that both islands experienced internal population movement and nucleation, commonly explained as a reaction to the eclipse of power of Mycenaean palaces and a decreased participation in interregional exchange fueled by the palatial sector.[35]

The End of the Late Bronze Age: Southwest Anatolia

It has long been thought that the Hittite capital of Hattuša (modern Boğazköy) was abandoned after the 13th century (based on evidence from Egyptian texts), but recent investigations of the German team have uncovered remains of a small EIA settlement on Büyükkaya.[36] The renewed work has suggested that internal tensions rather than violent destruction took place there.[37] The sites in western Anatolia fared better. Nothing is known, however, about the fate of western Anatolian political units mentioned in the Hittite sources—the Seha River Land, Arzawa, and Mira (together with Wilusa)—but continuity of occupation into the late second millennium and beyond can be documented at a number of them.

In general, the archaeology shows that there were several large settlements in western Anatolia with many located in proximity to the coast and in major river valleys, characterized by

[34] Georgiadis 2008, 232.
[35] Vlachopoulos and Georgiadis 2015, 355-6.
[36] Bryce (2005, 347ff) has argued that most of the cities were abandoned, rather than destroyed. Yet, cities close to the Halys River seem to bear some marks of destruction. Continuity of settlement and pottery traditions were observed not only at Büyükkaya, but also at Kaman-Kalehöyük, Kılıse Tepe, and Karahöyük. The Hittite influence, however, was temporary, lasting only through the early phase of EIA (Genz 2013, 474-5).
[37] Seeher 2001; Matthews and Glatz 2005.

their own sociocultural, technological, architectural, and funerary customs, and a certain degree of involvement in trade and exchange networks with Greece and the Aegean sphere. An absence of Hittite assemblages, however, is perplexing, as these sites had dealings with their potent eastern neighbor.[38] There is more evidence for continued occupation rather than destruction, though some of the sites were abandoned at the end of the 13th century. The following overview will touch upon evidence of Bronze Age activities from Ionia to south Caria, and within each area starting with the major settlements, then moving to the smaller centers.

Continuity into the EIA can be traced at Ephesos as well as at Miletos. These settlements grew into major hubs by the end the of the EIA, even our limited extent of knowledge of the earlier habitation seems to point to their similar role during the LBA. The LBA occupation at Ephesos came to light on the Ayasoluk hill under the remains of the Castle of St. John in modern day Selçuk. The modern town is located 8km inland, but the ancient coastline came much closer to the site, and maritime activity would have been possible. While the EIA remains came from the marshy area below the hill at the site of the Temple of Artemis, most of the LBA remains are concentrated on the Ayasoluk hill and comprise walls and pottery of LBA to Archaic date, as well as a burial of an LH IIIA2 date (*Figure 8*).[39] In trench 22S on the Ayasoluk hill, Mycenaean-style sherds were mixed with a few PG sherds, but this deposit consisted of a layer without associated architecture.[40] Thus, the LBA occupation on the hill is incompletely understood, in large part because of intensive building activity on the hill since then.

Miletos was an important maritime gateway community, located on a small islet just off the Anatolian coast in a bay where the Meander River met the Aegean Sea. Its Bronze Age

[38] For a comment see Bryce 2003b with bibliography.
[39] Büyükkolancı 2000; 2008a; 2008b; Kerschner 2006, 368.
[40] Büyükkolancı 2000, 39-40.

remains were located south of the temple of Athena (*Figure 9*). The second millennium assemblages displayed a combination of local Anatolian features with varying degrees of Aegean influence: Minoan during phases III and IV (Protopalatial and Neopalatial periods, 18th-15th century) and Mycenaean during phases V and VI (LH IIIA2-LH IIIC, second half of the 15th to end of 12th century).[41] Over the course of phase VI, dated to the 13th century, the excavation team has argued for a fundamental shift in the form and characteristics of the excavated assemblages. Miletos witnessed a strong 'Mycenaeanization' of material culture at the site, explained either by migration or strong acculturation.[42] This interpretation rests primarily on ceramic evidence, but architecture of the site still has Anatolian affinities, as the fortification wall resembles Hittite and Cypriot prototypes, but, at the same time, corridor houses and chamber tombs were built at the hill of Değirmentepe in its vicinity. The evidence from Miletos between ca. 1200 and the EPG (ca. second half of the 11th century) period is meager, and represents a few sherds found by a destroyed fortification wall.[43] This destruction deposit has been dated to the LH IIIC Early. Presumably, the settlement, or some parts of it, suffered some destruction, though a more conclusive suggestion cannot be made due to the very limited extent of the LBA remains explored.

Additionally, a survey of the chora of Miletos found a substantial amount of prehistoric material at Yenidoğan, a large site by the southeast corner of the Mykale mountain.[44] The site would have been located close to the LBA shore line, and the large number of edible mollusks testify to the dependence of sea resources. The ceramics gathered through the survey seems to fit

[41] Especially Niemeier and Niemeier 1997; Niemeier 2005; Raymond et al. 2016. For reconstruction of ancient coastline see Brückner et al. 2006.
[42] Niemeier (2005) argues in favor of immigration and Mycenaean occupation of the site; Raymond et al. (2016, 70) remain more ambivalent.
[43] Niemeier and Niemeier 1997; Niemeier 2005; Kaiser and Zurbach 2015.
[44] Lohmann 2006, 242.

within the general ceramic profile of the area north of Mount Mycale, and no Mycenaean imports were found.

The assumption that there was a break in occupation at sites along the Anatolian coast at the end of the LBA has dictated the nature of archaeological investigations in the region. The occupation in the Urla peninsula was originally investigated as part of separate research agendas reflecting this persuasion. Limantepe, a prehistoric coastal mound rising above the Aegean Sea, was considered the prehistoric predecessor of the EIA and Classical settlement at Klazomenai. While this is not incorrect, this separation into two settlements highlights the perceived disconnect between prehistory and history, as it explicitly considers the rise of the EIA city-states as a phenomenon disconnected from the earlier past. Continued research, however, has shown that these settlements overlap (*Figure 10*). LH IIIC strata (phase II.1) are well represented, and the assemblages consisted of an increased frequency of locally produced Mycenaean-style pottery (still comprising 5-10% of the entire assemblage) and a contemporary decrease in such imports, as well as the appearance of handmade burnished ware.[45] This seems to reflect a larger phenomenon common to sites in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, and the excavators explain it as reflecting the changing nature of Mediterranean trade networks. Most of the building of the settlement were rectangular in plan, and included the so-called 'Pithos-building', which served as a storage facility.[46] At the end of the second millennium, the unearthed walls within the limits of prehistoric excavations were reused to build curvilinear buildings of the PG period (*Figure 11*). Intramural burials in jars were interred in this area as well.[47] Additional early 10th century remains including cist burials and a pottery kiln were

[45] Erkanal and Günel 1996, 232-233; Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2015, 661.
[46] Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2015.
[47] Erkanal and Aykurt 2008, 225. An intramural PG burial of a child was discovered there, too (Bakır et al. 2004, 103).

discovered in an area by the Archaic city wall.[48] Overall, the later EIA settlement developed father inland as a result of changing topography of this landscape and a growth of population around the mound.

Bademgediği Tepe is an important site for reconstructing the LH IIIC activities near the coast, as it lies on the both ancient and modern road between Karabel and Ephesos (*Figure 12*). In Level II, most of the pottery was made locally (LH IIIC Mycenaean style with parallels to Greek mainland and East Aegean koine and handmade burnished ware vessels), and much of the Anatolian wares, such as gold wash ware and red brown wares, as well as gray wares came from the Izmir and Manisa/Akhisar areas.[49] Furthermore, R. Meriç has posited that certain cooking pots (CWF 3d) and spool shaped loom weights have parallels to those belonging to the Sea Peoples,[50] while the rest of cooking pots show good parallels to Beycesultan. The presence of Sea Peoples, however, is somewhat contentious, as the material presented in support is limited. Importantly, while a hiatus of occupation at the site can be dated to the 13th century, the following 12th and 11th century show continuity of activities at the site. Painted PG pottery was not found, but EIA gray wares are present and tend to fit the general regional profile.[51]

One of the limitations to understanding the second millennium occupation is the continuity of habitation at some of the major settlements. That is certainly true at Iasos, where the remains of the prehistoric settlement were disturbed by later activity, as the early occupation is located beneath the Roman Imperial agora, the sanctuary of Artemis Astias, and the East Basilica (*Figure 13*).[52] While the MBA levels are relatively well preserved and have been

[48] Aytaçlar 2004; Ersoy et al. 2010; Vaessen 2014a, 23.
[49] Mountjoy and Meriç 2002; Meriç 2003, 89ff; 2007; Meriç and Öz 2015, 612-613.
[50] Meriç and Öz 2015, 613-614.
[51] Meriç 2003, 87.
[52] Pecorella 1984; Benzi 2005.

published recently,[53] the evidence for the second half of the second millennium is meager and consists only of ceramic evidence. The presence of LH IIIB and IIIC Middle/Advanced pottery suggested, as argued by M. Benzi, that Iasos was abandoned at the end of the LH IIIC Middle.[54]

Additional remains belonging to this this time period were found in other foci, most of which were in proximity to the coast. These include Bakla Tepe, Kocabaş Tepe, Kuşadası-Kadıkalesi, and Colophon and some isolated scatters have been found in the region of Caria and around Stratonikeia and the Bodrum peninsula.[55] Overall, southwest Anatolia flourished during the Bronze Age, as brought to light by more recent excavation efforts. It seems that settlement centers were not too large, and regions lacked pronounced settlement hierarchy. This pattern, however, was not the case in northeast extent of the region under consideration, the area that in the EIA became known as Lydia, with its heartland in the middle Hermos (modern Gediz) River valley.

A recent survey has documented a series of large citadels built on hills around the Gygaean (modern Marmara) lake.[56] The largest of those was Kaymakçı, which, with an area over 8.6 ha enclosed by a fortification wall, was one of the principal settlements of that period in all of western Anatolia (*Figure 14*). The site had a commanding view of the river valley, and in antiquity controlled east-west routes between central Anatolia and the coast. Geophysical prospection combined with excavations revealed a dense network of administrative, domestic and workshop areas divided by streets and alleys, and the site's organization structure has some similarities to large Anatolian sites, such as Beycesultan. In addition, a number of secondary

[53] Momigliano 2012.
[54] Benzi 2013, 538; Benzi and Graziadio 2013. For further information see Chapter 7.
[55] Bridges 1974; Mee 1998; Erkanal and Özgan 1999; Bruns-Özgan, Gassner, and Muss, 2011; Gassner et al. 2017. For a complete treatment of LBA sites in Caria see Chapter 6.
[56] Luke and Roosevelt 2009; Roosevelt 2010; Roosevelt et al. 2014. See also Chapter 5.

citadels akin in size to settlements located closer to the Aegean Sea (e.g., Bademgediği Tepe, Gavurtepe, and Troy) surrounded the lake.[57] These citadels emerged as early as the 17th century, but the causes and precise timing of their demise (perhaps in the form of abandonment) at the end of the LBA has not yet been pinpointed. Therefore, in the middle Hermos river valley, there are significant changes to settlement pattern, a trend contrasting to that of regions closer to the coast.

As Chapter 5 through 7 will address specific regions and selected case studies, this overview aimed to demonstrate the relative high degree of occupation in the region. While continuing archaeological fieldwork in recent years has brought more clarity to questions concerning the dynamics in the late second millennium, the gaps in our knowledge are closing only at a slow pace. The discovery of a network of fortified citadels in the Gediz River valley in the past 10 years demonstrates the potential of new information that this region can provide in the future, which will certainly negate many of current hypotheses about the role of southwest Anatolia and the nature of its interaction with Aegean and Anatolian neighbors.

The Transition into the Early Iron Age

In Greek and Aegean archaeology the collapse of Mycenaean civilization is often seen as a fundamental turning point when life changed for the worse, becoming less complex and more dangerous: "In short, Greek civilization was reduced to the level of prehistory."[58] It is a widely held opinion that the postpalatial period was a time of struggle and uncertainty with problems such as localized banditry and continuing warfare.[59] At the same time, some believe that the LH

[57] Roosevelt 2010, 52.
[58] Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 392.
[59] This reconstruction was to a large degree based on the changes to the weaponry and prominence of weapon burials in some areas and the pictorial evidence from Mycenaean-style ceramics (Rutter 1992, 67-8).

IIIC period could be viewed as a final stage built on the remains of the Mycenaean civilization as opposed to being a symbolic beginning of the EIA; others, conversely, view the 12th century in the context of the succeeding PG period as a time of increased uncertainty. [60] The difference in opinions stems from our understanding of what the defining features of the palatial societies of the LBA are, and how they were preserved or transformed in course of the 12th century.[61] The increasing archaeological knowledge of the end of the second millennium, however, suggests more continuity between the postpalatial period and the beginning of the EIA, conventionally dated to 1070/1050, thus explicating the process of sociopolitical redefinition as a prolonged phenomenon.

Let us now reconstruct broadly the situation in western Anatolia. During the LBA, both Hittite documentary and archaeological evidence suggest a certain level of complexity in this area. First, the Hittite archival records name the political entities in western Anatolia and suggest that local power centers and regional polities often banded into a larger loose political organization, the Arzawan Lands or 'confederacy', based on temporary needs.[62] Farther inland in the area of the middle Hermos River valley, where Kaymakçı and a number of secondary citadels have been documented recently, regional complexity is more pronounced.[63] This area later becomes the heartland of the Lydian kingdom, the only state-like entity in western Anatolia in the Iron Age, akin to the configuration of the LBA. Second, the sociopolitical organization in the southeast Aegean and coastal southwest Anatolia—from Wilusa down to Millawanda—is different from that of mainland Greece and the Hittite empire and consists of local centers (or

[60] E.g., Desborough (1972, 24-5) emphasized a short-lived flourish; Dickinson (2006a) has argued in favor of a wide range of continued traditions (house plans, pottery and artifact productions, patterns of domestic use, ritual). See also Deger-Jalkotzy 2008.
[61] E.g., see Dickinson's (2006a; 35-41; 2006b) discussion on the nature of Mycenaean palatial society, as well as various contributions in Galaty and Parkinson 2007.
[62] Hawkins 1998; Bryce 2003a; Alparslan 2015.
[63] Luke and Roosevelt 2010; Roosevelt and Luke 2017.

perhaps also smaller principalities). Interestingly, the EIA formations on the coast, the city-states, were not too dissimilar from the LBA order, at least in terms of their archaeological signature that suggests power centered on individual settlements.

Some of the major centers had connections to the Ahhiyawa and were a stage for occasional conflict between them and the Anatolian powers.[64] Though the Ahhiyawa might not have been more politically connected than the individual Arzawan polities, the archaeological evidence suggests a higher degree of monumental construction and regional complexity than that of the Anatolian coast, with the possible exception of Kaymakçı and perhaps Wilusa/Troy. This conclusion, however, might be a reflection of a lack of fieldwork, and should be treated as tentative. In short, southwest Anatolia and the Aegean there is a spectrum of small to medium size polities. Many of them, including Wilusa/Troy, Millawanda/Miletos, and Apaša/Ephesos emerged as centers during the EIA period after having undergone some transformations, which will be outlined in the following pages.

The study of the EIA in Greece, the Aegean, and western Anatolia still relies heavily on the 1970s boom of seminal research exemplified by the works of British scholars A. Snodgrass, V. Desborough, and N. Coldstream, and has remained for a long time disconnected from the study of the preceding period.[65] Traditionally, the first two centuries of the EIA, spanning PG to Geometric periods, were seen as a time of a decline, followed by a recovery during the Early Geometric (EG) period and a culmination in the Late Geometric (LG) renaissance from the middle of the 8th century, manifested in material expressions of cult and religious beliefs,

[64] Unfortunately, archaeology does not aid in elucidating the relationship between the Hittites and the Mycenaeans in western Anatolia due to a complete lack of Hittite material culture there. Since the LBA records indicate occasional presence of Hittite soldiers and political influence in western Anatolia, it is possible that there was a restriction on importation of items (Cline 1991; Bryce 2003b).
[65] Snodgrass 1971; 1980; Desborough 1972; Coldstream 1977.

settlement patterns and colonial endeavors.[66] O. Dickinson's work spurred a conceptual shift, as he suggested that the features of the EIA previously explained in terms of degradation of skills might instead be indicative of shifts in sociocultural values given to assemblages, such as elite metal objects emblematic of the preceding palatial period.[67] From there on, new avenues of social expression were articulated, stemming from a rejection of palatial societies and their associated emblems.

A lot of ink has been spilled over the development of painted pottery during this period, as this class of evidence alone has led to most conclusions about the nature of this period with pattern-painted PG pottery interpreted as a proxy for the presence of Greek speakers. A few preliminary observations, however, should be noted here. First, this pottery tradition was influenced by its Mycenaean predecessors in both technological and decorative aspects, and as such it does not represent a new invention. Rather, it is a continuation of a tradition of potting technology, which developed and changed over time, as such traditions do. What is significant, though, is that the changes to the decorative form—the use of geometric designs on shoulders of closed and handle zones of open vessels—were adopted concurrently around the Aegean, showing connectivity and flow of ideas during this period.[68] At the same time, the strong regional characteristics of these styles seem to follow trends already observed in the LH IIIC period.[69] Other ceramic classes point to continuity, too. Red and buff wares as well as vessels with metal skeuomorphic features were popular also in the EIA.[70]

[66] Among works that stress the momentum of the 8th century developments are also Morris 1987; Morgan 1990 (pertaining to cult and religious beliefs); de Polignac 1995 (religion, esp. Chapter 1); Antonaccio 1993 (hero cult); Whitley 1991a; 1991b. For a critical review see Morris 1992; Papadopoulos 2014, 185.
[67] Dickinson 2006a (e.g., for elite exchange in the 11th century see 206ff and 242ff).
[68] Lemos 2002, 197. For comments see also Crielaard 2009; Vaessen 2015.
[69] LH IIIC Middle, to be more precise (Mountjoy 1999, 50).
[70] Kerschner 2006, 370-371; Mac Sweeney 2016, 421.

Another hallmark of this era is the increased use of iron. The introduction of iron did not correspond to the onset of the new 'Age', though iron became the metal of choice in the first centuries of the first millennium. Iron was more suitable to making utilitarian items than copper and its alloys, but its initial use in the second millennium and its increase in the PG period was mostly within ceremonial and elite contexts.[71] Furthermore, a continuity during the transition from the LBA can also be seen in terms of the use of certain classes of metal items, such as Naue II type swords. The PG examples follow the LBA prototypes, though bronze was eventually completely replaced by iron during the PG period.[72] According to Snodgrass and others, iron working technology was introduced to Greece and the Aegean via Cyprus.[73] New research from Phokaia, located northwest of Panaztepe and thus outside of the region under review here, and from the environs of Didyma has the potential to expand the current model for the introduction of iron into the Aegean.[74] It seems that these places were loci that participated in transfer of metal working knowledge from central Anatolia during the PG period.

Elite interaction has received a prominent role in the discussion of political fragmentation as well as in the context of the nature on engagement between EIA communities, as elite objects are highly visible archaeologically. The mixture of continuity and change on this top level of social hierarchy can thus be easier to detect and contrast to the relatively better understood structure of LBA elite communities. Due to a lack of markers of central authority in Greece, Aegean, but also in southwest Anatolia, the PG period has traditionally been seen as relatively unstable,[75] a period characterized by an increased movement of people and sociopolitical

[71] Lemos 2002, 101-134.
[72] Snodgrass 1964, 205-207. Note, however, that these were found almost exclusively in mainland Greece. A few metal weapons came to light at Ialysos (for distribution see Lemos 2002 117ff).
[73] Snodgrass 1980; Morris 1989.
[74] Yalçın and Özyiğit 2013. Marek Verčík (personal communication, December 2016).
[75] Whitley 1991b, Snodgrass 1992, 192ff; Lemos 2002, 195-6.

downscaling. Mobility and the emergence of smaller polities have inherently been perceived as signs of regress, rather than just restructuring. Yet, human societies are always subject to change and the sociopolitical situation of the LBA was varied. The phenomena observed in the PG period therefore deserve to be studied in their own right within the appropriate regional context, rather than in comparison to the generalized models of the preceding LBA sociopolitical organization. In southwest Anatolia, LBA sociopolitical formations seem less unstable than those in mainland Greece. The continuity of occupation without a break at some southwest Anatolian and southeast Aegean sites is significant, as we do not see the same level of occupational continuity in Greece, where the larger LBA centers there came to an end, and were not entirely successful or long-lived.

In short, the EIA is a period of what might appear to be contradictory phenomena. On the one hand, it was a time of adoption and adaptation of similar forms of material culture on both sides of the Aegean, including the institution of the *polis*, or city-state, which developed concomitantly on the Greek mainland as well as in Ionia and adjacent regions. This is noteworthy as Greece, the Aegean, and southwest Anatolia did not share such a close trajectory in the Bronze Ages. On the other hand, regional differences of EIA material assemblages were pronounced from the beginning of the period. Thus, it is important to understand the complicated dynamics of this period, during which communities retained individual expression, while at the same time maintained participation in wider knowledge networks that informed and guided analogous sociopolitical developments. The following overview of the EIA evidence is shorter than the one provided for the LBA, as Chapters 5 to 7 primarily seek to understand this period and provide suggestions concerning the characteristics of social dynamics and the new implications provided by paying attention to mobile networks of people and things.

The Early Iron Age: The Southeast Aegean

This review begins again with the island of Samos. The PG record on the islands is difficult to find. A few PG sherds came to light at the Heraion, suggesting some continued activity at the site.[76] The evidence, albeit meager, raises an important question as to the scale and significance of continued activity at a site. The Heraion, for instance, is often considered one of the most long-standing foci of cult activity in the Aegean. A continued activity, however, does not necessarily mean a continuity of function or continued ritual engagement with the physical locus.[77] Without associated finds, therefore, it cannot be assumed that the evidence for cult activity in the 16th century and from the 8th century onward automatically indicates a continuation of the same kind of activities throughout the intervening centuries.

On Kos, there is evidence of a fluid transition from the LBA to the EIA according to the data from the area of the modern town of Kos. The PG necropolis was excavated by L. Morricone in the 1930s and 1940s,[78] and presents the best evidence for the continued occupation of the area. Single burials appeared from the MPG on. Children and infants were inhumed in small cists or pots, while adult burials were rare and consisted mostly of simple pit burials. This underrepresentation possibly suggests that either the sample is extremely fragmentary or adults were buried elsewhere or cremated, and indeed, more recent rescue excavations have yielded adult cremation burials.[79] Overall, Morricone noted 29 burials dated to the PG.[80] The

[76] Jarosch 1994.
[77] Lemos raises a similar concern when questioning the continuity of ritual practices during the PG period at prominent sanctuary sites (2002, 222).
[78] Morricone 1978; Palmieri 2015.
[79] Kantzia 1988, 175-183; Bosnakis 2001, 223-257.
[80] Morricone 1978, 15-16.

investigation focused on the ceramic and metal assemblages, most of which were stylistically dated to the LPG, but the construction of tombs with inhumations suggests a MPG date.[81]

Compared to Kos, the evidence from Rhodes is scanty. Kameiros, Lindos, and Ialysos show PG activity in terms of small ceramic assemblages of the LPG period.[82] Some mortuary evidence came from LPG burials at Kameiros and Ialysos, but the number of burials in large vessels is very low.[83] This situation begs the question whether the low visibility of the EIA on the islands is due to a lack of evidence or a lack of archaeological investigations. If this pattern is reflective of a lull in occupation, then it is important to investigate it in dialogue with regional trends. After all, the Anatolian coast remained a center of activity throughout the late second millennium.

The Early Iron Age: Southwest Anatolia

The Anatolian EIA often receives a somewhat disjointed treatment in scholarship. The historical trajectory of the southwest coast, which becomes Greek-speaking by the middle of the first millennium, is often divorced from the developments in the Anatolian interior, such as the nascence of polities of Lydia and Phrygia and the formation of communities on the western fringes. This work, however, considers the formation of EIA communities in Caria, Lydia, and Ionia as inherently interactive, influencing each other as these communities engaged in reciprocal cultural, social, technological, and economic dialogues.

[81] See also Lemos's (2002, 17) comment on the dating of the ceramic assemblages. For new research see Vitale 2012.
[82] Desborough 1952, 32-34.
[83] Lemos 2002, 182.

The disintegration of the Hittite empire created a power vacuum in central Anatolia, even though some settlements remained in use on smaller scales.[84] The following incipient sociopolitical articulation can be characterized by political fragmentation in the heartland and around the fringes of the fallen empire, followed by consolidation in the forms of the rise of the Phrygian kingdom slightly east of the Hittite heartland. Its capital Gordion was inhabited as early as the middle of the third millennium.[85] It was under the Hittite control during the LBA period, but did not rise to prominence until the 10th century, which marked the beginning of the Early Phrygian period (*Figure 15*). The Bronze Age layers excavated in three deep trenches on the Citadel Mound and one in an extramural cemetery on the ridge northeast of the mound are poorly preserved, and thus do not allow for a good understanding of the events of the 13th and 12th centuries. The earliest century of the EIA provides a good indication for some immigration from the northeast, most probably from the Balkans, and will be discussed more closely in Chapter 5.[86] While there was not a hiatus in occupation, there is a significant break in terms of material culture at the site, including ceramic tradition, domestic architecture and spatial organization, as well as their interaction with the environment.

The only other large state-like entity in western Anatolia was the Lydian kingdom, and its formation must have had an impact on the incipient Ionian polities in the west. Its capital, Sardis, lies 8 km as crow flies southeast of the LBA Kaymakçı. It was inhabited perhaps as early as the 14th century.[87] EIA levels have been reached only in a limited area by House of the Bronzes, attested by pattern painted and monochrome serving and utilitarian vessels without associated

[84] A fragmentation has been seen in linguistic terms, when Hittite and Luwian written in Anatolia in the Bronze Age were replaced with local Luwic languages- Lydian, Lycian A and B, Carian, Sidetic in western Anatolia, and other languages, Greek in coastal western Anatolia and Phrygian in central Anatolia.
[85] Gunter 19991; Voigt and Henrickson 2000; Rose et al. 2012.
[86] Voigt and Henrickson 1998.
[87] The primary habitation in the middle Hermos River valley were located in the middle around the Gygaean lake. See Roosevelt et al. 2014.

architecture, though a floor with a wall might date to the 10th century.[88] Our understanding of the 8th century is much better, as more substantial remains of occupation survived in House of the Bronzes and at Pactolus North.

The treatment of the EIA in Ionia has been based on observations pertaining to the development of EIA painted pottery, considered a result of the 'arrival' of PG style.[89] In short, the composition of stylistic elements on pottery was directly linked to human agency. Rather than seeing the PG tradition developing from the LH IIIC pottery tradition that was a part of the local ceramic practice in many foci in Anatolia in the 13th and the 12th century,[90] this reasoning operated under the assumption that migrants had brought in individual artistic influences and already finished vessels with them to their new homeland. Accordingly, locally made vessels were compared to 'prototypes' from Athens and Euboea. Since these cities also flourished at this period and became prominent EIA centers, the idea that they at the same time also suffered a high degree of emigration did not seem incommensurate with the evidence at hand.

Ephesos yielded some interesting evidence from deposits below the Temple of Artemis.[91] Here, Mycenaean to PG sherds came to light from a deep sounding (*Figure 16*). At the Artemision, ceramics, terracotta figurines, and animal bones sealed by alternating clay and ashy layers were recently dated by M. Kerschner to the 11th/10th century, although some Late Mycenaean pottery was intermixed with them.[92] PG ceramics represented the majority of the ceramic assemblages. A new type of handmade ware in low numbers was found, too.[93] Of

[88] Ramage, Goldstein, and Mierse 1983; Spier 1983. For a more detailed discussion see Chapter 5.
[89] E.g., Desborough 1972, 181-4; Akurgal 1950; 1983, 5-7.
[90] Local production was attested at Panaztepe, Miletos, Limantepe, and others. For an overview see selected contributions in Gorogianni, Pavúk and Girella 2016.
[91] Bammer 1990.
[92] Kerschner 2011. Also see Bammer 1990, 141-142; Muss 2005; Kerschner, Kowaleck, and Steskal 2008. For a longer discussion see Chapter 7.
[93] Kerschner 2006, 371-375.

particular notice is the high percentage of cooking pots (35%), which suggests that unlike in contemporaneous sanctuaries in Greece, where sacrificial animals were usually roasted, the meat at the Artemision was boiled.[94] Based on this ceramic evidence, M. Kerschner has suggested that the worshippers were local Anatolian and immigrant Greek communities.

At Miletos, only isolated sherds came to light from an area by the fortification wall. The EPG and MPG fragments, mostly skyphoi, had stylistic connections with Attic pottery, which led Desborough and others to see it as a result of an Attic re-population of the site.[95] More pronounced occupational evidence came from a LG burning layer identified in several areas of the site. Survey north of Miletos revealed PG activity in the vicinity of Güzelçamlı at the site of Kale Tepe located across a valley from Otomatik Tepe, where a large late archaic altar was uncovered in the 1960s. It is now generally accepted that the site of Otomatik Tepe was where the second Panionion was located, having been moved there after the first one at Çatallar Tepe/Melie had been destroyed by the Persians (*Figure 17*). The graves on the lower slopes of Kale Tepe contained some PG pottery.[96] There are traces of occupation at Teichioussa in the hinterland of Miletos, but they are only poorly understood.[97]

PG pottery has been found at relatively many sites, though mostly in contexts with poor stratigraphy and in surface scatters. LPG seems to be best represented, and has been documented at a number of sites, including Old Smyrna. This settlement (modern Bayraklı in modern Izmir) featured a few houses used during the beginning of the PG period, though most of the settlement expanded in the 10th century. New construction included both oval and rectilinear houses, the

[94] Kerschner 2011, 24.
[95] Schiering 1958, 145; Desborough 1972, 83, 179-180. Niemeier 2005, 20. For PG and G pottery see Krumme 2015, 582 with references.
[96] Lohmann 2007.
[97] Lohmann 1995; Lemos 2002, 38; Voigtländer 1986; 2004, pl.158, no.78.

excavation of which yielded both locally made pattern painted PG and monochrome gray wares, originally termed the Aeolic bucchero (*Figure 18*).[98] These gray wares were produced following the Bronze Age tradition, but N. Bayne noted that their fabric was of better quality now.[99]

A curvilinear building of the PG date was unearthed at Limantepe/Klazomenai.[100] The purpose of this building seems to have been related to storage; the fills include shapes such as amphorae and hydriae. N. Aytaçlar also reported a LPG inftant pithos burial found about 10 m northeast of the curvilinear building, dug directly into the MBA fill.[101] Furthermore, a LPG amphora burial was found on the south slope of nearby hill of Yıldıztepe. A recent survey at Kolophon provides clarifications about the remains on its Değirmendere (previously identified as north or tholos) necropolis, but it is not certain that PG activity can be distinguished here (*Figure 19*).[102] Of note are the Geometric tumuli, which bear parallels to those at Smyrna as well as Klazomenai.

The sanctuary at Klaros yielded evidence for PG pottery, which came from the east of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo, inside of and around the foundations of a circular altar (*Figure 20*).[103] Most of this pottery was found in disturbed layers (due to later building activity in this location) and has been studied only stylistically. To O. Zunal, the assemblage dates as early as the 'Submycenaean' period (mid-11th century), bearing similarities to Attic examples primarily.[104]

[98] Akurgal 1950, esp. 17-18; Cook 1958/1959, 10-11.
[99] Bayne 2000, 139.
[100] More PG walls were found within the limits of the Limantepe excavations, too, as mentioned already. For the curvilinear building see Aytaçlar (2004). He sees this early history as reflecting the wanderings of the people from Phokis/Lokris through Euboea and northern Greece. See also Ersoy 2007.
[101] Aytaçlar 2004, 26-27; Ersoy 2007.
[102] Gassner et al. 2017, 55-59.
[103] Mitchell 1989-1990, 99; de la Genière 2007; Zunal 2014a, 109.
[104] Zunal 2014a, 110-113.

Evidence of the PG period remains was also found at Kuşadası, Teos, and Iasos.[105] In the area of the PG necropolis at Iasos, which lies in the later agora, PG pithos and cist burials were originally identified as dating to no later than the 10th century, by D. Levi and P. Pecorella.[106] A new re-examination of F. Berti, however, points to a later MG or LG date.[107] Activity dating to the same period was recorded also on the summit of the hill. Isolated PG activity was found on a reduced scale. The Halicarnassos peninsula and southern coastal Caria present an interesting area with pockets of small-scale occupational activity from the very first stages of the PG period, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, especially in relative proximity to the coast at cities of Old Myndos, Pedasa, Theangela, and necropoleis at Çomlekçi, Assarlık and Dirmil (*Figure 21*).[108]

Conclusion

This very brief overview of evidence shows that Anatolia at the end of the second as well as the first millennium was an inhabited landscape, perhaps even more so than the southeast Aegean islands. By including datasets from southwest Anatolia—combining regions of Caria, Lydia, and Ionia—rather than individual historical regions, I hope to have begun to show that the emerging connections between southwest Anatolia and the regions to the west, often attributed to the movement of people from the Greek mainland and the Aegean and traced by looking at pottery, were of rather heterogeneous nature.

The major differences between the LBA and the EIA in southwest Anatolia, mainland Greece, and the southeast Aegean can be briefly summarized as follows:

[105] Cook 1959-1960, 27-57.
[106] Levi 1972, 464ff; Pecorella 1984, 11.
[107] Berti 2007.
[108] Lemos 2002, 38-39; Carstens 2008.

- Political fragmentation characterized by a lower degree of stratification and social differentiation suggests that the upheavals ca. 1200 had a major impact on the top tier administration and political power in certain areas. Mycenaean centers and the Hittite empire disintegrated, and so did the polities that once allied as the Arzawan Lands. The monumental palatial centers fell out of use on the Greek mainland, but so far no such evidence has been documented in southwest Anatolia (with the exception of middle Hermos River valley). The situation here was different, as there were no palaces in the coastal areas and the 'systemic collapse' was not as pronounced there.
- There was a shift away from elite-dominated political, ideological, and economic interaction. Diminished centralized control seems connected to this phenomenon. It is also exemplified through a lack of monumental construction on the Greek mainland. Again, this seems to have differed in Anatolia, where the LBA settlements in proximity of the Anatolian littoral maintained more or less the same territorial extent. This was not the case further inland in the middle Hermos River valley, where Sardis emerged as the center of the Lydian kingdom, a state-like polity.
- There was a shift in economy and an almost total disappearance of trade in high value commodities in the late second millennium, combined with increased localization of production and circulation within smaller networks in Greece, the Aegean, and Anatolia.
- Increased regionalization could also be the result of a decreased flow of information and differential mobility of people, whereby proximal connections, rather than long distance ones, become prominent. The exploration of this hypothesis forms one of the central questions of this dissertation.

- Two more trends should be highlighted. First, in Anatolia there was a slow change in the pattern of pottery production, with an increase use of painted pottery. Coastal central and northwest and western central Anatolia, however, retained the tradition of gray ware and painted pottery production, usually referred to as ‘Greek’. Second, Linear B writing in Greece disappeared. There were no further examples of Luwian inscriptions (found on prominent rocks and cliffs and few in number) in western Anatolia after the end of the LBA. The earliest Greek inscriptions date in the 8th century in both Greece and Anatolia.

CHAPTER 5: NEIGHBORS TO THE EAST: FROM CITADELS TO THE CITY IN LYDIA

Introduction

This chapter addresses the topic of mobility from a slightly different angle and shifts its main focus to addressing cultural change during the emergence of Anatolian polities in the second and first millennia. It will discuss the formation of sociopolitical structures, identity, and interaction in Lydia, a region neighboring Ionia, where state-like polities emerged in both the LBA and the EIA. By the end of the 7th century, a powerful state in the central Hermos valley, the Lydian kingdom, closely engaged with the smaller cities on the Anatolian littoral. During the first half of the first millennium, people broadly described as the Ionians, the Carians, and the Lydians were close neighbors, with social, cultural, and economic relationships as demonstrated through exchange of objects and technological exchanges. These have been investigated primarily within the framework of the interaction between the fully-fledged Lydian kingdom and the Ionian poleis during the Archaic period, though interaction from as early as the dawn of the first millennium has been documented, too.[1] The incipient Lydian sociopolitical formation had an impact on the customs of some inland Ionian cities, and the process of self-definition that lay behind the formation of Ionian identity also took place in Lydia. Indeed, the emergence of Lydia

[1] E.g., Ratté 2009; Kerschner 2010.

cannot be understood without considering the contemporary development of the Ionian culture and vice versa.

The Lydian polity was attested in both Near Eastern and Greek historical sources, and is known archaeologically through the remains of its large center at Sardis, tumulus tombs, distinct material culture, and written language. Its heartland, the Hermos River (modern Gediz Çayı) valley, is a large fertile agricultural zone, as well as an important corridor for east-west communication, as it terminates in the Aegean Sea north of Izmir and thus provides a corridor between central Anatolia and the western Anatolian coast, which are otherwise separated by formidable mountain ranges. Lydia differs from other regions of western Anatolia in that it was a heartland of more complex polities in both the LBA and the EIA, demonstrated by the presence of a large central fortified site in control of rich hinterland. The breakdown of this western Anatolian polity, albeit not yet well understood,[2] and the re-emergence of central authority in form of the Lydian kingdom, present an interesting case of social transformation.

While the interaction between Ionia and Lydia has been well documented from the Geometric period onward, thanks to the relatively recent discovery of the Bronze Age occupation in this region, this relationship can be anchored to even an earlier era. This chapter presents an overview of the archaeology of Lydia and considers the historical and linguistic developments in western Anatolia to try to piece together a picture of the sociopolitical character of this region in both the LBA and the EIA. It then moves on to consider the nature of interaction and the possibility of mobility between the regions of Lydia and Ionia, as well as Caria.

[2] Roosevelt and Luke 2017.

The Archaeology of Early Lydia

The fertile Hermos River valley is located in the modern providence of Manisa, approximately 60 km east of modern Izmir. The valley is really a basin enclosed by hills and mountains, namely the Temnos (modern Simav) range to the north, modern Çal Dağ and Gür Dağ to the west, and the Tmolus (modern Boz Dağ) range to the south. The Hermos River flows through the valley in an east-west direction, and reaches the sea north of Izmir. An elevated limestone massif is located in the area north of the river and south of the Gygaean Lake (modern Lake Marmara). As of the 7th century, this massif became a sacred landscape—a platform for the construction of tumulus burials—now known as Bin Tepe (meaning Thousand Mounds in Turkish). In addition to rich agricultural resources, this region enjoyed good water availability, pastureland as well as flat lands for horse raising, and remote areas for hunting.[3] The valley was also rich in natural resources, ranging from stone (limestone) and clay to metals. Sardis was renowned for its gold, since electrum, a natural alloy of gold and silver, could be sourced from the Tmolus range, from where it also washed out into the Pactolus River, which ran through the site. The electrum was processed right at the river, in the district of Sardis named after the stream.[4] Other metals extracted in the valley included copper and iron, and minerals included pigments, such as yellow ochre, cinnabar, and hematite.[5]

This rich valley was periodically controlled by centralized powers, and it was the heartland of two large polities during the second and first millennia. During the EIA, the centralized power was the Lydian kingdom with a capital at Sardis, which is well attested both

[3] For a complete description of natural topography, geology, natural resources, and vegetation see Roosevelt 2010, 34-58 with references.
[4] Ramage and Craddock 2000.
[5] Roosevelt 2010, 56-57.

archaeologically[6] and textually.[7] In contrast, the second millennium occupation has been discovered only recently.[8] During the LBA, the large fortified citadel of Kaymakçı, tentatively identified as the capital of the Seha River Land, one of the Arzawan polities known to us from the Hittite archives at Hattuša, controlled the valley (*Figure 22*).[9] After the systemic collapse of the Bronze Age polities sometime in the 13th/12th century, a new centralized power, the Lydian kingdom with its capital at Sardis, emerged at the beginning of the first millennium. This shift of urbanized settlement to the southern edge of the Hermos River valley was accompanied by pronounced changes in settlement patterns throughout the valley, as most of the previously occupied LBA sites were abandoned, and the hilly ridge immediately south of Lake Marmara was eventually transformed into an elite mortuary landscape for tumulus burials, now known as Bin Tepe.

Despite the change in location of the primary settlement, both the LBA and EIA polities extended political and economic control in roughly the same geographical area centered on the middle Hermos River valley.[10] The underlying mechanisms of their sociocultural functioning, however, are not yet well understood.[11] LBA sites in the region other than Kaymakçı have been investigated only through pedestrian survey and aerial imagery. The surface finds at all these fortified, elevated settlements indicate that the assemblages were of local character and bore parallels to other sites in western central Anatolia. Their occupation spanned the 18th to the 13th

[6] E.g., Cahill 2010; Greewalt 2011.
[7] Especially Herodotus' Book 1. For a complete overview of textual sources on Sardis see Pedley 1972; Payne and Wintjes 2016.
[8] Luke and Roosevelt 2009; Roosevelt and Luke 2017.
[9] Roosevelt 2010; Roosevelt et al. 2014; Roosevelt and Luke 2017.
[10] As demonstrated by survey (Luke and Roosevelt 2009; Roosevelt 2009; 2010).
[11] But see Roosevelt et al. 2014; 2015; Roosevelt, Luke, and Sekedat 2016.

century, corresponding to Troy levels VI-VIIa and Beycesultan levels V/IVc-II.[12] The reason for their abandonment is not clear, however.

Although Sardis does not fit the properties of the LBA settlements—situated on knolls of hills with circuit fortifications following the natural contours and with a view of the surrounding countryside in proximity of the lake—occupation at Sardis can be tentatively dated to either slightly before or around the time when the citadels by the lake were abandoned.[13] The removal of main occupation center from the middle of the valley to the lower foothills of the Tmolus mountains is intriguing, as it presents a break from the former site organization and perhaps also from former mechanisms of control of the territory of the valley. Further research, however, is required to assess the relationship between the abandonment of Kaymakçı and the rise of activity at Sardis.

The history of occupation at Sardis is relatively clear due to the long-standing excavations at the site, despite the rather limited nature of the Lydian remains when compared to the extent of the site (*Figure 23*). By the 7th century, the kingdom of Lydia had become a major political and commercial player with strong interests in the coastal city-states to the west as well as the kingdom of Phrygia to the east.[14] The prehistoric levels at Sardis revealed some evidence of burning, dated to the 13th-11th centuries, which was initially explained as the result of site-wide destruction.[15] This account placed Sardis among the LBA centers that collapsed at the time, as outlined in Chapter 4, and a link between the destruction and migrations into Anatolia has also

[12] Roosevelt 2009; Roosevelt and Luke 2013; Roosevelt and Luke 2017, 138ff.
[13] Shown by the presence of a pithos with a cremation burial dated to perhaps as early as the 14th century (Spier 1983, 21-22).
[14] The connections with the west are attested by both archaeological material (e.g., pottery, and the mining of electrum) and literary sources (Hdt. 1.17ff) (Kerschner 2010), while those with the east are documented through ceramic links (the adoption of Phrygian black polished wares) and the Lydian take-over of control over Phrygia by the first half of the 6th century, if not earlier (Rose 2012).
[15] Spier 1983. It should be noted, however, that the limited nature of the deep soundings prevents any definite conclusions concerning the extent and significance of destruction.

been evoked here based on evidence for Mycenaean pottery at the site.[16] Additionally, some linguists have suggested that after the collapse of the LBA western Anatolian polities, which were inhabited primarily by speakers of the Luwian language, the region was a target of a new wave of immigration by the Lydian speakers from northwest Anatolia. Bolstered by the combination of fragmentary linguistic evidence and the information from Greek sources, proponents of this theory imagine that the Lydians occupying northwest Anatolia were pushed down south by the coming Phrygians at the end of the second millennium.[17] The relationship between Luwian and Lydian, however, seems to be more distant than previously envisioned, making it possible that Lydian as a language distinct from Luwian was spoken in Anatolia already in the second millennium.[18]

The migration-focused reconstruction of events seemingly aligns with some elements alluded to in the later Greek sources describing the origins and history of their neighbors. Historical linguistic arguments put forth have proposed a population change between the LBA and the EIA from Luwian to Lydian, and early Greek texts proposed multiple origins of the Lydians.[19] While the traditional historical narrative is linked to the Greeks—Herodotus considered Herakles to be one of the distant forefathers of the Lydians, since Kandaules was descended from him—Homer stated that the middle Hermos valley was inhabited by the people called the Maeonians.[20] Traditionally, the Maeonians have been identified as the early Lydians based on the identification by Herodotus and Strabo. This information derived from Classical texts and historical linguistics,[21] however, cannot be taken as direct historical evidence. A

[16] At Sardis, the presence of Mycenaean-style pottery and the evidence for burning in the prehistoric level were tentatively linked to arrival of the Mycenaeans by Foss and Hanfmann (1975).
[17] E.g., Beekes 2002; 2003; Melchert 2004.
[18] Yakubovich 2010, esp. 112-114.
[19] Melchert 2004; for a discussion of Greek sources see Pedley 1972.
[20] The *Iliad* 2.864-66, 5.43-44, 20.389-392; Herodotus 1.7ff.
[21] Beekes 2003, but cf. Carruba 2003; Yakubovich 2010.

number of questions therefore remain to be answered. Namely, what was Lydia's relationship with the settlements located west of it before the mid-first millennium? Were the populations of LBA and EIA Lydia different? Were the Lydians the original inhabitants of the region, or did they migrate here at the beginning of the EIA? Although not all of these questions can be answered using the archaeological data available so far, they nonetheless should be considered, as they relate to issues of sociocultural composition, internal organizational principles, and links between Lydia and its western neighbors. In order to provide answers to some of them, this chapter examines the archaeological evidence from Lydia with a special focus on the early occupation at Sardis and its relationship to the LBA occupation in the valley.

The Archaeology of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Lydia

The geography of the middle Hermos River valley, the heartland of the Lydian kingdom,[22] has already been described in the previous section. It is worth reiterating the combination of natural advantages offered by this environment, including its fertile agricultural land in the valley, good grazing land in the spurs of the mountains surrounding the lake, an abundance of water, and natural resources, such as clay, wood, stone, and precious metals. In addition, the valley provides one of the major corridors from central Anatolia to the western coast. Traffic from the east can proceed along the Hermos watercourse in the eastern part of the valley, and in the western end of the valley (by modern Turgutlu) the road splits into a northern branch continuing along the Hermos watercourse, reaching the coast just north of ancient

[22] It is somewhat anachronistic to talk about Lydia in the second millennium, as the name belongs to the EIA kingdom centered at Sardis. For the present purpose, however, the name has been adopted as a geographic designation for the middle Hermos River valley, the heartland of the Iron Age Lydian Kingdom.

Smyrna. The southern fork of this road continues via the Karabel pass to the southwest, providing access to central and southern Ionia.

Although early modern explorers conducted limited investigations of the large tumuli in the 19th century,[23] the first large-scale archaeological investigations in the area were undertaken in 1910 with the launch of the American Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, directed by H. C. Butler. After an interruption during the World Wars, a second, more intensive, and more systematic Harvard-Cornell expedition was launched in 1958 under the directorship of G. M. A. Hanfmann of Harvard University, followed by C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., of Berkeley.[24] This early work focused on the urban environment of Sardis and the tumulus cemetery at Bin Tepe. When D. French compiled a gazetteer of prehistoric sites in the region in the late 1960s, most of the known prehistoric sites were in the valley between Akhisar and Manisa, while the area around Lake Marmara still seemed to have been void of any traces of prehistoric habitation.[25] In the following decades, the team at Sardis made a preliminary exploration south of the lake, and their discoveries appear to have further cemented the view that prehistoric activity was limited. Only three sites yielded Bronze Age material: Eski Balıkhane, Boyalı Tepe, and Ahlatlı Tepecik (*Figure 24*).[26] A pithos burial dated to the MBA/LBA was discovered at Boyalı Tepe, while EBA (ca. 3000-2000) cist and pithos burials were found at Ahlatlı Tepecik. Eski Balıkhane, the largest of these three sites, was occupied from the Bronze Ages through the Ottoman period, but only a few objects, primarily red and gray wares, could be dated to the LBA.

[23] For a detailed reflection of the early exploration at Bin Tepe see Luke and Roosevelt 2016.
[24] Butler 1922; Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1970; Hanfmann et al. 1983; Greenewalt 1979; 2011; Greenewalt et al. 1983; Greenewalt and Rautmann 2000.
[25] French 1969, Fig. 2.
[26] Spier 1983, 17. See also Roosevelt 2009, 93ff.

The recent discovery of a network of fortified LBA sites by the Central Lydia Archaeological Survey (CLAS) and the Kaymakçı Archaeological Project (KAP), therefore, have brought the early history of the region into sharper focus by expanding the archaeological understanding of the region during its protohistory.[27] The aim of the project, initiated in 2005 by directors C. Roosevelt and C. Luke, was to document sites of cultural activity and provide a context for the emergence of the Lydian state in the immediate hinterland of Sardis in an area of 350 square kilometers surrounding the Marmara Lake. Through the application of intensive strategies of pedestrian survey combined with the examination of strategic points in landscape, such as locations with good visibility of the valley, it was possible to detect traces of substantial prehistoric activity, most notable of which is a network of LBA settlements on low-lying hills around the Marmara Lake. The understanding of the developments during the LBA provides a crucial interpretative context for the emergence of the Lydian state and sociopolitical complexity during the EIA.[28]

The EBA and MBA settlement patterns have been investigated primarily through surface survey and, in consequence, more in-depth understanding cannot be attained without a better chronological control of the material. The already mentioned excavations at Ahlatlı Tepecik and Eski Balıkhane showed broad similarities with development in other sites in western Anatolia, such as Gavurtepe and Ulucak, and survey results show an increase in occupational activity in the valley.[29] The increase in site size and inter-site differentiation in the region occurred within the context of continued protracted dynamics since the later stages of the EBA.[30] The evidence

[27] Luke and Roosevelt 2009; Luke et al. 2015; Roosevelt 2007; 2009; Roosevelt and Luke 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2017; Roosevelt et al. 2014; 2015.
[28] The following overview is a summary of the interpretation of early historical trajectories in the region in light of continuing work of the CLAS as presented by Roosevelt and Luke.
[29] Roosevelt 2010, 49.
[30] This phenomenon of long-distance linkages across Anatolia in EB III period has been named the Anatolian Trade Network (Şahoglu 2005). It is most prominently evidenced by common pottery shapes (e.g. tankards, and depas

suggests a degree of continuity, since the same general areas were occupied through the third and second millennia, with some sites now emerging as powerful city-states.[31] This phenomenon is especially visible in central Anatolia, where it is accompanied by the nucleation of population in larger centers, such as Beycesultan and Kültepe, along with Troy in northwest Anatolia, for example, corresponding with a decrease in number of smaller settlements.[32] The evidence for the emergence of a centralized system in the middle Hermos valley is also attested by the appearance of large fortified sites by the end of the MBA. Most importantly, in contrast to the rest of western Anatolia, including the immediately adjacent Manisa and Akhisar valleys, the middle Hermos valley witnessed a general increase in the number of settlements, suggesting its rise in importance during this time period.[33]

By the beginning of the LBA, a clear differentiation between fortified sites emerged. As already mentioned, Kaymakçı was the largest of them, located on the lower spurs of Gür Dağ close to the western shore of Lake Marmara. In terms of site size, it was followed by other sites situated on gentle hills around the lake. These include medium-sized Asartepe 2 north of the lake, as well as three smaller sites: Gedevre Tepesi, located northwest of Kaymakçı; Kızbacı Tepesi and Koca Dere, just northeast of the lake; and Asar Tepe 1, south of the lake (*Figure 25*). Based on the similarity of ceramic assemblages and small finds from these sites, C. Roosevelt and C. Luke have persuasively argued that they were contemporary and a part of a single

cups) and manufacturing techniques (wheel-made pottery). Some settlements were discontinued at the end of EB II period, a general trend that was characteristic also of the Aegean (Roosevelt 2010, 50).

[31] City states were primarily a central Anatolian phenomenon, characterized by architectural monumentalization and centralized administration. Roosevelt 2010, 52. See also French 1969; Aykurt 2013; Becks 2015; Pavúk 2015.

[32] Roosevelt 2010, 51.

[33] Luke and Roosevelt 2009. 207.

settlement hierarchy.[34] Furthermore, these sites were located on ridges with strategic views of the valley, and all of them could be seen from Kaymakçı.[35]

The fortified area of Kaymakçı was of substantial 8.6 ha, and it was combined with a more extensive lower town of 25 ha, placing it among the principal sites in western Anatolia (*Figure 26*).[36] The area enclosed by the circuit walls of Kaymakçı can be divided into three main sectors, each located on a terrace and surrounded by fortification walls that followed the natural topography (*Figure 27*). Limited excavations and extensive geophysical prospection revealed that the fortified area was accessed via gates in northwest and southwest. The main entrance to the site was located in the northwest, where the slope was most gentle. Large towers that projected from a two-meter-wide circuit wall guarded that entrance.[37] The highest and innermost part of the citadel was characterized by a series of concentric terraces defined by monumental walls arranged around a diamond-shaped platform that occupies the top of the hill.

The basic architectural components consisted of stone foundations with mudbrick superstructure.[38] The general layout of the innermost space seems to bear parallels to the spatial configuration of the Troy VI citadel, except that at Kaymakçı there are two additional terraces extending along the northeast and northern slopes. The southeast sector, sharing only limited communication with the other two sectors, was characterized by regularly arranged buildings contained in neighborhoods divided by pebble-streets and used for domestic and household workshop industries, while the western sector consisted of some spacious and some more narrow

[34] Most comprehensively in Roosevelt and Luke 2017; see also Luke and Roosevelt 2009; Roosevelt 2010; Roosevelt and Luke 2012; 2013.
[35] Roosevelt and Luke 2017, Fig. 2.
[36] Together with the citadel they comprise at least 25-30 ha. The size of the citadel of Kaymakçı is approximately four times the size of area enclosed by period VI fortifications at Troy. Luke and Roosevelt 2009, 210-212; Roosevelt and Luke 2009, 437; 2017, 137.
[37] Excavated in area 81.551. Roosevelt, Luke and Ünlüsoy 2016, 250-252, Fig. 8; Roosevelt, Luke, and Sekedat 2016, 252-253.
[38] Roosevelt, Luke and Ünlüsoy 2016, 248.

streets, and large buildings at different orientations, perhaps situated to fit the local topography.[39] This distinct internal variability in building size, plan, and orientation reflects increased social and functional differentiation within the site. The habitation spread outside the fortification walls, and the lower town extended down the northwest, north, and east slopes toward the lake. An extramural cemetery was also found, in addition to evidence for human modification of the immediate landscape around Kaymakçı in the form of cup-marks carved into the soft bedrock outcroppings, perhaps for ritual purposes.[40]

Based on ceramic evidence, the site was occupied from the 18th to the 13th century, and it appears to have been abandoned.[41] Most of the pottery was locally produced, and consisted of light red-brown, gray and tan wares, gold-wash and silver-wash wares, as well as Anatolian painted wares. These have parallels at other second millennium sites, such as Troy, Beycesultan, Smyrna, and Aphrodisias.[42] Other finds indicate a wide range of activities that took place at the household or domestic workshop level. Metal slag, grinding and pounding stones, polishing stones and various metal wedges, punches, and needles were found in excavated areas on the lower southwest and southeast terraces.[43] The objects included terracotta, bone, and stone figurines, spindle whorls, metal rings and pins, as well as a knife (Sandars Class 4) that could be attributed a 14th/13th century date and has stylistic parallels with finds from Troy VIIa, Crete, and the Argolid.[44]

[39] Roosevelt 2010, 53; Roosevelt et al. 2015; Roosevelt, Luke, and Sekedat 2016, 253; Roosevelt, Luke and Ünlüsoy 2016.
[40] Roosevelt and Luke 2017, 137.
[41] Roosevelt and Luke 2017.
[42] Roosevelt, Luke and Ünlüsoy 2016, 245. See also Blegen, Caskey and Rawson 1958; Joukowsky 1986; Bayne 2000; Dedeoğlu and Abay 2014.
[43] Roosevelt, Luke and Ünlüsoy 2016, 254-255.
[44] Roosevelt, Luke and Ünlüsoy 2016, 246-247.

The strategic position with respect to natural resources has already been emphasized, and the diversity of zooarchaeological and archaeobotanical material seems to confirm a wide range of resource exploitation in the valley. Also of note is the presence of silos for grain storage, as well as pithoi at the site that point to the importance of control of agricultural surplus (*Figure 28*). Subsistence depended on resources provided by the lake, such as fish and mollusks, but deer, sheep, goat, and pig were eaten, too.[45] Furthermore, Kaymakçı and the smaller citadels north of the lake controlled not only the fertile valley capable of providing sustenance for a large population, but also one of the main communication routes leading from central Anatolia through the Hermos valley to the Aegean coast. The coast could have been reached via a number of different routes going directly west, southwest, and northwest of Lake Marmara, but the traffic coming from the Anatolian highlands could proceed only through a relatively narrow route between the lake and the lower hills of Mt. Tmolus. Thus, Kaymakçı's elevated position on a spur of a mountain with a clear view of the valley served a three-fold purpose: defensibility and protection due to visibility and the option of retreating further up the mountain in times of danger; good control of agricultural areas and the lake; and command of routes that intersected the valley, again due to good visibility and proximity to both the lakes and the choke points of traffic across the valley.

Even though Kaymakçı held a key position controlling east-west links, the present archaeological evidence suggests that most of the ceramic finds are local. Evidence for connectivity is therefore limited to a participation in shared western Anatolian material culture in terms of similar architectural styles and similarity of ceramic wares and small finds to those from other LBA sites in coastal as well as inland western Anatolia. Similarities in local ceramic

[45] Roosevelt, Luke and Ünlüsoy 2016, 249.

production to those in western Anatolia attest exchange of knowledge between these two areas.[46] Though the primary advantage of the geographic location of the site lies in its defensibility and commanding view of the valley, the fact that the central site in the region was located on its west side where the routes split—in a northwest direction toward modern Akhisar (and eventually Balıkesır) and in a southwest direction toward Smyrna, Karabel, and Panaztepe—as opposed to along the northern shore of the Marmara lake where most of the smaller second millennium sites were located, might be significant. Indeed, historical evidence suggests this site was an important link on the Hittite road system leading to the coast, and Kaymakçı could oversee a number of crossings in the west of the valley.[47]

It is noteworthy that fortified sites with a good view of the surrounding landscape and the major routes emerged in the middle of the second millennium not only in Anatolia (e.g., Bademgediği Tepe, Beycesultan, and Panaztepe), but also in Greece (as, for instance, Tiryns, Orchomenos, and Gla, among others). Mycenaean citadels projected a strong statement of power through architectural elaboration in the form of imposing fortification walls of cyclopean masonry. The main difference between Kaymakçı and mainland Greek centers, however, is the substantial size of the Anatolian site and the presence of smaller contemporary fortified sites. In the case of prehistoric Lydia, it is possible that the central site commanded a large territory centered on a lake in the middle of a fertile, open river valley through a network of secondary citadels. Such a configuration seems to be paralleled also in the upper Meander River valley at Beycesultan.[48] These sites and citadels were visually connected, which might imply the presence of a closely linked mechanism of control in the network. Aegean polities could control only a

[46] Luke et al 2015; Roosevelt and Luke 2017.
[47] Bryce provides an example of the journey of Hittite expeditionary forces through the Seha River Land in order to reach Wilusa (2003a, 38-39; see also 46ff). See also Roosevelt and Luke 2017.
[48] Dedeoğlu 2016.

fraction of such an area, primarily because of geographic conditions, namely the fragmentation of the Greek mainland and island landscapes.

While our knowledge of the LBA social and political organization remains very fragmentary, new discoveries have provided invaluable information about site hierarchies, settlement extent, and location—which, in turn, offer clues about the interaction between people and their environment, such as resource acquisition and concerns with defensibility, among others. In general, the assemblages from the citadels show affinities to other western Anatolian inland sites, such as Beycesultan and Aphrodisias, and coastal sites, such as Troy and Panaztepe, supporting a LBA date.[49] The preliminary data, as argued by C. Roosevelt and C. Luke, suggest that the largest citadel in the Hermos valley was abandoned at the end of the 13th century, but the causes of this phenomenon are unclear.[50] This rather early date, corresponding to the LH IIIB2 period in Aegean chronologies, ties the end of Kaymakçı to the fate of Hattuša and cities in central Anatolia, rather than to those further west, all of which yield material from the 12th century. It is important, however, to stress the fact that Kaymakçı shares similarities with other western Anatolian sites, from Troy and Panaztepe, down south to Bademgediği Tepe and Ephesos/Ayasoluk, in terms of site configuration, architecture, and ceramics—although sites on the coast utilized more Mycenaean-style painted pottery—as well as metal assemblages. This indicates that it participated in traditions common to west rather than central Anatolia, and allows us to extend the range of interaction further inland into the middle Hermos valley. The continued interest and connections between these two regions are demonstrable also for the EIA

[49] Roosevelt 2010, 53; Roosevelt and Luke 2017.
[50] Parts of some citadels might have been destroyed by fire, as suggested by finds of vitrified mudbrick on their surfaces. There is no good evidence for such destruction at Kaymakçı, but preliminary data suggest the site fell out of use at the end of the 13th century (Luke and Roosevelt 2009, 209; Roosevelt and Luke 2017).

through the interaction during the emergent period of the rise of the Lydian kingdom and the formation of the city-states on the Anatolian littoral.

The Archaeology of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Sardis

While second millennium habitation seems to have been concentrated around and north of Lake Marmara, the south of the valley—where the central site of the Lydian kingdom, Sardis, was settled in the LBA—was only sparsely inhabited, though Sardis might have been settled before the abandonment of the Bronze Age citadels. Understanding the relationship between them is crucial in examining sociopolitical dynamics in the region at the end of the second millennium. While the main city of the EIA kingdom rose in the lower hills of the Tmolus mountains on the southern edge of the middle Hermos River valley, the location shares similarities with the location of the second millennium center. Both were advantageous, as they offered a safe shelter for habitation by providing a defendable location with a good view of the surrounding countryside, and, at the same time, access to natural resources, such as springs, wood, and stone, as well as arable land. Furthermore, they both allowed for retreat farther up the mountains—in case of Sardis, the mountain range towering above the settlement provided a rather striking setting. While Kaymakçı was located on routes that ran through the center of the valley leading northwest and southwest, Sardis was positioned on a south route through the valley that hugged the low knolls of the Tmolus, akin to the 20th century CE highway.

Excavations of the earliest occupational deposits at Sardis are very limited, and, therefore, any conclusions concerning the pre-8th century developments should be considered preliminary. The earliest occupation began at a strategic place located on the very bottom of the north slopes of the acropolis surrounded by two streams, modern Tabak Çayı in the east and the

Pactolus (modern Sart) River in the west. The Pactolus in the west bore the natural silver-gold alloy called electrum, which began to be exploited in the Lydian era.[51] Later the settlement grew and eventually extended farther into the plain and closer to the Pactolus and the higher slopes of the acropolis (*Figure 29*).

Stratified archaeological sequences of the LBA and EIA were detected in three deep trenches in the area called House of the Bronzes (excavated in 1960, 1962, and 1966), and some additional evidence came from the Pactolus area (*Figure 30*).[52] The earliest remains are extremely fragmentary, and consist of isolated Anatolian monochrome sherds, dated by the excavators to before the 14th century. This early date, however, is only approximate due to poor stratigraphic resolution and little knowledge of local ceramic sequences of the second millennium. More substantial traces of occupation took the form of a circular wattle and daub hut, the material remains of which consisted of a red-burnt floor and lumps of clay bearing impressions of reeds and branches, and a cremation burial in a pithos just to the northwest.[53] Pottery associated with the hut could not be dated with much precision, and consisted primarily of monochrome wares, such as fragments of yellow-red pithoi, orange buff wares, a few sherds of black burnished ware, and a fragment of a spindle whorl. No vessels were found in association with the cremation burial. On the basis of parallels with the ceramic material and burial practices from Troy IV, this stratum was dated to the 14th-13th century.

Hittite pottery is absent at Sardis, in keeping with a general western Anatolian trend of a lack of Hittite material, although a few pieces, including a fragment of a beaked rhyton belonging to the Hittite ceramic tradition, were found out of context.[54] In general, Hittite finds in

[51] Ramage and Craddock 2000; Kroll 2010; Greenewalt 2011.
[52] Hanfmann 1961; 1963; 1967; Spier 1983; Ramage, A. 1994; Ramage, N. 1994.
[53] Spier 1983, 20.
[54] Spier 1983, 22; Ramage, A., 1994, 163.

western Anatolia are extremely rare, and this restricted circulation of Hittite objects continues to present an interesting conundrum, as the Hittite correspondence clearly indicates Hittite interest in this part of the region.[55]

Most of the Mycenaean sherds (kraters, deep bowls, and cups) were found close to a series of strata marked by a burned level, named the Lower Burning Level (*Figure 31*).[56] They were mixed with 'Submycenaean' sherds and were tentatively dated to the 13th to 11th century. Although some of them were imported from the mainland and eastern Aegean, it should be emphasized that the term 'Mycenaean' used in this context should be replaced by the more fitting 'Mycenaean-style', because most of the identified painted sherds are made of local orange buff clay and tend to imitate Rhodian and Miletian styles, rather than being imported from mainland Greece.[57] The term should be used cautiously also because these local Mycenaean-style sherds cannot serve as chronological indicators in the absence of better understood local ceramic sequences. Approximately 250 pieces of painted sherds (both imported and local) comprise about 2-5% of the entire assemblage from the context; the rest consists of monochrome gray and red Anatolian wares (*Figure 32*). This percentage fits well within the western Anatolian pattern, whereby Mycenaean-style sherds comprise around 5-10% of the entire assemblage at sites on the littoral and slightly less in inland sites from the end of the 13th century.[58] Notably,

[55] Cline has argued that the circulation of Hittite objects was strictly controlled. He explains their absence in the Aegean is a result of political and economic embargo imposed by the Hittites (1991). It seems, however, that the circulation of Hittite objects was even more restricted than that—there are only a few Hittite objects in western Anatolia even during the 14th when the Hittites were more actively engaged in disputes here.

[56] "The baulk is imitated from a diluted Mycenaean tradition" (Spier 1983, 23). It should be noted that the dating was determined based on the presence of painted wares, which are of fragmentary nature and a relatively small quantity.

[57] These terms should be "used in the broad sense of pottery displaying traits of the Mycenaean, Submycenaean, and Protogeometric ceramic tradition" Spier 1983, 23.

[58] The earliest Mycenaean and Mycenaean-style pottery has been found at a small number of settlements that had all previously yielded Minoan pottery, including Miletos and Limantepe. Only LH IIIB-C (13th through first half of the 12th century) sherds tend to be found in settlements inland (Mee 1998, 137-8). See Chapter 7 for discussion. Cf. to assemblages from Limantepe (Mangaoğlu-Votruba), Panaztepe (Günel 1999), Çine Tepecik (Günel 2010). See also Mokrišová 2016.

but not surprisingly, there appears to be a functional division between painted and unpainted classes. While the painted wares belonged to drinking and pouring sets (e.g., cups, bowls, and jugs), local classes consisted of a wider range of classes, ranging from fine yellow buff wares to storage wares, utilitarian pottery made of buff red, and—from the PG period onward—also gray fabric, buff cooking pots.[59]

A thick habitation layer of several floors and traces of charcoal was discerned in all three soundings. In the 1962 excavations, a hearth constructed of two stone slabs and a pithos base was found associated with a floor. A straight wall of small flat stones and two additional small circular walls with a few other finds in its vicinity—a sunken pithos, a skeleton of a small equid, and a few shallow pits—were found at this elevation also in the 1966 trench.[60] The 10th century PG sherds together with Mycenaean fragments were found both above and below this floor (*Figure 33*). Some mixing happened due to post-depositional processes, since the area was damaged by floods.[61] A part of the PG assemblage, however, might be tentatively associated with the already mentioned domestic remains and with some metal objects (iron knife, sickle, blade, bronze fibula, and pins), glass beads, and a perforated green stone seal, but more specific information about this context has not been published. It seems that these pieces were made of local clay, and the assemblage was limited to drinking and pouring vessels, such as cups, oinochoai, jars, and bowls. Overall, the local ceramic production seems to have continued uninterrupted throughout the last centuries of the second millennium, and the Mycenaean-style

[59] It is uncertain, however, whether the presence of Mycenaean sherds present evidence for the introduction of the "Mycenaean drinking set", as seen elsewhere, and in the northern Aegean and Macedonia in particular (most recently see Kiriatzi and Andreou 2016).
[60] Spier 1983, 24.
[61] Ramage, A., Goldstein, and Mierse 1983, 26.

and PG vessels, both imported and locally produced, were a small addition to the local tablewares.

The difficulty of establishing a clear picture of early occupation of Sardis is further exacerbated by meager architectural evidence. The second millennium levels from House of the Bronzes were discussed already, and while it seems that the area was used in the following centuries without interruption, the first more substantial architectural traces appear here only at the end of the 8th century. In the House of Bronzes, the 9th century remains are marked by the presence of locally made fine and coarse monochrome pottery with occasional painted pottery without associated architectural features.[62] The following strata dating to the late 8th century bore traces of burning, and several casualties were trapped under the debris. The buildings, which were destroyed by the fire, seem to have shared features with the construction of the previous period.[63] Houses were made of wattle and daub with a single line of stone to anchor the less durable materials. The middle of the 7th century marks the construction of a larger complex with two occupational phases, which continued to be used until the Persian sack of Sardis in 546.[64]

While House of the Bronzes continued to be occupied during the first millennium, the banks of the Pactolus River may show the first evidence of occupation at that time. The excavations on the right bank, the so-called Pactolus Cliff, brought to light some additional traces of EIA habitation. Remains of stone socles and mudbrick walls were found in the earliest strata, dated to the late 9th and early 8th centuries based on the presence of monochrome gray pottery (*Figure 34*).[65] The chronological attribution was further refined based on the beginning

[62] Ramage, A., Goldstein, and Mierse 1983, 27.
[63] Ramage, A., Goldstein, and Mierse 1983, 27.
[64] Buildings G, H, J, K, and L belong to the mid seventh century (Lydian II), while Buildings A, B, D, E, F, M, and N date to the mid 6th century (Lydian I). Ramage, A., Goldstein, and Mierse 1983, 29-32; Cahill 2002; 2010; Greenewalt 2010b.
[65] Ramage, A., Goldstein, Mierse 1983,41; See Ramage, N., 1994 for a reassessment of the pottery.

of production of the so-called Lydian Black-on-Red pottery, with the decoration of distinct geometric motifs executed in black paint on a red background. The production of this ware might have begun in the second half of the 8th century.[66] However, because of the presence of Lydian imitations of Protocorinthian skyphoi, among other 'Orientalizing' pottery, it might be more suitable to attribute a late 7th century date to this deposit. [67]

While the ceramic evidence attests some movement of goods between Lydia and the coastal sites, as well as some movement of people linked with it for trade purposes, the evidence from Sardis seems to point to small scale consumption of painted pottery, as the Bronze Age Mycenaean-style sherds, both local and imported.[68] These sherds always co-occur with the local monochrome wares and, therefore, it seems that the imported and Mycenaean-style pottery formed a small, perhaps prestigious, addition to the local assemblages. The early vessels inspired by the Mycenaean and PG painted tradition, however, seem rather local in terms of the execution of surface decoration. Thus, while the introduction of painted pottery might have been the result of technological exchange between different communities of potters, it is also possible that it stemmed from the desire to emulate vessels brought from Ionia. Even though the relative distance between Lydia and the Aegean coast is not great, here the potting tradition remained local, even though it incorporated some features of production along the littoral.

In later periods, though the decorative scheme and some shapes, such as skyphoi, were adopted from Greek Geometric pottery, the local painted tradition was ultimately a result of the Lydian reinterpretation of the painted tradition popular in the regions to the east. The excavators

[66] Ramage, A., Goldstein, Mierse 1983, 27.
[67] Greenewalt 2010a, 110-113. 'Orientalizing' in the material pertaining to Lydian pottery refers to the "East Greek" tradition from the Ionian cities and large island off the Anatolian coast. At this point, two other local traditions took off at that time: Lydian marbling and streaky glaze decoration.
[68] Comprising only about 2-5% of the entire assemblage Ramage, A. 1994.

considered it a result of Greek-Anatolian mixing. A. Ramage, basing his opinion on the evidence from House of the Bronzes, concluded that Sardis was a member of both the Aegean and Anatolian spheres, although at certain times, from the last stages of the LBA until the 8th century, the Anatolian koine at Sardis was weakening in favor of Aegean influences.[69] The more pronounced influence of the Aegean, then, according to A. Ramage, came as a result of increasing Lydian trading interests in the wake of the urbanization and growth of Sardis evidenced by the growing number of painted wares inspired by the Greek Geometric decorative tradition, such as the use of meanders and semi-circles. By now the painted tradition had been familiar to inhabitants of Sardis for a few centuries, and it is therefore not surprising that it became embedded in the local ceramic industry. In general, during the EIA the Anatolian monochrome pottery was popular, and the Black-on-Red painted tradition took off relatively late, in the 8th century, and was a trend which stands in contrast with the Ionian preferences for painted wares throughout the EIA.[70] Simultaneously, a steady increase in the number of imports from the Aegean occurred from the third quarter of the 8th century onward, but even at that time the locally produced shapes and styles predominated.

To sum up, even though the evidence from the beginning of the EIA is meager, it seems that the material culture in Lydia exhibited local western central Anatolian characteristics, and while Lydia was in contact with the regions to the west, it is clear that the appearance of these characteristics stemmed from trade relationships, rather than from deeper engagement with the Aegean, as happened in Ionia, as well as Caria, as will be shown in Chapter 6. In fact, the PG period here can be characterized by general continuity from the LBA in terms of enduring emphasis on local production of monochrome wares with a small addition of painted wares, and

[69] Ramage, A. 1994; Ramage, N. 1994.
[70] Greenewalt 2010a.

occasional importation of PG pottery, and, finally, the use of same building technologies. It is only in the late 7th century that an increasing Lydian interest in Greek products and technologies could be discerned at Sardis, as shown in developments in stone working and a greater importation of Ionian ceramics and their emulation in the local painted pottery tradition, as Sardis emerged as the largest center in western Anatolia.[71] Despite the fact that the Greek ceramic tradition had a pronounced effect on Lydian decorative techniques and vessel shapes, it is important to note that the Lydian-period ceramic assemblages at Sardis were quite unusual, as they were composed of a high proportion of locally made vessels. It seems that tablewares comprised the biggest import group from the west, with bird bowls being the only shape exclusively imported, perhaps as material expressions of the acquisition of new dining habits. [72]

The surge of connections to the west during this period corresponded to the beginning of the use of electrum as currency as early as the 7th century, which eventually evolved into artificial refining of silver to produce pure silver coins by the mid-6th century.[73] This international currency stimulated exchange and trade, and enabled the expansion of Lydian attention to the west in order to pursue trade with the cities on the Aegean coast, for which there is good evidence from the 7th century.[74] This trend may have been driven by increased trade with the Greek-speaking regions and the interest of the Lydian dynasts, who wished to attract international craftsmen to their court. Furthermore, while the emerging Lydian kingdom and smaller Ionian polities maintained some contact as demonstrated through the exchange of

[71] Roosevelt 2009, 22ff; for ceramics see Greenewalt 2010a; Kerschner 2010; for architecture see Ratté 2011 with bibliographies.
[72] Kealhofer et al. 2013, 1930-1933. Over 72% of the ceramics was produced in the immediate vicinity of Sardis, and additional 20% were made within 15km radius of Sardis.
[73] The earliest coins (of late 7th century) were made of electrum and were inscribed with Lydian names in Lydian alphabet, providing a quite solid proof that coin minting originated in Lydia (Kroll 2010). See also Ramage and Craddock 2000; Grenewalt 2010b.
[74] For trade between Lydia and Ionia see Kerschner 2010.

portable objects in course of the PG and Geometric periods, the Orientalizing period presented more intensive contact and Lydian engagement in the west.

The reconstruction of the Lydian sociopolitical development relies on a combination of archaeological evidence and textual material, such as the work of Herodotus, who dedicated his entire first chapter to the 'history' of Lydia.[75] Moreover, the Assyrian archives confirm that Lydia was ruled by kings, including the legendary Gyges (or *Gugu*), the first of the Mermnad dynasty, who, according to Herodotus, usurped the throne from Kandaules, the last Heraclid king.[76] By the end of the EIA, Lydia had emerged as the major center of western Anatolia and during the first half of the 6th century came to control much of it, including the areas formerly controlled by Phrygia.[77] This phenomenon should be situated within the emergence of Anatolian states during the EIA after the collapse of the Hittite empire. The mechanisms of Lydian state formation are poorly understood due to a lack of evidence, but its process mirrored similar developments in central Anatolia, where Phrygia rose to power during the beginning of the first millennium—as manifested by a form of social organization headed by a royal family, by royal and élite funerary traditions, and by the conceptualization of an urban setting. The proximity to smaller sociopolitical formations—the city-states on the western Anatolia littoral—may also have played a part, as these city-states experienced a prolonged transformation that eventually culminated in the formation of a distinct Ionian identity during the Archaic period.

[75] Herodotus Book I.
[76] Cogan and Tadmore 1977; Burkert 2004; Franklin 2008; for an overview of archaeological and textual sources see Roosevelt 2009, 26.
[77] For Lydian expansion see Roosevelt 2009, 22-26 and 40; for evidence at Gordion see Voigt 2009; Roller 2011.

Historical Overview

The Political Geography, History, and Language of Early Lydia

The new discoveries in Lydia are particularly crucial for understanding the sociopolitical organization of western Anatolia during the LBA, which had for the long time been primarily examined through Hittite documents.[78] The discovery of Kaymakçı and a network of fortified citadels can shed more light on Bronze Age interactions between polities that emerged on the western edges of the Hittite empire at the end of the MBA, as outlined in Chapter 4. Based on its geographical location in the Hermos River valley, the large fortified citadel of Kaymakçı has been identified as a good candidate for the capital of the Seha River Land,[79] which, along with Arzawa Minor (with its capital at Apaša/Ephesos), Mira-Kuwaliya (perhaps with its chief city at Beycesultan), Hapalla, Wilusa (with Troy as its center), Lukka, and perhaps also Karkiša, was located in western Anatolia.

During the Old Hittite Kingdom, the Hittites had originally referred to western Anatolia as Luwiya, which was a broad ethno-geographic designation first attested in the second half of the 17th century.[80] Although early mentions of Luwiya are rare, it seems that at least until the mid-16th century western Anatolia consisted of smaller political entities, as suggested by the account that when Hattusili I pillaged western Anatolia, he did not meet with much effective resistance.[81] By the early 15th century, the geographical designation 'Luwiya' appears to have

[78] Groundbreaking studies include Starke 1997; Hawkins 1998. It should be noted, as Bryce (2007, 126-127) has emphasized, that many of the reconstructions derive from hypotheses based on the fragmentary information from the Hittite archival tablets rather than archaeological evidence.
[79] Hawkins 1998, 1-2, 15, 17-20. Bryce provides an example of the journey of Hittite expeditionary forces through the Seha River Land in order to reach Wilusa (2003, 38-39; see also 46ff). Roosevelt 2009, 13-18; 2010, 55-56, Roosevelt and Luke 2017.
[80] Melchert 2003a; 2004; Bryce 2003; Yakubovich 2010, 78ff; 2011; Mouton, Rutherford, and Yakubovich 2013. This can be demonstrated by presence of Luwian loan-words in early Hittite writing.
[81] Bryce 2003, 31.

been replaced by the name 'Arzawa',[82] and in the following 14th century the western Anatolian polities rose in importance. Yet another loose organization combining 22 western Anatolian states, called Assuwa, was named in the archival documents of the late 15th century, but the entity seems to have been temporary.[83]

It is generally agreed that at this time the Luwian language was widely spoken in all of western Anatolia, including some of the Hittite lands, but the uniformity of Luwian as a linguistic group has recently been questioned,[84] and as discussed in Chapter 2, the evidence for Luwian in all of western Anatolia comes from two early 13th century rock-cut inscriptions at Karabel and Akpinar, both marking border territories. This evidence does not indicate whether the language written on them was also widely spoken in the area throughout the LBA. It seems, however, that by the middle of the second millennium the elite at Hattuša had adopted the language as well, and Hittite-Luwian bilingualism became one of the distinct features of the Empire period.[85]

Many agree that the growing prominence of Luwian signaled the creation of a more formal political organization of Luwian-speaking peoples in western Anatolia consisting of smaller polities—Arzawa Minor, Wilusa, the Seha River Land, Hapalla, and Mira-Kuwaliya.[86] G. Beckman, however, warns that these lands never stood united in an official confederacy;

[82] Central to this proposition is the occurrence of two versions of Old Kingdom Laws, one bearing several references to Luwiya, one of which was in a later copy replaced by the name Arzawa (Bryce 2011; Hawkins 2013, 4). Yakubovich argues against this identification. Instead he suggests that Luwiya was a part of the Hittite kingdom, while Arzawa was independent until the late 14th century (2010).
[83] Hawkins 1998.
[84] Yakubovich 2010; 2011.
[85] Yakubovich 2010, 303ff; 2011. In addition to names of Hattic and Luwian origins of the 14th and 13th century kings of Hattuša, some bore names with Hurrian parallel. Only the name of Suppiluliuma has Hittite etymology (Mouton, Rutherford, and Yakubovich 2013, 3). For an overview of evidence see Melchert 2003b; Bryce 2007.
[86] Hawkins 1998; 2015; Bryce 2003, 32-33; Yakubovich 2010, 80.

rather, they formed a loose alliance in times of emergency, such as the Hittite attack.[87] By the mid-14th century, the victorious campaign of Mursili II (1321-1295) had resulted in a subjugation of the states of the Arzawan lands (though Wilusa might not have been involved), which were eventually split into individual vassal states, and western Anatolia was brought under direct Hittite control.[88] Numerous letters preserved from the 14th and 13th centuries attest the continuing Hittite interest in Arzawan affairs. The Arzawan aristocracy adopted the Hittite hieroglyphic and cuneiform writing as shown by the few rock carved inscriptions (e.g. Karabel pass), perhaps as a result of increased close contact with Hattuša. At the same time, it is clear that the people of the Arzawan lands tried to conduct their own affairs.

There were several rebellions against the Hittite kings, and some of them were exacerbated by the involvement of another people known as the Ahhiyawa, traditionally associated with Homer's Achaeans. Of interest are two letters. First, the Tawagalawa letter, written in the middle of the 13th century by Hattusili III, the successor of Mursili II, was a complaint sent to the king of the Ahhiyawa, who supported a certain Piyamaradu, a leader of an anti-Hittite resistance in the west. This letter also indicates that Wilusa might have been a subject of military dispute between the Hittites and the Ahhiyawa.[89] In addition, it registered a complaint of the king that some 7000 Hittite subjects from the Lukka lands had been moved to Ahhiyawa.[90] Second, the Sins of the Seha River Land, dated to the reign of Tudhaliya IV (1237-1228),

[87] E.g., the Indictment of Maduwatta by Arnuwanda I of Hatti reveals some of the power struggle during the first half of the 14th century (Beckman 1996, 144ff; Bryce 2011, 366). Cf. Yakubovich 2010; Mouton, Rutherford and Yakubovich 2013, 4.
[88] Wilusa is mentioned as a part of anti-Hittite alliance of 22 states, the so-called Assuwan confederacy, which was disbanded by the Hittites at the beginning of the 13th century. The king Alaksandru of Wilusa subsequently signed a treated with the great king Muwattalli (Bryce 2006, 184). See also Hawkins 2013, 12; cf. Yakubovich 2010,124.
[89] Garstang and Gurney 1959, 111-114; Güterbock 1983.
[90] Bryce 2003, 85.

mentions how a pretender named Tarhunaradu seized power from the Land's Hittite-endorsed ruler with the support of the Ahhiyawa.[91]

Compared to other Arzawan polities, little is known about the Seha River Land. A town, perhaps its capital, Maddunasa, is mentioned, as well as the names of four kings, who reigned between the mid-14th to mid-13th century: Muwawalwi, Manapatarhunda, Masturi, and the already mentioned usurper Tarhunaradu.[92] It seems that the Seha River Land was a vassal to the Hittite kings from this period until the dissolution of the empire and the smaller kingdoms on its western edges.[93] No sources survived from this period, hence those interested in understanding the sociopolitical transformations at the end of the second millennium rely on linguistic evidence, the main question of which centers on the mechanisms of language change. In brief, while Luwian might have been spoken in the area during the LBA, the first EIA inscriptions (7th century) use the Lydian language.[94] New arguments for linguistic continuity have emerged recently, put forth by I. Yakubovich, who has argued that proto-Lydian could have been spoken in western Anatolia already in the second millennium, as linguistic differences between Luwian and Lydian are tangible. As in the case of Ionia, the language change between the LBA to the EIA has been explained in terms of migration and quest for homeland, here by the EIA Lydians. These and related topics will be discussed in the following section.

Language and Linguistic Change in Second Millennium Western Anatolia

Migration has resided at the core not only of archaeological, historical, and linguistic understanding of change in Ionia, but also in interpretations of the emergence of Phrygian,

[91] CTH 211.4, Beckmann 1996; Bryce 2005, 304-305.
[92] Hawkins 1998, 17-20.
[93] Roosevelt 2009, 16-17 with bibliography.
[94] Yakubovich 2010, 112-114.

Lydian, Lycian, and Carian EIA societies. Migrations have often been seen as a preferred explanation for linguistic change. The mass migration model has been invoked to explain the spread of Indo-European languages within prehistoric Anatolia, suggesting that the Indo-European speakers first came to Anatolia in the fourth millennium, and eventually created linguistically differentiated groups in the third or the second millennium.[95] While most linguists agree on this point, a general consensus regarding the manner of dispersal of the Indo-European languages within Anatolia has not been reached, as most of such reasoning relies on very broad theoretical linguistic reconstructions. Archaeological evidence does not seem to support large-scale migrations in this period.[96] A second wave of heightened mobility is proposed to have followed at the end of the second millennium after the collapse of the Arzawan lands supposedly inhabited primarily by Luwian speakers (again, shown only by extremely limited epigraphic evidence, such as the Karabel monument). The region was presumably a target of a new wave of immigration of Greek and Lydian speakers. According to this model, the Lydian speakers, living in northwest Anatolia in the second half of the second millennium, migrated farther south into Lydia at the beginning of the EIA after the collapse of the Hittite empire and the Arzawan lands and essentially replaced the original Luwian-speaking population.[97] This model has recently been contested, and the notion that Carian and Lycian speakers, at least, might have already been present in southwest Anatolia before the EIA seems to be gaining some popularity.[98]

Let us first take a step back and consider the evidence for the first dispersal of the Indo-European speakers during the MBA. The people at Hattuša originally spoke *hattili*, today called

[95] Fortson 2004; Melchert 2003b; 2011.
[96] Bachhuber 2013; Sarı 2013.
[97] Beekes (2002; 2003) has argued that Lydians were late-comers to this area, pushed down south by the Phrygians and other migration tribes at the beginning of the EIA. While Melchert (2003b, 22) originally accepted this as a possibility, he has recently rejected it (2010 and 2011). Cf. Yakubovich 2010 (for an extended argument against this theory).
[98] Melchert 2003b, 14-15; Yakubovich 2010.

Hattic or Hattian, a language unrelated to either Luwian or Hittite. The Hattic elites newly-arrived at Hattuša at the beginning of the LBA, however, adopted the language of Neša/ Kaneš (*nišili*), and therefore the language used by the Hittites is more accurately called Nesite. This language belonged to an Anatolian branch of Indo-European languages and was spoken at Kaneš, an early center 200 km southeast of Hattuša.[99] Luwian was spoken in the areas western and south of Hattuša, as well as by the non-elites in the capital. It became more widespread around the middle of the second millennium. The written evidence of Hittite cuneiform and Anatolian hieroglyphic clearly indicates that all these languages continued to be used in the Hittite capital until its end, but Luwian is the only language that continued to be used after the end of the Hittite empire.[100] The written evidence from Hattuša, crucial for the understanding of linguistic dynamics, has many limitations, including fragmentary preservation of the tablets and a clear bias toward matters of interest to the Hittite aristocracy. It is nonetheless probable that Luwian was spoken at Hattuša from the beginning of the Hittite kingdom, and that Hattuša was a multicultural center throughout its existence.

The Hittite sources, however, do not provide any information about the geographic origins of the Luwian speakers and the manner of the spread of the language, and the debate concerning this topic remains unresolved. Some scholars, such as C. Melchert, advocate for Luwian presence in western Anatolia by the second half the third millennium (the onset of EBA III period), while others, such as T. Bryce, favor a 17th century date for the Luwian spread into western Anatolia, followed by further movements to the east and south, now corresponding with

[99] This language is first attested at Kaneš, an Old Assyrian trading post, at the beginning of the second millennium. For a brief overview see Beckman 2011.
[100] Yakubovich 2010; 2011. Hawkins, however, maintains a western Anatolian location for the early Luwian speakers (2003; 2013). See also various contributions in Woodard 2008.

the onset of western Anatolian LBA.[101] In a recent view that challenges many preconceived notions of the spread of language into and within Anatolia, I. Yakubovich has disagreed with the notion of large-scale Luwian migrations.[102] Instead, he has argued that proto-versions of the EIA languages (Lydian, Carian, and Lycian) were already present in western Anatolia, reasoning that if a population movement had taken place at that time, it would have been recorded as a concern to the Hittites. This is a reasonable suggestion, as the textual sources mention of a number of relatively large scale movements caused by political turmoil or power struggle.[103] Instead, he views the use of Luwian together with the adoption of the hieroglyphic script principally for the purposes of royal communication as an attempt on behalf of the Arzawan élites to join the club of Near Eastern powers.[104] A recent critical review of the origins, forms, and texts of the Anatolian hieroglyphic by R. Oreshko, however, proposes that the western Anatolian inscriptions might not have had connections to the Hittites and instead should be anchored within the western Anatolian tradition.[105]

There are, however, a number of problems pertaining to language dispersal in Anatolia other than chronological concerns in theoretical linguistic reconstructions of language change. Primarily, there is no indication as to what languages might have been spoken in western Anatolia, and even the evidence for written Luwian in the west is meager as well. Additionally, further obstacles concern the nature of linguistic changes. Language shift may happen through a spectrum of different forms of contact, ranging from mass migration to small scale and gradual

[101] Melchert 2003a; 2003b; Bryce, on the other hand, uses the first mention of the name Luwiya in the Hittite royal documents as a terminus for the settling of the Luwians (2003). For revised western Anatolian chronologies see Pavúk 2015.
[102] Yakubovich 2010, esp. 75ff.
[103] E.g., as those indicated in the Tawagalawa letter.
[104] Yakubovich 2010, 158.
[105] Oreshko 2013. Hawkins (1986; 2003) has also suggested western Anatolia origins of the hieroglyphs due to structural similarities with Cretan Linear A.

immigration and local sociopolitical developments that prompt the inhabitants to accept a new language,[106] and this wide range of scenarios makes it difficult to interpret the present fragmentary evidence.

Apart from a lack of evidence for spoken language in western Anatolia, I. Yakubovich has also argued that there is no evidence to suggest that the Lydian speakers were not living in western Anatolia during the second millennium, as there was enough distance between Luwian and its EIA cousins that they must have been separate dialects already in the LBA. According to him, the Luwian borrowings into Lydian can be accounted for in terms of Hittite dominion over western Anatolia, and not, as often assumed, as the result of westward migration of Luwian speakers.[107] In short, his suggestion is that western Anatolia was not predominantly Luwian-speaking, but that the EIA populations (Lycians, Carians, and Lydians) were already present in the area and spoke the proto-forms of their respective languages during the LBA. Although this assertion might be plausible and does correspond to the patterns revealed by material culture, much of this reconstruction is extremely conjectural and has come under some critique.[108] The critics, including D. Hawkins, have argued that the names of Arzawan royalty seem to be Luwian. Yakubovich, however, rightly highlights the limitation of evidence at hand and the conjectural nature of working hypotheses of social linguistics. For instance, even if the élite spoke Luwian, that does not necessarily mean that the rest of the population was Luwian-speaking, too. Additionally, even if place-names in the LBA texts bear Luwian names, it is not impossible that they also had local names associated with them. Furthermore, it is feasible that bilingualism was common during the LBA—while Luwian was the written language of official

[106] Melchert 2003b, 8ff.
[107] Yakubovich 2010, 77.
[108] See Hawkins (2013) for general comments and criticism of reconstructions presented in Yakubovich's book.

correspondence, proto-Lydian and proto-Carian might have already been spoken among some of the local population. After all, the similarity of place-names between the LBA and the EIA suggests some further continuity, at least in terms of local memory.[109]

The EIA languages—Carian, Lydian, and Lycian—are attested for the first time significantly later, with the earliest inscriptions generally emerging in the 7th century.[110] Additional written sources emerged during the early 6th century in form of short graffiti and legends on coins. The new Lydian, Carian, and Lycian scripts seem to have been derived from the Greek (or possibly Old Phrygian) alphabet, but the exact relationship between them still remains unclear as the fragmentary nature and small number of preserved inscriptions preclude any more conclusive reconstructions.[111] It seems fairly certain that Carian, Lycian, and Lycian B (Milyan) must be considered separate languages rather than mere dialects of Luwian due to the chronological gap between them, non-trivial innovations, and the presence of archaic traits (at least in Lycian) that cannot be derived from Luwian.[112] Lydian, furthermore, is too far removed from Luwian to be considered a Luwic language.

It seems that much of the discussion of early Anatolian history had been set within a rigid culture-historical framework that embraces mass migrations as a stimulus for social change. Instead, I have suggested that arguments in favor of a higher degree of cultural and linguistic

[109] For continuity of place names in Lydia see Roosevelt 2010, 58ff. Several scholars have also independently argued that the names Lydoi is derived from the name of Luwiya in the form of *luda-. But as this particular form is not attested in any of the preserved testimonies, this assertion remains dubious (Melchert 2010, 269).
[110] Lydian in the 6th century, Lycian in the 5th century, and the earliest Carian corpus comes from 7th century Egypt (for an overview see Fortson 2004). Fortson (personal communication, 3/17/2014), however, warns that further uncertainty is provided by the late attestation of Lydian inscriptions, which significantly prolongs the gap in evidence for written language in this area.
[111] Only about 115 Lydian inscriptions survive, most of which are very fragmentary. Well preserved inscriptions of considerable length, mostly funerary in nature, are limited to the 5th and 4th centuries. Lycian is attested on coins and short tomb inscriptions, although the Xanthos Stele and the Letoon Trilingual inscription (in Lycian, Greek, and Aramaic) are narratives. Carian is attested on a small number of inscriptions of 4th and 3rd century (Fortson 2004; Melchert 2004; 2010; Adiego 2007).
[112] Melchert (2003b), therefore, uses the designation 'Luwic' for these languages and he considers them a subgroup of the Anatolian Indo-European group. See also Mouton, Rutherford, and Yakubovich. 2013, 7.

fragmentation of the LBA western Anatolia seem more persuasive than those in favor of the large linguistic group of the Luwians. This view corresponds to conclusions brought forth by archaeology, namely that we cannot make a material associated between Luwian material culture and the Luwians of west, south, and central Anatolia. The reality is much more heterogeneous, and this point will be explored further in the examination of case studies in Chapter 7. Here it suffices to say that Luwian is a collective name used by the Hittites for the inhabitants of a number of polities in western Anatolia, and as such it is a wide and ambiguous term, as well as an umbrella for closely related LBA language dialects, which remain poorly understood.

Early Lydia: Legends and Historical Narratives

With the end of the Hittite empire, the information from royal documents, including correspondence, treaties, and accounts concerned with contemporary events, disappears. The reappearance of written information concerning peoples of western Anatolia six centuries later is of a very different mythological and pseudohistorical nature. Western Anatolia was described by Greek writers, most notably by Herodotus in the first half of the 5th century. Although the existence of a contemporary non-Greek account of Lydian history is known to us, the work of Xanthos of Lydia is preserved only indirectly as one of the sources employed in Nikolaos of Damaskos' universal history written in the time of Augustus, which leaves Herodotus as the chronologically least distanced source to the purported events.[113] Herodotus, in fact, devoted most of his first book to the history of Lydia, with a story that is a mixture of legend and romance. The region was first ruled by the Atyad dynasty, beginning with Lydus, son of Atys, who gave his name to the region. After the Atyads had left Lydia for Italy, the Heraklid dynasty

[113] Carruba 2003, 151-154; Roosevelt 2009, 19-20 with references; Payne and Wintjes 2016 with references.

was founded by Alcaeus, son of Herakles, and the Lydian Queen Omphale.[114] After 22 generations, this dynasty came to an end. Gyges' overthrow of Kandaules, the last of the Heraklids, formed an integral story to Herodotus' *Lydian logos*, as Herodotus attributed the emergence of Lydia to the political events brought about by Gyges.

The Homeric tradition, however, suggests that the early history of the Lydians might have been obscure. In the *Iliad*, the middle Hermos River valley was said to have been inhabited by the people called the Maeonians, and Sardis was never mentioned.[115] Traditionally, the Maeonians have been identified as the early Lydians, based on the direct identification by Herodotus and Strabo, but there is no evidence apart from the limited literary tradition to corroborate this.[116] The name 'Maeonia' might have had its roots in a LBA toponym for the Seha River Land,[117] and therefore, it is possible that Homer's use of the name was chosen to anchor his narrative into its older mythical history. Some, however, have argued that the name should be linked to the LBA Masa, located somewhere in northwest Anatolia,[118] while others do not embrace that link but maintain that the Maeonians were an ethnically distinct group that inhabited early Lydia.[119] Without more evidence, the relationship between Maeonia and Lydia remains unresolved. It is certain that the toponym Lydia was first used in the late 7th century, in the poems of Sappho and Alcaeus, and this is also further corroborated by the Assyrian evidence.[120]

[114] Herodotus 1.6-7. See also Burkert 2004; Roosevelt 2009, Table 2.1.
[115] The *Iliad* 2.86; 5.43-44; 20.389-392.
[116] Herodotus 7.74, Strabo 13.18; see also Burkert 1995; van den Hout 2003; Payne and Wintjes 7ff.
[117] Van den Hout 2003.
[118] Beekes 2003.
[119] Yakubovich 2010, 160. See also Roosevelt (2010; 2012) for further comments.
[120] See Pedley (1972) and Payne and Wintjes (2016) for a more extensive treatment of literary sources on Sardis and Lydia.

The Neo-Assyrian texts written during the reign of Assurbanipal mention a certain Gugu, the ruler of the country of Luddu, who made alliances with Egypt. His identification with Gyges, the king of Lydia, has been universally accepted, and the traditional date for the beginning of Gyges' rule, and also the Lydian kingdom, has been established to be around 680.[121] Thus, although the earliest history of Lydian kings remains more of a legend (especially as Herodotus' narrative involved many supernatural elements) than history, a few Near Eastern sources provide contemporary evidence for the presence of Lydian rulers and their involvement in Near Eastern politics in the early to mid-7th century.

The third dynasty of the Lydian kings, the Mermnadai, is thought to have ruled from the second half of the 7th century until the Persian take-over of Sardis in 540s. Kings Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, and Alyattes successfully established the primacy of Lydia in western Anatolia, although they remained a marginal power with respect to Near Eastern politics. Herodotus mentions many military incursions into Ionia—Gyges' troops attacking Miletos, Smyrna, and Kolophon, Ardys' army taking Priene but failing at Miletos, as well as Alyattes' futile attempts at capturing Miletos yet again.[122] The Lydians managed to incorporate the Phrygian kingdom and most of western Anatolia under their control until the Persian sack of Sardis and the death of Croesus. The Lydian kingdom reached its greatest extent under Croesus (560-546/5) (*Figure 35*). During this time, Lydian wealth, the invention of coin minting, and the kingdom's international involvement are well known through, for example, Croesus' dedication at Delphi and his sponsorship of the building of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos.[123]

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[121] "A land [Lydia] which nobody had known before at Nineveh", but from that point onward a regular communication developed (Burkert 2004, 48).

[122] Herodotus. 1.15ff

[123] Interestingly, Burkert (2004, 48) has suggested that the rise of prominence of Ionia should be seen as partially facilitated by the Lydian involvement in the East. He has argued that Lydian rulers, starting with Gyges, initially created a link between the western coast and east Anatolia through their diplomatic interests, which eventually led to the more permanent connection between the east and the west through extending the route from Mesopotamia

The information from non-archaeological evidence can be thus concluded as follows. Proto-Lydian speakers entered Anatolia sometime during the EBA. While it is not possible to establish their original locations—whether in Maeonia in Lydia or elsewhere in the territory of EIA Lydia, or less likely in Masa—the evidence does not seem to indicate any major migration during the second millennium. The LBA in western Anatolia was characterized by the rise and fall of a number of regional polities, including the Seha River Land, which were at times aligned with the Hittite empire, and at other times acted against it in order to protect their own interests. Luwian seems to be the language of the western Anatolian elite, but that does not preclude the possibility of multilingualism and the use of proto-forms of the EIA languages of Lydian, Carian, and Lycian. The migration scenarios for the spread of Anatolian languages, therefore, do not seem to correspond to the evidence.

Late Bronze and Early Iron Age State Formation in Lydia

In recent years, an increasing number of arguments in favor of continuity after the demise of LBA sociopolitical structures, rather than a break, have been proposed. The shift in the way we understand collapse in western Anatolia and the Aegean has brought into sharper focus evidence for continuity in light of new intensive archaeological work and more informed theoretical approaches to cultural change and collapse.[124] The end of LBA systems took place gradually, following a different pace in each region or at each settlement—major destructions happened as a result of a variety of social, political, economic, and environmental factors in a span of more-or-less two centuries, and individual breakdowns did not represent simultaneously

through central Anatolia, the 'king's road' all the way to the coast. For various aspects of Lydian activities see contributions in Cahill, ed. 2010.

[124] E.g. Yoffee and Cowgill 1988; Gitin et al.1998; Middleton 2010; Yoffee 2005.

occurring events. Most often, the transition to a new world order depended on specific local factors that dictated the manner of the restructuring of social institutions.[125] Therefore, it is more appropriate to view disruption in terms of redefinition of some parts of the sociopolitical milieu, especially political configuration and connections between groups and trade—factors that had a pronounced effect on the patterning of material culture. In some regions, including Ionia, habitation at many settlements and the practices of production (such as of the painted pottery) underwent less pronounced changes in comparison to other regions, such as Lydia in the final centuries of the LBA.

The sociocultural trajectory of Lydia followed a different trend from that of the coast, because the shift in strategies took place already in the 13th century. The LBA settlements were never reoccupied during the early first millennium, and the population presumably became nucleated in and around Sardis (*Figure 36*).[126] This change in settlement pattern was rather pronounced, and as such signaled a changing relationship between people and the environment around them and perhaps even a rejection of the previous institutions symbolized by now abandoned fortified sites.[127] The EIA settlements were now located in good arable lands farther away from the lake, perhaps focusing on the subsistence and crop supply of Sardis, leaving only small hamlets spread through the valley. Yet, there is continuity in some production processes, including ways of mixing clays and forming and decoration in local pottery production. In the EIA, new techniques of surface decoration, higher firing temperatures, and a tendency toward finer levigation of clay were implemented, which eventually led to a diversification of ceramic

[125] Yoffee 2005, 134.
[126] Roosevelt 2010, 58. See also Luke and Roosevelt 2013.
[127] Roosevelt 2010, 58.

categories from the 8th century on (Figure *37*). [128] Clay sources also changed, despite the continuation of potting traditions, possibly as a result of Sardian control over fine-ware ceramic production.[129]

These changes combined came to characterize the entire first half of the first millennium. Their onset, however, should not be explained in terms of population exchange, as has long been assumed based on the impression given by sociolinguistic reconstructions and textual evidence. The evidence from Sardis, albeit limited, suggests continuity of habitation and composition of pottery assemblages as a result of prolonged development from the 13th century, if the current dating of early assemblages from House of the Bronzes is accepted. The shift of settlement patterns witnessed here might have reflected local sociopolitical change and relocation within the valley. As suggested by C. Roosevelt and C. Luke, changes in pottery and mudbrick production can also be explained within this framework of a transition to new economic, political, and social structures, rather than by immigration of a new population.[130] Moreover, even though the shift in mortuary practices may also seem very pronounced, whereby the LBA cemeteries with pithos and cist burials in vicinity of settlements fell out of use in favor of monumental and landscape altering forms of burials (the tumuli of the Lydian era), this transition happened over the span of five centuries.

In Lydia, the key formative period of the emergence of the EIA kingdom—which, more precisely, had started already in the final stages of the LBA—remains poorly understood due to limited archaeological evidence at hand. Much of the current reconstruction relies on analogies

[128] Luke and Roosevelt 2009, 210; Luke et al. 2015, 436-437. It should be noted though that our knowledge of the LBA production remains limited.
[129] Luke et al. 2015, 445. For EIA production at Sardis and the control of clay sources see Kealhofer, Grave and Marsh 2013.
[130] Roosevelt 2010; Luke and Roosevelt 2010.

with neighboring polities, such as Phrygia and the smaller settlements in western Anatolia. The size of the settlement and the degree of centralization at Sardis, as well as its control of the large region of Lydia and beyond by the mid-6th century, is unprecedented elsewhere in western Anatolia. At that time, a relationship between Lydia and Ionia can be documented by the transfer of objects, technologies, and people in the 6th century, shown by archaeological as well as textual evidence.[131] At this point, the Lydians and the Ionians had lived side-by-side for some time now, as documented by uninterrupted occupation sequences at most sites in the region. It is not, therefore, unfeasible that such an interaction also took place in the earlier, albeit less well documented, period characterized by the emergence of new sociopolitical institutions in these neighboring regions. Traditionally, however, the rise of the polities in Ionia has been studied within a Hellenocentric perspective, and the rise of Lydia was seen as an unrelated endemic Anatolian phenomenon. It is striking that Lydia and Ionia came to be characterized by different forms of sociopolitical organization in the EIA, while in the LBA they shared more similarities as Arzawan polities, albeit the coastal area might have been much more fragmented than central western Anatolia. In the EIA, Lydia became controlled by a large centralized center (presumably controlled by powerful élite) commanding territory of a significant size, whereas settlements in Ionia that were occupied both in the LBA and the EIA adopted the city-state model.

It seems that the historical trajectories of the Seha River Land and Lydia shared common attributes. They were significant powers with respect to western Anatolia, and in the case of Lydia, even in the larger Anatolian/Near Eastern orbit.[132] Lydian state formation has been

[131] Ramage 1994; Gürtekin-Demir 2002; various contributions in Cahill, ed. 2010; Greenewalt 2011; Kistler 2011.
[132] Burkert (2004, 48) argues that one of the greatest achievements of the Lydian monarchs was to extend the land route from Mesopotamia through Gordion all the way to the Anatolian western coast. Due to its established ties with Assyria, Phrygia might have provided an important intermediary between the Near East and Lydia.

compared to the processes of the better documented Phrygian case.[133] Apart from the state-like organization, similarities between those two included the purported migratory origins of both EIA peoples, a model which has now been embraced in the Phrygian and rejected in the Lydian case. Phrygian state formation gained momentum in the 10th and 9th centuries with interests in the Near East,[134] while the Lydian kingdom rose to prominence in the 7th century, and until then had a marginal position with respect to the political scene of Anatolia and the Near East.[135]

During the LBA at Gordion, at least some inhabitants could read Luwian, as evidenced by stamp seals and sealings bearing Hittite hieroglyphs.[136] Four hundred years later, the first writing at EIA Gordion was Phrygian, related to Greek and Thracian and written in an alphabet closely related to Greek.[137] At Gordion, however, the change of multiple aspects of material culture related to domestic life between the LBA and EIA strata provide good support for the argument in favor of immigration at the end of the second millennium. The excavations of Gordion sequences of the LBA (Levels YHSS 9-8) and the EIA (Level YHSS 7) revealed that two different groups inhabited the site in the late second millennium.[138] While the LBA material culture is linked to the Hittites, a clear discontinuity in terms of architecture, building techniques, subsistence, storage strategies, and pottery manufacture (the switch from large-scale production by workshops to entirely handmade production within individual households) altogether suggests that new people settled on the mound only shortly after its abandonment around 1200 (YHSS

[133] Drews 1993; for archaeological evidence see Voigt and Henrickson 2000.
[134] The first mention of the king of the Mushku in the Assyrian royal inscription date to the end of the 12th century to the reign of Tiglath-pileser. Mushku has been identified with the later Mushki, the Phrygians. If this identification is correct, then this mention provides a terminus post quem for the arrival of the Phrygian speakers into Anatolia (Voigt and Henrickson 2000, 354).
[135] Phrygia figures as one of the increasingly important allies of the Assyrian king in the annals from the 8th century (Rose 2012, 13).
[136] Sams and Voigt 1989.
[137] Earliest inscriptions made on wax tablets bear names and date to the last quarter of the 8th century (Voigt and Henrickson 2000, 332).
[138] Henrickson and Voigt 1998, 83.

7B), even though there is no significant stratigraphic occupational hiatus. Furthermore, it seems that the site experienced an additional influx of people at the beginning of Phase 7A (11th century). This population became easily incorporated into the existing social structure, judging by the gradual transformations in ceramic production and co-existence of new buff-wares with already present handmade traditions, and the gradual change in building size and construction techniques.[139]

At Sardis, however, such a break is not visible, and therefore, the abandonment of the LBA citadels at a time when Sardis was already occupied, albeit on a small scale, does not have to be caused by the settling of new people. The emergence of Sardis in the later stages of the LBA can be satisfactorily explained in terms of local dynamics. The shift of settlement patterns in the valley can be regarded as a reflection of a pull exerted by Sardis and a more general change in the conceptualization and utilization of the landscape, but it can also be argued that the new settlement center shared characteristics with the LBA sites. A settlement in the foothills of the Tmolus was not only defensive, since it offered the option of retreating further into the mountains, but also gave inhabitants access to perennial springs, good arable land, and good sources of electrum. Even the early modern road leading through the valley hugs these hills, providing protection for travelers. Additionally, the single urban center enjoys a commanding view of the plain to the south of the lake.

Conclusion

On a final note, I would like to return to my primary interest, which is to understand the transformations after the end of the 13th century upheavals in western Anatolia and the role of

[139] Voigt 1994. See Voigt and Henrickson (2000) for extended discussion of stratigraphy, pottery manufacture and typology. See also various contributions in Rose 2012.

mobility as a vehicle for some continuity of social and cultural memory at the dawn of the EIA. Lydia and Sardis offer an interesting case study that is unlike the others discussed in this dissertation. The emergence of Lydia is noteworthy, as its sociopolitical organization during the Middle Lydian period (early 7th to mid-6th centuries), understood relatively securely through both archaeology and written evidence, was not unlike that of its LBA predecessor. Of course, the greatest obstacle for territorial expansion in the LBA was presented by the Hittite empire, which exerted political control over its smaller neighbors to the west. Without the presence of a strong centralized empire, however, Lydia was able to extend its powers farther east after the consolidation of much territory in Anatolia. Nonetheless, Lydia also experienced similar patterns of political formation—namely, large centers commanding extensive hinterland—in both the LBA and the EIA, whereas smaller polities developed on the coast of Anatolia in the EIA.

Furthermore, the discovery of a LBA network of settlements in the Hermos valley has allowed us to trace the dynamics of the relationship between central and coastal western Anatolian regions deeper back in time. Even though evidence for direct engagement between these two regions in the form of imports at Kaymakçı is missing, the parallels in architecture, ceramic production, small finds, and subsistence strategies suggest shared lifeways with other LBA sites further west, including Troy, Panaztepe, and Ephesos/Ayasoluk, and southeast, such as Beycesultan.[140] All these belonged to the larger entity of allied Arzawan polities, which disintegrated sometime in the 13th century. During the later stages of the second millennium, the political relationship between once allied regions fractured, and the regions embarked upon different historical trajectories. Interaction among them continued, including connections between the neighboring EIA regions of Ionia and Lydia, which emerged in the same area as was

[140] Roosevelt, Luke and Ünlüsoy 2016; Roosevelt and Luke2017 with bibliography.

previously encompassed by two former Arzawan regions, Mira or Arzawa Minor and the Seha River Land.

The Ionian city-states have often been imagined as emerging against the background of—or in the shadows of—the Lydian kingdom, a large and unchanging entity. The Lydian kingdom, however, experienced parallel processes of formation even as late as the 7th century, when it became a major regional power during the reign of Gyges and his successors.[141] The EIA was therefore a dynamic period both in the western Anatolian region as well as in the Hermos River valley, even if it remains relatively elusive in the archaeological record. This was the period of the emergence of the Ionian city-states and the Lydian kingdom, the only large state-like polity in western Anatolia. The process of self-definition that lay behind the formation of Ionian identity also took place in Lydia, and the incipient Lydian culture had an impact on inland Ionian cities, such as Colophon, as well as on prominent cults, such as that at Ephesos. The relationships between these two regions were therefore interactive. What made the material culture of these two regions distinctive, yet at the same time led to a sharing of elements and increased interaction in course of the EIA, was not only proximity in terms of geography, but also long-standing patterns of engagement with one another. The Lydian political and economic interests in their western neighbors became much more pronounced by the end of the EIA. This shift in the character of engagement demonstrates one of the larger points highlighted throughout this work: that trade, exchange, and political engagement were all more formalized types of

[141] As there are no mentions of other than Mermnad kings in the Near Eastern sources, other kings mentioned by Herodotus (Atyad, Atys, Lydus, and Heraklid, including Kandaules) remain mythical rather than historical Roosevelt 2009, 24-25). Furthermore, the mechanisms of its expansion to the east are not currently understood, as the redating of Gordion sequences has suggested that the Lydians did not take advantage of weakened Phrygian state after Cimmerian incursions, as had been previously suggested (DeVries 2007; various contributions in Rose 2012).

intercultural encounter that stemmed from the already established less formal forms of contact and connectivity.

CHAPTER 6: NEIGHBORS TO THE SOUTH: CARIANS, LELEGIANS, AND FOREIGNERS IN CARIA

Introduction

Ancient Caria was a diverse region which has received relatively little systematic attention compared with its northern neighbor Ionia. Carian settlements, like those in Ionia, were identified in ancient Greek literary sources as receiving Greek migrants. Caria was also described as inhabited by heterogeneous ethnic groups (the Lelegians, Carians, and Greeks) in Classical texts, and the region was partially incorporated into the emerging Lydian kingdom in the 7th century.[1] This heterogeneity of Caria was also mirrored in the sociopolitical sphere. Even though state-like polities, like those in Ionia, developed on its littoral, they were never considered a part of Ionia. Instead, they maintained membership in the Carian *koinon* together with inland communities, which at times embraced selected markers of Lydian cultural expression, such as tumulus burial and rock cut tombs (as for instance in the environs of Mylasa). Furthermore, communities in Caria, just like those in Lydia, maintained to varying degrees some local elements—such as the language and cult practices—despite the increased adoption of the Greek language and civic institutions in the course of the first millennium. This brief sketch suggests that Caria experienced similar processes of sociocultural transformations to those in Ionia, but the shared cultural identity that emerges in the region by the end of the EIA is Carian, rather than Greek. This chapter therefore

[1] E.g., Rattè 2009.

traces the interaction of communities in the region of Caria with its neighbors and will discern whether the nature of engagement differed to those of early Ionia.

The early history of Caria is quite difficult to trace, though rich remains of early habitation have come to light through limited excavations and survey. Even despite a growing archaeological interest in recent years, to date only a few LBA and EIA sites have been excavated and published, as most foci of ancient activities have been explored through surface surveys or as a part of salvage efforts. Nonetheless, the early era of Carian history has captivated archaeological attention, and in light of the general absence of archaeological evidence scholars have turned to classical texts in the hope of reconstructing the sociocultural trajectory of the late second millennium in this region. The references to Caria during the first millennium come from sources written in Greek, and although they provide rich information about the region, they nonetheless approach the subject from the specific angle of ancient Greek historiography and characterize it as a place on the fringes of the Greek world, which eventually becomes inextricably linked to the Greek homeland by a series of migrations.[2]

In this chapter, instead of turning to historical-linguistic reconstruction in order to explain the patterning of material culture during the EIA, I examine historical and archaeological lines of evidence separately. This chapter shows what the material culture can tell us about the sociocultural character of early Caria by tracing the relatively limited remains of the end of the LBA and the first few centuries of the EIA (roughly the end of the 12th/beginning of the 11th to the 9th century). The goal, however, is to highlight the dynamics of intercultural encounters characteristic of much of early Caria as understood from archaeological evidence, and to understand why and how the distant past was perceived and manipulated during the Archaic and

[2] E.g. Herodotus 1.171 and Strabo 13.1.49ff and 14.2.21ff.

Classical eras. As the Carian historical evidence is less well known than that of Ionia, it will be given a more extensive evaluation.

In the last decade or so, some scholars have argued that rather than functioning as historical narratives, the Greek foundation stories from the middle of the first millennium negotiated present realities by means of reflection on the past, and as such their significance should be firmly anchored within their Archaic and Classical contexts.[3] Thus, a further objective, common to a number of chapters in this dissertation, is the reassessment of the explanations that rely on migration as a vehicle for cultural change in southwest Anatolia. Lastly, it will be suggested that physical remains may have played a significant role in constructing and shaping social membership, in particular in the process of increased emphasis on oppositional as opposed to multiple identities after the end of the EIA.

The Archaeology of Early Caria: The Halicarnassos Peninsula

The literary tradition has had a great impact on the archaeological agenda in the region, especially discernible in a search for the legendary Lelegians of the Halicarnassos peninsula. Accounts of Herodotus, Strabo, and Pausanias described this part of Anatolia as first being inhabited by people called the Lelegians (Leleges), who were either replaced by or cohabited with the Carians before the coming of the Greeks.[4] While the Carians are known through their own language and writing as well as their indigenous social, political, and religious institutions that persisted through much of the first millennium, there is no surviving trace of the Lelegians in epigraphic evidence of the Greek or Carian language. Nonetheless, the literary tradition has had a great impact on the archaeological agenda in the region. Many scholars turned to the

[3] Hall 1997; Crielaard 2009; Mac Sweeney 2013. See also Chapters 2 and 7.
[4] Hdt 1.143-144, 1.171; Strabo 7.7.2-3; Pausanias 3.1.1.

ancient sources for clues and explanations, and sought to define how the Lelegian settlements differed from the Carian sites.

The first systematic explorations began in the second half of the 19th century CE when C. T. Newton, followed by W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres and by A. Maiuri a few decades later, identified ancient architectural remains of a 'primitive type' that were distinct from the recognizable architectural styles of the Classical ruins.[5] To explain their origins, early explorers turned to the ancient sources for clues and explanations, and based on literary evidence of Strabo, Pliny, and the towns listed in the Athenian tribute lists described in some Classical texts as Lelegian, they identified the rural ruins of the Halicarnassos peninsula as belonging to the first inhabitants of this land, the Lelegians (or the Leleges). In the 1950s CE, Bean and Cook conducted an extensive survey of monuments on the Halicarnassos peninsula with a specific goal of identifying and characterizing the archaeological remains of the Lelegians, and formalizing the distinction between the Lelegian and the Carian settlements (*Figure 38*).[6] Similarly, W. Radt's impressive one-man survey of the area was focused on shedding light onto the archaeological signature of the peninsula's Archaic population, also identified with the Lelegians.[7] Attempts to define and formalize the distinction between the material culture of the Lelegians and the Carians have continued in recent years, too.[8]

Linked to these efforts has also been the endeavor to trace the influx of Greek speakers from the western into the boundaries of Carian territory during the LBA and EIA. Before I

[5] Newton 1862; Paton 1887; Paton and Myres 1896, 205; Maiuri 1921/1922. For commentary see Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004, 113; Carstens 2008, 56-57; Rumscheid 2009, 173-4.
[6] Bean and Cook 1955.
[7] Radt 1970; 1992.
[8] Varinlioğlu (1992) attempted to complete the identification of all 'Lelegian' town names from the Athenian tribute lists and assigned them to the ruined settlements on the Halicarnassos peninsula (the most prominent of which are Theangela, Amynanda and Syangela, Myndus, Termera, Telmissus, and Pedasa). These studies, however, should be used with caution, as none of the towns of the tribute list are listed as Lelegian; they are identified as such based solely on Strabo's and Pausanias' identification. See also contributions in Rumscheid, ed. 2009.

examine the material elements that have been evoked as evidence of the Lelegian presence on the peninsula and reconsider the interpretations of sociocultural milieu of early Caria, a brief discussion of the earlier LBA remains will be provided. The evidence for LBA occupation is often omitted from the reconstruction of the EIA sociocultural milieu, even though it provides an important background for the contextualization of the EIA developments. These data mainly comprise funerary evidence, but their early excavation and incomplete publication does not allow always us to understand mortuary customs and draw conclusion about spatial organization of the cemeteries. However, a notable feature of the evidence is that it spans the transition from the LBA to EIA, a phenomenon often ignored by scholars interested in the EIA period.[9]

The Late Bronze Age Evidence

In the discussion of cultural mixing and the possible presence of the Mycenaeans in Anatolia, two cemeteries on hills overlooking the Aegean Sea tend to be brought forth as evidence for increased Aegean presence in the area. The first cemetery containing chamber tombs was found at Müsgebi, located on the Halicarnassos peninsula just east of Bodrum, and a single chamber tomb has been found at Pilavtepe situated just outside of the peninsula between Milas and Iasos. While the settlement to which the cemetery of Müsgebi belonged has not been found, the wealthy chamber tomb at Pilavtepe was linked to a site, which has not been explored yet.[10] The tomb and the associated site commanded a good view of the Gulf of Güllük and Iasos. It has traditionally been suggested that interred in chamber tombs were members of a high-ranking family, but the fragmentary condition of bones, found in the western end of the chamber, does not allow a more specific conclusion in this case. The wealthy funerary assemblage was in

[9] But see the work of A. M. Carstens (2008, 2011) on the transitional period.
[10] Benter 2009a.

use from the LH IIIA2 to IIIC Early period, as revealed by the deposition of 30 complete vessels and fragments and various small finds such as seals, stone weights, and precious amber as well as gold jewelry (*Figure 39*).[11]

The large cemetery of Müsgebi has attracted a lot of archaeological attention after 48 chamber tombs were discovered here.[12] The cemetery was characterized as Mycenaean due to a high proportion of Mycenaean-style items associated with the burials (*Figure 40*). Subterranean chamber tombs contained primarily inhumations; only three cremations were excavated. The tombs contained a variety of Mycenaean vessels mostly of LH IIIA2 to IIIB date, although a small number of tombs also produced vases from LH IIIC period.[13] Local shapes were few in number. No settlement has been found in its vicinity and, therefore, it is not possible to assess who the people buried at the site were and where they came from. About half the pottery was produced in the vicinity of the site and at Miletos, while the rest came primarily from Rhodes, suggesting a close connection between the Dodecanese and southwest Anatolia.[14] Despite the large quantity of Mycenaean elements at the cemetery, a recent restudy of the material has suggested that the tomb assemblages at Müsgebi should not be conceived of as typically 'Mycenaean', defined in terms of Greek Mainland origins, but rather as exhibiting a combination of different cultural influences. The use of stirrup jars in chamber tombs, for example, is a feature typical of Greek mainland burial practices, but large piriform jars constitute a rarity on the Greek mainland and are much more common in chamber tombs on Rhodes.[15]

[11] Benter 2009a, 351ff.
[12] Boysal 1967b; Mee 1998, 138. Although Müsgebi is located in the Halicarnassos peninsula, it is discussed in this section, as its excavation and interpretation has figured prominently in the debate of the Mycenaean influence on the LBA southwest Anatolia, rather than the Lelegian question.
[13] Boysal 1967b; Mountjoy 1998, 36 and 53.
[14] Özgünel 1979; Carstens 2008, 63.
[15] Eerbeek 2015.

One of the issues with which archaeologists are still struggling, as outlined in Chapter 4, is the lack of settlement evidence for the crucial period of transition between the LH IIIC Middle to PG period, a very significant chronological gap spanning the 11th century, but the situation is at least in small part mitigated by the discovery of a cemetery on the peninsula, which yielded evidence for the transitional period. Half-way between Bodrum and Milas near the small village of Çömlekçi lies a necropolis dated to the 'Submycenaean' period in the publications (but here considered as the transitional LH IIIC to PG) (Figure *41*).[16] The cemetery was excavated by Boysal in the 1960s, but since no plan or a full report has been published, the exact number, position, and architecture of tombs is uncertain.[17] Rectangular and circular cist tombs were built of rubble masonry of smaller stones. The floor was lined with flat stone slabs, and such slabs were also used to cover the cists. Both inhumations and cremations were reported.[18] Boysal briefly published three oinochoai from here, which he dated to the 'Submycenaean' (transitional LH IIIC to PG) period (*Figure 42*).[19] His dating was based on stylistic attributes of the vessels, which would comfortably fit into the LH IIIC and PG periods, but he favored a 'Submycenaean' date because of the absence of certain popular LH IIIC shapes, such as stirrup jars.

When addressing issues of population composition, burial evidence is often invoked as one of the main indicators for the presence of foreigners, but the complex relationship between manipulation of identity and material culture, as discussed earlier, is also manifested in the funerary record. Even though one cannot rely on the assumption that the treatment in death has

[16] Submycenaean as a chronological designation does not seem valid for most of the Aegean, but rather is limited to Attic cemeteries (e.g. Rutter 1978; Ruppenstein 2009). Submycenaean appears to have been a pottery style that combined LH IIIC decorative style with vessel shapes that are rarely found in settlement context (especially lekythoi and amphoriskoi); in chronological terms, it seems to be rather a brief phase at the end of the LH IIIC (Rutter's LH IIIC Phase 5 Late).
[17] Boysal 1967b; Carstens 2008, 70-71.
[18] Boysal 1967a.
[19] Boysal 1985.

direct relationship to an individual's status in life and the organization of society in which the individual belonged, the lack of good contextual data for early mortuary evidence precludes comprehensive understanding of the social organization of Caria at the end of the second millennium. Nonetheless, it is possible to assert the inhabitants of this region drew on different elements. By incorporating various objects from both more distant and local foci, the people burying their dead at Müsgebi, Pilavtepe, and Çömlekçi articulated their incorporation into the wider Aegean and Anatolian spheres, while at the same time maintained their local uniqueness expressed through the deposition of an innovative combination of foreign objects, locally made painted pottery, and locally made non-painted vessels.

The Early Iron Age Evidence

Scholars have tended to link the first millennium material culture to ethnic identities as envisioned by the Classical and later sources, namely questions concerning the relationship between indigenous Carians and Lelegians and migrating Greeks, as opposed to its LBA heritage. In a recent study of the EIA remains on the Halicarnassos peninsula, A. M. Carstens brought the notion of Lelegian material culture under scrutiny and reanalyzed three classes of evidence previously identified by W. Radt as indicative of the Lelegian presence. These include the compound buildings, stone tumuli, and strongholds. In addition, she examined some of the earlier material from the peninsula.[20] She concluded that while it was possible to identify the lifestyle of the early inhabitants, there was no evidence supporting the distinction between the Carians and Lelegians or the identification of truly Lelegian features on the basis of material remains alone.

[20] Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004; Carstens 2008; 2009; 2011.

Her study highlighted a problematic attribute of the evidence at hand, namely the chronological disparity between the abovementioned classes of evidence. On the one hand, while the PG period is documented by the presence of tumuli, no settlements of that date have been discovered. The other two classes of evidence (the compound buildings and strongholds), on the other hand, belonged mostly to the Archaic period. The end of the EIA witnessed a lot of changes, as it was the period during which the peninsula became increasingly influenced by developments in other parts of Anatolia and the Dodecanese, a trend prominently visible in the pottery production in form of rising popularity of the painted Carian Geometric pottery. Interestingly, however, most of the settlements on the Halicarnassos peninsula maintained their indigenous architectural features at least until the end of the Archaic period, although the larger loci with good harbors, such as Halicarnassos and Myndos, did not follow this pattern and readily embraced building innovations from neighboring regions.

The compound buildings were usually circular and consisted of an open courtyard for farm animals and a few rooms that provided shelter from weather as well as protection against wild animals. These units were located only at higher elevations on slopes suitable for herding; they were not found in agricultural areas or by the coast. The structures were suitable for smaller clusters of pastoralists who lived scattered through the countryside. Altogether, Radt identified at least 70 such compounds on the peninsula and around Iasos, most of which dated to the Archaic period (*Figure 43*).[21] Local easily breakable gray limestone was used for the construction of dry stone masonry in the east of the peninsula, while in the west larger volcanic rocks were utilized.[22] These broke into relatively regular blocks. This type of construction has been labeled as 'Lelegian' after the mythical early inhabitants of the area, and was typical for the

[21] Radt 1970, 150; Ciaciulli 2013.
[22] Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004, 113.

Halicarnassos peninsula and the areas immediately east of it. Rather than assigning them a specific ethnic meaning, A. M. Carstens has argued that the compound buildings were particularly suited to the pastoral lifestyle of the EIA inhabitants of the peninsula, and therefore were not necessarily representative of a particular ethnicity.[23] Likewise, the relatively contained fortified settlements dating to the 7th century and later were also appropriate for the pastoral lifestyle of small dispersed groups, as they provided protection and a good view of the surrounding landscape.

The two cemeteries on the peninsula, Assarlık and Gökçebel/Dirmil, described in further detail below with respect to the mortuary evidence, were located close to such settlements enveloped by polygonal and pseudo-isodomic fortification walls dating to the Archaic period.[24] Yet, the pre-Archaic layout of these settlements cannot be determined, as they were never excavated and only later periods of occupation were preserved above the surface. Similar fortified sites have been identified throughout the peninsula at Gürice, Gökceler (identified as ancient Pedasa), Alazeytin, Bozdağ, Göl, Kaplan Dağ, and Geriş, just to name a few.[25]

Remarkable stone chamber tombs at Assarlık and Gökçebel/Dirmil were in use during the PG period, as indicated by grave goods that Paton and Myres reported to have been found in the disturbed tomb chambers (*Figure 44* and *Figure 45*).[26] The settlement of Assarlık, located in the southwest corner of the peninsula, is situated on a steep mountain top with a view of the coast. The site was surrounded by a fortification wall, and a chamber tomb cemetery was located

[23] Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004, 113-119. Contra Radt (1970), who identified them as Lelegian pastoral compounds.
[24] Bean and Cook 1955, 116-118; Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004, 115.
[25] Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004, 116-117. See also Bean and Cook 1955; Radt 1970; Diler and Gümüş 2010.
[26] Although these tumuli were already disturbed when inspected by Paton and Newton in 1886, it seems that EPG pottery was found in and around all the tumuli (which were originally preserved to varying degrees from just circular stone enclosures on the ground to standing stone chambers and dromoi). See Paton 1887; Paton and Myres 1896; for a complete description see Boysal 1967a; Carstens 2008; 2011.

nearby. Paton reported the presence of rectangular enclosures (tomb terraces) and chamber tombs made of isodomic ashlar masonry and with corbelled vaults.[27] The LPG tomb at Gökçebel/Dirmil, situated in the northwest of the peninsula, was made of masonry of unworked stones.[28] The design of the tomb diverged from the norm, as under the chamber there was a rectangular pit that held a terracotta sarcophagus, which seems to be a unique feature.[29] Apart from it, these roughly contemporary tombs shared some common characteristics. The exterior of both tumuli was roughly circular in shape, the tombs consisted of a dromos and a rectangular chamber, and were roofed over with a pyramidal vault.[30] Both inhumations and cremation burials were found at Assarlık, although only inhumations were found at Gökçebel/Dirmil. Burial goods in the tombs included weapons, jewelry, and pottery, which were characterized as having close contact with the Aegean (*Figure 46* and *Figure 47*).[31] Metal objects, such as fibulae and weapons, were produced locally, but shared broad stylistic parallels with Crete, Cyprus, and the Dodecanese.[32]

The PG pottery from Assarlık and Gökçebel/Dirmil was local, although as observed by some, it exhibited stylistic parallels with Ionian and Attic examples in terms of shape and decoration.[33] Boysal dated Assarlık to the 'Submycenaean' and the beginning of the PG period, based on the presence of a stirrup jar, while the pottery from Gökçebel/Dirmil indicated a LPG

[27] Paton 1887, 67-68; Carstens 2008, 71; Carstens 2011, 484. Paton excavated two tumuli and several circular and rectangular enclosures at Assarlık, which were in use from the 12th to the 8th century, but Carstens was not able to find the location of these tombs as Paton's topographic indicia are confusing and incomplete.
[28] Carstens 2008, 80. Carstens description is problematic—she identifies the masonry as polygonal made of unworked stones, which is contradictory. The masonry can be either polygonal or made of unworked stones, and the re-examination of pictures published in Paton's report and her own work suggests that the stones were not worked. Local stone easily broke into roughly regular blocks, and these were stacked on top of each other.
[29] Mellink 1964, 161; Boysal 1967a, 44-45; Carstens 2011, 490. This particular burial included only inhumations. The sarcophagus included the remains of a man (ca. 65 years old) and a woman (ca. 35 years old) (Tunukan 1964).
[30] Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004, 113-119.; Carstens 2008, 72-3.
[31] Boysal 1967a, 43; Carstens 2008, 76-83.
[32] Paton 1887, 68ff; Carstens 2011, esp. 492.
[33] Coldstream 1968, 264-269; Bass 1963; Özgünel 1979, 69-70 (Dirmil) and 76-78 (Assarlık).

date.[34] Both V. Desborough and N. Coldstream considered these similarities to be the outcome of the Greek migratory movement to the peninsula, whereby the Greek migrants brought the vessels with them from abroad.[35] Although A. Snodgrass argued in favor of local production of this pottery, he concluded that at least the early pieces must have been brought in by the migrants before local emulation took off,[36] thus disregarding the possibility that these vessels might have been imported and used by the locals (if indeed these vessels were imports).

C. Özgünel, who restudied much of the Carian Geometric pottery, however, argued in favor of a more local phenomenon, as most of the popular PG Athenian shapes (e.g., kalathos, kantaros, lekythos, and circular pyxis) were not found at these cemeteries.[37] He characterized the Carian PG as a mosaic of influences from different places, but he nonetheless linked all elements of Carian style to influences from specific production places in Greece and Aegean.[38] In a more recent monograph on Carian Geometric pottery, M. Bulba has considered the Assarlık pottery to be of local type.[39]

More tumuli of the early first millennium were examined were discovered relatively recently. The stone tomb chambers and dromoi of LPG circular tumulus at Pedasa with a square chamber and smaller tumuli on neighboring hills, such as tumulus G at Sivriçam Hill, were surveyed and partially excavated (*Figure 48*).[40] They are located in an area around modern Torba, which occupied high peaks of ridges north of Halicarnassos. While these peaks were crowned with tumuli, their lower slopes might have served as platforms for burial rites.[41] It is

[34] Boysal 1967b, 43; Bass 1963; Bulba 2010, 20ff; Carstens 2011.
[35] Desborough 1952, 220-222.
[36] Snodgrass 1971, 67 and 328-329.
[37] Özgünel 1979, 66.
[38] Özgünel 1979, 65-6.
[39] Bulba 2010, 20 and 167.
[40] Diler 2009.
[41] Diler 2009, 370.

intriguing that corresponding settlements have not been found to date; the fortifications, domestic and public structures at Pedasa belong to the Archaic and Classical periods.[42] Hence, while the presence of tumuli shows that at least some population utilized the hilly landscape of the peninsula in the beginning of the first millennium, the settlements provide evidence for later habitation only. In line with the previous interpretations centering on the elusive Lelegians, A. Diler considers them as the remains of the Lelegian culture.

A couple of larger foci considered distinct from the rural 'Lelegian' settlements on the peninsula sprang up during the EIA in close proximity to the sea. The early habitation at the principal Classical city, Halicarnassos, has been brought to light only at one location. To date, two pieces of obsidian flakes were found at Kaplan Kalesi, and other pre-Mausolean traces, if present, must have been eradicated by later Hellenistic building activities and the construction of the Castle of St. John.[43] Very recently, some unspecified Mycenaean era artifacts came to light in the Ortakent neighborhood northwest of Bodrum and at Gümüşluk.[44] One of better documented early settlements is the predecessor of the Classical town of Myndos located by modern Gümüşluk on the western end of the peninsula. New Myndos was established in the mid-4th century, perhaps when Mausolus ordered a region-wide synoikism that resulted in the establishment of a larger settlement on the coast.[45] The first settlement stood on the Kocadağ peninsula (*Figure 49*). The top of the small peninsula was fortified by a wall made of cyclopean masonry of what the excavators termed "typical EIA" local technique of dry stone construction, which M. Şahin identified as indigenous Lelegian (*Figure 50*).[46] Like A. Diler, M. Şahin

[42] Diler 2009, 374-376.
[43] Bean and Cook 1955, 94.
[44] To date, the discovery has been announced through popular media only http://eu.greekreporter.com/2014/11/11/mycenean-artifacts-discovered-in-ancient-alikarnasos/ (accessed 3/28/2017).
[45] Bean and Cook 1955, 110; Marchese 1989, 6; Şahin 2009.
[46] Şahin 2009, 506.

believes that the early occupation on the peninsula should be identified with the legendary pre-Classical inhabitants, the Lelegians.

According to M. Şahin, the construction of the gate recalls the indirect-access gates of Mycenae and Troy VIIa, prompting him to suggest that the fortifications were quite early and that the settlement had links with the Mycenaean world—the Argolid and Boeotia in particular—during the 13th century. The site, it has been argued, came into early contact with colonists from the western at the dawn of LBA.[47] There is no strong evidence, however, to support this argument, and the presence of colonists cannot be confirmed, as the pottery found at the site dates to much later periods and the range of shapes and styles accords with the general pattern seen in the region. An alternative suggestion, therefore, can be offered. While the cyclopean masonry is more robust than that of fortifications found elsewhere on the peninsula, it seems to bear more similarities with the fortifications in the eastern Aegean and elsewhere in southwest Anatolia. Thus, rather than being a colony, it seems that the settlement of Myndos took on a more 'international' character, just as the nearby settlements of Iasos or on Kos (Palaiopyli) (*Figure 51*),[48] as a result of its Aegean-focused communication with the nearby islands of the Dodecanese.

By the Archaic period, there were two components of the settlement system on the Halicarnassos peninsula—the rural pastoral compounds together with small fortified sites in the hills, and larger towns close to the coast. While the rural sites maintained more traditional character, the larger settlements adopted a more cosmopolitan character, so to speak. The towns

[47] Şahin 2009, 511-514.

[48] At Palaiopyli, the masonry of the stretch of the preserved cyclopean walls is roughly hewn cyclopean dry stone masonry (Hope-Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 59-60). Here, smaller stones filling gaps between large masonry are rare, which is dissimilar to the fortifications of Old Myndos where smaller rocks fill the spaces between large stones. Some LH III sherds have been found in the vicinity of the area both by Hope-Simpson and Lazenby (deep bowl fragments) as well as during the author's visit in November 2014 (a jar and a stirrup jar fragments). For Iasos see Benzi 2005; Momigliano 2012.

were usually located on the coastline taking advantage of the connections facilitated by the sea routes, such as Halicarnassos and Myndos, while the other settlements tended to be somewhat removed, situated on hilltops and ridges. The importance of access to sea routes is highlighted by the examples of the late classical synoikism of Myndos instigated by Mausolus to promote these Carian towns and the relocation of the Hecatomnid capital from Mylasa to Halicarnassos. The settlements in the hills, however, maintained their local character and pastoral focus without much change throughout most of the first millennium.

While the site at Damlıboğaz (ancient Hydai) is not located on the peninsula proper, it was investigated with the explicit purpose of elucidating the relationship between the Carians and the Lelegians and of defining the impact of Dorian migrations into the area.[49] The settlement was located between Milas and Iasos by the ancient Kyrbesos (modern Sarıçay) River. The river brought in a substantial amount of alluvium, and therefore it has not been possible to investigate the earliest habitation levels in the area comprehensively, even though materials from the EBA onward have been found on the surface. The LBA traces are minimal and consist of a single tripod cup.[50] During the EIA, the settlement thrived and the inhabitants buried their dead in chamber tombs dug into the Sodra Dağı hill immediately to the west of the modern village. Two chamber tombs in the vicinity of the village mosque were also documented. The unlooted Chamber Tomb 2 contained LG Carian painted pottery of 8th century date and a terracotta sarcophagus. This material, together with the earliest domestic oval structures, has been assumed to have belonged to the Lelegians, and the form of the material culture at the site has gained an explicit ethnic connotation in the interpretation of the excavators, even though A. Diler himself has admitted that the oval domestic architectural tradition can be found elsewhere in the Aegean

[49] Diler 2009, 359-360.
[50] Diler 2009, 362.

as well as southwest Anatolia (*Figure 52*).[51] Similarly, the curvilinear and oval buildings located on easily defensible hills around Iasos have also been interpreted as Lelegian based on the use of local stone in their construction, which is similar to the construction on the Halicarnassos peninsula.[52] Curvilinear and oval architecture, however, has a long standing tradition common to both Anatolia and the Aegean ever since the EBA,[53] and the examples from this region can be distinguished only by the use of local material, the easily breakable limestone. Therefore, their presence in the EIA should not be considered an isolated phenomenon, certainly not one that implies specific ethnic associations.

In a recent exhaustive overview of the Lelegian material culture in western Anatolia, F. Rumscheid has distinguished between different groups of the Lelegians mentioned in the sources, and has been interested in tracing the material culture of a group of Lelegians, who, according to Homer, migrated to Pedasa on the Halicarnassos Peninsula from Pedasos in the southern Troad sometime in the beginning of the first millennium.[54] While he has noted that the accounts are legendary in nature, he has nonetheless accepted the premise as a starting point of his investigations for the traces of the Pedasa (i.e. 'true') Lelegians in the Halicarnassos Peninsula.

Following W. Radt, Rumscheid has identified several archaeological elements as Lelegian—settlements surrounded by fortification walls, fortified strongholds (*Fluchtburgen*), farmsteads, herding compounds (*Viehpferche*), polygonal masonry style, and tumulus cemeteries—and traced their distribution both within and outside the peninsula.[55] While he has

[51] E.g. Klazomenai (Ersoy 2007, 152). Diler 2009, 361.
[52] Cianciulli 2013.
[53] Oval and apsidal houses first appeared in the Aegean and western Anatolia since the Neolithic, although they were more common in the EBA through the EIA. See Mazarakis-Ainian (1989, 269) for early examples.
[54] Rumscheid 2009. *The Iliad* 10.428ff and 20.90-92.
[55] Rumscheid 2009, 188ff.

demonstrated that these categories of material culture are found less frequently outside than within the peninsula, the wide geographic distribution of fortified settlements with similar lay-outs to those of the Halicarnassos peninsula and the so-called Lelegian masonry is notable. They can be found in the area between the slopes of Mt. Grion and the Latmos in the north (for example at Alazeytin Kalesi, Pidasa, Sodra Dağ and Hydai/Damlıboğaz, as well as in the environs of Iasos) and the Bozburun peninsula in the south (*Figure 53*). Rumscheid, however, has concluded that the evidence in favor of the existence of a separate group, the Lelegians, is strong even though their distinct material culture became less pronounced after the end of the Archaic period.[56] Yet, most of the material features identified as Lelegian date to the late 8th to the 6th century—with the exception of three early cemeteries at Assarlık, Gökçebel/Dirmil, and Çömlekçi. The Lelegian presence on the peninsula would thus be rather brief. This short period contradicts the picture of the Lelegians as early inhabitants who remained a distinct group from the Carians even in the Classical period sketched by the ancient sources and accepted by Rumscheid and others.[57]

Additionally, Rumscheid has also argued for the veracity of the literary sources even though he has noted that most of the settlements in the Troad seem to be contemporary (such as Antandros, Assos, and Lamponia) or even later (for example Old Gargara) than the so-called Lelegian settlements of the Halicarnassos peninsula, and that there is no evidence for the Lelegian material culture in the Troad. Clearly, there is a divergence between the stories told about the Lelegians and the archaeological evidence. Furthermore, Rumscheid has conceded that the Lelegian walls cannot be traced solely to the Lelegians of the Halicarnassos peninsula; the

[56] Rumscheid 2009, 193.
[57] Diler (2009, 360) accepts the ancient testimonies and claims that there was a wave of immigration in around 1200, but there is absolutely no evidence to support this archaeologically. In fact, the increase in archaeological material can be dated only to the LG period (second half of the 8th century).

architectural form is relatively common in the 8th century in southwest and western Anatolia. The use of local materials, in this case the easily breakable sedimentary and igneous rocks, stems from the practical concerns (as the Archaic builders in this region did not use imported stone) and does not therefore necessarily signify any particular ethnic affiliations. Each class of physical evidence tells a different story, that of varying degrees of permeable social and cultural boundaries and flow of material and technologies between the peninsula and surrounding regions. This point will be further elaborated upon later in this chapter.

The Archaeology of Early Caria: The Wider Carian Region

The territory east of the Halicarnassos Peninsula offers additional information to draw on in the investigation of early Carian material culture. Here again we are presented with the obstacle of limited material traces from settlements, which leaves scholars to rely primarily on funerary assemblages to understand the causes and processes of change during the end of the second millennium. Iasos has already been mentioned as the only site providing good evidence spanning both the LBA and the EIA, but as it is one of the better understood sites in southwest Anatolia, it will be treated separately in the following chapter dedicated to case studies. Miletos, although characterized as Carian by Homer, has traditionally been considered the leader of Ionia, and will be discussed separately in Chapter 7 due to its significance for the topic of the Ionian migration.

The recent discoveries in the broader region provide an indication that the history of the area has yet to be fully exposed, and provide a stimulating, albeit still quantitatively limited, source of information. It should be noted that the geographic extent of Caria periodically changed during its history. After all, the concept of a region is a human perception rather than an

inherent quality of the landscape.[58] For the purposes of the present study, the region defined as Caria extends from the southern end of the modern Büyük Menderes River Valley down to the Bozburun peninsula, and from the coast to the valley of the Çine River. This geographic unit is roughly equivalent to the western and central parts of Caria during the Hecatomnid period, but due to the focus on southwest Anatolia and its relationship to the eastern Aegean, areas further inland are omitted.

Early activity in inland Caria seems to have been focused along routes through river valleys that provided relatively easy corridors for travel to the coast. Along those arteries, there were a few larger settlement nodes, such as Çine-Tepecik in the ancient Marsyas (modern Çine) River valley, a southern tributary of the Meander River. The site was inhabited from the Chalcolithic and EBA periods until Carian Geometric times, and the excavations have provided good evidence for the second millennium occupation (*Figure 54*).[59] The LBA habitation came to an end in a conflagration, excavated as destruction level II 1a. This is a rather unique evidence, as such destructions at the end of the LH IIIC are rare elsewhere in Anatolia. This episode presented only a temporary setback as transitional LH IIIC to PG (Submycenaean) period and Geometric period sherds were found on the mound, too.[60] The LBA occupation on the mound included remains of a fortification wall with square towers and pottery. Together with the local buff, gray burnished and pattern burnished wares typical of most of western Anatolia (including Troy and Beycesultan), painted sherds—traditionally referred to as Mycenaean, even though most of them produced either directly at Çine or in southwest Anatolia—were found as well

[58] As emphasized by Thonemann 2011, xiv-xv.
[59] Günel 2006; 2010a; 2010b.
[60] Günel 2006, 42.

(*Figure 55*).[61] Local Mycenaean types were identified based on a fabric and surface quality identical to the local non-painted wares.

Additional isolated finds came from a few locations along the route from the Marsyas River valley to the Aegean coast. Mycenaeanizing pottery stylistically belonging to the LH IIIA2 period came to light in and around Milas (ancient Mylasa), scattered throughout the larger area in small numbers.[62] Further inland, two vessels from a museum at Eski Hisar (ancient Stratonikea) were identified by G. M. A. Hanfmann and J. C. Waldbaum as coming from a grave in the vicinity of the village, although later it was suggested that the vessels might be of 'Submycenaean' date.[63] It is probable that additional traces of occupation are yet to be discovered; after all, painted Mycenaean pottery is much more easily recognizable in surface scatters or as isolated sherds than unpainted wares, which comprised the majority of the second millennium assemblages. The environments of sites such as Çine-Tepecik, Stratonikea and Milas certainly deserve further investigation, as the settlements were positioned on the main route from the Meander River valley to Miletos, located in the vicinity of the Carian highway.[64] This road led through a southern tributary of the Meander (Büyük Menderes) River, the Marsyas (Çine) River valley, which connected settlements of Alinda (Iyalanda in Hittite sources), Stratonikea, and Mylasa with Miletos.

[61] These dated from LH IIIB1 to IIIC period (Günel 2006; 2010-29-30).
[62] Mellaart 1968, 188; Kelder 2004-5, 62-63. As already argued in Chapter 5, although this pottery has been called Mycenaean in publication, I prefer the term Mycenaean-style, meaning that while the form and decoration follows the Mycenaean style of the LH III period, the vessels might have been fashioned outside of Mycenaean Greece, as their provenance is unknown. The increasing research on the subject shows that many Mycenaean-style ceramics from Anatolia might have, in fact, been produced in Anatolia and in the Dodecanese (Mountjoy 1998; Momigliano 2012; various contributions in Gorogianni, Pavúk, and Girella 2016). Additionally, LG tombs were reported at a looted necropolis by the village of Çamköy south of Milas (Kızıl 2012: 427).
[63] Hope Simpson 1965, 193; Mellaart 1968, 188; Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1968, 51-52.
[64] This route was mentioned in the Annals of Mursili II and in the Tawagalawa letter (Hawkins 1998, 26). See also Mountjoy 1998, 47; Günel 2006, 44.

The territory south of the Meander River system is rather rugged, with rangy coastline with small isolated enclosed valleys ending in bays with good harbors. Limited remains of early habitation in such a setting was detected in the vicinity of modern Burgaz on the southern littoral of the central Knidian Peninsula, where Old Knidos had been located before the settlement was moved to a better harbor at Tekir Tepe (Cape Krio) in the westernmost tip of the peninsula.[65] Old Knidos was located in close proximity to Rhodes and the geographic closeness between the two must have certainly been advantageous. The favorable seasonal winds during the fall and spring months facilitated easy travel southward, while the summer winds blew in a north and northwest direction.[66] The character of early habitation has been interpreted as a dispersed settlement community of mixed ethnic origins, with Dorian Greeks and Carians living alongside one another. The excavations revealed extensive evidence for Archaic and Classical habitation, while Geometric material without associated architecture was found in two deep soundings in the southeast and northeast sectors of the site.[67] Overall, there is good evidence for habitation at the site from the 9th century on; PG pottery was scarce, found only in isolated scatters and without corresponding architecture. Evidence for burial practices consists of a LG pithos burial with offerings that was found within the borders of the settlement.[68]

Although the LBA settlement has not been discovered so far, its corresponding LBA toponym was among the Anatolian places mentioned in the Linear B tablets from Pylos. More specifically, the women, boys, and girls of Knidos (noted down in the plural feminine genitive

[65] This identification was first proposed by Bean and Cook (1952, 202). The early investigations at the site focused on the Classical period, too, and while the Turkish team under N. Tuna's directorship primarily examined the historic periods, three deep trenches were excavated down to bedrock in order to establish the overall stratigraphy of the settlement (Tuna 1995; Tuna et al. 2009).
[66] It seems that just before the mid-4th century, trade routes in the area shifted and Old Knidos was no longer on the main routes. Instead, New Knidos became the choke point for the north-south traffic (Tuna et al. 2009, 517).
[67] Tuna 1995; Tuna et al. 2009.
[68] Tuna et al. 2009, 521.

form *ki-ni-di-ja*) were recorded as receiving wheat and fig rations from the palace.[69] Since no pre-EIA remains have been recovered at Burgaz to date, it is possible that the LBA settlement was located elsewhere and its EIA successor being established at a new location, just as in the case of the Classical city.

A recent survey discovered a number of loci of early first millennium activity on the Bozburun peninsula, located south of the Marmaris. This area, also known as the Carian Chersonesos, was relatively densely inhabited primarily in the Archaic and Classical times. Some 7th century occupation has been recorded around ancient Bybassos,[70] and even earlier activity has been found at ancient Hydas,[71] which will be discussed in more detail (*Figure 56*). A survey by M. Benter found eighteen hilltop settlements on the peninsula, with twelve of them having fortification walls of Cyclopean masonry. Among them, Hydas (not to be mistaken with Hydai/Damlıboğaz located between Iasos and Mylasa) appears to be the earliest. The early walls preserved in isolated sections have been preliminary dated to the transitional LH IIIC to PG period, but this dating needs to be confirmed by excavation.[72]

Although the settlement has been surveyed only briefly, the surface scatters document EIA occupation. Moreover, the southwest corner of the upper citadel and area by the cave shelter also yielded some transitional LH IIIC and EPG (or Submycenaean) sherds (*Figure 57*).[73] Local micaceous wares rich in silver and gold inclusions predominated. Most of the sherds had painted decoration of stripes, hatches, double wavy lines and concentric circles. Sherds painted in the so-called Granary Style decoration and monochrome deep bowls suggest a LH IIIC Early to Middle

[69] Tablet PY An 292. Ergin 2007; Nikoloudis 2008, 46-49.
[70] At Asartepe and Köklü Dağ (ancient Kastabos). Held, Cankardaş Şenol, and Şenol 2009, 2011; Held 2012.
[71] Benter 2009.
[72] Majority of preserved walls, however, date to the Archaic period (Benter 2009b, 490-492).
[73] Benter 2009b, 498-500.

date, while a belly handled amphora belongs stylistically to the transitional LH IIIC to PG period.[74] Early graves discovered nearby in the vicinity of Turgut Köyü included a rich Grave 4 with metal weapons including a knife of local style and swords and daggers, which were described by Benter as having with good stylistic parallels to the transitional LH IIIC to PG (traditionally 'Submycenaean') period to LG material from Crete and Cyprus.[75] Therefore, it can be concluded that this area was occupied as early as the mid-11th century, if not earlier.

To sum up, even the so-far limited archaeological reconnaissance in western Caria have shown rather interesting and dynamic occupation, which can be dated to the late second millennium. Here, Anatolian and Aegean elements blended together. During the EIA, there was increased preference for settlements located in proximity to the sea, although inland territories seem to be inhabited from the Archaic period onward. While this period is outside of the scope of the present work, recent surveys provide an informative overview that spans the material remains of the entire first millennium and demonstrate the increased localization and divergence of forms of lifestyle in southwest Anatolia between the 6th and the 4th centuries.[76]

Historical Overview

Political Geography, History, and Language of Early Caria

Even though the focus of the chapter, as outlined in the introduction, is archaeological, the discussion of second millennium regional historical trajectories need to consider all available evidence from this period. Official correspondence between the Hittite Empire and its neighbors combined with inscriptions provide a restricted body of evidence, but nonetheless valuable

[74] Benter (2009b, 498) originally suggests a LH IIIC/Submycenaean date.
[75] Benter 2009b, 490.
[76] Carstens (2009) provides a short and informative site catalogue. See also Radt 1980; Marchese 1986; 1989; various contributions of Rumscheid, ed. 2009.

insight into political geography during the LBA. They offer some indications as to what languages might have been spoken in this region, but combining pieces to form a full picture of what linguistic and social groups inhabited this area from the limited data at hand is still difficult.

The name Karkiša (Karkiya) is sporadically attested in the Hittite sources from the second half of the LBA, but whether it was a predecessor of historic Caria is still disputed in scholarship.[77] Most agree that the second millennium ethnonym can be equated with the later Egyptian *Grs/Krs*, Aramaic *Krky'*, Akkadian *Karsa*, Old Persian *Karka*, Elamite *Kur-ka*, and Greek *Kares*, all of which identified the inhabitants of Classical Caria.[78] In support of this association one can draw on two additional datasets. First is a cluster of toponyms mentioned in connection with Millawanda-Miletos and Lukka that seem to bear similarities to later Carian towns listed in the Hittite Milawata and Tawagalawa letters from the mid-13th century.[79] These are associated with the already mentioned route along what D. Hawkins has termed the 'Carian highway' between the coast and the interior of southwest Anatolia, which linked the LBA settlements mentioned in the Hittite archives, namely Attarimma (perhaps Telmessos/Fethiye), Iyalanda (perhaps Alinda), and Millawanda (Miletos) (*Figure 58*).[80]

The high number of Hittite toponyms associated with the itinerary of the Hittite king Hattusili III (ca. 1267-1237) that correspond to the Classical place-names must be significant. It follows, then, that the second millennium entities should represent earlier counterparts of the settlements known from Classical times. Although this hypothesis seems satisfactory so far, one crucial link is missing—not all of the toponyms mentioned above are directly connected to the

[77] Hawkins 1998; Bryce 2003, 33; Melchert 2003a, 7; Adiego 2013a.
[78] Masson 1975; Carruba 2000; Herda 2013.
[79] Hawkins 1998.
[80] Other towns that are mentioned are Wallarima (Hyllarima?), Mutamutassa (Mylasa), and Atriya (Idras/Stratonikea) (Hawkins 1998, 26-28; Herda 2009, 45; Beckman, Bryce, and Cline, 2011, 101-133). See Garstang (1929, 179) for the initial identification.

land of Karkiša, even though they are mentioned in the same texts. Lukka lands, located in the territory of Classical Lycia, on the other hand, seem to hold a prominent position, and therefore it is possible that these settlements might have been considered a part of Lukka instead.

The second clue is presented in the treaty of Muwatalli II with Alaksandru of Wilusa (ca. 1280), in which Karkiša is linked to Masa and Lukka and appears among the Assuwa countries that fought against the Hittite king Tudhaliya I/II in the late 15th/early 14th century.[81] The Hittite documents do not offer unequivocal evidence for the location of the land of Karkiša, but on the basis of the connection between Karkiša and Lukka in this treaty it has been suggested that they were adjacent to each other.[82] Since a consensus of opinions has been reached concerning Lukka's position in southwest Anatolia with a territorial extent roughly corresponding to Classical Lycia—based on toponymic association from the treaty of Muwatalli II with Alaksandru of Wilusa and the Yalburt hieroglyphic inscription cut into a rock in the Lukka territory—it follows that Karkiša should also be located somewhere in the area.[83] While this association remains unconfirmed yet very likely, it is possible, therefore, in light of present evidence to accept Karkiša as the predecessor of Classical Caria.

The extent of the territory of Karkiša remains uncertain. Even if we accept Karkiša as the Bronze Age predecessor, we still cannot assume that their territories were commensurate, as there is no mention of geographic boundaries between them. It seems, however, that just as in Classical times, Karkiša had a coastline, as the rebellious dignitary, Piyamaradu, journeyed across the sea from Ahhiyawa into Masa and Karkiša in the mid-13th century.[84] The LBA land

[81] Bryce 2003, 49 and 75-6; Hawkins 2013a, 11; 2013b, 35-6.
[82] Most persuasively argued by Hawkins 1998, 19 and 29; 2013b, 36. Despite the link to Wilusa, it is not imperative for Karkiša to be located close to it, as Lukka was not contiguous with Wilusa either. However, Lukka has been now accepted as the predecessor of Classical Lycia now, and therefore offers a reliable point of reference.
[83] Hawkins 2013b, 35.
[84] Taw. iii 53, iv 5 (CTH 181). Hawkins points out that in the Tawagalawa letter, Piyamaradu proposed to go across the sea from Ahhiyawa to Masa and Karkiša (1998, 29).

might have extended over the rugged mountains south of the Meander River just as it did in the 4th century, as the mountains provide a natural formidable barrier. At that time, during its largest territorial extent under the rule of the Hecatomnids, Caria extended in the north from the alluvial lands to the south of the Meander River valley and possibly up to Babadağ, Honozdağ, and Bozdağ in the east to the Dalaman stream in the south. Since many of the LBA names of later Carian cities are linked to Millawanda and Lukka, it is possible that Karkiša was either much smaller than that or these settlements were considered a part of Lukka in geopolitical terms.[85] Moreover, it is also possible that these regions comprised pockets of habitation and were relatively small, with 'no man's land' between them. The information from the Hittite documents, it seems, referred to particular points of interests, rather than filled up the map of southwest Anatolia.

Since Karkiša does not seem to have been central to the Hittite interests in western Anatolia, the records do not provide any direct information about it, including its political status and configuration. While it is certain that Karkiša was not a part of the Arzawan lands, there is no indication that Karkiša was ruled by kings, because the Hittites did not make any formal treaties with its representatives. Based on the absence of evidence for a central authority, Hawkins has envisioned Karkiša as being occupied by mobile rather than fully sedentary communities without a centralized political organization, arguing that the difficult mountainous terrain of much of southwest Anatolia would have been conducive to a transhumant lifestyle and a pastoral mode of sustenance.[86] However, non-centralized political systems are not exclusively symptomatic of mobile populations; sedentary societies might also be organized on such a level,

[85] As pointed by Hawkins 2013b, 35. It would not be a rare example of shifting boundaries through ages. For instance, Miletos was recognized as a Carian city in the Iliad in the Catalogue of Ships (II.979-981), while by the Archaic period it was considered an Ionian.
[86] Hawkins 2013b, 30. The same argument in case of Lukka was voiced by Melchert (2003b, 177).

just as, for instance, the *ethne* system of sociopolitical organization that persisted in Greece during much of the first millennium. It is more fitting, therefore, to conclude that population nucleated in a number of settlements, which were of interest to the Hittites during the 13th century, with unoccupied or scarcely occupied stretches of land between them.

Most of the arguments put forth so far have been based on suggestions and possibilities permitted by limited evidence. Even less evidence can be called upon when answering questions about language and cultural identity. The relationship between linguistic and historical reconstructions is not always straightforward, a contention certainly highlighted in recent scholarship. A decade ago, C. Melchert introduced the notion of Luwic family of languages, which comprises Luwian and its close relatives of the first millennium, including Carian.[87] He has argued that while the Anatolian languages of first millennium—Carian, Lycian, Mylian, Pisidian, and Sidetic—are closely related to Luwian, they are not directly descended from it, thus suggesting that Carian must have differentiated from Luwian earlier than previously acknowledged.

In a new reconsideration of Luwian and western Anatolian linguistic and historical issues, I. Yakubovich has taken Melchert's thesis and further developed it by arguing against the notion of Luwian Karkiša, pointing to the limitations of the linguistic evidence.[88] Since Classical Carian is as a cognate of Luwian rather than its direct descendant, he has proposed—based on the general absence of archaeological and documentary evidence for large-scale population movement during the early second millennium—that an early form of Carian, the so-called proto-Carian, must have been spoken in the area relatively early. Following this reasoning, he

[87] Melchert 2003b, 175-177. See also Adiego 2007 (4-12 and 345-347) concerning the fit of Carian within the Luwic group.
[88] Following a similar line of argument as in the case of Lydia (Yakubovich 2010). For rebuttal see Hawkins 2013a and 2013b.

also suggested that the speakers of proto-Carian were the primary population group in western Anatolia during the first half of the second millennium.[89] Although this argument has not won universal acceptance, arguments in favor of population stability, as suggested in Chapter 5, are more persuasive than those that assume a change of population from Luwian to Lydian (and Carian) speakers.[90] While I. Yakubovich's historical reconstructions are purely hypothetical, his argument in favor of presence of at least some speakers of proto-Carian is attractive. It needs to be stressed, however, that there is no indication whether Luwian or proto-Carian was spoken in the area, as the information comes from the Hittite archival sources. Moreover, no LBA inscriptions were found in this area. Just as in the case of Lydian LBA toponymy, settlements mentioned in the Hittite documents might have had corresponding names in the local language, too. The EIA Carian is poorly understood, and the limited knowledge of Carian language and onomastics does not help resolve the debate.[91] Thus, the question of linguistic (dis)continuity is an important one, which, unfortunately, remains without a satisfying answer.

[89] Yakubovich (2010, 112ff and 160ff) has argued that names associated with Arzawan elite do not in fact have Luwian, but rather Luwic (proto-Carian, proto-Lycian) characteristics, following Melchert.

[90] While Yakubovich is certainly right to point out the limitations of the evidence at hand and to emphasize that Carian and Luwian were distinct enough already in the LBA that a proto-form of Carian could have already been spoken at that time, he nonetheless makes claims that cannot be supported by the available evidence. He suggests that aristocracy of Arzawa spoke Carian, even though there is no evidence to uphold the argument apart from the Luwic (rather than Luwian) names of some of the aristocracy mentioned in the Hittite texts. Nonetheless, he suggests that the "warlike" proto-Carians subjugated Lydia and established the kingdom of Arzawa in the 15th century (2010, 158). Later, however, he admits that the Luwian language must have had prestige status as it was the only language written in western Anatolia and, more importantly, that there is no way of knowing lexical distance between Luwian and proto-Carian, the latter being not documented at all through inscriptions (2010, 159-160). For general remarks see Bryce 2011, 365. For critique see Hawkins 2013a and 2013b.

[91] Adiego only mentions that Luwian and Carian are related, but he is hesitant to propose a more definite relationship, as his study is limited to Carian onomastics (Adiego 2007, 345-347). For the decipherment of Carian see Adiego 2007; 2010; 2013b; Schürr 1992; 1996a.

Early Caria: The Carians and the Lelegians

The gap between the LBA Hittite sources, the only available yet not entirely straightforward evidence for the history of early Caria, and the earliest evidence for the Carian language remains significant. After a period of approximately five hundred years, the earliest first millennium descriptions of the region and its inhabitants were produced by people who considered themselves to be Greek rather than Carian. They explained the history of this land in terms of mobility, and in the Classical period a symbolic link between Caria and the Greek world was forged through stories of migrations that attributed primary agency to the various groups of Dorian Greeks, who settled along the Carian coast.[92] The basic elements of the Greek tradition included population displacement, conflict, and eventual co-existence. Most writers envisioned that this part of Anatolia had first been inhabited by people called the Lelegians, who were subsequently either replaced by or cohabited with the Carians before the coming of the Greeks.

The Greeks believed that they fought a number of wars against local groups to secure the territory for themselves.[93] While this rough reconstruction of successions was embraced by the 5th century, it never became a unified narrative of events. Rather, it consisted of different, often contradictory, accounts of events that were purported to have taken place in the past.[94] The stories told about the Carians and Lelegians, considered in a greater detail below, are particularly

[92] A paradigm popular in the 1970s and 1980s was that the groups of Dorians coming into Greece created a pressure on the Ionians, who migrated into Anatolia, followed by some of the Dorians themselves, who settled in coastal Caria sometime after the collapsed of the Mycenaean polities. This reconstruction was based on the geographic distribution of the Archaic and Classical Greek dialects (e.g. Bartoněk 1979). However, a language change can be brought about by other means than a large-scale immigration, as pointed by Hall (2002, 39ff). In any case, by the end of the 6th century the inhabitants of some of the coastal Carian settlements spoke Dorian Greek and used a script (with some local variations) distinct from that of Ionia, and were united in the Dorian Hexapolis, comprising settlements in Anatolia (Halicarnassos and Knidos), Kos (the polis of Kos), and Rhodes (Ialysos, Lyndos, and Kameiros). They celebrated the cult of Apollo Triopios on the western jut of the Knidian peninsula. Later, the hexapolis was reduced to a pentapolis when Halicarnassos was excluded from the membership (Herodotus 1.144). See Crielaard 2009, 46ff and 66.

[93] See Bresson (2009, esp.112ff) for an overview of Greek tradition of their relationship with the Carians.

[94] Cf. Hall 2002, 30ff.

intriguing precisely because of the multiplicity of traditions surrounding peoples' origins and history. Most importantly, even though the Lelegians were believed to have been the first inhabitants of this region, they were not universally embraced as autochthonous, and this perhaps reflected the perception that Caria was always considered a multicultural as well as a contested territory.

Two groups of people are said to have been the first inhabitants of southwest Anatolia before coming of the Greeks, the Carians and the Lelegians. The names of the Lelegians seems to have been derived from λαλέω, meaning chatter or blabber, thus designating them as not speaking Greek, akin to the barbarians.[95] They were also thought to have been the pre-Greek inhabitants of western Anatolia, either forming a distinct group from both the Carians and the Greeks, or being the early predecessors of the Carians. In general, the Classical and Hellenistic Greeks recognized the Lelegians as the legendary early non-Greek inhabitants of their world akin to the Pelasgians.[96] The Lelegians assumed an itinerant role in Greek literary tradition, and were linked with a variety of places. For example, the early poets Homer and Alcaeus of Mytilene located the Lelegians in the Troad, and Homer listed Miletos as a Carian ally of the Trojans.[97] Similarly, diverse stories of origins were circulated in later times. The Archaic tradition cited by Pherekydes of Syros believed that the Carians and the Lelegians co-existed and moved to Caria after having been driven out of Ionia by the Ionians.[98]

Herodotus, a native of Halicarnassos, dwelt in great detail on the history of his native region and provides a relatively lengthy narrative of Carian (and other Anatolian) legendary history. He stated that according to the Cretan tradition the Carians were called the Lelegians in

[95] Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004, 100; Rumscheid 2009, 175 and 180.
[96] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003; McInerney 2014.
[97] *The Iliad* 21.85-86; Alcaeus fr. 337. See also Rumscheid 2009, 175-176.
[98] Pherekydes FGrH 3 fr. 155.

the time of Minos, and they served the king by manning ships. The assimilated Carians/Lelegians had been driven out of Crete by the Dorians and the Ionians and settled close to the shores of southwest Anatolia.[99] He, however, also admitted that the Carians did not subscribe to this tradition; rather, they believed that they always inhabited Caria.[100] The Carians' autochthony was further anchored to that of the Lydians and the Mysians via a sibling bond between legendary ancestors Kar, Lydos, and Mysos, and this tie was endorsed via the participation in a shared cult of Zeus Karios at Mylasa.[101] An important observation stemming from Herodotus' account is that the Carians considered themselves closely related to other Anatolian peoples, while the Greek tradition emphasized Carian connection to the Aegean through migrations and interaction with the Greek peoples in their distant past. Although a work entitled 'Περὶ Καρών καὶ Λελέγων' that could elucidate the relationships between the different peoples was written sometime during the Hellenistic period by Philip of Theangela, the text survives only in very limited fragments and as a reference in the work of Athenaios, in particular concerning the supposed servile status of the Lelegians to the Carians both in the past and the present.[102]

Strabo's and Pausanias' accounts also need to be considered in the discussion. They both mentioned different traditions, but preferred the arguments in favor of the Carian region as

[99] Compare to the late Hellenistic inscription of 60 lines relating the foundation of the city, the so-called Salmakis epigram, discovered in the territory of Halicarnassos. It is noteworthy that the poem celebrates the Greek establishment of the city; the first two thirds of the poem describe the seven mythical stages of the development of the city (including successive coming of the Greeks led by Kranaos from Attica, followed by Endymion from the Peloponnese and Anthes from Troizen), while the last 20 lines name the important authors of the city and its famous status in the present, thus tying together the Greek and Carian heritage of the polis. See Isager 1998; Isager and Pedersen 2004; Gagné 2006.
[100] Herodotus 1.171.1.
[101] However, Herodotus provided a specification that not all Carians were admitted to the cult of Zeus Karios at Mylasa; only the descendants of the legendary ancestor Kar could take part in the rituals, while those who claimed their descent from other peoples were excluded from participating (1.171.6). See Herda 2013, 432-433.
[102] Athenaios FGrH 741 fr. 2. Strabo (14.2.28) also mentioned that Philip wrote the history of the Carians (τὰ Καρικά). On the Lelegians as Carian serfs see McInerney 2014, 51-52.

originally the land of the Lelegians.[103] Strabo's account indicates that multivocal and competing traditions concerning Lelegian origins, customs, and relationship with the Carians were still in circulation during the 1st century CE. Although he noted that some thought the Carians and Lelegians to be the same, he himself believed that both of them had inhabited Ionia before they were driven out by the Ionians, but even in those early times there was a difference between these two groups of peoples; the Lelegians had previously been driven out of Troy by the Greeks.[104] Furthermore, the Lelegians, as the tradition remembered by Strabo went, were known for constructing forts and tombs in the hills, they led a wandering life long before their encounter with the Carians and had set foot in distant Acarnania, Lokris, and Aetolia, among other regions in mainland Greece. In Anatolia, the Lelegians were said to have established eight poleis but after the pressure extended by the coming of the Ionians, they mixed together with the Carians, and eventually six of the original Lelegian poleis (excluding Myndos and Syangela) became part of Halicarnassos through a process of synoikism.[105]

Ultimately, the Lelegians have survived only in the literature. None of the inscriptions, both Greek and Carian, in Caria or elsewhere refer to the legendary primordial inhabitants of the Anatolian-Aegean world. The Carians, on the other hand, are known not only through descriptions in Greek sources, but also through their language and writing, as well as lasting indigenous social, political, and religious institutions. The Carian autonomous culture persisted through much of the first millennium, owing to, as will be argued, a strong sense of local identity that emerged rather late, in the 4th century. Contributing to the slow development of their own

[103] Pausanias 3.1.1. Strabo was very vague about the relationship between the Carians and Lelegians. One time he believed them to be the same peoples (7.7.2-3), while on other occasions he distinguished between them (13.1.49-59 and 14.2.27-28). For an overview of all known mentions of the Lelegians see Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004; Rumscheid 2009.
[104] Strabo 7.7.2-3.
[105] Strabo 7.7.3 and 13.1.59. Strabo named only Myndos and Syangela as the towns of the Lelegians, while the rest of the towns were described as located in the area of Pedasis and outside the Halicarnassos peninsula.

regional identity might have been the Carian relationship to the rugged landscape of southwest Anatolia, which offered protection from expanding neighbors, the Ionians and the Lydians, and which was also conducive to pastoralist, rather than agricultural lifestyle common to Ionian and Lydian way of life.

The Carians are often described as a rural people living in hilltops and the rugged mountains of southwest Anatolia.[106] Individual villages or small settlements with dependent territories formed *koina,* collectives of settlements organized around a local sanctuary, from the 5th or perhaps even as early as the 6th century onward. The information about political and religious organization of individual koina and poleis is extracted from religious and civic decrees written in Greek, which proliferated in the 4th century; therefore, the early development of Carian political organization remains unclear. The highest level of organization was the koinon of the Carians, or the Carian League, a religious, rather than political, union centered on the cult of Zeus Karios at Mylasa.[107] From the 5th century on, some of the smaller koina became organized into larger poleis with dependent demes, often explained as a result of the internal (Hecatomnid) as well as external (Hellenizing) pressure.[108]

Embedded in the Classical tradition and perpetuated in early modern scholarship is a view of inland Caria, removed from the 'Hellenized' coast, as a cultural backwater inhabited by more barbarian peoples with simpler political organization in the koina as opposed to poleis. However, this paradigm has recently been re-examined by R. Van Bremen, who cautions that such a view inevitably sees cities as the Hellenizing centers in the largely indigenous 'barbarian' countryside. Rather, these local demes were pre-existing Carian communities that chose adopt

[106] E.g. Hornblower 1982, Marchese 1989.
[107] Hornblower 1982, 54-9. During the 4th century, the koinon was presided over by a basileus, perhaps a hereditary title.
[108] Hornblower 1982, 52ff; Marchese 1989, 39.

Greek constitutional ideas and use Greek language in public context and gave Greek names to pre-existing local cults, but there is no evidence to suggest the tension between center and periphery.[109] It is noteworthy that at the same time—in parallel with the increased process of the integration of Carian communities into poleis structures—Carian epigraphy flourished with most of the known Carian inscriptions from southwest Anatolia dating to this period.

Carian writing presents quite a conundrum despite a higher number of preserved inscriptions in comparison to other western Anatolian languages. While the prevailing opinion holds that the Carians adopted the alphabet from the Greeks, I.-X. Adiego, one of the main contributors to the decipherment of the Carian language,[110] has not found any of the existing explanations of the process of adoption satisfactory. This is primarily due to a rather unusual form of the Carian alphabet and the character and spatial distribution of the epigraphic evidence. The 'aberrant' nature of the alphabet consists of the following characteristics: while superficially it appears that the Carians adopted the Greek alphabet, the Carian alphabet did not transfer all phonetic characteristics of Greek. It lacks some letters (iota, kappa, mu, pi, and sigma) that find correspondence in Carian, and it also adopted letters from Lydian and Lycian that do not exist in Greek.[111]

Although the EIA Carian inscriptions have been deciphered, they are not as informative as one would hope. This is due to their subjects and distribution; the earliest inscriptions were written by Carian mercenaries on the walls of the temple at Abu Simbel and a few other places in Egypt (e.g. Memphis, Sais, Thebes, and Abydos) and date from late 7th/early 6th to the 5th

[109] Van Bremen 2004, 222.
[110] The decipherment was carried out independently by three scholars—John D. Ray, Diether Schürr, and Ignacio Xavier Adiego—in the 1980s and 1990s, who arrived at similar conclusions concerning Carian grammatical and lexical characteristics, thus presenting a strong validation of the proposed scheme (Schürr 1992;1996; Adiego 2007).
[111] Adiego, in fact, suggests an Egypto-Carian origin of the alphabet (2013b, 17).

century.[112] Preserved inscriptions from southwest Anatolia are relatively fragmentary and often do not contain much more than personal names. They are fewer in number and later in date than those in Egypt, and are of diverse geographic origins, thus providing a somewhat inconsistent corpus of evidence (*Figure 59*). The dating of Anatolian inscriptions presents a further obstacle to the understanding of the Carian language and its development. It seems that the earliest examples of Carian writing in Anatolia are provided by a corpus of inscribed vessels from Halicarnassos, Iasos and Didyma, all dated to the 6th century based on the style and form of the vessels.[113] Inscriptions in stone are mostly of 4th century date.[114] Moreover, the use of written Carian in Caria was primarily limited to short texts commissioned for funerary or cult purposes, and, therefore, in order to trace the history of Carians one often relies on the Greek narratives for more information.

Nonetheless, epigraphic evidence attests three important attributes of the Carian language, which also have a power to elucidate partially the cultural autonomy of the Carians. First, as has already been discussed, in linguistic terms Carian belongs to the Indo-European Luwic group of languages together with contemporary Lycian, Pisidian, Sidetic, and Lydian.

[112] The earliest graffito dates to the early 6th century and the period of the Nubian campaign of Psammetichus II (593/2) (Adiego 2007, 2ff). Herodotus (2.154) mentioned that under pharaoh Amasis (568-526) Carian and Ionian soldiers were moved from the Nile delta to the city of Memphis, where they resided in their own neighborhood. For general information on the distribution and subjects of Carian inscriptions see Masson 1975; Fortson 2004; Adiego 2007; 2010; 2013a; 2013b; Rumscheid 2009; Herda 2013.

[113] Adiego 2007, 18. See also Herda and Sauter (2009) for an early Carian graffito at Miletos. In a recent article, Herda (2013, 465) has argued that the earliest Carian dipinto can be found on Middle to LG amphora (850-750 BCE) now in the Museum of Chur in Switzerland. It is not clear, however, when the dipinto was added to the vessel, as it was scratched into an already fired pot. During the summer of 2014, the author saw a Carian inscription incised to a krater from the sanctuary of Apollo Dalios, now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Kalymnos (visited 08/17/2014). According to the information provided on the label, the inscription was dated to the 8th century based on the stylistic dating of the krater, thus claiming it to be one of the earliest known Carian inscriptions. However, since it was incised after the vessel was fired, also in this case the chronological relationship between the krater and the inscription is far from clear.

[114] Most of the inscriptions cannot be securely dated, with the exception of two inscriptions from Kaunos (C. Ka 5) bilingual inscription (322 or 314 BCE) and Sinuri (350/1 or 344/1 BCE). The latter is a decree (C.Si 2) enacted by Carian satraps Idrieus and Ida concerning a *syngeneia* of the temple at Sinuri near Mylasa (Adiego 2007, 17; 2013a, 15; 2013b).

Second, there does not seem to be much borrowing from Greek in Carian; rather, as Adiego has demonstrated in his study of Greco-Carian bilingual inscriptions, even Greek technical and civic terminology was properly translated rather than transliterated into Carian.[115] Additionally, even though many inscriptions are just lists of (Carian) names, Greek names are almost completely absent. This is in contrast with a more mixed nature of Greek inscriptions from the same period from Caria, in which both Carian and Greek names are used. It is possible that many individuals bore both Greek and Carian names that were mutually translatable or resembled each other, with a prevailing custom of using only Carian names in Carian inscriptions.[116] And last, the graffiti from Egypt corroborate the literary tradition of Carians as travelling mercenaries.

Can this messy picture painted by ancient traditions and the Carian epigraphic evidence be reconciled? It seems that the Greeks placed a strong emphasis on stories of mobility, succession, and invasion as explanations for change in their past—legendary, distant, or recent—and tried to provide history for the peoples that they have heard of or have come into contact with. While the close connection between the Greeks and Carians is quite clear, the Greeks seem not to have been too certain about who the Lelegians were. To most, the Lelegians presented legendary ancestors in the area that eventually became a part of a Greek world in the Classical period.[117] Athenaios and Philip of Theangela, natives of Caria, who used Greek rather than Carian names, emphasized the unequal relationship between the Lelegians and the Carians, somewhat similar to that of the Spartans and the helots. Interestingly enough, one of the traditions mentioned by Pausanias named Lelex as the autochton of Sparta.[118] The story favored

[115] Adiego 2013a, 16.
[116] This practice is attested in the case of Lycian inscriptions as well (Adiego 2013a, 17).
[117] McInerney suggests that the central function of the Lelegians was to bridge the past with the present, particularly in terms of the preoccupation with the issues of origins—autochthony was in contrast with the wandering not only in Caria, but in all of the Greek world (2014, 29ff). See also Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 144.
[118] Pausanias 3.1.1.

by Herodotus, though perhaps not embraced by the Carians, reflected the Aegean origins of the Carians, who were the same as the Lelegians. To others, they were the indigenous peoples.

Strabo's account of the Lelegian material remains is particularly illuminating as to why these legendary ancestors were never forgotten. Strabo noted that Hesiod's note on the Lelegians as peoples picked from the earth (λεκτοὺς ἐκ γαίης) reflected the mixed origins of these ancient peoples.[119] This particular passage alludes to the role of the Lelegians in the Greek mythical tradition—the legendary predecessors created bridges between the deep past, more recent historical events, and the present in different parts of the Greek world. Even though the role of legendary forefathers is a trope common to cultures around the world, the Lelegians here invoked a distinct symbolic link between past and present. Here the materiality of the past seems to have been central in defining this purpose. In Classical and Hellenistic Caria in particular, 'rustic' looking tombs, fortifications, and herding compounds scattered throughout the Halicarnassos Peninsula would have been visible to any visitor. As will be shown in the previous section, the Halicarnassian interior was relatively populated in the Archaic period, but as of the Hellenistic period the settlement pattern shifted in favor of the coastal areas and only a few of the rural abodes remained in use. Carian identity was primarily circumscribed locally throughout much of the first millennium, and a sense of broader Carian communal identity emerged only during the Hecatomnid era.[120] The rural way of life in hills characteristics of the Archaic period would have therefore become conceived as culturally distinct by the Classical period—a set of locally circumscribed lifestyle markers were eventually imbued with connotations of cultural difference.

[119] Strabo 7.7.2. See also Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004, 109; Rumscheid 2009, 180.
[120] See various contributions in Henry, ed. 2013.

Thus, the rural heritage of the peninsula became attributed to the Lelegians, and stories negotiating processes of self-definition emerged to articulate this distinction in lifestyle, now synonymous with a difference between the Carians and the Lelegians. The affiliation with the Lelegians, on the one hand, created a link with the region's material past, while, at the same time, maintained some distance from the more rural and hence more 'barbarian' way of life during a period of increased Hellenization of Caria from the 4th century onward. The Lelegians were a symbol of the more primordial 'other' in opposition to which Carian identity was shaped in an era that had previously witnessed prominent processes of self-definition on the Greek mainland and in Ionia. As argued by J. Hall, the emphasis on difference from and opposition to other communities was a crucial feature in the formation of the Ionian identity during the Classical period,[121] and it might have spurred parallel processes in neighboring Caria, which was becoming increasingly open to the Greek world. Thus, while the Carians came to be identified as the Hellenized group of indigenous inhabitants, the Lelegians came to present the more barbarian indigenous counterpart known from the remains of the rural and pastoral lifestyle in the hills of the peninsula.

In this section, overall, it has been suggested that the value of these stories rests in their reflection of inherent sociocultural plurality of this landscape. People inhabiting the area in the Classical and Hellenistic period negotiated inter-group relations and affiliation to a common past through these stories, in which various episodes integral to the identities of co-existing groups were intertwined together. The emphasis in this case was not necessarily on autochthony; rather, it was the perceived order in which various peoples came to this land and various appeals to group affiliation and differentiation that mattered. The deep history was framed in the legendary

[121] Hall 1997, 32.

narrative through association with the Lelegians, which were in the physical world associated with the most ancient-looking (rural) ruins, whereas the Carians were viewed as the people who over time created more links to the newest incomers, the Greeks.

The Carians and the Lelegians: Some Conclusions

It was suggested in this section that while the archaeological evidence sheds some light on the lifestyle of the EIA inhabitants of the Halicarnassos Peninsula, it cannot answer the question at hand regarding the identity of the EIA peoples occupying the compounds and fortified settlements and burying some of their dead in stone tumuli. While the data available attest a number of different lifeways of local communities, they cannot be explained in terms of ethnic differences. The different markers associated with the 'Lelegian' versus the 'Carian' material cultures do not map onto the preconceived ethnic boundaries informed by direct historical reading of ancient texts. Rather, they seem to align with local environmental conditions and observed subsistence strategies of local communities. An alternative explanation has been proposed instead, that the term 'Lelegian' was traditionally used to describe rural and pre-Classical archeological remains, which were assigned a specific ethnic connotation in order to keep with the tradition that rose to popularity by the mid-5th century, which relied heavily on migration as a trope for the explanation of cultural mixing and change.

The Lelegian material culture has traditionally been characterized in purely architectural terms, specifically by the extensive use of dry stone masonry of fortification walls, polygonal and pseudo-isodomic masonry for buildings and chamber tombs. These are common also to communities in southwest Anatolia, some of which are described as Carian rather than Lelegian,

and some of which are found in the hinterlands of Ionian cities,[122] a point which will be discussed also in the following chapter. The attribution of ethnic affiliation to EIA structures has ultimately been dictated by textual information, which identified the presence of Lelegian settlements in the second half of the first millennium. The ethnic identity has been seen as fixed throughout the first millennium, rather than evolving.

In this case, categories of material culture—a particular construction technique, rural compounds, or tumuli—have been thought to convey information about communal identities. Material culture can actively structure identity and can be manipulated in the negotiation of group relations. The way people relate to objects and environment around them has been a fundamental building block in the definition of who we are and where we belong, and the markers of rural lifestyle have been key in the discussion of identity of the inhabitants of the peninsula. At least in the Archaic era, a particular rural herding lifestyle, differing in form from the occupation on the coast and inland in eastern Caria, emerged as widespread and significant. A choice of life in the hills conceived as distinct with locally circumscribed cultural markers eventually became identified with a particular form of ethnic identity—that of the Lelegians. This difference became discursively explained in terms of ethnic divisions between local groups consisting of the Carians, the Lelegians, as well as the Ionians, in the middle of the first millennium, right at the time of a heightened sociopolitical and military pressure caused by the Persian presence in western Anatolia, when it was important to define who the people are and with whom they can associate.

[122] The survey of the chora of Miletos in the Kazıklı Peninsula, spanning area between Miletos and Iasos, documented ancient activity primarily from the 6th century onward (Lohmann 2005). These settlements of varying sizes and farmsteads have been described as having Carian rather than Ionian origins due to the type of architecture preserved, which was deemed more indicate of their ethnic affiliation than the pottery assemblages. The results of the survey were interpreted as indicative of Carian hinterland of Miletos.

In short, accepting that communal, ethnic, and other forms of identity are evolving rather than stagnant allows us to distinguish processes of identity formation and bring forth an explanation that fits with archaeological evidence, and gives credit to textual narratives, too. In Classical and Hellenistic Caria, the 'rustic' looking tombs, fortifications, and herding compounds scattered throughout the peninsula would have been visible to anyone. The Halicarnassian interior was relatively populated in the Archaic period, but as of the Classical times, the settlement pattern shifted in favor nucleation in coastal areas and only a few of the rural abodes remained in use. Eventually, the rural way of life in the hills characteristic of the preceding times, now embodied as ruins, became conceived of as culturally distinct. This locally circumscribed lifestyle became imbued with connotations of cultural difference, and the rural heritage of the peninsula became increasingly attributed to the Lelegians.

As a part of this process, narratives were created to explain who the contemporary inhabitants of this part of Anatolia were and whence they came. The affiliation with the Lelegians created a bridge between the past and the present. It forged a link with the region's physical past, while at the same time maintained some distance from the more rural and hence different way of life. The Lelegians became a symbol of the more primordial other in opposition to which the communal Carian identity became shaped in an era that had witnessed prominent processes of self-definition and a slow emergence of oppositional, as opposed to plural, social identities not only in western Anatolia, but also on the Greek mainland. In other words, the Lelegians emerged as a useful trope in the narratives for the negotiation of what it meant to be Carian and in the structuration of intergroup relationships during the middle of the first millennium.

Conclusion

As suggested earlier, a reconstruction of the sociocultural conditions of early Caria is beset with challenging obstacles as one has to deal with disparate categories of both textual and archaeological evidence. In case of the written accounts, while the 14th and 13th century Hittite archival texts and the Pylian Linear B administrative tablets dealing with contemporary events comprise the second millennium records, the early first millennium is described by Classical Greek authors, who were concerned with explaining the relationship, as they imagined it, between the Dorian Greeks and the local populations, the Carians and Lelegians, from the legendary past to the contemporary times. These stories told not only of war and strife, but also of mixing and co-existence.[123] The LBA documents, on the other hand, remain largely silent on the character of southwest Anatolia, making it difficult to talk about a defined entity of Luwian Caria. On the other hand, the places recorded in the texts, such as Stratonikea and Knidos, have so far not been successfully documented archaeologically.

Archaeology provides a different perspective, as it has the potential to examine the rate and degree of change in the way people lived. Caria provides interesting, albeit limited, evidence for the transitional LBA to EIA period, which suggests that during the late second and the beginning of the first millennium Caria was not a uniform region. Rather, each of its parts can be characterized by varying tempos of local developments. Well-defined boundaries and populations with distinct ethnic identities might not have existed during the LBA or even throughout much of the EIA. Perhaps the reason why reconstructing Karkiša from the LBA sources is difficult is that at that time no such entity was recognized; instead, the settlements

[123] Perhaps the best attestation of the awareness of inherent heterogeneity of the Anatolian Greeks can be found in the story told by Herodotus (1.146ff) about the origins of Ionia, in which he states that no one can be a pure "Ionian" due to intermarriage; rather, different groups of Greek men mixed with the indigenous Carian women after slaying the men.

might have been self-governing, and the regional variability of the archaeological record seems to confirm that.

During the second millennium, the Halicarnassos and Bozburun peninsulas together with the settlements along the strategic route between Miletos and the Meander valley seem to have opened themselves toward the Aegean and adopted and adapted painted pottery styles as well as some shapes into their local repertoires to varying degrees. The limited traces of architecture at Old Myndos and Hydas suggest that dry stone construction techniques used local resources and bore parallels to constructions on the islands, as was argued in case of Old Myndos. Similar construction techniques continued to be implemented into the EIA in all of Caria, but these tend to be described as Lelegians, as many scholars have been inclined to attribute them specific ethnic connotation in accordance with information from later Greek sources.

In course of the EIA, when we witness a slow emergence of more definite group and regional identity in Ionia, Lydia, and on the Greek mainland in general—a process that might have been spurred by new realities of the period, such as increase in inter-group contact and widening of networks of interaction in which different groups negotiated their place in the new world order, as well as rise of social complexity. Carian settlements, however, retained local material culture and writing throughout much of the first millennium despite increased adoption of Greek language and religious and political institutions. Settlements in the hills of the Halicarnassos Peninsula and around Iasos shared architectural styles (e.g., compound pastoral buildings, fortified sites on hilltops, and rectilinear architecture), while the settlements on the coast and in south Caria had different character. It should not come as a surprise that a number of different construction techniques, architectural configurations of settlements, and burial practices co-existed at the same time. This variation might have depended on sources available in their

vicinity and on architectural traditions of individual communities. For instance, the oval houses at Hydai/Damlıboğaz identified as Lelegian bear closer parallels with contemporary constructions elsewhere in Anatolia, rather than with the Lelegian sites of the Halicarnassos Peninsula. The settlements of the peninsula, on the other hand, remained more conservative in terms of building techniques, and people preferred dry-stone masonry constructions of rectilinear design. And finally, Lelegian material culture has been defined only in architectural terms, but no special domestic architecture, ceramic production, or ritual spaces of the Lelegians could be identified.

Furthermore, while Carian towns shared a common language in the Classical period, the degree of their relative autonomy can also be detected in writing, which shows a remarkable heterogeneity of Carian alphabetic forms.[124] The contemporary textual evidence informs us that at that time Caria was made up of autonomous cities commanded by local dynasts. These markers suggest that even during the Archaic and Classical periods, Carian social and civic identity was primarily anchored locally. After all, it is not until the 4th century during the rule of the Hecatomnids, who—within their official capacity as satraps of the Persian Empire—promoted a process of Carian ethnogenesis that Caria emerged as a large and politically unified region.

Perhaps the hesitation to embrace the wide-ranging spectrum of EIA material culture stems from the long-entrenched view that considers stylistic change as directly corresponding to historical events, ethnic divisions, and cultural breaks. Most crucially, the beginning of the EIA

[124] Interestingly, Adiego (2013a, 19) notes a remarkably high variability of local alphabets in Caria proper: "Therefore, I wonder if this twofold aspect of Carian writing could serve as a metaphor of Carian identity: all the local alphabets were unmistakably Carian, insofar as they shared a common origin and held the same aberrant values assigned to Greek letters, but at the same time each locality stated its singularity by using its own and recognizable alphabetic form." See also Adiego 2013b.

has long been considered as the onset of a new historical era, marked by increased arrival of peoples from across the Aegean. It was not questioned whether migrations took place; rather, the scenarios based on textual evidence were sought to have been substantiated further by archaeological evidence.

If we focus on pottery, the most ubiquitous archaeological medium, a few notable points stand out. The painted wares start appearing in this part of Anatolia in LH IIIA2 (14th century), and this appearance has traditionally been attributed to people bringing pots into Anatolia. The possible origins of stylistic innovations (both in terms of form and shape) was identified in Greece and explained as a result of two waves of immigration: first, the Mycenaeans who established control over the Dodecanese and in pockets of Anatolian land, such as at Miletos, and second, the Greeks via a more permanent form of resettling at the beginning of the EIA.

Yet, many of these conclusions have been based on material with poor contextual information. In the vast majority of cases provenance has been lost due to the discovery by chance or to the disturbance of much of the mortuary record. Notwithstanding the poor grip on context, the increasing knowledge of ceramic production in Anatolia has begun to reveal that many of the painted sherds were manufactured in Anatolia (most prominently, but not exclusively, at Miletos) already in the LBA.[125] In terms of Carian EIA pottery, likewise, there is no good argument against local production of PG and Geometric sherds, as already noticed by C. Özgunel in the late 1970s.[126] A few scholars have begun to consider the painted PG style as developing organically from the LBA tradition rather than presenting a radical break in manufacture,[127] and Carian sites provide one of the few examples for transitional LH IIIC/PG

[125] Gödecken 1988.
[126] Özgunel 1979, 62-5.
[127] Most recently Vaessen 2016 with bibliography.

pieces. Rather than being indicative of migration, therefore, this broad trend is reflective of continuing practices set in place well before the onset of the EIA.

Overall, more localized interaction within southwest Anatolia and southeast Aegean milieu can be traced after the end of the 13th century, when, during the LH IIIC period, an increased regionalization of material culture in southwest Anatolia became discernible. Yet, connections were not lost. Quite the opposite. Small-scale mobility between communities in this region unfolded over generations and maintained connections, which were not lost after the upheavals suffered by LBA polities. As the land of Karkiša/Caria might have been comprised by individual local communities, rather than being ruled by a centralized power, the relationships between communities did not break down on the same scale as in the regions controlled by larger polities. Here, it is possible that smaller-sized settlements were able to maintain relationships across multiple local social networks not only within Caria, but also southern Ionia and with the island towns of the Dodecanese. Cultural boundaries between regions were therefore blurred for much of the early first millennium. This is, for example, demonstrated by the distribution of the so-called 'Lelegian' settlements in the hinterland of Ionian and Carian cities. The last point concerning the haziness of sociocultural boundaries and the long-standing patterns of reciprocal engagement between southwest Anatolian communities, as well as their neighbors, will be discussed further in the following chapter through three targeted case studies: the Ionian settlements of Miletos and Ephesos, and the Carian settlement of Iasos.

CHAPTER 7: COMING TOGETHER: EPHESOS, MILETOS, AND IASOS

Introduction

This chapter focuses on three southwest Anatolian settlements with the aim of assessing the possibility of heightened immigration here in the last centuries of the second millennium. It has long been posited that the changes in ceramic assemblages in Ionia in the course of the PG period could be linked to the arrivals of people from across the Aegean. Furthermore, many changes discernible in the Geometric and later periods, such as the emergence of writing, Greek cults, and Ionian identity have all been attributed to the arrival of Greek populations into Ionia sometime during the preceding centuries.[1] This chapter brings the discussion of mobility full circle. By looking at three case studies, I first identify what particular changes took place in course of the late second millennium. After identifying their character, and paying special attention to chronological parameters, I move to consider the possible causes of new developments. It will be suggested that at the end of the second millennium, many of the changes previous described as sudden can be, in fact, more fittingly attributed to a history of increased interconnections between southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean from as early as the mid-second millennium.

[1] In this chapter, the term 'Ionia' is used in broad geographic sense and is not limited to the twelve cities of the Ionian dodecapolis, which lay on the western Anatolian littoral and offshore islands. The twelve cities were Phokaia, Klazomenai, Erythrai, Chios, Teos, Lebedos, Kolophon, Ephesos, Samos, Priene, Miletos, and Myous. Smyrna, originally an Aiolian city, joined the league by the Archaic period.

Two of the three selected case studies are settlements that become Ionian in course of the EIA. This is for the purposes of controlled comparison; if the migrationist scenarios were to be true, the assemblages at Ionian sites should follow a distinct trajectory from those at non-Ionian sites. Therefore, 'Carian' Iasos has been selected to be compared to 'Ionian' Ephesos and Miletos, and the archaeological evidence from the Serraglio on Kos is briefly brought in (as an addendum) to examine briefly the relationship between southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean.

Notwithstanding the difference in ethnic associations of the three Anatolian settlements in the later periods, they all share a commonality: they were coastal Anatolian sites that have figured prominently in debates pertaining to migrations, Anatolian-Aegean interaction, and acculturation. Miletos has been considered to be the site most influenced by the Aegean sphere (often labeled as 'Mycenaeanized'), and the settlement later became the leading city of the Ionians in the Archaic period.[2] Ephesos, on the other hand, has often been pictured as more Anatolian in its cultural affiliation during the LBA. It is considered to have experienced immigration in the following period, evidenced by the increase of painted PG ceramic assemblages and the changing nature of the cult of Artemis.[3] Just as Miletos, the settlement became a member of the Ionian dodecapolis and was a strategic player in the international sphere in no small part due to the pull exerted by the allure of the Artemision. Iasos, similarly to Miletos, participated in the Aegean-focused exchange from as early as the MBA. Unlike the

[2] Niemeier and Niemeier 1997; Gorman 2001; Greaves 2002; Niemeier 2005a; 2007a.
[3] Scherrer 1995; Muss 2005; 2008; Bammer 2007; Büyükkolancı 2008; Kerschner, Kowalleck, Steskal 2008; Kerschner 2011.

other two settlements, however, the community at Iasos embraced Carian identity during the EIA, and its environs has often been identified as inhabited by the legendary Lelegians.[4]

Many studies of the Bronze Age sociocultural development in western Anatolia have focused on Anatolian-Aegean interaction, and have classified the settlements according to the degree to which they seem to have incorporated 'foreign' influences, mostly visible in changes in ceramic styles. In one of the influential studies, P. Mountjoy has articulated the concept of the Upper and Lower Interfaces, which were delineated according to trends in painted pottery assemblages. Western Anatolia and parts of the eastern Aegean were considered a geographic and cultural "entity" between the Mycenaeans and the Anatolian hinterland, which responded to stimuli from the Aegean in two ways, broadly speaking.[5] While the Lower Interface was characterized by an increased adoption of first Minoan and then Mycenaean stylistic traits into the local ceramic repertoire, the Upper Interface did not adopt Minoan traits at all and adopted Mycenaean traits less readily than the Lower Interface. Miletos and Iasos belonged to the Lower Interface throughout the LH III period, but Ephesos remained in the upper one, as the boundary between these two zones was constituted by the Meander River and Mount Mycale (*Figure 60*). Similarly, W.-D. Niemeier also argued that Minoan and Mycenaean colonies were located south of Mt. Mycale.[6]

The archaeological investigations of the early first millennium dynamics in the area have been deeply influenced by the story of the Ionian migration, described in the Classical texts that spoke of turbulent times after the fall of Troy, namely the Athenian-led migration to the western

[4] Levi 1961-1962; Laviosa 1984; Benzi 2005; Berti 2007; Momigliano 2009; 2012; Cianciulli 2013, Benzi and Graziadio 2015. See also Chapter 6.
[5] Mountjoy 1998, 33. On a similar distinction between the intensity of contact with the Mycenaeans see Mee 1978.
[6] Niemeier 2007b, 53-60 (see also 2005a; 2005b).

shores of Anatolia.[7] From the beginning of archaeological exploration in the 19th century CE, these texts were taken as historical accounts used to generate research questions. For a long time, archaeology was thus used as a handmaiden of history to substantiate the historicity of Classical and later texts, rather than an independent source of information that could generate independent hypotheses and provide reconstructions of processes without reference to migration-centered narratives. Though this approach has slowly been changing as of the late 20th century, most archaeologists still support the historicity of migration. New voices arguing against the notion of the Ionian migration have, however, emerged recently.[8]

The acceptance of these traditions has relied on two basic pillars. The already discussed first pillar is the historic credit given to the stories circulated from the Archaic period onward, which described different movements of the Ionian ancestors in the distant past, and which were integral to the sense of the Ionian identity and claim to the land. Second is the primary significance given to the appearance of the PG pottery at the beginning of the EIA.[9] The emergence of this style has been directly related to the movement of the Greeks to the Anatolian shore. Though these points might seem separate, they are interlinked in practice, resulting in circular argumentation concerning the dynamics of sociocultural trajectories of this area. The appearance of the PG ceramic style has been interpreted as a result of these putative migrations. In turn, this opinion has dictated the conclusion that this pottery style could not have developed from preexisting local traditions. The assumption was that the Anatolian production of the 'new' PG style could have only been based on imported pottery, which was brought by the Greek

[7] E.g., Mimnermus fr. 9; Herodotus 1.144ff; Pausanias 7.2.1-4.
[8] Cobet 2007; Crielaard 2009; Greaves 2010, 222-224; Vaessen 2015; Mac Sweeney 2016.
[9] As mentioned already, stories of common descents and ritual along with a wider spectrum of material culture has been seen as indicative of the Ionian presence. This chapter highlights the ceramic evidence, as quantitatively the most abundant class of evidence most commonly invoked as absolute proof of eastward movements of the Ionians.

settlers who began producing it in their new home.[10] This chapter, however, argues that the production of PG pottery was derived from the local potting traditions that had established their roots as early as the 14th century at all three sites, and evolved in a milieu in which contact with the Aegean was always a factor in both the LBA and the EIA. The EIA production of pattern-painted pottery thus represents a development of a long-standing tradition common to regions on both sides of the Aegean. Rather than focusing on pottery production at Ionian sites, however, this study compares and contrasts the different classes of material evidence from the three selected sites. I demonstrate that the selected Carian and Ionian sites shared common trajectories in the late second millennium and are inherently heterogeneous communities both in the LBA and the EIA.

Case Study 1: Ephesos

The Bronze Age habitation at Ephesos centered on the Ayasoluk Hill, an area which has been identified with the prominent Arzawan city of Apaša.[11] The EIA history has been considered a breaking point, and is traditionally historically tied to the legendary establishment of the Greek city here by Androklos, the son of Athenian king Kodros.[12] The EIA occupation spread through the lower lying areas west of the hill. The EIA deposits excavated to date are spatially limited to the Artemision where the early use of the sanctuary can be dated to the MPG at the latest, but LBA material was intermixed in the earlier layers as well.[13] In addition to the area of the Artemision, chronologically later Geometric remains came to light on the west slope

[10] Brought to the forefront by Jongkees 1948; Desborough 1948; Huxley 1966; Emlyn-Jones 1980. See also Niemeier 2005a; Kerschner 2006; Herda 2009; 2013, esp. 426.
[11] Hawkins 1998, 22; Büyükkolancı, 2007.
[12] E.g., Pausanias 7.2.6-8; Strabo 14.1.21. The tradition has been widely embraced as historically plausible, see for example Kraft et al. 2000, Muss 2005, 136-137; Kerschner 2006.
[13] Kerschner 2003; 2006; 2011; Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss 2008.

of Ayasoluk, at the northeast slope of Panayır Dağ, in the area of the later stadium, and under the Tetragonos agora (*Figure 61*).[14]

First investigations at Ephesos began in the second half of the 19th century CE with J. Turle Wood's attempts to discover the ancient Temple of Artemis, followed by large scale excavations by O. Benndorf of the University of Vienna.[15] British excavations of D. G. Hogarth focused on the area of the temple at the beginning of the 20th century CE.[16] The Austrian excavations at the site have continued with some interruption to the present days, and the trenches dug under the temple of Artemis between years 1987 and 1991 CE revealed rich deposits dating to the end of the second millennium.[17]

The material from the Bronze Age is relatively humble when compared to the succeeding periods, during which Ephesos became one of the largest cities in Anatolia. The rapid growth of the settlement in course of the first millennium was in no small part due to the favorable geographic location and the pull exerted by the cult of Artemis. Located in the Kaystros River valley, Ephesos enjoyed direct access to both the Hermos and the Meander River valleys, enabling direct communication with the Anatolian hinterland. The site was integral to the flow of peoples, materials, and goods throughout its history, as it lay on strategic interregional routes and in proximity to a fertile hinterland.[18] Though now located approximately 6km east of the Aegean coast, the settlement was originally located right by the sea.[19]

[14] Scherrer 1994, 11ff; Scherrer and Trinkl 2006; Bammer 2007a, 1; Kerschner 2003; Kerschner, Kowalleck, and Steskal 2008, Fig. 48.
[15] Friesinger and Krinzinger 1999.
[16] Hogarth 1908; See Bammer 1990, 137 for comments.
[17] Bammer 1990; Kerschner 2003.
[18] Knitter et al. 2012.
[19] Brückner et al. 2017, 888ff.

The environs of Ephesos were inhabited from the Early Chalcolithic period onward, and the habitation on the Ayasoluk hill, the LBA stronghold of Apaša, began in the late EBA.[20] The hill provided a natural elevated defensible location, and a lower town seems to have extended down its slopes.[21] As the Bronze Age shoreline was located under the middle part of the later temple of Artemis, a good natural harbor could be found just to the west of the hill.[22] Similarly, the LBA and EIA activities at the Artemision were originally located on or by a beach at the edge of the ancient gulf.[23] When the coastline shifted northwest of the temple due to silting of the Kaystros River in the Archaic period, the area experienced increased flooding by its tributary Selinus River that passed by the temple. Torrential flooding remained a problem in course of the first half of the first millennium in general, and terracing was necessary to protect the sanctuary from additional flooding of this rather swampy area.[24] As a result, the ancient remains in the area of the temple were buried under substantial alluvial deposits, making excavations difficult.

Ancient Greek tradition reflects this dynamic quality of the Ephesian landscape during the early historic period.[25] The stories of early colonization mention a coastal location of the settlement established by the Greek speakers lead by the legendary ancestor Androklos at the harbor of Koressos, located at some distance from the Artemision (*Figure 8*).[26] Operating under the assumption that these stories bear some historic credibility, the locale has now been identified on the northwest spurs of Mount Pion (modern Panayır Dağ).[27] The earliest pottery

[20] Bammer 2007a, 1.
[21] Some LBA pottery fragments were retrieved from the deep sounding under the Artemision (Büyükkolancı 2000, 37-41; Stock et al. 2014, 51-53. See also Hawkins 1998, 22).
[22] Stock et al. 2014, 34.
[23] Kraft et al. 2007, 128.
[24] Kraft et al. 2001; Forstenpointner, Kerschner, and Muss 2008, 33; Stock et al. 2014, 34 and 59.
[25] E.g., Kraft et al. 2000; Kerschner, Kowalleck, and Steskal 2008.
[26] Kraft et al. 2000, 182-185.
[27] A good natural harbor was located immediately east of it (Kraft et al. 2007, 130-132, Fig. 6; Kerschner, Kowalleck, and Steskal 2008, Fig. 48).

there dates to the LG period (mid-8th century), but there are some speculations based on the literary tradition that this area might have been settled even earlier, as some have reconstructed the date of this supposed migration at Koressos episode in the end of the 11th century.[28] In any case, the small pockets of early activity concentrated in slightly elevated areas close to the sea, which suggests that the early communities here depended on good anchorage.

The excavation of the early levels on the hill of Ayasoluk have been spatially limited, as the hill is now occupied by a large fortress and the Byzantine church of St. John. The EBA and MBA activity is attested by local ceramic material. Some LBA (both local Anatolian and Mycenaean-style), PG, Geometric, and Archaic sherds were found in a couple of excavation units on the hill.[29] The architectural remains of the LBA fortification on the hill, however, are scarce and consist of some burnt mudbrick.[30] Though a fortification wall on the south slope excavated in 1996 in trench 22S was originally attributed a LBA date, further excavations down to its foundations in 2007 proved that the wall is of a 4th or 3rd century date.[31] Moreover, though M. Büyükkolancı interpreted the presence of two hollowed out circular cuts into the soft bedrock on the west side of the hill as —filled with a mixed deposit of mostly Geometric pottery with some Mycenaean, Anatolian, and PG sherds—possible chambers of Mycenaean-style chamber tombs,[32] the published plan does not seem to support this interpretation. The pits are rather small (of 0.70 and 0.90 m in diameter respectively) and circular in plan, without any evidence of

[28] Kerschner, Kowalleck, and Steskal 2008, 11-20 (background to ancient sources, topography) and 25ff (LG ceramics).
[29] Büyükkolancı 2000; 2007; 2008; 2009.
[30] Büyükkolancı 2008, 42-43.
[31] An early Hellenistic amphora of the "Nikandros Type" and a Chian amphora were found leaning against the base of the wall were found during the excavations of the wall's foundation in the summer of 2007 (Kerschner 2016, 347-348). See also Büyükkolancı 2009, 223. I thank Dr. Kerschner for bringing the updated dating to my attention.
[32] Büyükkolancı 2008, 51-52, Fig. 25.

dromoi. Moreover, they do not seem to have been dug into the hill, as is customary for Mycenaean chamber tombs.

An additional piece of information concerning the LBA activity on the hill is a 14th century tomb, dated by the ceramic finds, which was discovered in 1960 by the Gate of Persecution. Although grave goods included Mycenaean-style pottery, the human bones were contained in a krater. Such an arrangement, however, seems to have been atypical of Mycenaean burials, whereby the bones were laid in pits cut into the floor of a tomb chamber or dromos.[33] The only other evidence from burials came from Halkapınar, a village just east of Ayasoluk. Although some Mycenaean pottery of LH IIIA2 date was found in the pithos burial, the form and manner of the interment follows the local tradition and thus attests continuity of practice (*Figure 62*).[34] Overall, it seems that much more evidence remains hidden under the standing Byzantine remains on the Ayasoluk Hill; the excavations so far provided only a very limited picture of the LBA activities.

In terms of function, the material assemblages from the excavated trenches on the southwest slope suggest that they belonged to activities within the fortified settlement of Apaša. In terms of ware composition, the majority comprised local red wash wares, supplemented by Mycenaean-style ceramics in smaller quantities. The few imports were identified as coming from Miletos and in smaller numbers from the Greek mainland, primarily Argolid.[35] Evidence of buildings, however, is so far limited to very isolated stretches of early walls.

Debates concerning the cultural profile of LBA settlements have often portrayed Ephesos as the more 'Anatolian' counterpart to sites, such as Miletos, which displayed stronger

[33] Gültekin and Baran 1964; Mee 1978, 127; 1998, 139.
[34] Horejs 2008.
[35] Akurgal et al. 2002; Kerschner 2006, 368.

involvement in the Aegean-centered networks of exchange and trade and incorporated Mycenaean cultural markers into its local repertoire more readily. This distinction is unhelpful, as it ascribes broad cultural labels to a much more dynamic past reality. Furthermore, a similar tension between what scholars consider 'Anatolian' versus 'Mycenaean' in terms of material culture is also reflected in the archaeology of Ephesos itself. The excavations at the site of the later Temple of Artemis, including finds of Mycenaean-style pottery and figurines, as well as the PG pottery, brought forth a different narrative—that of Greek immigration.

The early cultic nature of this area is suggested by the presence of miniature vessels and figurines, such as a clay head of the LBA date and PG terracotta animal figurines. Notable is a relatively large terracotta head resembling the Lord of Asine figurine.[36] Other terracotta figurines, such as of cattle, came from various PG deposits underneath and by the cella floor of the 7th century.[37] A. Bammer and U. Muss have thus argued for cultic continuity from the LBA to the EIA with links to Mycenaean rather than Anatolian practices. A. Bammer has suggested that the architecture of the first peripteros was reminiscent of a Mycenaean megaron, even though the early architecture cannot be determined with certainty and the architectural configuration of the later temple, mimicking a forest of columns, resonates local Anatolian cultic practices.[38] Nonetheless, he connected the cult at the site to the Mycenaeans and Greek settlers, who must have arrived here as early as the LBA to fit the migration scenario. The scholarly

[36] Muss 2005; Forstenpointner, Kerschner, and Muss 2008.
[37] Muss (2005) has considered this evidence as indicative of the arrival of Greek settlers from Athens to Ephesos. For an updated review of stratigraphy and deposits underneath the Archaic temple see Kerschner (2011, 19-20 and Fig. 1). Forstenpointner and Weissengruber (2008) suggests that 53% of all bones retrieved from the cella of the peripteros were pigs, followed by sheep/goat. They have not specified the chronological range, however. Moreover, in the PG deposit there were also two skeletons of puppies (Forstenpointner, Krerschner and Muss 2008).
[38] "In the interior existed either two rows of columns which would have formed kind of a central nave, or six columns only which gave room for an opening for light in the center of the building - like a Mycenaean megaron. […] This structure could be a Mycenaean revival in the Early Iron Age" (Bammer 2005, 110; see also Bammer 1990; 2007). On Anatolian cult see Gruben 1993.

consensus, overall, has linked the origins of the cult of Artemis to the Anatolian roots, which gained popularity in the Hittite lands as well as in the Mycenaean regions.[39] This more believable argument has been based on the later evidence for various cults of Anatolian mother goddesses and the unusual appearance of the cult image of the Classical era and its copies of the Roman period, as well as architectural configuration of temples of Artemis at Ephesos and Sardis. Similarities to Hittite and Luwian attributes, as argued by S. Morris, included an emphasis on fertility, the importance of perishable materials such as wool for decorating the cult statues, and the headdress/polos of the goddess.[40]

The earliest painted pottery of LH IIIB/C date, followed by a rich and closed deposit of PG date, came from strata under the northern and eastern part of the cella of the 7th century peripteros (*Figure 16*).[41] A stratum with PG pottery, including miniature vessels, one ivory anthropomorphic and a number of terracotta figurines, as well as animal bones dating between the late 11th and the 9th century lay in a fill above another stratified later of more mixed nature containing Mycenaean, 'Submycenaean', and PG pottery. Both deposits were sealed by alternating layers of thin clay and ash (*Figure 63*).[42] Containing more than a thousand vessels, this is the largest closed deposit of PG pottery discovered to date in Ionia.[43] The sherds, however, are rather worn and in small fragments, suggesting a complicated depositional and post-depositional history.

[39] At Pylos as po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ya (Fr 1206) or ma-te-re te-i-ja "divine mother" (Fr 1202). Morris (2001a, 428ff; 2001b, 135-137) has suggested that the cult could have spread from Anatolia through women captured and brought to the palace as labor. See also Muss 2005.
[40] Morris 2001b, 136-140 with bibliography.
[41] Bammer 2005; Muss 2005; Forstenpointner, Kerschner, and Muss 2008.
[42] The deposits were not excavated stratigraphically, but rather in regular horizontal layers. Originally dated to the LG period (Bammer 1990, Pl. XV), now re-dated to second quarter of the 7th century (Kerschner 2011, 19; Fig. 1).
[43] Kerschner 2006, 369.

The analysis of the rich PG deposit at the Artemision was approached by M. Kerschner from two distinct angles of functional and stylistic analyses. In stylistic terms, the PG painted pottery is the predominant ceramic group of the EIA assemblage (77%). The rest of the ceramics were plain. While 79% of non-painted vessels were one-handled cooking pots (*Figure 64*), which are quite common in the EIA assemblages in western Anatolia and the Aegean, the rest of the vessels shared similarities with the western and central Anatolian tradition and were made locally.[44] Much of the pattern-painted pottery, including pendent-semicircle skyphoi popular during the LPG, was also produced locally.[45] Some of the other pattern-painted pottery was imported from Euboea, namely the closed shapes, such as amphorae and hydriae of the LPG date, and Attica.[46] A number of the imported vessels came from Athens, primarily restricted to two classes: skyphoi and amphorae.[47] Thus, the imports seem to have been vessels of restricted function, transport containers for liquids, such as wine, and serving vessels, such as skyphoi.

Result of the Neutron Activation Analysis indicate a closeness of production techniques of PG pottery between the Anatolian centers of Klazomenai, Ephesos, Kyme, and Euboea in central Greece. Based on provenance studies, it seems that Ephesos enjoyed either direct or indirect contacts with broader western Anatolia and Attica, as traced by the movement of ceramic containers beginning at the end of the 11th century, and reaching a peak of intensity in course of the 9th century. The increase in PG painted pottery with supposed stylistic links to production centers in Attica and Euboea combined with the presence of the already mentioned imports from the same centers have led M. Kerschner to embrace the scenario of the Ionian

[44] Miniature vessels also belong to this category of vessel type (Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss 2008, 36).
[45] Nine pendent semicircle skyphoi were found at Ephesos at the Temple of Artemis and on the southwest slope of Ayasoluk hill. The Neutron Activation Analysis has shown that they belonged to four Anatolian provenance groups, one possibly from Kyme. Interestingly, the Tawagalawa letter was a member of the W provenance group, such as four of the skyphoi. These might have been manufactured at Ephesos (Kerschner 2014, 110-116).
[46] Forstenpointer, Kerschner and Muss 2008. Kerschner 2014, 118.
[47] Kerschner 2006, 370. For Neutron Activation Analysis results see Akurgal et al. 2002.

migration at the beginning of this period. To him, the material pattern resulted from an "external impulse" that began with a trade relationship between Euboea and Anatolian sites, and immigration, which further stimulated emulation of Euboean styles early on, resulting in similar methods of production and decoration in Anatolia.[48]

He reached a similar conclusion with respect to the functional analysis of the assemblage. In terms of function, the PG deposit consisted of a number of classes, most abundant of which were locally made cooking pots comprising 35% of the entire assemblage.[49] They consisted predominantly of one-handled handmade pots, which made up 18% of the entire assemblage. This is a rather high proportion of this class of coarse ware utilitarian vessel when compared with similar assemblages from Greece. The unusually high number of cooking pots suggests that the meat was cooked/boiled. Roasting, however, was a common practice at Greek sanctuaries.[50] Furthermore, as M. Kerschner has suggested, boiled meat in the form of a stew could have been comfortably eaten out of open vessels—large cups and skyphoi—which comprised a further 30% and 23% of the same assemblage.[51] This particular set of cooking pots and serving vessels thus made up 88% of the assemblage, while mixing, pouring, and storage vessels (such as kraters, jugs, amphorae, and plates) comprised the rest (*Figure 65*). Boiling meat was a prevalent local practice associated with later activity at the temple, linked to the early ritual practices at the site.

The one-handled handmade cooking pots have parallels in the Aegean and their quantity at Ephesos seems similar to the quantity at other sites, such as Athens and Lefkandi.[52] What

[48] Kerschner 2014, 119.
[49] 23% of the entire assemblage was made by hand rather than thrown on a wheel. 79% of handmade ceramics were the one-handled cooking pots, overall comprising 18% of the entire assemblage. In contrast, cooking pots comprised only 3% of the 7th century assemblage (Kerschner 2011, 24).
[50] For zooarchaeological data see Forstenpointner et al. 2005, 88.
[51] Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss 2008, 34-35; Kerschner 2011, 24.
[52] Kerschner 2011, 25. The LH IIIC predecessors of these one handled cooking pots appear also in Anatolia at Limantepe, for example, as well as on the islands of Chios. Traditionally, their appearance was connected to the movement of Mycenaean refugees. These cooking pots, however, represent a rather practical shape. They are thick

differentiates the deposits at Ephesos, however, is that the remainder of the handmade class (making up almost 5% of the total assemblage) had parallels to pottery from inland Anatolia sites. M. Kerschner has thus argued that the both classes of handmade ceramics were made locally by respective cultural groups: local Anatolians, who continued the Anatolian tradition, and the Greeks, who kept the Aegean tradition alive. He thus sees a minority of local inhabitants living, producing, and worshiping side by side the Greek immigrants.[53]

Even though it is undeniable that different sequences were in operation while producing these types of cooking pots, differences in production might not be readily indicative of the cultural origins of their makers. Although comparison with other regions has shown that the handmade one-handled cooking pots were common in the Aegean regions and a smaller part of the assemblage resembled shapes common to Gordion and Troy, this combination of vessel types can be indicative of diverse Ephesian production environments. The evidence should therefore be approached more cautiously without attributing cultural labels to classes of ceramic material.

If we step away from seeing a ceramic style as indicative of the cultural background of the producers, an alternative suggestion anchored in the local practice can be proposed. While pattern-painted Mycenaean-style wares might have been produced in the proximity of Ephesos as early as the 14th century, local production of these wares could have comfortably developed over the course of following two centuries. If we accept that the production of the PG ceramics developed from the LBA tradition locally in southwest Anatolia (and not just in Greece),[54] then it

and keep liquids warm by being placed close to fire without a need of a tripod (Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011, 47; Vaessen 2014a, 105ff).

[53] Kerschner 2011, 25.

[54] Already suggested in Chapters 2 and 5 based on the evidence from Miletos, as well as at early Carians sites where vessels showing clear signs of mixing LH IIIC and PG traditions were found in PG burials. For discussion of the technical aspects of the development of pattern-painted decoration within the Anatolian context see Zurbach 2011; Vaessen 2014a; 2016. For a general trend of distribution of Mycenaean-style ceramics in southwest Anatolia see also Mokrišová 2016, 50ff.

is possible to suggest that by the PG period, the local producers were comfortable with potting a range of vessel types using different production techniques and using different skill sets. These could have been either reflective of an existence of different specialized workshops, or could have represented different products offered by the same production center if the potters' skills were versatile enough. This is not too far-fetched. After all, even in case of specialized workshops, why should potters be continuously limited to producing only a ware indicative of their purported origins? In other words, at Ephesos, not only itinerant or immigrant Euboean potters, but also local potters, could have learned to produce wares other than cooking pots or skyphoi to meet the demands of his consumers.

Anatolian Apaša, Greek Ephesos?

As already suggested at the beginning of this section, Ephesos has become stuck in the minds of scholars as a place of struggle between various influences—Luwian versus Ahhiyawan in the LBA and Anatolian versus Greek in the EIA. This juxtaposition was constructed through both archaeology and written evidence. Apaša was an important western Anatolian stronghold, and the dominance of Anatolian wheelmade wares found in the deposits at Ayasoluk, compared to a small amount of imported Mycenaean and locally produced Mycenaean-style ceramics, seems to confirm it at a cursory glance.[55] The method that traces the Anatolian 'elements', however defined, usually relies on identifying aspects of material culture with parallels to other Anatolian settlements, such as Beycesultan. Though this particular approach cautions against taking the limited Mycenaean-style assemblages as indicative of the presence of Mycenaeans at the site, the pendulum tends to swing too far the other way. The archaeological remains are now

[55] Büyükkolancı 2007, 24.

imbued with yet another broad cultural affiliation, this time with the Luwians.[56] Yet, thinking in terms of the 'Luwian culture' is not helpful either, as one cultural label is substituted with another. In this case, 'Luwian' is defined in linguistic terms, there is no evidence that it described a unified polity or a self-identifying group.[57] The term is also difficult to define in historic terms. Luwian, thus, often ends up being synonymous with Anatolian, as an additional category to the two better-defined cultural entities: the Hittites and the Mycenaeans.[58] In short, it homogenizes the diverse social landscapes of the past.

Though Apaša was one of the centers of power in southwest Anatolia, we do not know much about the people who lived here. Most of the pottery found here was Anatolian, but the LH IIIA2 grave by the Gate of Persecution prompted the discussion concerning a possible Mycenaean presence or cultural influence.[59] As noted above, however, this was the only instance when practices aligned with trends from the Aegean and the Greek mainland. The 14th century burial, however, does not seem to follow the usual Mycenaean prototype. The krater, which served as a receptacle for human bones, was a highly unusual addition,[60] but the incorporation of Mycenaean pouring and drinking vessels might have been driven by the local elites, who wished to articulate a relationship with the Ahhiyawan elite by way of cultural emulation.[61]

Debates on language are often difficult to settle because of a lack of evidence, but the traditional emphasis on the shift from Luwian to Greek by means of immigration might be

[56] In both, the LBA and the EIA. E.g., Greaves 2013; Işık 2015 (one should be aware, however, that his overarching thesis carries a rather nationalistic message, according to which Anatolia is the birthplace of most cultural markers of the Ionians and the Greeks).
[57] Bryce 2003a, 30-31. Though I do not deny that a concept of a Luwian group could have excited in the LBA, perhaps as a Hittite identifier for the speakers of an Indo-European language family dissimilar to Nesite, who inhabited in western and southern Anatolia, the term is unsuitable to describe a spectrum of material culture.
[58] Cf. various contributions in Mouton, Rutherford, and Yakubovich 2013.
[59] Mee 1998; Gates 1995; Kelder 2004-2005, 67ff.
[60] Gültekin and Baran 1964; Horejs 2008, 120.
[61] Kelder 2004-2005, 69.

misleading. Rather, multilingualism might have been a fact of life in this area in both the LBA and the EIA,[62] as even during the EIA Greek was not the only language present here, but was also accompanied by Carian as well as Lydian.[63] During the LBA, the rulers of Arzawa noted in the Hittite annals had Luwian names, suggesting that Luwian language community was present at Ephesos. As outlined in Chapters 5 and 6, however, speakers of proto-versions of EIA languages (Lydian and Carian) could have also been present in southwest Anatolia alongside Mycenaean Greek, if we accept the current argument in favor of persistent low-intensity but protracted mobility between the Aegean and Anatolia in course of the LBA.[64]

Activities at the Temple of Artemis could have begun as early as the 14th century, and the assemblages there present a mix of local and Mycenaean-style wares in higher proportion than at Ayasoluk. The PG practice here was rather particular and not fully aligned with practices seen at Greek sanctuaries despite a high proportion of PG ceramics. In general, the activity at the Artemision has traditionally been considered embedded within local Anatolian cosmology.[65] Even the Classical cult at Ephesos was not really 'Greek', as shown by the architectural composition reminiscent of the forest of columns and the visual emphasis on fertility of the cult statue.[66] Rather, it maintained Anatolian elements connected to the worship of the Anatolian

[62] The suggestion that Luwian might have been much more fragmented linguistic group, as suggested by Yakubovich (2010), is intriguing, and would accord better with archaeological findings. For language in general see Yakubovich 2011; Melchert 2003b; cf. Hawkins 2015.
[63] The Greek language with many loan words in the poetry of 6th century poet Hipponax of Ephesos, suggests that bilingualism was certainly possible. On language see Crielaard 2009, 44-46.
[64] Due to a complete lack of evidence, it is not clear, however, how much of the LBA population spoke Luwian or if any other language was spoken alongside it.
[65] Contra Bammer 1990; Muss 2005. Suggestions of parallels to early Greek cult are somewhat anachronistic, as it identifies elements of fully fledged Ionian cult of the mid-first millennium known from literary sources and more abundant archaeological evidence and transpose them over the patchy evidence of the LBA cultic activity.
[66] Gruben 1993.

mother goddess, including the form of the statue, bearing parallels to the Anatolian Kybele throughout the first millennium.[67]

While rituals in general are considered as avenues for advertising and negotiating communal identity,[68] they can also function as public arenas in which relationships between different communities could have been negotiated, especially during turbulent times in the history of the region.[69] I am of the opinion that the function of the ritual at the Artemision was to negotiate heterogeneity of the community of Ephesos during the late second millennium. It provided a shared participatory social platform that likely extended across multiple communities, all of which comprised a pluralistic community of people who claimed different identities. The eventual success of the cult could be in part also attributed to its persisting sociocultural ambiguity, to which both local and non-local groups could relate. By the mid-first millennium, the Artemision became an arena where participation crosscut several social networks, local, regional, and even supra-local.

Overall, when the evidence from early Ephesos is approached while bearing the special function of the excavated deposits in mind, we can set aside ethnically driven interpretation of the activity at the site. The evidence stemming from the ritual context cannot provide the same information concerning past interactions and identity as domestic assemblages. Nonetheless, the view of early ritual activity at the Artemision as presented here has the potential to explain the incorporation of 'Greek' practices into the local repertoire without invoking immigration of the Greek speakers the beginning of the EIA, traditionally considered as a motor for changes at the

[67] In terms of similarities with the worship and iconography of the Phrygian goddess Cybele and bears associations also with the Lydian cult of Artemis at Sardis. See Morris 2006 with bibliography; Mac Sweeney 2013; 146ff.
[68] For cult in southwest Anatolia see Crielaard 2009, 63ff; Mac Sweeney 2013 with bibliographies.
[69] After a period of heightened tensions between the Hittites, Arzawan polities, and the Ahhiyawa, Mursili II managed to dissolved the loosely organized Arzawan confederacy into vassal states, and the Hittite documents show increased interest in this region (Bryce 2003a; 2003b).

beginning of the 10th century. Rather, this suggestion highlights a slow transition to a more closely prescribed ritual along the Greek norms as a result of protracted cultural dynamics within a community consisting of people claiming different identities.

The combination of access to sea and river resources and fertile agricultural land, as well as direct routes to inner Anatolia were ideal preconditions to make Ephesos an important node. A small docking place, in which both sea and overland traffic met, exposed local population to a higher degree of intercommunity interaction. It was a milieu characterized by regular small-scale flow of people, which allowed for negotiations between different groups and its incorporation into practices at the Artemision in a more fluid way than the one envisioned by the migration model.

Case Study 2: Miletos

The second case study focuses on Miletos, a city that emerged as the leader of the Ionian dodecapolis during the Archaic period, and legends of foundation had made a link between the settlers from Crete led by Sarpedon and subsequently the Ionians, who came into conflict with the native Carians.[70] Accordingly, its early history is often framed in historical discourse in terms of its future role as the Ionian leader.[71] Archaeological preoccupation with migration, too, can be discerned in the treatment of its early remains, whereby the Minoan settlers or colonizers are envisioned to have arrived here as early as the 18th century CE, followed by the Mycenaeans a few centuries later.[72] This treatment echoes the core and periphery perspectives, in which Miletos is treated as peripheral to the developments in the Aegean. At the same time, it seeks to

[70] Herodotus 1.171-172; Pausanias 7.2.5; Strabo 12.8.5.
[71] E.g., Gorman 2001, 1ff.
[72] Niemeier 2005; 2007a, 2007b; Brückner et al. 2006.

be in line with the information from the Classical texts, especially the tradition of the thalassocracy of Minos.[73] Just as in the case of Ephesos, it is therefore important to consider archaeological evidence alone from a diachronic perspective to be able to contextualize the LH IIIC and PG remains.

Archaeological investigations at Miletos started at the end of the 19th century CE under the directorship of T. Wiegand, and the German teams have continued to work there with intermissions until today. Most of the excavations have focused on the better-preserved remains of the Archaic and later periods and are challenged by flooding in some areas of the site, including the Temple of Athena. This area is the location of the prehistoric remains, which had been initially uncovered by T. Wiegand, C. Weickert, and A. von Gerkan and more intensively investigated by W.D. Niemeier and his team from 1994 to 2004 CE (*Figure 9*).[74] The final publication is currently in preparation, and therefore many conclusions provided below rely on preliminarily information.

Miletos is located on the Anatolian mainland at the estuary of the Meander River (modern Büyük Menderes), nowadays approximately 8 km east of the Aegean coast. This area has witnessed pervasive paleogeographic changes in course of the past six millennia, which were documented and published by H. Brückner and his team. Until the end of the EBA, the area consisted of smaller islands divided from one another by a shallow sea (*Figure 66*).[75] Intense degradation of the flora combined with soil erosion and slight marine regression caused changes in course of the second millennium. The area of the Temple of Athena, which had been an islet, became connected to the mainland by a *tombolo*, a complex of natural sandbars, by the 15th

[73] Thucydides 1.4.
[74] von Gerkan 1925, 74-5; Weickert 1940; 1957; Schiering 1979; Niemeier 1998a; 2005.
[75] Brückner 2003; Brückner et al. 2006; 2014; 2017.

century. The neighboring Humei Tepe became attached to the mainland via another *tombolo* in the PG period, and the entire site turned into a peninsula in course of the EIA.[76] The first millennium witnessed an increasingly rapid rate of sedimentation of the Meander river delta, but during the LBA and EIA the site was still a part of a coastal landscape, looking out toward the Latmian Gulf and the Aegean Sea (*Figure 67*).

The prehistoric site enjoyed good natural harbors during both the LBA and EIA. The favorable maritime-focused geographic location of the site was crucial, and the site has been described as 'coastal Anatolian'.[77] Due to the position of the Meander delta and the fact that the coast of the Aegean Sea was located as far away as modern Söke, Miletos was located at some distance from the mouth of the river. It has been suggested that the coastal road from Miletos inland along the river was difficult, since the Mt. Latmos provided a barrier when approaching the Meander valley from the south side.[78] The reconstructed second millennium route from Miletos led through the Milesia south to Mylasa and Stratonikea, then turning up the Marsyas (modern Çine) River valley, a southern tributary of the Meander (*Figure 58*). Miletos might have thus been physically removed from easy access inland, which might have opened the settlement up to interacting more closely with the north-south traffic along the Anatolian coast.

The prehistoric remains were located on the north shore of a small islet of the Temple of Athena Hill, which became attached to the mainland at the end of the second millennium.[79] The Bronze Age occupation comprised levels II-VI at the site (*Table 5*). Although Milesian assemblages in Levels I-II (Chalcolithic to EBA) showed affinities with material culture from

[76] Brückner 2003, 130-131; Brückner et al. 2017.
[77] Similar to Iasos, Kömur Adası, Tavşan Adası, and Techioussa/Akbük (Kaiser and Zurbach 2015, 560; Raymond et al. 2016, 59).
[78] Hawkins 1998, 26; Vaessen 2016, Fig. 3. See also Brückner (2003) and Brückner et al. (2017) for the geomorphological reconstruction of the Meander delta.
[79] Kaiser 2009, 21; Weber 2007, 341, Fig. 12.

both Anatolian sites further inland, such as Beycesultan and Aphrodisias, and the southeast Aegean islands and the Cyclades, a beginning of a more intensive interaction with the Aegean can be documented in Level III.[80] The spike in imports from Crete can be discerned in Level III dating to the 19th-18th centuries (MM IB-MMII). The manufacture of local shapes predominated at that time, while some Minoan-style items were produced locally, as evidenced by a discovery of pottery kilns in Level IIIb.[81] Some scholars explained this trend by the immigration from Crete starting as early as the beginning of the second millennium. The local manufacture of the Cretan shapes has led W.-D. Niemeier to suggest that this type of production was indicative of the presence of Minoan settlers on the site,[82] but ceramic specialists A. Raymond and I. Kaiser have been more cautious. Instead, they have suggested that the Minoan influence at the site can be attributed to Milesian overseas connections, as the excavated area was used as a locus of special ritual activity focused on platforms and altar basins.[83] None of the excavated areas were dedicated to domestic activities, making conclusions about the overall character of the settlement difficult.

Similarly, the material excavated in Levels IVa-b (18th to mid-15th century) also indicates that this area maintained its special ritual function and continued to exhibit an "international character".[84] During IVa phase, Milesian common coarse ware ceramics were abundant, but fine wares were predominantly of Cretan stylistic origins and no fine pattern

[80] Evidenced by similarities of local ceramic assemblages, and the presence of ceramic imports and a Cycladic marble figurine, as well as metal imports (both Cycladic obsidian and Anatolian metals) (Niemeier 2007a, 7-8). See also Şahoğlu 2005 and Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2014 on EBA trade networks and connections.
[81] Niemeier 2005, 3-4; Kaiser 2009.
[82] The latter category included cooking tripods, small handless cups, and discoid loomweights. A channel kiln was found, too (Niemeier 2005, 3-4).
[83] Kaiser and Raymond 2015; Raymond et al. 2016, 59. Niemeier has embraced the model of Minoan thalassocracy and Minoan colonization (2007a, 11-12; Niemeier and Niemeier 1997, 194).
[84] Level IV a comprises six altar platforms, fifteen stationary plaster offering tables, overturned drinking cups, rhyta and burnt bone deposits (Niemeier 2007a, 11-12; Kaiser and Raymond 2015, 149).

painted and fine wares were made locally.[85] Peloponnesian imports began to predominate, Cretan and Cycladic imports were very few in number. The first evidence for architecture at the site takes the form of rectangular two-roomed structures, but their descriptions have not been yet published.[86] The architectural evidence from the following Level V (second half 15th to the end of the 14th century), on the other hand, is more abundant, as two houses of rectilinear plan were excavated.[87] These fit comfortably within the local architectural tradition, though similar house plans were also excavated in the Argolid.[88]

During the 14th century, Miletos emerged as a major pottery center focused on production of an array of wares.[89] In total, eight pottery kilns were uncovered at the site, which produced both local Anatolian and Mycenaeanizing ceramics. While channel kilns are known from Crete, horseshoe and circular kilns have parallels in western Anatolia.[90] The ceramics produced at the site followed preceding traditions with minor alterations, such as a new local painted pottery group, Class X, developed and utilized local shapes such as carinated kraters and basket-handled bowls (*Figure 68*).[91] Most importantly, all these wares were used together in the same spatial setting.[92]

The 14th century was also an eventful time in the arena of Aegean-Anatolian political relations, a time when both the Ahhiyawa and the Hittites were more intensely engaged with

[85] Raymond et al. 2016, 64.
[86] See a short description in Raymond et al. 2016, 61.
[87] Niemeier, however, has argued in favor of Minoan and Mycenaean presence, based on the combination of imports and locally produced imitations and the discovery of the 'cult center' in Level IV. Five locally produced vessels with Linear A signs were discovered as well. No 'Minoan' architectural features, however, were found (Niemeier 2005a, esp. 6-8).
[88] Niemeier 2005a, 11.
[89] Mountjoy (1998) notes a general trade of more intensive interaction in the Lower Interface during the LH IIIA2, which eventually results in the emergence of the eastern Aegean koine of the LH IIIC Early/Middle.
[90] Niemeier and Niemeier 1997.
[91] Raymond et al. 2016, 64-65, Figs. 4.4-4.7. See also Zurbach 2011.
[92] Niemeier and Niemeier 1997; Kaiser and Zurbach 2015, 570.

each other. This is also the period when the Hittites wished to assert a firmer control over the political affairs in west Anatolia, as numerous local elites changed alliances to gain an advantage on the international political field. These upheavals, however, are nearly impossible to find in the archaeological record, although W.-D. Niemeier has suggested that the destruction of the fortifications of Level V by fire could have been caused by the troops of Mursili II. D. Hawkins, however, has remained more cautious, even though he has suggested that during the following 13th century Millawanda-Miletos was under Ahhiyawan control.[93]

The damaged parts of the settlement were rebuilt again, and the corresponding Level VI does show change, characterized by the excavators as exhibiting a high degree of 'Mycenaeanization'.[94] This designation is based on the predominance of Mycenaean imports in the ceramic assemblage, the emergence of new locally produced Mycenaean-style wares, and an introduction of new fabrics, such as brownish ware, combined with a decrease in shapes that follow the preceding local Anatolian tradition, all of which point to a significant alteration of production and consumption at the site.[95] It is important to stress, as A. Raymond and her colleagues have done in a recent article that reconsiders cultural processes at the site during the LBA, that the imports, local imitations of first Minoan and then Mycenaean ceramic styles, as well as vessels of local Anatolian tradition cannot be spatially or behaviorally separated in Levels III to V, but the Aegean influence in Level VI seems rather overwhelming. They have therefore proposed that while the material patterning of the earliest levels attested mutual acculturations between Anatolian and Mycenaean groups, the material patterning in Level VI

[93] Hawkins 1998, 28; Niemeier 2007b, 77. See also Bryce 2003b.
[94] Raymond et al. 2016.
[95] Kaiser and Zurbach 2015, 570. Raymond et al. 2016, esp. 65.

reflected cultural assimilation.[96] W.-D. Niemeier, however, has preferred to explain this shift in terms of an establishment of a Mycenaean colony.[97]

Although pottery is the most abundant evidence for ancient activities at the site and seems to reflect a real change in the way the objects were used in this area, an argument in favor of population change or cultural assimilation would have been stronger if other aspects of the site, such as the built environment, demonstrated a similar change. A short-lived fortification wall was erected in the northern part of the excavated area. Its 5m-long preserved stretch suggests the use of construction with casemates and can be described as of Anatolian, rather than Hittite or Mycenaean building tradition.[98] Additional buildings include a possible Corridor House of Greek mainland type (*Figure 69*).[99] The house is rather incompletely preserved, as shown in the figure. Overall, the limited architectural remains seem relatively heterogeneous. The image that emerges is one of increased links to the Aegean, shown by a high degree of adoption of Mycenaean-style pottery, together with a retention of some local elements, shown by architecture at the site.

A frequently cited form of evidence for the presence of Mycenaeans, or at least broad Mycenaean cultural influence, is the presence of chamber tombs. These were found dug into the hill of Değirmentepe located 1.5 km southwest of the temple of Athena. The tombs have not yet been fully published despite having been excavated in the early 20th century CE, but some information about the funerary assemblages has been made available in passing.[100] Grave goods included pottery of LH IIIB and C date, jewelry, and bronze weapons of Hittite and Mycenaean

[96] Raymond et al. 2016, 58.
[97] Niemeier 2007a, 15-16; 2007b.
[98] Niemeier 2005a, 20. For an overview of differences between Hittite and Mycenaean fortification see Maner 2012.
[99] Niemier and Niemeier 1997, 197-199; Niemeier 2005a, 12-13.
[100] Overall, eleven chamber tombs were documented by the German team at the beginning of the 20th century CE (Niemeier 2005a; 2007a). For an overview of distribution of individual Mycenaean material culture in southwest Anatolia and southeast Aegean see Niemeier 2007b.

types. Another LBA chamber tomb was excavated recently after illicit activity on the hill. The pottery appears to have been local with parallels to Kos and Rhodes and dates to the LH IIIC Early period.[101] The relatively late date of the burial in combination with regional provenance of small finds situates this tomb within the southeast Aegean-southwest Anatolian practice, rather than the one of Mycenaean mainland Greece.

The relationship between the city and its immediate surroundings could potentially provide an additional evidence concerning the changing interaction in the area.[102] H. Lohmann's survey documented some scatters of prehistoric pottery by the sanctuary of Athena Assesia and a 'Mycenaean' LH IIIB burial at Assesos (modern Mengerevtepe) (Figure *67*). Further traces that could be dated to the second millennium were found also at Kömür Adası.[103] The excavations at Teichioussa, a peninsula in the modern Gulf of Akbük, revealed continuous occupation during the second millennium, and some PG, Geometric, and Archaic activity was detected during the excavation of chronologically later tombs that were dug into the LBA layers.[104] Moreover, while PG material is absent in the hinterland of Miletos, Geometric material was found at a few larger settlements, such as the aforementioned Teichioussa and Assessos.[105] Overall, the spread of 'Mycenaean' assemblages seems to have been highly localized to settlements, and the countryside becomes more active in the Geometric period.

The high degree of incorporation of Aegean material culture at Miletos has been explained in terms of its crucial position in exchange networks. For instance, T. Bryce has suggested that Mycenaean interest in Miletos was limited to trade, and W. Niemeier, while

[101] Akat and Aslan 2014, 382. The presence of chamber tombs need not imply Mycenaean presence even in the earlier periods, however, as already suggested by Mee (1998, 140).
[102] At Miletos, discerning early occupation pattern in areas north and northeast of it is problematic, as alluvial deposits would have covered early sites with substantial amount of sediment.
[103] Lohmann 1999, 15; Lohmann 36.
[104] Voigtländer 2004; 2009.
[105] Lohmann 1999, 15.

arguing in favor of a larger scale colonial activity, also pointed out the importance of metal trade with central Anatolia along the corridor in which Miletos lies.[106] After all, metal trade is credited with being one of the prime movers for the creation of long distance connections in the mid-third millennium.[107] In many models of LBA dynamics, the demand for metals is invoked as a primary fuel for new avenues of mobility not just in Anatolia, but also in the Bronze Ages in general.[108] Enabled by innovations in sailing and overland transport technologies, long-distance trade helped create new connections on an unprecedented scale. Most long-distance routes of this kind, however, seem to have skirted the eastern Aegean (the Dodecanese and Crete).[109] Metal sources in western Anatolia were of regional, rather than pan-Mediterranean importance. Yet, the overland east-west corridor through Anatolia was an important artery that linked parts of Anatolia with the Aegean littoral, and settlements like Miletos and Ephesos must have been important stops alongside routes, through which metals and other raw materials and products moved. This type of exchange, however, was controlled by the elites, and accounts for a small (although archaeologically very visible) part of the spectrum of mobility experienced in this region.

While the LH IIIC Early period seems to be well represented in the excavated deposits in terms of both ceramic assemblages and the fortifications, the subsequent stages of the LH IIIC are difficult to discern, as the period VII settlement (spanning LH IIIC) seems to have been

[106] Bryce 1989, 13; Niemeier and Niemeier 1997, 205.
[107] E.g., the EBA II Anatolian trade network (Şahoğlu 2005).
[108] E.g., Sherratt 2000; Earle et al. 2015; Kristiansen 2016 with bibliographies.
[109] On metal sources in western Anatolia see Yalçın 1999; 2008. For trade in eastern Mediterrnaean see Sherratt 2001; Manning and Hulin 2005; Mee 2008 with bibliographies. In Anatolia, much of the evidence for the movement of metal relies on the knowledge of later practices, and assumes that some of the resources could have been exploited in the LBA as well. The direct evidence (from sourcing of finished objects and in the form of metalworking activities such as molds) is still limited. Yet, even if Miletos and Ephesos did not act as waystations on the main metal trade route, that does not preclude the possibility of highly skilled metal working in the area (Marek Verčík and Miloš Roháček, personal communication, 28/3/2017).

destroyed at the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 11th century (*Figure 70* and *Figure 71*).[110] The excavations did not provide clear indication about the character of destruction, and lack of evidence presents a rather formidable obstacle in reconstructing the sociocultural dynamics of the late second millennium. Though some 'Submycenaean', EPG, MPG, and LPG sherds were "well represented" in this area, they await more substantial publication (*Figure 72*).[111] In any case it is clear that even already at the beginning of the EIA Miletos had a local style of PG painted decoration that shared broad similarities with other sites in Anatolia (Dirmil), Greece (Attica), and the Aegean (Rhodes).[112] Even though these vessels were produced locally and shared stylistic parallels to other Anatolian sites and Rhodes, continuing a general trend of shared tradition since the LH IIIC, the connection to Attic styles was prioritized in describing the beginning of the EIA history of the site. In line with the legends of Milesian origins, V. Desborough and others identified the homeland of new migrants in Attica.[113] The scenario of the migration was widely embraced also in small part due to the emergence of written Greek language at Miletos in the LG period.[114]

New evidence in form of wasters and a kiln found at Kalabaktepe provide additional information about the ceramic production during both the second and the first millennium. Neutron Activation Analysis has identified several chronologically distinct classes of pattern painted Mycenaean-style and Geometric wares produced here, ranging from as early as the 15th

[110] Niemeier 2005, 20.
[111] Krumme 2003, 244. See Weickert 1959/1960, Pls. 55.3, 5, 6; Krumme 2015, 582-583.
[112] Krumme (2015, 589) frames the discussion in terms of comparison with Attica: "at least for PG, Attic and other productions were certainly known in Miletus, but their structure was not followed in detail" and continues "[i]t seems, though, that decorative concepts were better understood in Miletus, that the city was open to both the Aegean and the mainland of Asia Minor." See also Weickert 1957, 121-127; Lemos 2007, 718-719.
[113] Desborough 1972, 183-184; Niemeier 2005. See Gödecken 1988 on local production.
[114] E.g., Schachermeyr 1980, 375; Gorman 2002; Niemeier 2007a; 2007b.

century to the 12th and then from the second half of the 6th century onward.[115] The data for the intervening period are lacking, but similar recipes in both the LBA and the Archaic period are rather striking, just as in the case of Ephesos. Miletos, however, seems to have differed from other Ionian production sites. Although at the beginning of the PG there are similarities in the decorative preferences for pendant semi-circle skyphoi to those of Attica, in course of the period Miletos developed its own local style without much "western influence".[116]

A Greek Settlement in Anatolia?

Instead of increased immigration in two significant waves—the first at the end of the 14th century and the second at the end of the LH IIIC period through the first stages of the EIA—the LH IIIC and PG developments were in keeping with a prolonged trend of commonly-occurring mobility of people and objects between the Aegean sites and Miletos. This phenomenon, admittedly, intensified in the 13th century. The community at Miletos had interacted with other communities based around the Aegean from as early as the beginning of the second millennium, while being geographically rather separate from the Anatolian mainland. Miletos was located on distinct yet connected networks characterized by different environmental conditions and modes of transportation: land-based, sea-based, and perhaps even river-based. The city has been identified as an important node of trade,[117] but there are other reasons why Miletos emerged more central than other equally suitably positioned settlements, like Ephesos, for example. One factor was its proximity to supra-regional networks that connected the Aegean to the eastern

[115] Provenance Group A has been identified with certainty at Kalabaktepe, and produced Late Mycenaean (12th century) and 7th-6th century ceramics. Provenance Group D, which has been identified provisionally, seems to match a source nearby A. This clay source was quarried from 15th century to the 12th century, and then from 7th to the 6th century (Akurgal et al. 2002, 140-141).
[116] Kerschner 2014, 120-121. See also Krumme 2003.
[117] Niemeier 1999; 2002; Benzi 2002; Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2015; Raymond et al. 2015; Vaessen 2016.

Mediterranean via the chain of islands of Crete and the Dodecanese. Furthermore, in terms of ceramic production, Miletos was dominant enough to compete with Kos and Rhodes in the distribution of its products in western Anatolia.[118]

Some scholars see Miletos as a Mycenaean site during the 14th century.[119] This suggestion has relied on both archaeological evidence and textual information about the events in Millawanda. Alternatively, the evidence has been explained in terms of acculturation. There is considerable merit to the new work by A. Raymond and her colleagues that looks at production activities at the site and engages with the fine dynamics of cultural encounter stressing the longevity of the international profile of Miletos.[120] During most of the second half of the LBA, the ceramic assemblages used by the community here near the future Temple of Athena were mixed to reflect these strong links with the Aegean world, preserved in "the acculturated, transformed state".[121] The description is primarily based on the ceramic assemblages, and interprets the evidence through the framework of 'Mycenaeanization'. Yet, this is a descriptive, rather than explanatory term, which emphasizes Mycenaean cultural dominance. If we, however, consider that this settlement must have consisted of heterogeneous population (some of which were local, some of which came for the purposes of trade, work, or because of previously established social relationships), we might arrive at a different conclusion.

Miletos was a settlement at the edge of the Anatolian littoral, hugging the Aegean. It was precisely this position that enabled it to bridge distinct spheres of interaction. It could operate within larger Aegean and east-west Anatolian networks as well as smaller-scale regional

[118] A major obstacle in recognizing Anatolian ceramics in the Aegean a lack of communication between archaeologists working on different sides of the modern Greek-Turkish border. This situation is now slowly changing. Imports from Miletos have not been identified on Crete, at Kommos (Rutter 2006), at Knossos, as well as in the Cyclades (Knappett and Hilditch 2015).
[119] Kelder 2004-2005; Niemeier 20015; Tartaron 2013, 272ff.
[120] Raymond et al. 2016
[121] Raymond et al. 2016, 71.

networks, as evidenced by the pattern of the distribution of Milesian ceramics in both the LBA and the EIA. More importantly, just as advocated in the case of Ephesos, the Milesian community was a pluralistic social setting, albeit with material culture that incorporated style and techniques from the Aegean more readily. The increased incorporation of Mycenaean-style material culture, however, was a slow and locally driven phenomenon, which unfolded in the course of almost three centuries (corresponding to Levels V and VI at the site).

By the 14th century, Miletos had been an arena for meeting of varied people and practices for some time, fueling local innovation and openness to both east and west. The long history of Aegean-local interaction at Miletos resulted in a creation of small social distance between interacting communities at the site, and this situation does not seem to have changed at the end of the second millennium. Its inhabitants felt comfortable with choosing varied practices, as these were a part of what was already familiar to them. Viewed from this angle, the 'Mycenaean' elements at Miletos cannot be viewed as truly Mycenaean in terms of their association with palatial centers of mainland Greece. Rather, they were the result of negotiations in its diverse community that experienced relatively high levels of mobility for prolonged periods of time. These various groups tapped into material expressions, which were part of their habitus for some time, including even the chamber tombs and Mycenaean-style pottery.[122]

The crucial PG period at Miletos is so far known rather indirectly through ceramics and suggestions of continuity of activities in the Temple of Athena. It is notable, however, that clay sources and pottery recipes remained consistent between the LBA and Archaic period, and that the PG ceramics were local, showing links with the Carian sites to the south. They both point to a level of relative stability at the end of the second millennium, despite evidence for possible

[122] On distribution and dating of various 'Mycenaean' elements in Anatolia see Mee 1978; 1988; Kelder 2004-2005; Niemeier 2005a.

destructions of fortifications at the end of the 12th century.[123] Just as at Ephesos, more pronounced changes in terms of Milesian engagement with the wider region could be identified well before the transition into the EIA.

Last but not least, based on the evidence presented previously in Chapter 6 (and which will be discussed in the following section of this chapter), it can be suggested that a rather heterogeneous social profile of Miletos and its surroundings persisted through the EIA. The survey in the chora of Miletos by H. Lohmann identified a range of material remains,[124] which have traditionally been associated with the Carians and the Lelegians, rather than the Ionians. The problem of imbuing local EIA Anatolian culture with ethnic connotations has already been discussed. Here, to reiterate briefly, the identification of certain settlements as belonging to the Ionians, the Carians, and the Lelegians, was primarily driven by their later identification as such in textual sources. The relationship between the Carians and the Ionians is further explored in the following sections, all of which highlight the notion that the traditional boundary zone between Caria and Ionia, in fact, might not have existed in the past.

Case Study 3: Iasos

The third site considered in this chapter is not Ionian, but Carian. Iasos is located on a small peninsula by the modern village of Kıyıkışlacık in the Gulf of Mandalya, approximately 20 km east of ancient Mylasa (modern Milas) and just north of the Halicarnassos (modern Bodrum) Peninsula. Just like Miletos, it was a coastal Anatolian site that throughout its history had exchange and trade connections across both the Aegean Sea and the Anatolian mainland, and

[123] Niemeier 2007a; 2009.
[124] E.g. Lohmann 2005; 2006, 2007.

therefore presents an important case study of Aegean-Anatolian mobility.[125] Unlike Ephesos and Miletos, the city's civic identity became Carian, rather than Ionian, in course of the EIA. The hinterland of Iasos, however, has been considered to be inhabited by the Carians and the mythical Lelegians, as outlined in the previous chapter.

The early history of Iasos as narrated by literary sources is rather unclear. There is no information about the site in the Hittite documents.[126] Iasos as a personal name is mentioned in the Iliad, but the more extensive myths of origins come from the description by Polybius, who attributed the city's establishment to colonists from Argos, later followed by the Milesians.[127] A son of Neleus, the founder of Miletos, was said to have been invited into the town by its inhabitants, who suffered losses after a war with the Carians.[128] Although the inhabitants of Iasos had come to identify themselves as Carian by the Classical period, it is noteworthy that the tension between different cultural groups and the close connection to the Ionian Greek-speaking founders of Miletos received prominent places in the foundation myth of the city that were circulated during the second half of the first millennium.

The earliest archaeological work at Iasos was a part of a larger Italian mission in the Dodecanese and Caria in 1921-1922, during the Italian occupation of the Greek southeast Aegean islands.[129] Although excavation directed by D. Levi, under the auspices of the Italian Archaeological School in Athens, did not begin at Iasos until 1960, Levi's research goals were in no small part inspired by the 1920s explorations. The close relationship between Caria and the Dodecanese, the new discoveries of the great civilizations of the Minoans and the Mycenaeans,

[125] Momigliano 2009.
[126] Though a toponym i-wa-so and an adjectival ethnonym i-wa-si-jo-ta is mentioned in the Linear B tablets from Pylos (PY Cn 3.5 and PY Cn 655.5). It is unclear, however, if it can be referring to the site. Momigliano 2012, 2.
[127] *The Iliad* 15.337; Polybius 16.12. Berti (1993, 189) supports this tradition.
[128] Biraschi 1999.
[129] Della Seta 1921-1922; Levi 1961-1962.

and the end-stage colonial efforts of the European powers all fueled the Italian archaeological explorations in this region.[130] The early research conducted by D. Levi and C. Laviosa centered on interpretations within the framework of Minoan and Mycenaean colonization and discerning a Carian 'core' from Greek associations.[131] Recently, however, some of this narrative (at least with respect to the remains of the first half of the second millennium) was questioned by N. Momigliano and her team, who reevaluated evidence for Minoan colonialism at the site, and by M. Benzi, who published some of the material from the second half of the second millennium.[132]

The prehistoric remains are quite extensive and were discovered throughout the site, which now lies on a small elongated hill with steep west slope and gentler approaches from the other directions (*Figure 73*). The site enjoys two good natural harbors to the east and the west of the hill. Although geomorphological investigations have not been conducted here, the current topography allows the possibility that the site was an islet during the Bronze Ages.[133] The settlement was inhabited from the Late Chalcolithic to the Medieval period, and the significant occupational activity postdating the Hellenistic period has made the examination of the earlier remains challenging.

The second millennium structures and the Geometric cemetery lie beneath the later Roman Agora by the West Stylobate (*Figure 74*). The Geometric tombs disturbed earlier remains, as they cut into the Bronze Age levels, but are in turn damaged by the later more monumental Roman architecture. The extensive remains of the late MBA and the beginning of

[130] Italian excavations took place on Kos, Rhodes, and smaller Dodecanesian islands, in Turkey at Gökçeler by Bodrum, as well as Mylasa. For comments on and bibliography see Momigliano 2012, 4-6.
[131] E.g., Levi 1972; Laviosa 1984; 1987; Benzi 1987.
[132] The recent monograph by N. Momigliano (2012) has also presented a general update on the stratigraphic and architectural sequences of the MBA, as well as the LBA and EIA in passing, and is therefore used as the primary source here. Benzi 1987; 2005; Momigliano 2009; 2012.
[133] Momigliano 2012, 1.

the LBA period have been published most fully.[134] C. Laviosa suggested that Iasos was one of the Minoan colonies or emporia established along the Anatolian coast, but the more recent restudy of the excavated materials has challenged this reconstruction.[135] Though the focus of this dissertation is on the LBA to the EIA transition, the remains from the early stages of the LBA will be discussed briefly in the following pages, as much of the early LBA comes from the same trenches as the late second millennium material.

The ceramic finds from the deposits of the late MBA through early LBA date include typical Anatolian wares, such as red slipped, but also imports from the Aegean, namely the Koan Light on Dark and some loomweights of shapes common on Crete.[136] Minoan-style pottery, which included several ware groups and imports from Crete, the Cyclades, and Miletos, as well as locally produced vessels, made up less than 5% of this assemblage.[137] Not all of the Minoan-style pottery, however, seems to have been made according to true Minoan manufacturing techniques. While most of the pottery emulating Minoan forms or decoration used traditional Anatolian techniques of vessel making, the conical cups seem to be the only class consciously made to look more Minoan by implementing Minoan techniques of making.[138] N. Momigliano has been hesitant, however, to attribute these features to the presence of Minoan colonists at the site, even when loom-weights, cooking pots, scuttles, and spit-rests of Minoan type were also imitated locally. The locally produced Minoan-style vessels were made by people, who had mastered the Minoan potting techniques, but not necessarily by craftspeople coming from Crete. Others who had learned the proper techniques from people well versed in that tradition, such as

[134] Momigliano 2005; 2009; 2012; for prehistoric levels see also Pecorella 1984; Belli et al. 2005; Benzi 2005; Benzi and Graziadio 2013.
[135] Laviosa 1984; Momigliano 2009.
[136] Momigliano 2012, 25, 46ff.
[137] Momigliano 2005, 219-222; 2012, 51-54.
[138] Most conical cups were made of local clay, their paste and slip differed from those used on Anatolian-type pots, and their manufacture combined coiling and fast wheel (Momigliano 2005, 223; 2009, 133).

the craftspeople from Miletos, could have produced or taught local potters how to make these small vessels.[139] In any case, this small class of material suggests at least some exchange of skills that implies participation in a network of craftspeople with different skills, some of which were invented on Crete.

In terms of architecture, a few observations can be put forth, as Iasos is one of the few sites, where residential buildings were excavated and published. The wall construction technique of all Bronze Age buildings consisted of unworked flat stones.[140] One exception is the monumental Building F, with large dimensions and well-constructed walls made of triangular stones.[141] Though the main construction phase of Building F dates to the early stages of the LBA, pottery of a LBA as well as a PG date was found in the upper strata confined by its walls. The deposits above the upper paving in the building were assigned a Mycenaean date based on their association with Mycenaean-type pottery.[142] The more recent examination of the material from the store rooms, however, could not confirm this dating, as the late second millennium material had been mixed with post-Bronze age sherds, and the reexamination of notebooks suggested that the sherds originally assigned a Mycenaean date actually come from arbitrary levels rather than a stratigraphic layer.[143] Circular structures within the confines of Building F might represent a post Bronze Age and a pre-Geometric building phase (Figure *75*).[144] This suggestion was based on

[139] Momigliano 2012, 164-166.
[140] Originally this building technique was labeled as 'Minoan'. A similar technique was employed in building construction in Level III (MM IB-IIB) at Miletos, which is not considered to be Minoanized (Raymond 2009; Momigliano 2009, 126).
[141] Momigliano 2012, 22 and 31-32.
[142] Laviosa 1973, 197-189.
[143] Momigliano 2012, 32-33.
[144] Berti 2007; Momigliano 2012, 39.

their position slightly below the Geometric, but above the 'Mycenaean' remains. These 'circles' resemble silo footings, and might have been used for storage purposes.[145]

Mycenaean-style finds at Iasos were restricted to ceramic material. Unlike at Ephesos and Miletos, these are associated with residential buildings, but the stratigraphy is not very clear. Wall D (Muretto Miceneo) and the small walls in buildings A and E also seem to have been used during the 15th to 12th century (*Figure 76*), based on the associated Mycenaean pottery.[146] Again, the walls here were made in the local construction technique, which remained unchanged throughout the LBA. The ceramic assemblage is quite diverse. M. Benzi has noted that while some Mycenaean-style pottery was imported (perhaps around 1.5% of the total assemblage), most of this ware was made locally—that is from micaceous clay common to southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean in general. Monochrome and unpainted wares present a larger proportion of the assemblage, comprising 8.5%.[147] It included vessels belonging to drinking sets, such as kraters, kylikes, and deep bowls. Local painted pottery comprised 90% of the LBA assemblage of the LH IIIA1-LH IIIC date. Many of the pieces employed wavy line decoration, which P. Mountjoy has considered a continuation of the LB I eastern Aegean Light-on-Dark pottery tradition (*Figure 77*).[148] The stylistic dating suggests that the chronologically latest pieces belonged to the LH IIIC Middle.[149] Local Anatolian pottery presents a small percentage of the material, but all Mycenaean-style LH IIIC pottery was made locally.[150] In short, in terms of

[145] Similar to LBA silos from western Anatolia. H. Wright (personal communication, 04/2017) suggested that they in general resemble resemble Levantine silo footings.
[146] Levi 1969-1970, 478. However, the storage boxes labeled as containing finds from the Mycenaean stratum in this building seems to be mixed, containing Minoan and later sherds (Momigliano 2012, 26 and 38).
[147] Benzi 1987, 29; 2005, 206.
[148] Mountjoy 1998, 39; Benzi and Graziadio 2013.
[149] Benzi 2005, 206.
[150] Benzi 2005, 206.

ceramic production and consumption, Iasos maintained strong links with the Dodecanese and southwest Anatolia.

Furthermore, the discovery of five Mycenaean-style terracotta figurines of LH IIIC date has been interpreted as evidence for domestic Mycenaean cult.[151] They were found in mixed deposits in the agora and the Stoa of Artemis, and all seem to be fashioned of local clay. According to M. Benzi, they are not indicative of Mycenaean colonization, as suggested by earlier scholarship; rather, they attest the multi-ethnic profile of communities on the southwest Anatolian littoral.[152]

In similarity with Miletos, remains from the period of transition into the EIA are meager. In the first reports from the early excavations D. Levi suggested that some of the tombs could be dated to the PG period.[153] A more recent reexamination by F. Berti, however, has proposed that there was a gap in occupation of this area during the MPG period, and down-dated the finds to the MG/LG period instead, as the range of vessel types and decoration fits well within the general local repertoire with parallels to the 8th century assemblages from Milas, Damliboğaz, and Beçin, and also shares parallels with Kos (*Figure 78*).[154] The circular structures of unknown function, therefore, represent the only architectural remains of EIA activity at the site. While the lack of PG material is problematic, Iasos is nonetheless an interesting (and less well known) site sharing similarities with the other case studies.

[151] Benzi (1999, 274ff) has noted that figurines are conspicuously absent from funerary context, and hence very rare in the Dodecanese. Most of them come from domestic or possibly sanctuary contexts at sites such as Miletos and Samos, as well as Ephesos (Benzi and Graziadio 2013, 3).
[152] Benzi 2005, 205.
[153] Levi 1972, 464-471.
[154] Berti 2007.

From the Minoans and the Mycenaeans to the Carians?

Iasos has for a long time been considered a site that experienced Minoan and Mycenaean colonization, or at least the settling of the Minoans and Mycenaeans,[155] but more recent interpretations suggest that the change in the pottery assemblages at Iasos resulted from processes described as 'Minoanization' and 'Mycenaeanization'.[156] Iasos, therefore, presents a parallel case to Miletos, whereby ceramic assemblages of the LH IIIC period yield a high proportion of Mycenaean-style locally produced ceramics. The Mycenaean-style assemblages have been consistently prioritized in the explanations of sociocultural dynamics in this region, framing the Mycenaean 'culture' as agent of innovation, being superior in cultural and economic terms to the local Anatolian communities.

Iasos was never a Minoan or a Mycenaean center.[157] It was a site well connected to both the Aegean and Anatolia in no small part due to its coastal position combined with easy access to the Anatolian hinterland in the direction of Mylasa. Indeed, N. Momigliano has already suggested that the position of Iasos within the Aegean networks was not as central as those of other sites, such as Miletos.[158] She has proposed that during the late MBA, the incorporation of material culture from the southeast Aegean was a result of emulation and small scale regional exchange with nearby settlements, rather than of immigration. It is notable that throughout its Bronze Age history, the community at Iasos used pottery that came from nearby production centers, such as Miletos and Kos, rather than from afar. These more central sites functioned as

[155] Levi 1962.
[156] Benzi (2005) notes that the Mycenaean presence at the site is restricted to ceramic evidence only. The chamber tomb at Pilavtepe, however, is found relatively close to Iasos (Benter 2009). See also Benzi and Graziadio 2013.
[157] Momigliano 2012; contra Kelder 2004-2005, 61.
[158] Or 'small-world' networks (Momigliano 2009; 2012, 153ff; 168-170; Tartaron 2013, 5-7).

larger production and exchange hubs within Aegean-wide networks, and in turn facilitated a flow of materials and traffic into smaller settlements, such as Iasos.

The reconstructions stressing the allure of the Mycenaean culture, however, are not the only possible interpretations of the processes of material change at Iasos. An alternative explanation can be provided by analysis that prioritizes locally rooted phenomena and emphasizes locally driven adoption and adaptation. It is possible that the Iasian community selectively adopted and adapted Aegean-style objects—primarily table wares—into the local repertoire because of the long-standing tradition of their use within the settlement. What allowed the people at Iasos to do so was the long-term engagement within Aegean networks and the familiarity with things usually circulated through them and with the people that carried them.

The shared practices existed between Iasian and southeast Aegean communities because of the prolonged and habitual contact.[159] Of importance is the long-standing proximity in cultural terms, which were, on the one hand, demonstrated by the willingness of local inhabitants to incorporate material culture (e.g., imports) as well as practices and knowledge (e.g., local production of Aegean-style objects) into their production and consumption activities. This regional understanding transgressed social and geographic boundaries, and operated on multiple levels, from immediate surrounding to supra-regional southwest Anatolian/southeast Aegean level. The regional contact served as an important anchor, providing unifying elements that facilitated contact and ideological exchange, as well as facilitating the acquisition of resources beyond a settlement's immediate reach. Additionally, it also acted as a connector to larger worlds—through sites such as Miletos Iasos could benefit from Aegean-wide networks. Indeed,

[159] In a reevaluation of colonial interaction in EIA Sicily, T. Hodos highlights the difference between the pre-existing set of shared practices that emerged as a result of contact, and emulative practices, which stem from more intensive engagement (2010, 82-83).

the LBA ceramic profile of Iasos is in general similar to that of Miletos. The incorporation of Minoan-style objects from Crete as well as the Dodecanese and production techniques begins in MMIIIB/LM IA period (early to mid-17th century), followed by a transformation over the course of the 15th through the 12th centuries, when Mycenaean-style ceramics becomes predominant (comprising around or just over 90% of total assemblages). This all happens against a more stable trend in architectural styles that seem to fit with practices of the Anatolian communities in this area.

The lack of evidence for the PG period at Iasos is regrettable. The settlement could have been abandoned and contracted, or its remains simply obliterated by the later activity in the agora. By the 8th century, material culture is thought to have undergone yet another process of cultural change—this time in terms of increased localization of ceramic, building, and funerary styles to other sites in the region. Yet, I argue that the connections seen in the Geometric record were not that much different from those of the last stages of the LBA. In both periods, more intensive communication was structured through interaction within the regional setting, stretching from Kos to the south and Miletos to the north. Ephesos, on the other hand, followed a different trajectory. Yet, by the mid-first millennium, Ephesos and Miletos emerged as Ionian cities, while Iasos became Carian.[160]

The Other Side: A Brief Look at Kos

After having provided an overview of developments in three southwest Anatolian settlements, a comparison with an Aegean neighbor can help highlight a mutuality of

[160] Whether the inhabitants identified themselves as Carian is impossible to say, but as the formation of Carian identity seems to have taken place relatively late, as suggested in Chapter 6, it is probable that the dominant type of identity was local, rather than regional.

engagement between southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean, as well as the different ways in which Aegean and Anatolian communities structured their interaction and reacted to broader trade, exchange, and mobility networks. Through a brief look at the Serraglio (or Serayia) on Kos, this section brings to the foreground differences in modes of engagement with the rest of the Aegean, as well as possibilities of mutual engagement between southeast Aegean and Anatolia. As has been suggested, the Dodecanese functioned as nodes that tied Miletos to the long-distance exchange networks that linked the eastern Mediterranean.[161] The Serraglio was an important harbor town and production center (*Figure 79*), overshadowed perhaps only by Trianda on Rhodes. The Serraglio, however, provides a better dataset than Trianda for the LH IIIC period, where deposits dating to this period have not yet been discovered.[162] Admittedly, most of our knowledge of Koan LBA comes from the cemeteries of Eleona and Langada, but some information can also be gathered from the excavations of the settlement.[163]

In course of the second millennium, Koan community was a dynamic participant in the Aegean exchange networks. During the end of the MBA and the beginning of the LBA, the close interaction with Crete and the rest of the Aegean, either direct or indirect, spurred creative innovation of the local repertoire. The marriage of local potting traditions and decorative standards of Minoan pottery resulted in a creation of the Koan Light on Dark and Dark on Light ceramic classes,[164] which were highly popular products that circulated in much of the Aegean

[161] Furthermore, just like in the case of Miletos, the changes to the material culture of the Serraglio during the LBA have been often discussed as indicative of influx of first Minoan, then Mycenaean, and eventually Greek (Dorian) settlers in the EIA.
[162] It is possible that the settlement was moved to a different area after recurring flooding during the 13th century (Marketou 2012, 779-783).
[163] The original notebooks from the excavations were unfortunately lost during World War II, therefore limiting our knowledge to Morricone's later publications (Morricone 1967; 1975). For a restudy if main stratigraphic deposits see Vitale 2006; 2012.
[164] Marthari, Marketou and Jones 1990; Vitale and Hancock Vitale 2010.

during the LBA I period, including many Anatolia sites, such as Çeşme-Bağlararası and Iasos.[165] Miletos and other Anatolian sites primarily imported Minoan-style vessels at that time, limited imitation of Minoan-style ceramics occurred, but most of the repertoire remained local.[166]

During the City II phase (corresponding to the LH II-IIIA1), spanning the 15th through the first half of the 14th centuries (*Table 6*), there were widespread changes to the Koan ceramic repertoire.[167] The potters in the area began producing Mycenaean-looking wares as early as the LH IIB, and the first chamber tombs of Eleona were constructed.[168] These changes have been explained in terms of immigration of the Mycenaeans, or, alternatively, an increased local propensity toward hybridization and entanglement during a 'Mycenaeanizing Phase'.[169] The Mycenaean-style pottery produced on Kos closely followed the Greek Mainland canon and included pattern painted as well as unpainted vessels. The increase of popularity of this vessel type coincided with a decrease in quantity of the local 'Anatolianizing' vessels in the settlement.[170] The term 'Anatolianizing' has been used to refer to the local monochrome and unpainted tradition with close affinities to the SW Anatolian as opposed to the Aegean ceramic tradition (both in terms of stylistic execution and manufacture), whereby the "Anatolian flavor" designated locally rooted long-term ceramic tradition.[171] This type of pottery had first appeared during the EBA 2 period, and most of the classes were used continuously until the LBA (*Table 7*).

[165] Momigliano 2009; Girella and Pavuk 2015, 14.
[166] Raymond 2009; Raymond et al. 2016.
[167] Vitale 2006, 2012; see also Marketou 2012. In chronological terms, City II corresponds to Miletos Phase IV.
[168] Morricone 1967, 32-87; Mountjoy 1999, 1077ff.
[169] Most recently Vitale 2016 with bibliography. See also Georgiadis 2008 and Marketou 2012.
[170] Vitale and Hancock Vitale 2010, 76-77.
[171] Vitale and Hancock-Vitale 2010, 65. These include monochrome painted classes: gray, red, dark and black; and unpainted classes: pale fine, pale medium-coarse, and pale-coarse, and unpainted gray (Vitale and Trecarichi 2015). On Koan EBA see Vitale 2013 with bibliography.

Evidence from residential activities at the Serraglio come from early excavations of L. Morricone in the 1930s. Building remains from the Bronze Age levels demonstrate similarities to architectural forms of southwest Anatolia. The construction technique of the buildings in Zone II of City III and IV employed roughly triangular flat stones, similar to the technique used at Iasos.[172] Moreover, a fortification wall similar to that of Miletos was erected during this period.[173] The only better preserved settlement deposits, however, come from the excavations of House of the Figs (Casa dei Fichi). The deposits above the floor, on which a pile of burnt figs lay, were originally assigned to City III, spanning the LH IIIA-B periods.[174] It is difficult to correlate changes in the overall ceramic profile (primarily known from unstratified deposits in the Serraglio and from the tombs at Eleona and Langada) the with the stratified settlement sequence.

At the same time, Mycenaean funerary and perhaps also ritual practices were adopted as early as the LH IIIA2, evidenced by the construction of the chamber tomb cemeteries of Eleona and Langada.[175] Furthermore, two tholoi of LH IIIA1 and IIIB date respectively were found in the vicinity of the Serraglio—one located 3 km west and another one in the western part of the modern town.[176] Combined with the presence of chamber tomb, the funerary evidence has been deemed the most indicative of Mycenaean presence and expansion in the Dodecanese.[177] In

[172] Morricone 1975, 198-232.
[173] Marketou 2012, 765.
[174] A recent re-examination by S. Vitale (2006, 83-87), however, suggested a much more mixed deposit with inclusion of LH IIIC pieces, at least until the LH IIIC Phase 4 (LH IIIC Middle) and the first phase of City IV belongs to City III phase; Morricone 1975, 393-394.
[175] Vitale 2016, 84. It is important to note that the cemeteries are completely lost today due to the expansion of the modern settlement of Kos.
[176] Marketou 2012, 766. It should be noted, however, that the distribution of tholos tombs does not always correspond to the distribution of Mycenaean-style ceramics. For instance, tholos tombs are rare in the Cyclades.
[177] Mee 1978; 1988; Benzi 1996; Macdonald 1986; Mountjoy 1998; Vitale and Hancock Vitale 2010; Marketou 2012, 766.

comparison, Miletos reached a peak of 'Mycenaeanizing' influence later, during the late 14th century, and a chamber tomb cemetery was in use slightly later, during the LH IIIB/C period.

So far, the evidence seems to favor the argument positing if not presence then at least a strong cultural influence of the Mycenaeans on the island. Yet, this is only a part of the dynamics. The architecture of the settlement fits well with local characteristics. The production of the local ceramic repertoire persisted, and some new classes were introduced despite the uptake of local production of Mycenaean-style pottery. It seems that the Koan gray wares dating to the LBA 2 and 3 periods (LH IIIA to IIIC in Mycenaean terms)—in particular Monochrome Gray and Unpainted Gray—bore striking similarities to the Anatolian gray wares.[178] In fact, it has been postulated by S. Vitale and A. Trecarichi that the production of gray wares might have been inspired by imported Anatolian prototypes, such as a Trojan jug from Eleona Tomb 17, dating to the LH IIIA2.[179] Receptivity, therefore, went both ways, even if on a limited scale.

More importantly, this local class of material gives credence to the argument that southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean shared close connections not only during the EBA, but also during the LBA. The Koan Monochrome red burnished wares bear similarities to Anatolian red wares, and unpainted wares resemble the unpainted Anatolian buff and tan wares. In general, particularly notable features include the preference for burnished surfaces, medium and medium-coarse fabrics, and preference for slit handles on large open shapes. Further common stylistic characteristics are biconical profiles and carination of closed shapes, concave profiles of cups, long necks of jugs, outturned and bead rims on open shapes, and popularity of

[178] See Bayne 2000.
[179] Vitale and Trecarichi 2015, Fig. 1a.

jugs, bowls, and flasks (*Figure 79**Error! Reference source not found.***).[180] These vessels were either hand-built or wheel-finished, in a similar trend to the one seen in Anatolia. The uptake of the wheel from the LH IIIA2, however, has been tentatively linked to the local production of the Mycenaean-style vessels, rather than to the long-term tradition of producing vessels on a fast wheel, as observed in Anatolia.[181] In any case, two new classes, Unpainted Gray and Monochrome Black appeared during the 14th century (corresponding to LH IIIA2/B1), when the local production of Mycenaean-style pottery was well underway.

Overall, the increased production of ceramic assemblages demonstrates two trends that differ from the more gradual changes observed at Miletos. The first is the relatively quick introduction of Mycenaean potting technologies on Kos during the LH IIB period, shortly after the introduction of first Mycenaean imports from the Argolid.[182] The second is the floruit of local production of this ware in the following period, which led some to suggest that a community from the Greek mainland settled on the island.[183] Certainly, an establishment of a new potting practice required prolonged face to face learning, and this dataset can serve as an evidence for the presence of potters, who were familiar with this new tradition. On the other hand, the new production catered to a large base of consumers of Koan pottery in the southeast Aegean and southwest Anatolia, and the quick floruit of pottery production might have been a result of tapping into this previously established consumer base of the Koan products.

Like at Miletos, however, Koan potters did not strictly copy the Mycenaean prototypes, but introduced some of their own innovations. Furthermore, even though local 'Anatolianizing'

[180] The observations on similarities between wares supplement the argument by Vitale and Trecarichi, whose analysis focused on vessel shapes and stylistic characteristics (Vitale and Hancock Vitale 2010; Vitale and Trecarichi 2015).
[181] Vitale and Trecarichi 2015, 315 and 328. For Anatolian wheel made wares Zurbach 2011; for comments see also Vaessen 2014, 99-101.
[182] Contemporary with the appearance of chamber tombs at Eleona (Mountjoy 1999, 1076-7).
[183] Vitale and Hancock Vitale 2010.

and Mycenaean-style vessels could have been produced in separate workshops, some interaction between two traditions did exist. Flasks, feeding bottles, and concave sided cups, were produced in both traditions, and some of the Mycenaean closed shapes showed preference for biconical profiles.[184]

In short, during the first half of the LBA, at both Miletos and Kos, dynamic processes of adoption and adaptation characterize the sociocultural trajectories of the settlements. The changes in the material record at end of the 15th and the beginning of the 14th century at both sites indicate new structuration of production processes at the sites, which serve as a proxy to understanding social practices. At Kos, they were more rapid and pronounced than at Miletos. The real challenge, however, concerns the pacing of these transformations. Even though the long-standing research has managed to trace developments in ceramic sequences, their dating is not clear due to a lack of fine-tuned stratigraphic evidence and absolute dating. As it currently stands, the LH II period spans a century and a half—with subdivisions, of course, but they, too, are rather long. Similarly, the LH IIIA and B phases are about a century long each, again with subdivisions. This is hardly a resolution that would allow one to suggest that changes observed in ceramic productions were abrupt; rather, it seems more likely that they developed in course of several generations. Though an adoption of a new potting practice in the local repertoire was a defining process, it was followed by a relatively lengthy period of adaptation and integration into the local repertoire. As a prominent ceramic production center and a harbor town, Koan producers were quick to incorporate non-local elements into their practices—while the engagement with the Cretan products and techniques produced Koan Light on Dark, a unique local class, the Mycenaean practices were emulated more closely.[185]

[184] Vitale and Trecarichi 2015, 329-330.
[185] Vitale 2006.

At a certain point, however, the difference between local and non-local becomes unhelpful, as both objects and practices can be transformed and incorporated into the local practice to create innovation. If the consumers were culturally diverse and with high propensity for mobility (as has been argued to be the case for most settlements in southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean during the second half of the second millennium), then incorporating of a range of techniques and styles might have been particular attractive to the local producers. Indeed, a resonating characteristic of LBA Koan pottery production is its heterogeneity. Of particular importance, however, is the persistence of the local 'Anatolianizing' class. The increase in popularity of the Mycenaean-style pottery in the Serraglio—very early on in LBA IB period (corresponding to LH IIA in mainland terms)—did not impede the production of the 'Anatolianizing' pottery classes.[186] Rather, it followed a cessation of the production of Koan Light on Dark, another type of wheel-made pattern painted ceramic class, the stylistic inspiration of which drew upon Minoan pottery.[187]

'Local' need not imply an exclusive category; rather, it comprised various ceramic styles. The changes in production were less pronounced than previously believed and by the 13th century both painted and unpainted/monochrome classes of pottery were neither Mycenaean nor Anatolian, but simply Koan. Different wares were side by side in the settlement and comprised a complete range of utilitarian classes—from storage through cooking to tablewares. Moreover, even in the tombs at Eleona and Langada, local-style vessels were interred alongside the Mycenaean-style ones.

[186] This production continued to flourish in the LH IIIC period, when, in stylistic terms, Kos was a part of the Aegean koine, and the pottery also bore some affinities to Attic styles (Macdonald 1986, 44; Mountjoy 1999, 1071ff).

[187] Local wares were utilized in the settlement context and deposited in the tombs at Eleona and Langada together with the Mycenaean-style ceramics (Morricone 1967).

This very brief example focused on selected ceramic classes demonstrates that even though the southeast Aegean communities developed along their own specific trajectories, the boundaries as signaled through material culture were permeable and shared elements with southwest Anatolia. Here, too, the commonality of practices and shared material culture reflects interaction through habitual mobility of small groups of people, and attest dynamic quality of social connections and interaction in this region. Indeed, cultural transmission in this region was not unilateral, but a continuing emphasis on processes, such as Mycenaeanization (even when local dynamics is acknowledged), perpetuate the image of unidirectionality of cultural engagement. Yet, introducing a new term 'Anatolianization', does not solve this problem either. It also masks the heterogeneity of past interactions and, most importantly, neglects to signal that adoption and adaptation are locally driven and dynamic phenomena. The consequence of this pattern that unfolded over the last centuries of the LBA could be felt, as has been argued in this dissertation, also in the EIA. Long-standing social links and mutual reciprocity led to the creation of shared regional styles of EIA material culture between the Dodecanese, Ionia, and Caria.

Discussion

Pottery and Regional Connections in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages

Ceramics provide, of course, the most abundant evidence for reconstructing connections and interactions in the past. The analysis of the ceramic repertoire has provided valuable evidence that can guide us to a more nuanced understanding of developments in these three settlements in course of the late second and the early first millennium. Alongside more traditional approaches focusing on stylistic characteristics, new research avenues examining

production sequence have begun to emerge.[188] While these have the power to distinguish changes in production practices and consumption patterns, they present analyses on micro-scale of archaeological examination and focus primarily on the producers rather than the much larger body of consumers.[189] Nonetheless, they are able to add valuable information concerning production techniques, providing yet another layer of data that has the power to question the long-standing assumption that change (both technological and social) happen relatively quickly and at the transition between historical ages.

Sociocultural change is a cumulative process that needs to be understood within a long-term perspective, as it results from an accumulation of a myriad of small-scale changes. A goal of this chapter has been a reconsideration of one of its components: the changes in ceramic assemblages. From the 14th century on, at all three sites the local production of Mycenaean-style pottery predominated over importation of this specific class. Most imports, in fact, came from other centers in the southwest Anatolian/southeast Aegean area, as indicated by new research on their provenance.[190] Imports from further afar were rare. The incorporation of this production process in course of the second half of the LBA was an important act of local choice. These originally Mycenaean-style ceramic classes were absorbed into peoples' lives, becoming entrenched in the local practices. It was a prolonged process—after all, by the beginning of the 12th century (the beginning of LH IIIC), Mycenaean-style vessels had been produced side by side with western Anatolian ceramics for as long as two centuries. At Miletos and Iasos, Minoan-style

[188] Most recently Abell 2014; Kiriatzi and Knapp 2016; Vaessen 2016.
[189] The focus of this dissertation, however, is on larger units of analysis, namely the context in which material culture (ranging from ceramic assemblages to the built environment) was used.
[190] The majority of vessels found in southwest Anatolia do not seem to be imported from afar; rather, it seems that Miletos as well as more distant Rhodes provided most of the Mycenaean-style pottery as early as LH IIIA (Gödecken 1988; Benzi 2013). This configuration follows a more general eastern Mediterranean trend, whereby locally produced imitations of Mycenaean pottery largely replaced mainland Greek imports during the LH IIIC (Sherratt 2013, 638-9.).

wares were produced in the earlier periods, suggesting a long tradition of openness toward practices and objects from the Aegean.

The initial uptake of Mycenaean-style ceramic production into the local repertoire happened in a relatively fluid fashion, meaning that similar wheelmade shapes were produced in the non-painted or monochrome ('Anatolian') and the pattern-painted ('Mycenaean') style.[191] During the following two centuries, painted and unpainted techniques were applied to distinct shapes. This distinction in terms of what shape received which surface treatment, however, does not necessarily reflect division of traditions. Rather, potters could have mastered multiple techniques that catered to special preferences, or different workshops specialized in production of specific wares.[192] At the same time, an Anatolian tradition of pattern-painting existed, as shown by examples from Sardis, Beycesultan, and other sites.[193] In any case, wheelmade and handmade potting techniques, as well as pattern-painted and unpainted/monochrome surface treatments were all firmly embedded in the local Anatolian potting practice at the end of the LBA.

While the PG pottery tradition has been seen as a break from the LH tradition, the endurance of ceramic tradition into the EIA has become more clear. First, a continuity of stratigraphic sequences at a few sites, such as Klazomenai/Limantepe, Ephesos, and perhaps also Miletos dismantles the long-entrenched perception of occupational breaks in this area.[194] Second, vessels that have traditionally been described as 'Submycenaean', but which really combine LH IIIC (e.g., single wavy band) with PG features (e.g., concentric circles) were found at Klaros,

[191] Zurbach 2011; see also Vaessen 2014a, 100ff.
[192] Since specific firing conditions needed to be met to produce certain surface treatments (red wash ware versus gray wares, etc.), the existence of separate specialized workshops seems a more feasible suggestion (Vaessen 2014a, 101; 2016).
[193] Such decoration often featured a single wavy line. Examples were found at Bakla Tepe (Erkanal and Özkan 1999), Sardis (Spier 1983), among others.
[194] E.g., Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011; 2015; Vaessen 2014b with bibliography.

Miletos, and a number of settlements in Caria, as shown in Chapter 6.[195] And most importantly, the earliest examples from Ionia show local characteristics from the earliest stages of the EIA without much Attic influence,[196] which means that the early production centers must have had an established tradition at that time. Moreover, with the increasing knowledge of PG ceramics, it seems that many of the similarities between vessels from production centers in Anatolia originally attributed to Euboean koine or Attic influence have better parallels within their own regional setting. For instance, it has been noted that the ceramic styles of early finds from Old Smyrna share parallels with Chios and Kos, while PG Milesian and Geometric Iasian pieces with Rhodes, Kos, and Dirmil.[197] Ephesos, on the other hand, seems to have enjoyed a relationship with Euboea and northern Ionian production centers.[198] The PG pottery, of course, is not the only type of fine ware utilized in southwest Anatolia. Gray, red wash, gold wash, and buff wares were found in PG assemblages throughout Ionia and beyond. At sites in north Ionia, such as Smyrna and Panaztepe, gray wares are dominant in the early EIA assemblages, but some were also found in Ephesos and Miletos.[199] The dating of these Anatolian ceramics is generally difficult, because of longevity of local styles at most western Anatolian sites, which span relatively long chronological periods.[200]

Moreover, there is a continuity in terms of using the same clay sources from the LBA to the Archaic period at both Ephesos and Miletos, especially for the production of fine wares.

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[195] A caveat is that while LBA vessels are often slipped, the EIA tend to be without slip, but the examples from Miletos are an exception to this rule (Vaessen 2014a, 178ff; for specific examples from Miletos see Weickert 1959/1960, 52-55).
[196] Lemos (2007) suggests that the Attic and Euboean influences on pottery from southwest Anatolia, including Ephesos and Miletos, are not as prominent and can be explained without positing migration to the coast of Anatolia.
[197] For an overview with bibliography see Lemos 2007, esp. 717-719.
[198] Kerschner 2014, 120.
[199] Kerschner (2006, 371), however, notes an almost complete prevalence of PG style pottery at Ephesos. See Bayne 2000 for a complete treatment of Anatolian gray wares. For Smyrna see Akurgal 1983, esp. 15-16.
[200] Ersoy, personal communication (July 2010). This is also perceptible in the debate on the classification of 'East Greek' pottery (Kerschner and Scholtzhauer 2005).

Based on macroscopic examination of fabrics, M. Kerschner noted that the mixing recipes retained remarkable consistency.[201] For instance, the Ephesian clay used to make the Tawagalawa letter, one of the most illuminating documents on the nature of political relationships during the reign of Hattusili III in the 14th century, came from the same source as the locally produced subset of PG pendant semi-circle skyphoi.[202] Similarly, Neutron Activation Analysis of Milesian material has shown a continuity of exploiting the same clay sources from the LBA to the Archaic period.[203] Even though not too many vessels from the later stages of EIA production have been analyzed (thereby creating a gap in our knowledge of clay sources at the beginning of the first millennium), the longevity of clay recipes provides an indication for some retention of localized knowledge.

In short, all these points combined indicate that the PG ceramic practice was locally rooted, existing in overlapping spheres of practices and mutual influences. Only looking at context of practices across various categories of archaeological evidence enables us to witness the minutiae of change. While the published data from southwest Anatolian sites are rather coarse-grained in their resolution, we can put forth explanations that take into consideration the context of past activities. This context-driven approach was applied to understanding the early ceramic assemblages at Ephesos, which came from ritual activities rather than domestic context. Here, it has been suggested that these assemblages reflected material negotiations within a public ritual setting, in which groups with different cultural identities negotiated their social relationships. The continuing process of integration and negotiation within a heterogeneous

[201] Kerschner 2005.
[202] Kerschner 2011, 110ff.
[203] Akurgal et al. (2002, 46-470) have argued that this continuity might be coincidental. Their reasoning, however, has stemmed from a belief that there must have been significant changes between LBA and EIA. Cf. Kerschner 2014.

community resulted in an espousal of varied material expressions, which demonstrated possibility of cross-cutting sociocultural boundaries and flexibility of social membership at Ephesos during the late second millennium.

Mobility, Interaction, and Identity in the Early Iron Age

Even when we look at the best documented sites for EIA habitation, there is not much to go on for two reasons. First is the problem of excavating in continuously inhabited areas and second is that there is little EIA material. Is this pattern indicative of an absence of evidence or rather an evidence of absence? It seems the former is more likely. The settlement distribution map of southwest Anatolia (*Figure 2*) demonstrates that there are many find-spots of PG pottery in this region. One of the obstacles to discerning EIA activities is that this period is recognized in typologically restrictive terms based on the presence of PG pottery, rather than in more comprehensive terms, including architectural features or funerary customs.

This ingrained mode of classification has been in no small part affected by the emphasis on the subsequently formed Ionian dodecapolis. While the presence of PG pottery at sites such as Miletos, Ephesos, and other member sites of the dodecapolis has been considered to be an evidence for the presence of Greeks, at the remaining sites, it has been considered to be a result of trading relationships of local groups (such as the Carians) with the Greeks. This is not only the assumption in the case of 'Carian' Iasos. This juxtaposition is also tangible in the way the relationship between Miletos and its environs has been conceived of. The survey of the city's hinterland detected early sites, in which PG pottery was present, but which never became Ionian poleis. These cities were consequently labeled as local, either Carian or Lelegian.[204] For instance,

[204] Lohmann 2006, 243; Herda and Sauter (2009) and Herda (2013) embrace a similar distinction.

it has been assumed that the presence of Ionian pottery at a 7th century fortified site at Kale Tepe, located on the north slopes of Mount Mycale, resulted from trading relationships, even though PG tombs were found in this area.[205] The fortification style of the settlement follows 'Carian' rather than 'Greek' parallels and was similar to those located near Mylasa. Material correlates, thus, were categorized to fit the preconceived notions of the dominant identity of the settlements in contrast to the more rural countryside.

This rather stark division is based on differential value judgment by scholars regarding the presence of PG pottery. Even in the less known cities that eventually became a part of the selected twelve—where there is very little evidence for modes of production and consumption, such as Myus—the presence of PG, Geometric, and Archaic Greek pottery is equaled with the presence of Greek population. In other cities, this presence is deemed a result of trade. However, the settlements that became a part of the dodecapolis, as well as those that did not, shared very similar cultural trajectories and were integrally pluralistic in terms of material connections. Thus, the boundary between the Ionian and the 'other' was not very straightforward, if present at all. Practices, such as use of PG pottery and certain architectural styles, continued to cut across it through the first half of the first millennium.

Conclusion: Mobility, not Migration

It has been suggested that the complex pattern of interaction between communities in southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean was relatively stable from the 14th century onward. Certain degree of change is a natural part of life as people react to developments around them.[206] Production choices, tastes, and styles, however, fluctuate and change over time—every student

[205] Lohmann 2006, 243.
[206] For an indepth treatment see, for example, Eerkens and Lipo 2007; Bolender 2010.

of archaeology is familiar with the concept of seriation in the form of battleship curves, for instance. Studies on LBA and EIA interactions between the Aegean and Anatolia, however, have been quick to explain change in terms of population movement. Indeed, the role of migration as an explanation of the introduction of new ceramic classes into the local repertoire was invoked not only for the EIA, but also for the MBA and the LBA. In the first stage, the Minoans or the Mycenaeans came and established colonies or 'cultural dominance' over settlements along the Anatolian shore. A few centuries later, more people arrived and established the truly Greek cities of Ionia. Although some of these arguments has now been dismantled by now,[207] the trend to attribute changes in assemblages from top-down perspectives of cultural dominance of the Mycenaeans and Greek-speaking groups still continues. Instead of considering the changes driven by immigration, colonization, or conquest, they are envisioned here as a relatively continuing bottom-up process created by the interaction between the local community and networks of groups that became increasingly more mobile in course of mid-second millennium.

Can the pattern described above clarify the question of the Ionian migration? This analysis has proposed that archaeological explanations other than those in line with the Ionian migration scenario fit well, and even explicate better, the nature of the available evidence. The traditional approach, as has been argued, relied on explaining the special nature of deposits at Miletos and Ephesos as directly indicative of the cultural profile of the communities. There are two additional preconceptions applied to the case of the Ionian migration. The first is the role played by the PG pottery as diagnostic of migration, which has already been discussed. Here it is enough to state that it has generally been assumed that the incomers had brought with them vessels, which served as prototypes for local production that took off in a relatively short time.

[207] Momigliano 2009; 2012; Knappet and Nikolakopoulou 2014; Vaessen 2015; Mac Sweeney 2016; Raymond et al. 2016; cf. Rose 2008 for the case of the Aeolian migration.

This is problematic. The earliest examples of PG ceramic production suggest fully-fledged local styles that differ from the Attic and Euboean prototypes. They are indicative of established production already in place at the onset of the PG period. Workshops, of course, could have been opened to receiving new apprentices, as, after all, production spheres tend to be dynamic environments. The question rests, therefore, on numbers. Small-scale prolonged mobility, on the one hand, would lead to the incorporation and the eventual local production of non-local types, as an addition to the already established production. Large scale and sudden immigration, on the other hand, would result in introduction of non-local types and a short discontinuity of production. Only the first scenario fits the archaeological record of southwest Anatolia.

In assessing the historicity of the Ionian migration there are three general approaches. There are those scholars, who try to align archaeological evidence with the legendary tradition and to find correspondences between them.[208] This method is not the same as applying archaeological evidence to confirm the veracity of sources, which is also often done.[209] And finally, some, like the author, try to see archaeology and literary sources as distinct lines of evidence, whereby archaeology provides evidence of the processes at the end of the second millennium, while Classical narratives were motivated by agendas dictated by their contemporary sociopolitical concerns of the mid-first millennium and later.[210]

This last approach does not invalidate the contribution of literary evidence to the understanding of processes of identity formation and intercommunity contact in southwest Anatolia; rather, it situates their purpose in time in which they were written.[211] These narratives served as discourses providing legendary or semi-historical, context for understanding and

[208] Kerschner 2003; Lemos 2007.
[209] Most recently Vanschoonwinkel 2006; Lamboley 2007; Herda 2009; 2013; Fragkopoulou 2015.
[210] Cf. Crielaard 2009; Greaves 2010, 10-11; Vaessen 2015; Mac Sweeney 2016.
[211] Sensu Hall 1997; Crielaard 2009; Mac Sweeney 2013. See also Cobet 2007; Vlassopoulos 2013.

explaining the world order in the Classical period, serving as ideological anchors for the sense of communal and civic identities in a turbulent period of history. This was not a new trend; articulation of more definite forms of identities was a prolonged process, evolving over much of the first millennium. Even in Classical times, the Ionian ancestry was not considered purely Greek; rather, the stories of putative origins—often seen as a sort of documentation of protohistory bearing kernels of historical truth—mentioned interaction and mixing of Ionian, Caria, and even Lydian communities.[212] Therefore, these stories functioned as vehicles through which diverse and multicultural communities on the Anatolian coast sough to understand their own heterogeneity and find common ground around points such as religion and civic institutions.

[212] See Chapters 5-6. Sensu Hall 1997; Crielaard 2009; Mac Sweeney 2013. Moreover, Mac Sweeney (2013, 172) suggests that the diverse origins of migrations of non-Athenian descent figures prominently in the writings of authors from the eastern Aegean (Herodotus, Hellanicus, Ephorus, Mimnermus, Antimachus, Pherecydes, Timotheus, Anacreon, Panyassis).

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

There is no doubt that the eastern Mediterranean region was a connected space in the LBA, knitted together in no small part by long distance travel and trade.[1] This type of exchange was restricted, however, to elites and specialized economic networks, linked to the movement of metals and exotica; while it is archaeologically most visible, it affected a relatively small number of people. Other types of individual and collective movement—in particular habitual mobility across shorter distances—structured a greater variety and number of social relationships and interactions. This specific form of mobility has been the subject of this dissertation.

The evidence presented in the preceding pages shows how Anatolian communities used material culture to articulate relations with their western neighbors in the late second millennium.[2] Presumably, less formal ties of connectivity preceded trade and exchange, and were of primary importance. In the Aegean, a significant increase in connectivity can be dated to as early as the EBA II period, as seen in the evidence for increased long distance movement of commodities. This form of exchange attests the development of more formal relationships by that period, and could have only come into being after less formal forms of connectivity between Anatolia and the Aegean had already been set in place.[3]

[1] Blake and Knapp 2005; Broodbank 2013; Vankindle et al. 2015; Kristansen 2016.
[2] Cf. the concept of the 'Eastern String' (Niemeier 1998b).
[3] Şahoğlu 2005; Broodbank 2000; Massa 2016. On connectivity and information exchange during movement see Anthony 1992; 1997; Burmeister 2000; on consumption and luxuries see Hodos 2006, 4-9.

Regionally anchored patterns of mobility between southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean had formed by the end of the 14th century and remained in place, as we have seen, through the beginning of the EIA. Even if some aspects of these connections were reorganized in the wake of the upheavals of the 13th and the 12th centuries, the awareness of the possibilities for connectivity was never completely lost. The longevity of this form of connectivity remained of primary importance and can be traced in the archaeological record in all sites in Ionia and Caria, as shown in Chapters 6 and 7.

Hittite records of the 14th and 13th centuries, discussed in Chapters 5 through 7, documented political alliances and recorded the progress of elite-level relations in ways that help us understand why certain forms of mobility—especially short distance, relatively non-consequential movements—could have had such a pronounced effect on the southwest Anatolian milieu in the long term. This was an environment of interest to the Hittites, but one which they never controlled directly. It was a more politically fragmented and contested zone than either of the flanking regions to the east and the west; its sociocultural institutions were thus more flexible than either the Mycenaean polities or the Hittite empire itself. There were, of course, regional variations. While Ionia and Caria experienced some fragmentation in the course of the LH IIIC and the PG periods, this process was less pronounced than in Lydia, which was home to centralized polities in both the LBA and the EIA, and experienced shifts in settlement patterns not seen in the coastal Anatolian regions.

In southwest Anatolia, local networks and exchange patterns were the driving forces behind interaction between communities. These opportunistic and flexible intercommunity connections did not depend on upper-tier sociopolitical institutions and could therefore remain in place even after the demise of central authorities. Although medium to small-scale connectivity

did not enable direct engagement over long distances (with the exception of select centers like Miletos),[4] it created a dense network of local connections that could be maintained on a regular basis, thereby facilitating exchange of knowledge of sociopolitical and environmental concerns, as well as narrowing the social distance between communities.

Thus, as I have tried to show, mechanisms of connectivity and cultural exchange between southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean were continuously maintained over the LBA and the EIA. These mechanisms provided a stable foundation for recreating interrupted but never forgotten interregional connections and establishing new knowledge networks linking the Dodecanese and the southwest Anatolia with the opposite side of the Aegean through trade exchange and some small-scale relocation of people. Considered from this angle, the adoption and adaptation of similar forms of material culture at the dawn of the EIA, including the emergence of PG pottery production on both sides of the Aegean, stemmed from the shared cultural practices of communities on both sides of the Aegean, which were integrated into the local repertoire in Anatolia as a result of long-standing connectivity.

The permanent movement of people as well as goods was integral to this flow of information in all periods. Scholars have envisioned this flow through different heuristic frameworks, including hybridity, Mycenaeanization, networks theory, and others.[5] In considering the LBA, the concepts of hybridity and Mycenaeanization are essentially unhelpful, as they strip Anatolian communities of their agency and assume Mycenaean cultural superiority. The advantage of a focus on mobility, on the other hand, is that it foregrounds an actual physical action that took place in the past, rather than a theoretical description of past interactions.

[4] For a discussion of overlapping long distance and state controlled and short-distance opportunistic trade networks see Sherratt 2003; Broodbank 2013, 459ff; Tartaron 2013, esp. 24-31.
[5] E.g., Brughmans, 2010; Hodos 2010; Knappett 2011; Stockhammer 2012; Gorogianni, Pavúk, and Girella 2016.

I have argued that the study of mobility provides a better framework for understanding cultural change within the region, as it moves away from a preoccupation with boundaries, origins, and destinations, and describes a variety of more or less intensive and flexible forms of movement. Migration is just one form of movement on this spectrum, one that is usually defined as movement between places that are conceived of as different, and involving specific boundaries—physical, social, cultural, or linguistic—that have to be traversed.[6] Within the Anatolian and southeast Aegean setting, I have argued that social boundaries were, by contrast, fluid and permeable. Social boundaries based on group membership could be transgressed here, as intraregional and interregional movement allowed shifts in membership, and communities here exhibited a higher degree of social fluidity.

Southwest Anatolia was never a homogeneous place. That much is clear from the archaeology of the LBA and the EIA, and a similar reading has recently emerged from contextual study of the ancient texts.[7] Although the ancient narratives that explain the formation of Ionian identity are not the subject of this dissertation, they deserve a brief comment here. These foundation legends told the stories of the origins and journeys of different Ionian ancestors, as well as of other Greek-speaking individuals and groups. Most notably, many of the cities to which the Greeks purportedly migrated were not new foundations; rather, the Anatolian littoral was already inhabited by various local groups. The people inhabiting this region in the mid-first millennium, when the traditions of the Ionian migration were first written down, could therefore tell many stories about themselves, as they had roots in culturally mixed communities.

[6] Rouse 1986; Anthony 1990; Chapman and Hamerow 1997; Burmeister 2000; Cabana and Clarke 2011; Tsuda et al. 2015.

[7] For instance, even the 'Ionian' forefathers, who migrated from Athens to Ionia, were not all really Ionian. Kodrus, said to have been a king of Athens, was also said to have been originally from Pylos, tracing his lineage back to Neleus, the son of Poseidon (Mac Sweeney 2013, 164ff).

They had multiple links to the past and could present a range of sometimes conflicting narratives about who they were and whence they came. The negotiation between different forms of heritage was an important component of the stories, which involved traditions of often violent encounters between different cultural groups.[8] Altogether, they attest both the long-lasting linguistic and ethnic diversity of the inhabitants of not only Ionia, but also of the neighboring regions, and the increasing need in the Archaic and Classical periods of advertising more fixed forms of supra-regional civic and ethnic identity.

Highlighting the social plurality of ancient southwest Anatolian communities has been an important part of this dissertation. The permeability of the cultural boundaries that separated southwest Anatolia from the people and objects from the Aegean has already been discussed. Similar cultural negotiations also occurred between the various Anatolian communities. Parallel processes of identity formation took place in Ionia, Caria, and Lydia, and the respective communities reacted against one another in dynamic, yet prolonged processes of identity formation. In the LBA, regional identity was locally anchored and largely independent of the Mycenaean palaces and the Hittite empire. By the end of the EIA, that regional identity had been fractured and shared social boundaries had emerged between the Ionians, the Carians, and the Lydians. Especially notable is the decision of the coastal communities to align themselves more closely with their Aegean neighbors, and away from the nascent Anatolian kingdom of Lydia. Ionian identity became more fixed or at least more closely defined during the period of the growth of the Lydian kingdom to the east, and this process was not coincidental. By contrast, Carian identity remained ambiguous. The communities that emerged as the Carians shared some

[8] For a description of traditions of violence in Anatolia see Mac Sweeney 2015. This subject was explored in Chapter 6 through the case study of the Carians and the Lelegians. See also Crielaard 2009; Mac Sweeney 2013; 2016.

common traditions—shown archaeologically and through texts—with the Ionians, while at the same time distanced themselves from certain aspects of their Anatolian heritage by distinguishing themselves from another real or imagined people known as the Lelegians.

This dissertation has focused on the communities of southwest Anatolia in the LBA and the EIA, in relation to the Aegean region to the west, and to inland Anatolia to the east. I would like to conclude with a few remarks on my core area of interest and on its characteristics that justify treating it as a distinct region. The ease of mobility, both of persons and of objects, is a central such characteristic. Many of the settlements discussed in this dissertation were located in proximity of the Anatolian coast, and were closely integrated into the Aegean cultural fabric. Nonetheless, they were all southwest Anatolian, unique and different from the Aegean communities to the west and other Anatolian communities to the east. The inhabitants of this region participated in multiple overlapping spheres of interaction, and were continually affected by both interregional and intraregional population mobility. The second half of the second millennium was a crucial period of development, characterized by increasing fluidity of movement and the establishment of robust networks of communication connecting southwest Anatolia with the southeast Aegean. Such a vision of relatively open-ended community dynamics accords well with the now widely accepted premise that social interaction is not inward-oriented; rather, communities were shaped and changed in response to stimuli around them.[9] Mobility shaped social relationships not only between communities, but also within them, across both time and space.

Rather than one-sided, large-scale migrations, the small-scale, multilateral mobility of people across relatively short distances between existing settlements was the primary organizing

[9] Expressed by, for example, Schachner 2012, 20-25; Hodos 2014.

principle for the processes of cultural identity formation in the last centuries of the LBA, as well as—crucially—during the first centuries of the EIA. In other words, postulating migratory events after the upheavals of the late 13th and the 12th centuries to explain cultural changes that became apparent centuries later is not necessary and does not fit the available data. The transition into the EIA was smoother than traditionally imagined. Small subsets of people had been moving around southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean through much of the second half of the second millennium, and had been integrating themselves into communities throughout this region.

The development of mobility as a cultural habit led to long-term residential contact between populations and to regular communication and knowledge sharing. By the dawn of the EIA, these connections were deeply rooted and embedded in long-term processes. This development also set the stage for the adoption of 'Greek' identity by Ionian communities in later periods. It did not, however, determine the outcome; it merely opened up the possibility of choosing a rather fixed collective identity, if need be. The process of becoming Ionian was thus a protracted cultural negotiation, and not simply an outcome of migrations.

FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean showing the main LBA sites mentioned in the text (courtesy of Lorene Sterner, modified by author).

Figure 2: Map of southwest Anatolia and the southeast Aegean showing the main EIA sites mentioned in the text (courtesy of Lorene Sterner, modified by author).

Figure 3: View of the Karabel Monument (photo author).

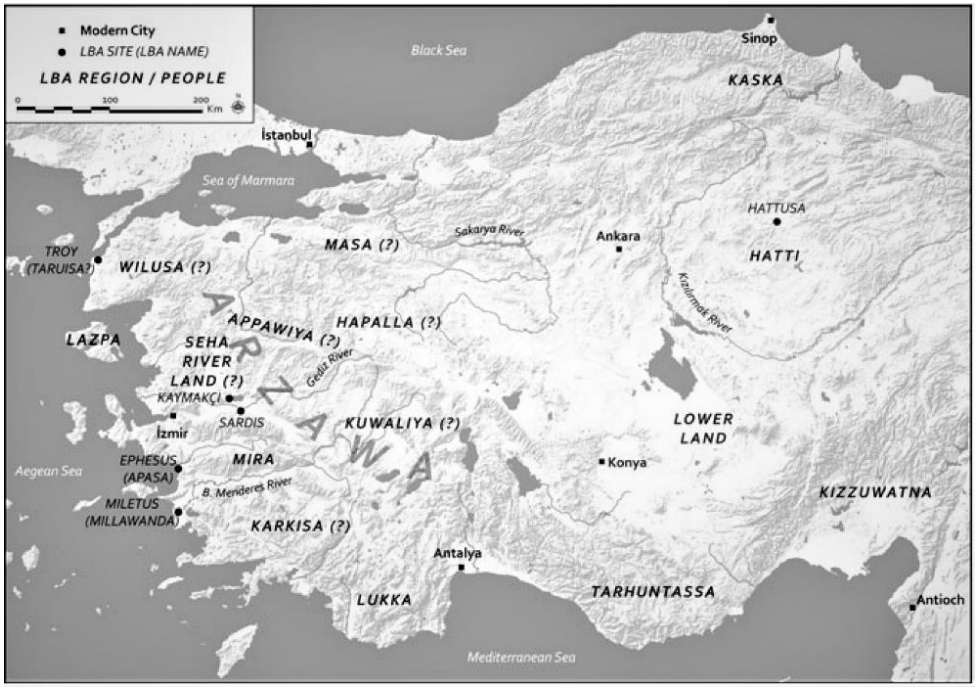

Figure 4: Map of western and central Anatolia showing approximate location of LBA polities (after Roosevelt and Luke 2017, Fig. 1).

Figure 5: View of prehistoric deposits excavated under the early altars of the Temple of Hera on Samos (after Niemeier and Maniatis 2010, Fig. 1).

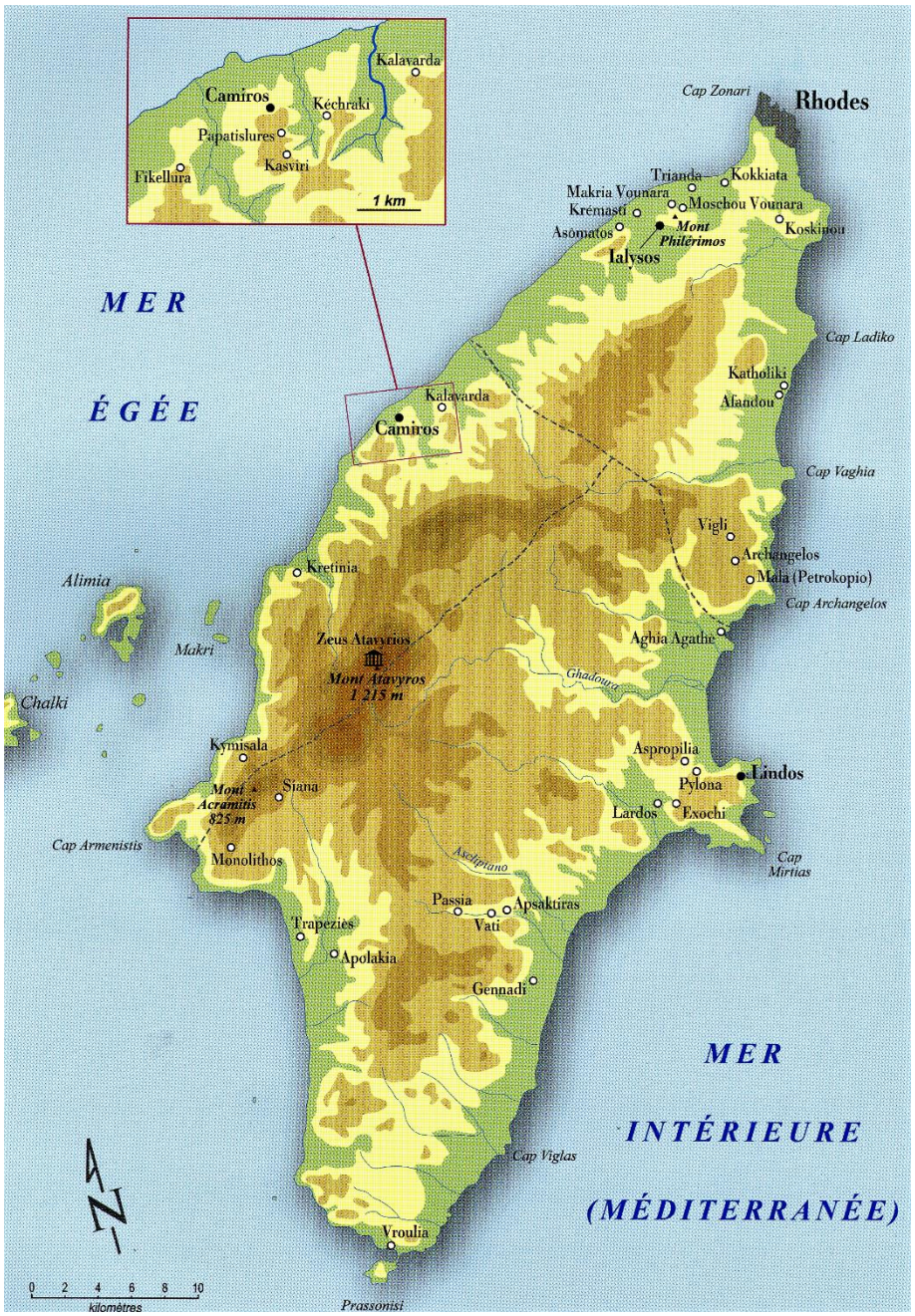

Figure 6: Map of Rhodes showing locations of prehistoric activity (after Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014, p. 320).

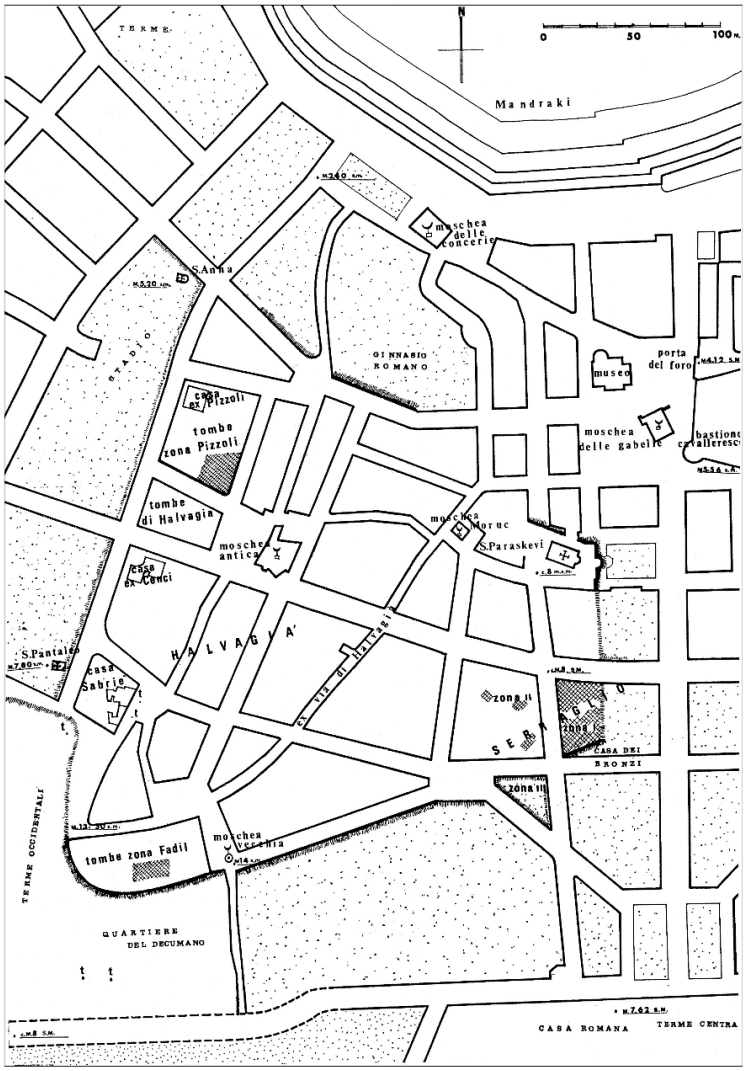

Figure 7: Plan of the modern settlement of Kos showing locations of prehistoric activity (after Morricone 1975, Fig. 7).

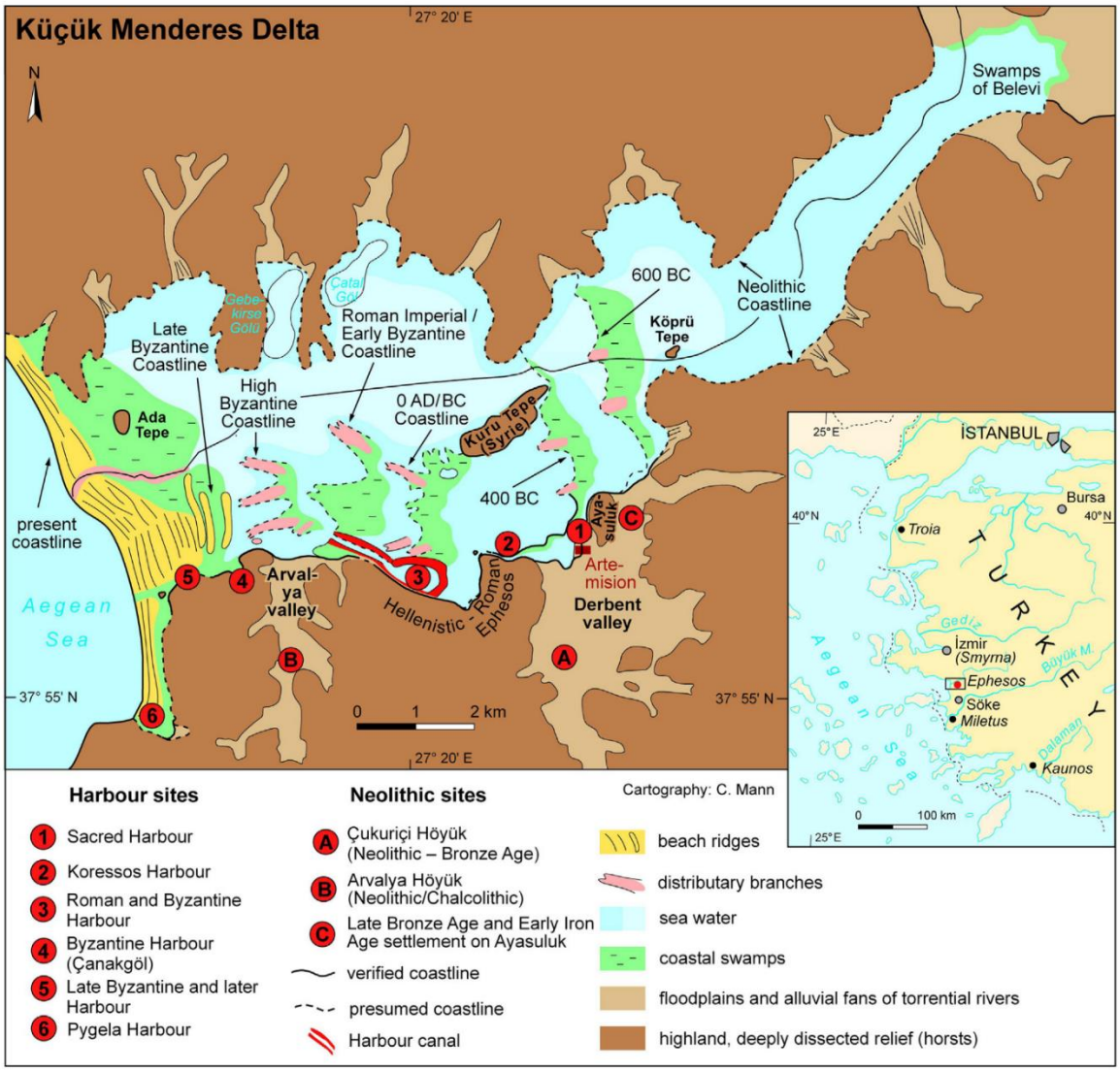

Figure 8: Map of the environs of Ephesos showing the Küçük Menderes River delta progradation and locations of early settlement activity (after Brückner et al. 2017, Fig. 10).

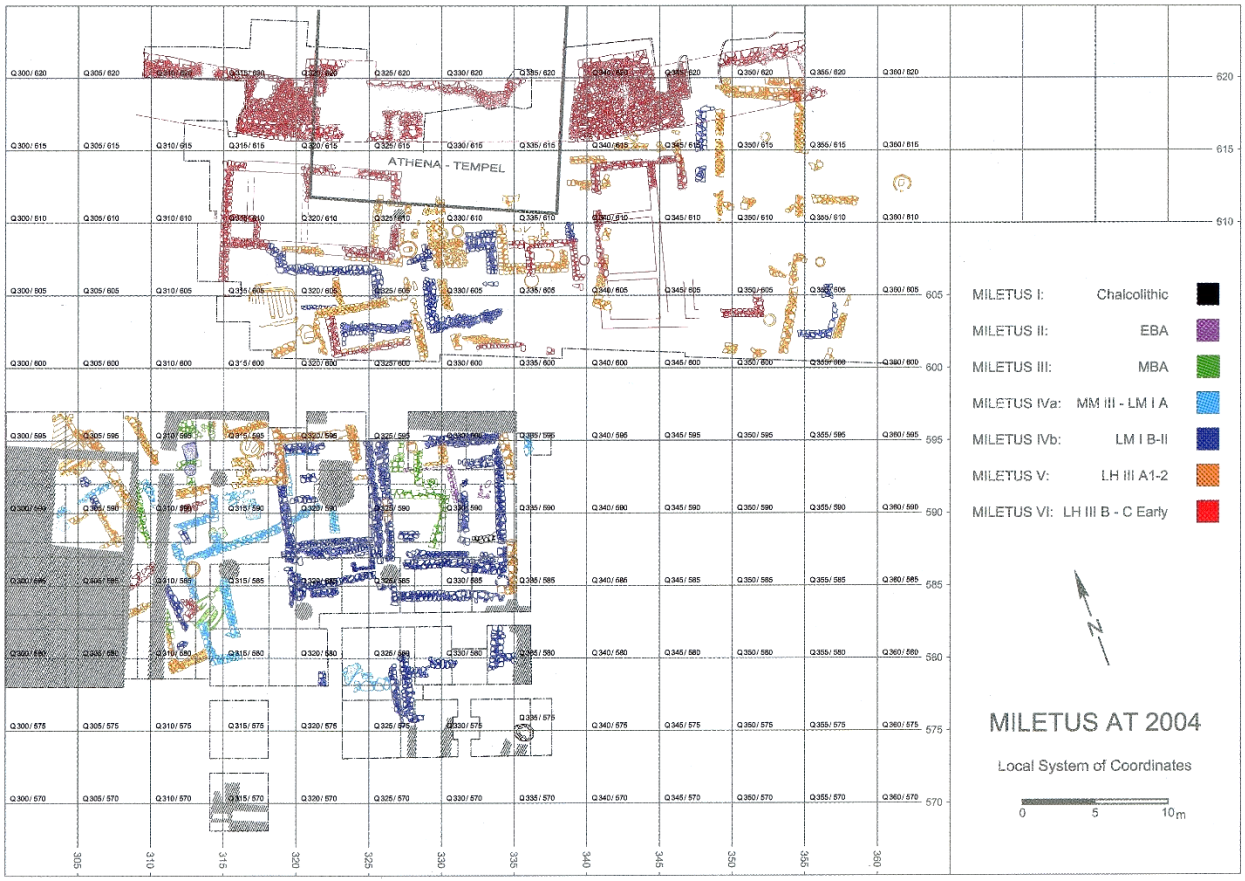

Figure 9: Plan of prehistoric levels in the area of the Temple of Athena at Miletos (after Niemeier 2005, Pl. 1).

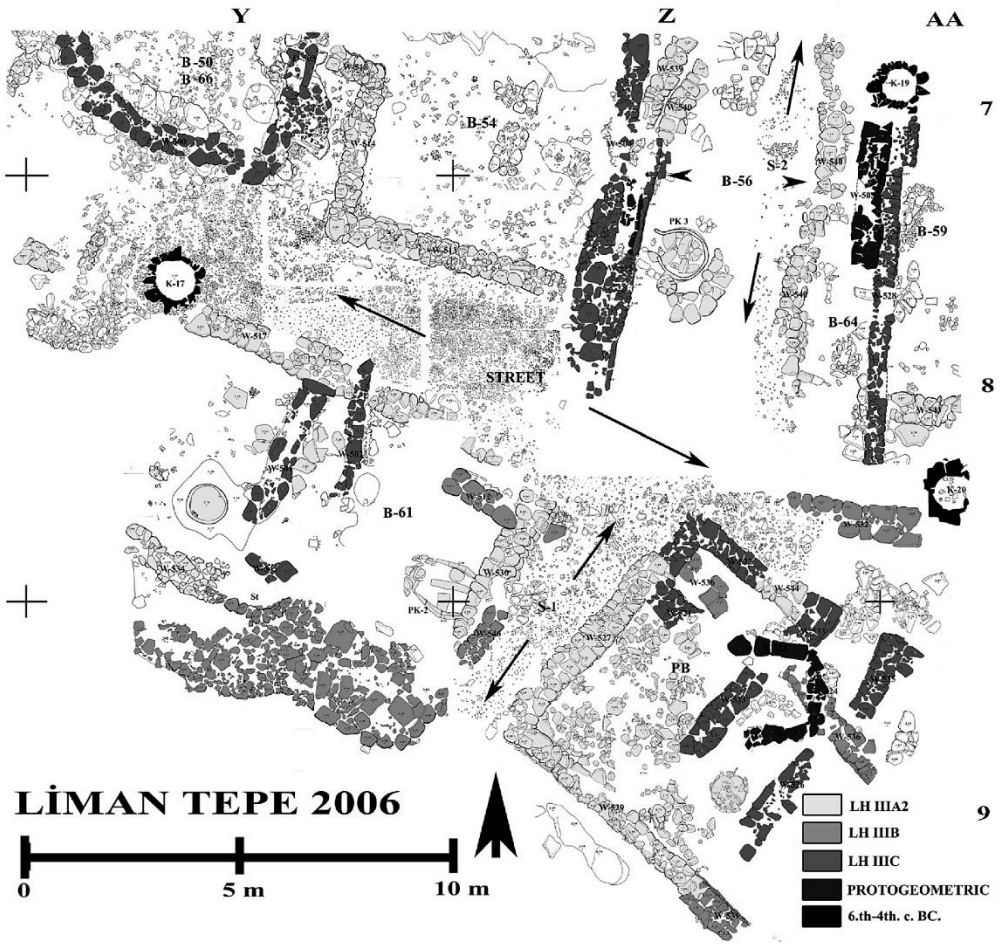

Figure 10: Plan of the second millennium remains at Limantepe (after Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2015, Fig. 1).

Figure 11: View of a PG curvilinear building in Area A at Limantepe (Klazomenai), looking west (after Ersoy 2007, Fig. 2).

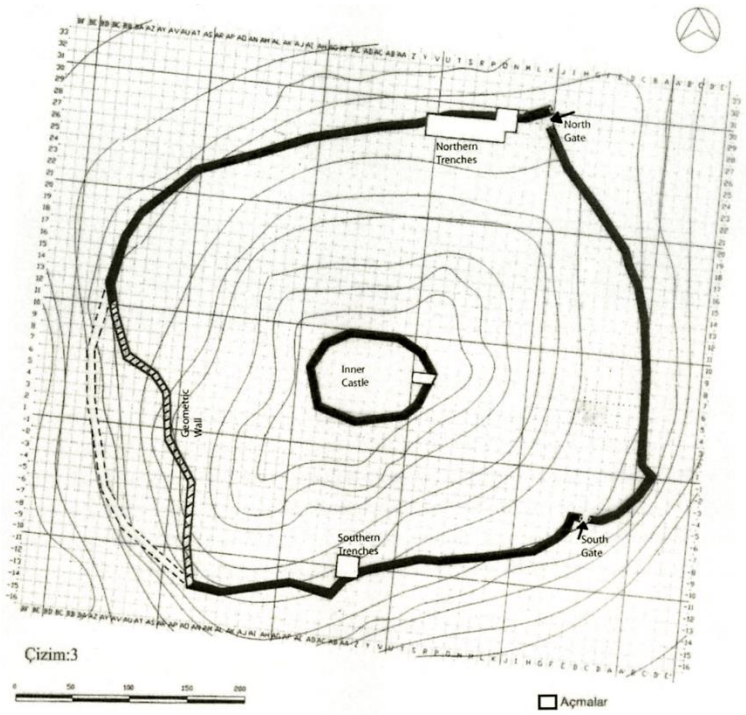

Figure 12: Plan of LBA settlement at Bademgediği Tepe (after Meriç and Öz 2015, Fig. 2).

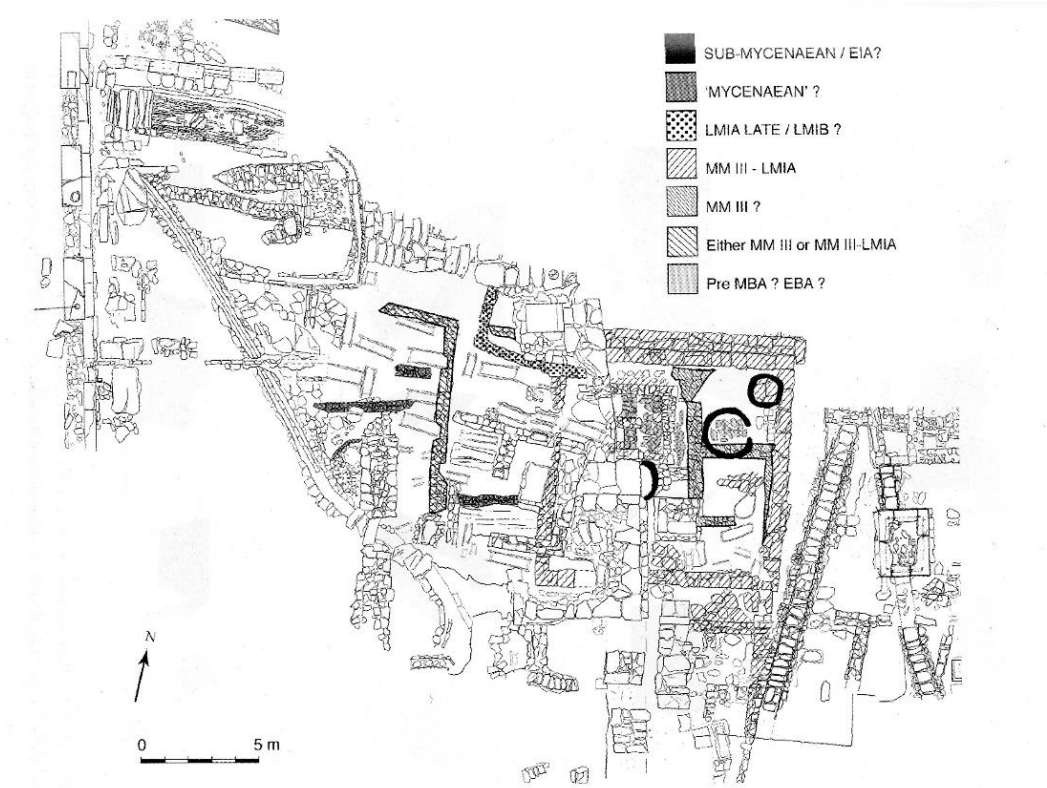

Figure 13: Plan of prehistoric remains by the West Stylobate at Iasos (after Momigliano 2012, Fig. 61).

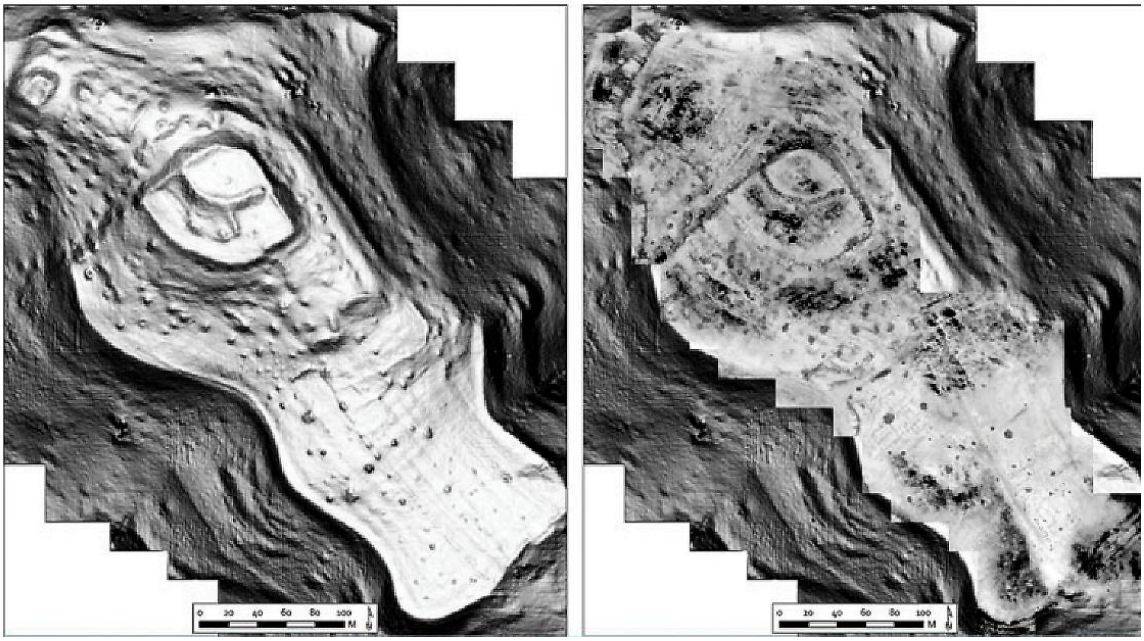

Figure 14: Digital elevation model (left) and results of resistivity survey (right) at Kaymakçı (after Roosevelt and Luke 2017, Fig. 12).

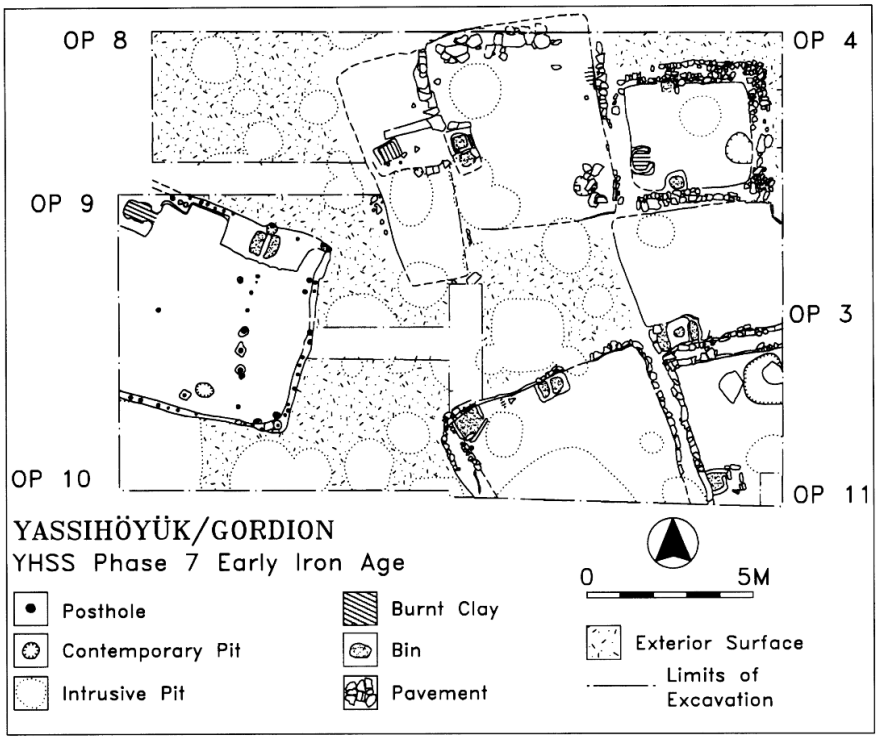

Figure 15: Plan of EIA domestic architecture at Gordion, Level YHSS 7 (after Voigt 2000, Fig. 3).

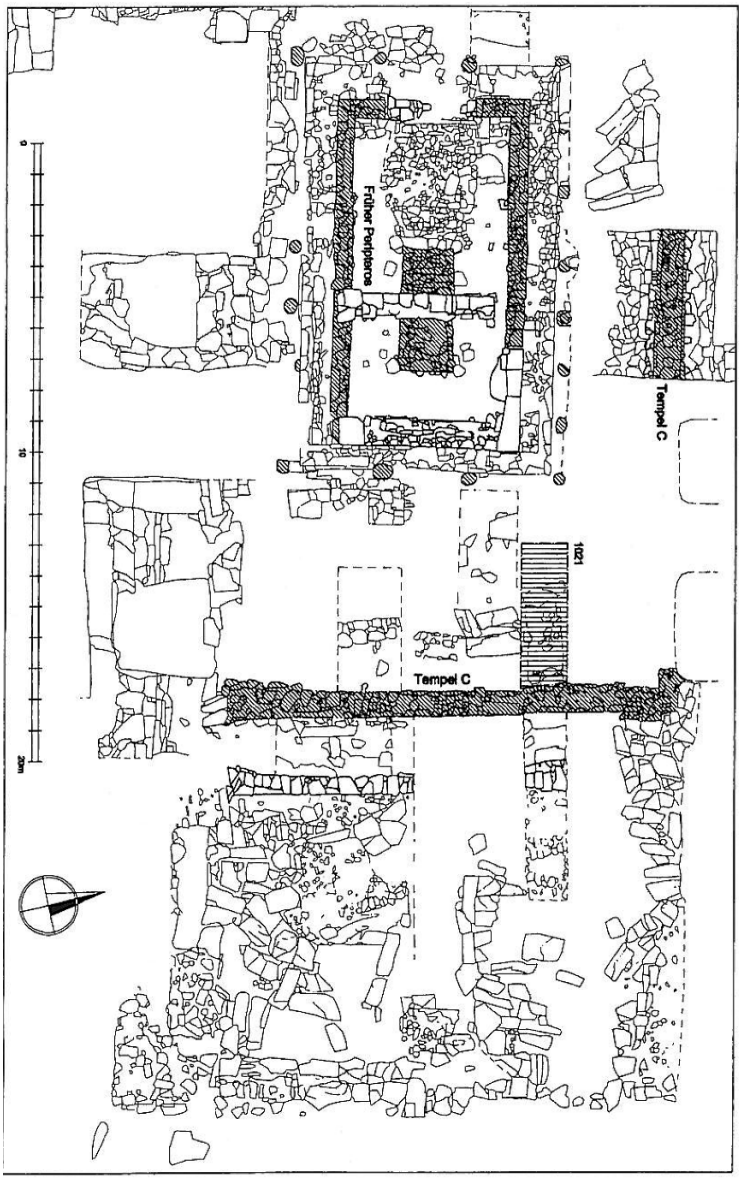

Figure 16: Plan of the central and eastern part of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos showing early remains (after Kerschner 2003, Fig. 1).

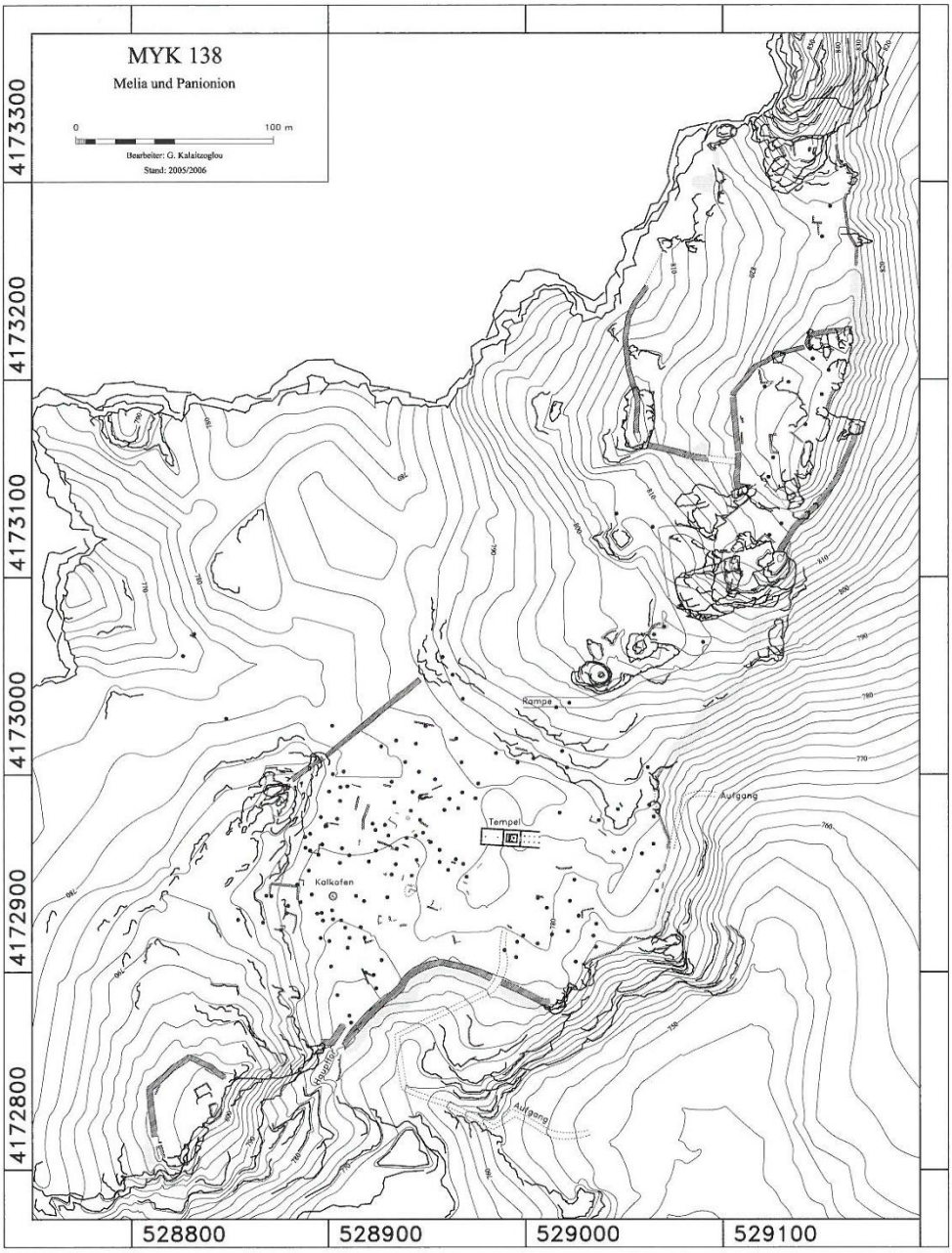

Figure 17: Map of the environs of the Panionion, northeast of modern Güzelçamlı (after Lohmann 2007, Fig. 53).

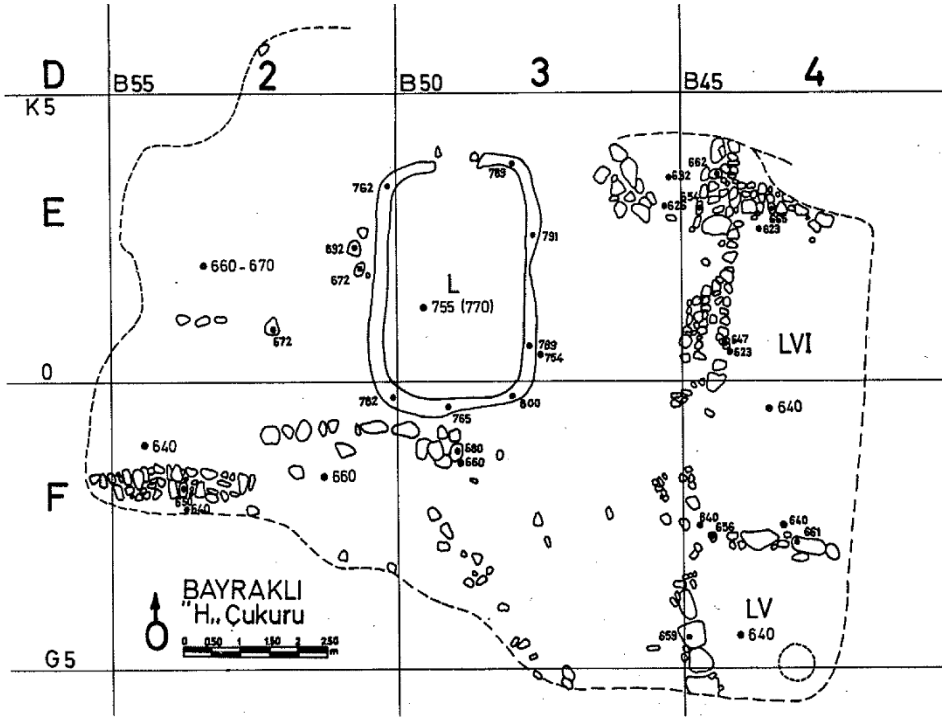

Figure 18: Plan of EPG remains and a MPG oval house at Old Smyrna (after Akurgal 1983, Fig. 3).

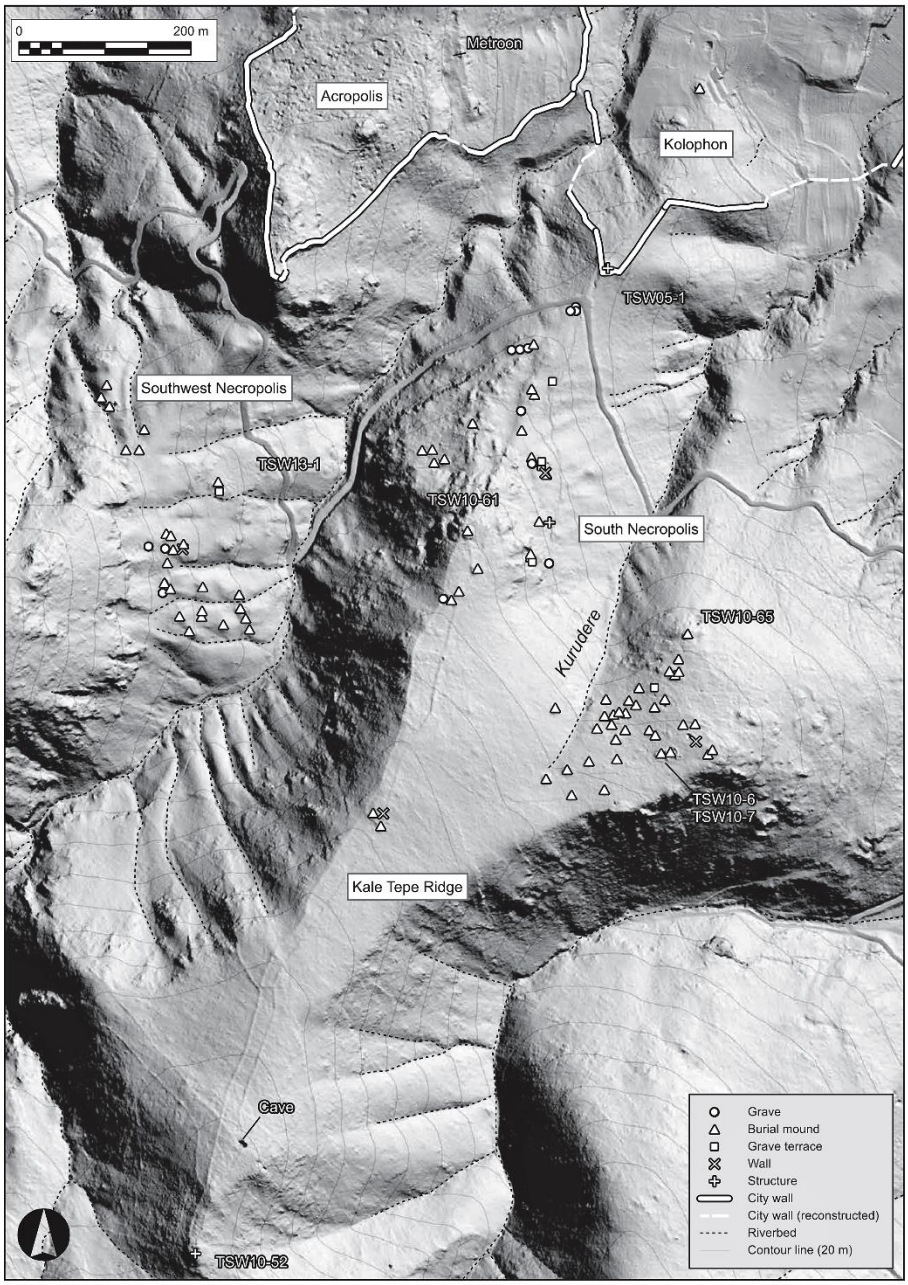

Figure 19: Digital elevation model of Kolophon and its cemeteries (after Gassner et al. 2017, Fig. 17).

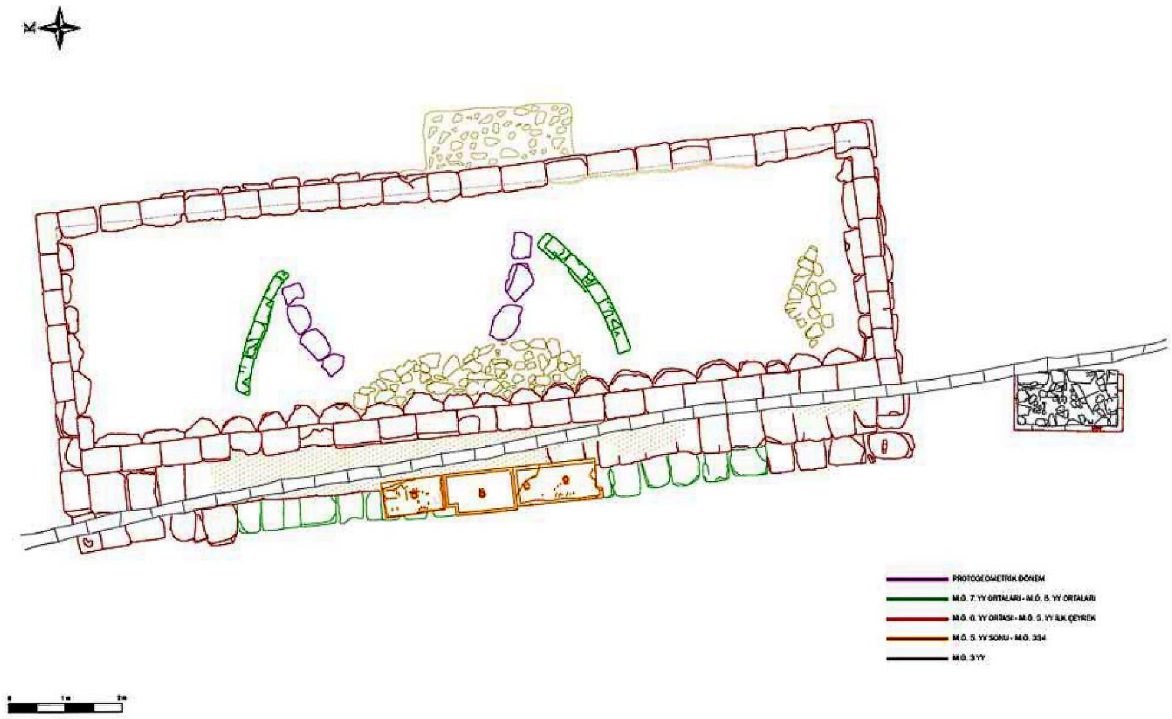

Figure 20: Plan of the location of PG remains (purple) under the Archaic altar of the Temple of Apollo at Klaros (after Zunal 2014b, Fig. 12).

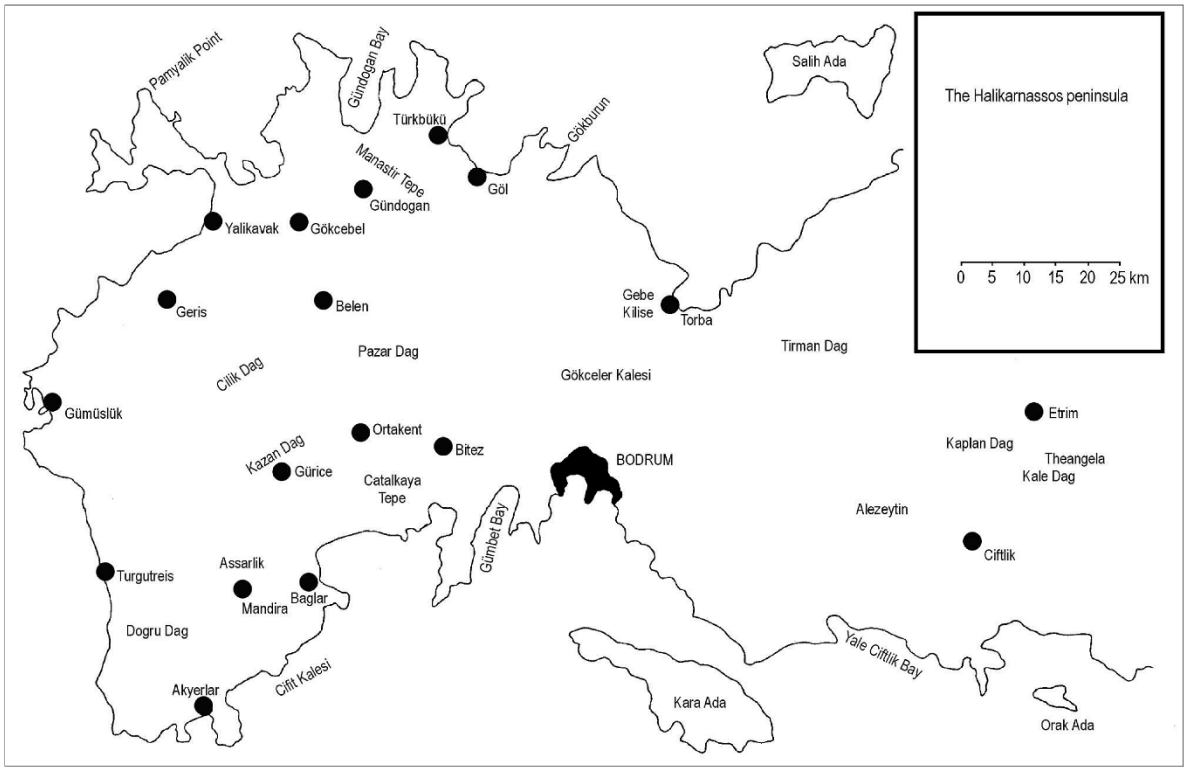

Figure 21: Map of EIA and Archaic sites on the Halicarnassos peninsula (after Carstens 2011, Fig. 1).

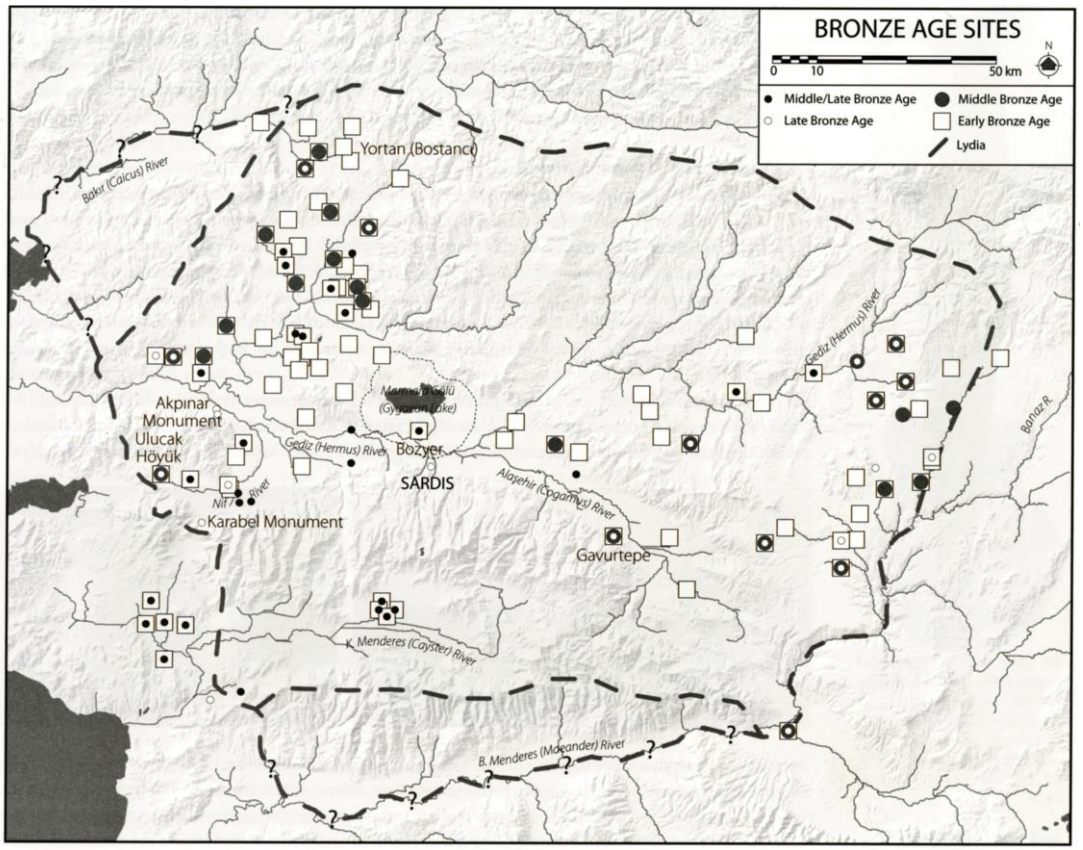

Figure 22: Map of western central Anatolia showing Bronze Age activity (after Roosevelt 2010, Fig. 6).

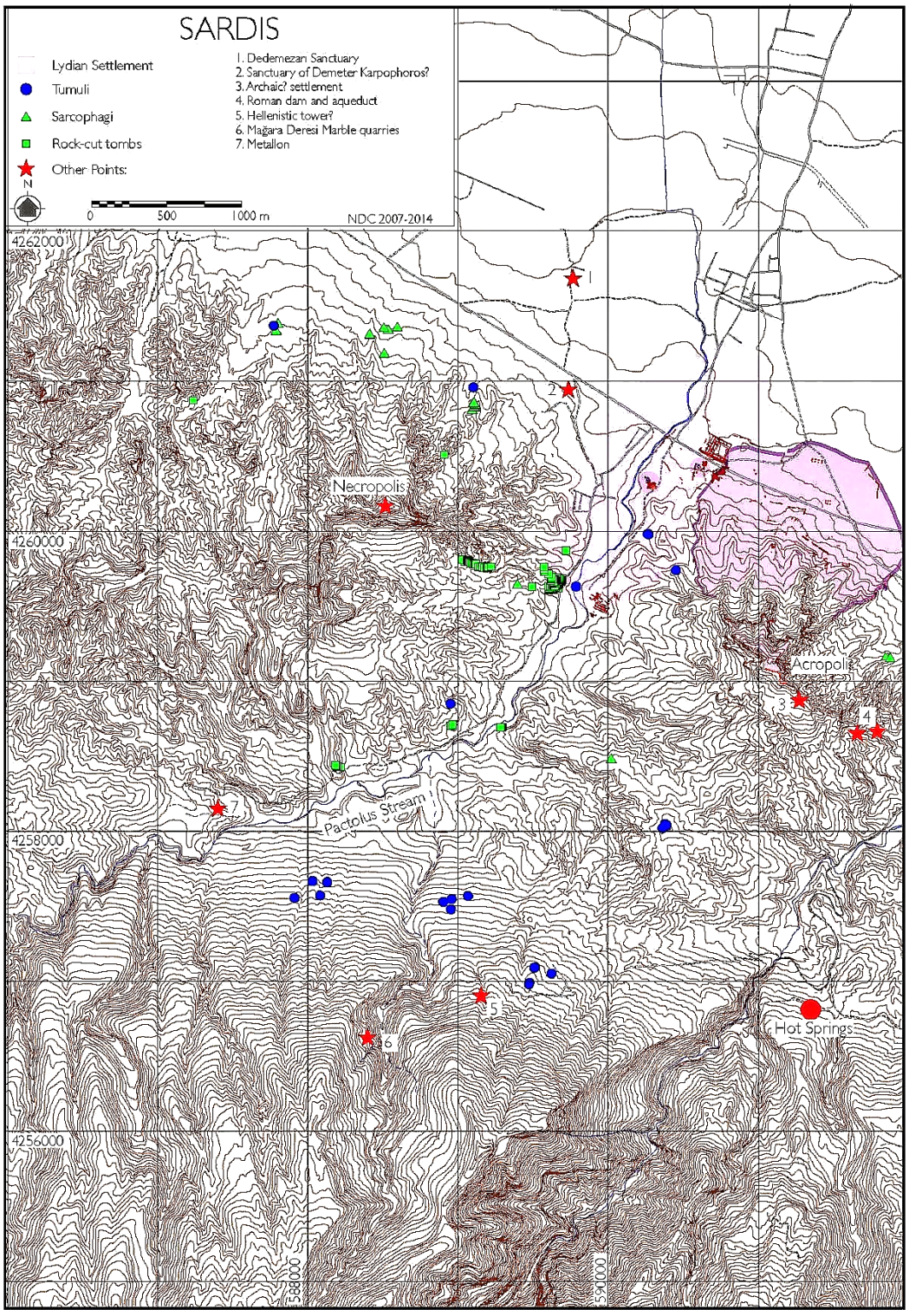

Figure 23: Map of Sardis and its environs showing the extent of the Lydian occupation (after Cahill 2010, Fig.1).

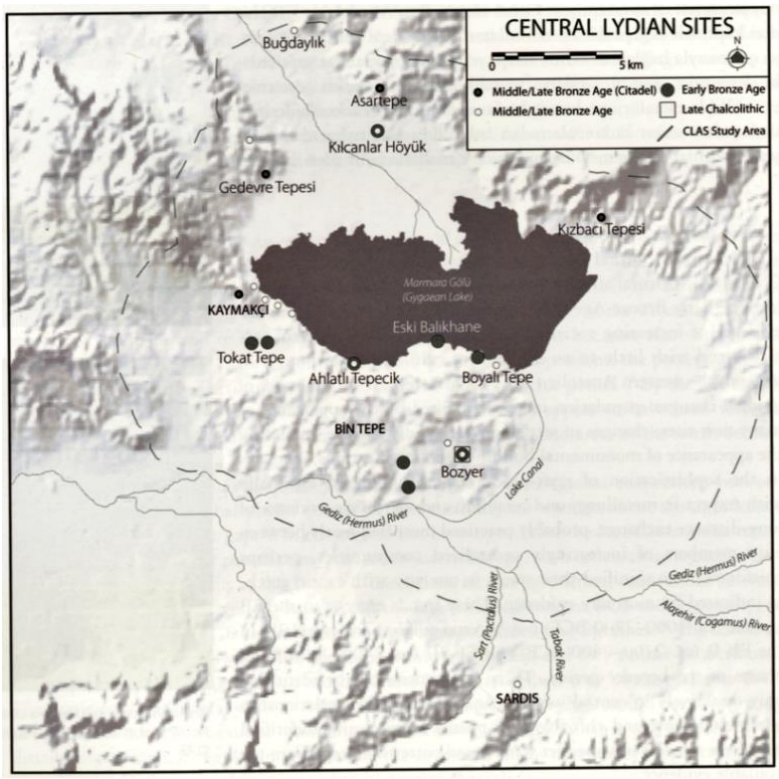

Figure 24: Map of Chalcolithic to Bronze Age habitation around the Lake Marmara (after Roosevelt 2010, Fig. 16).

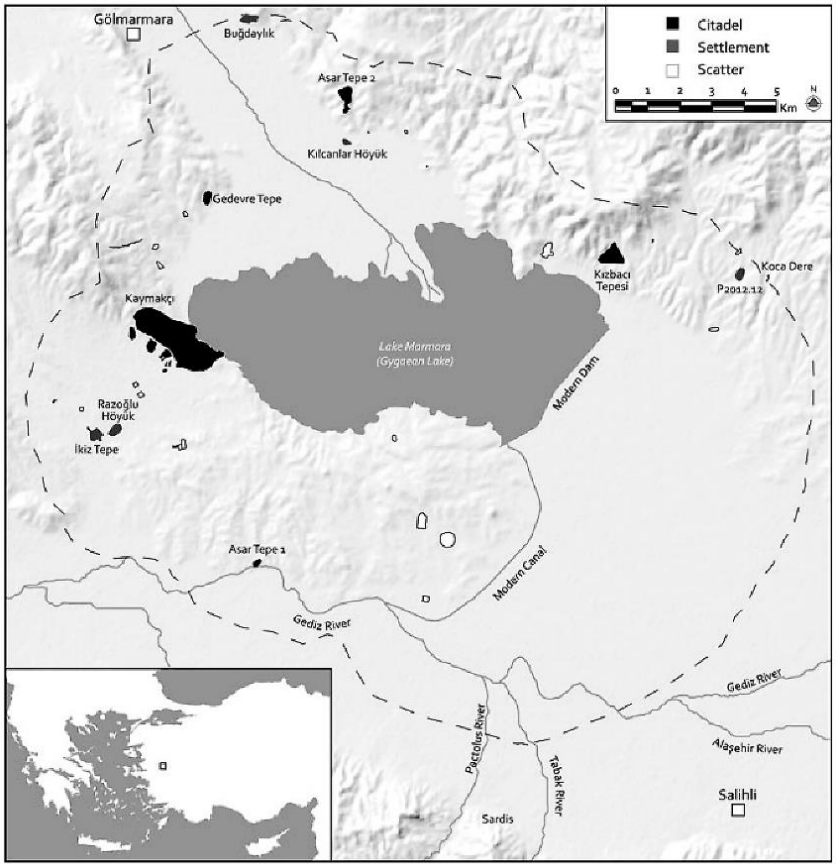

Figure 25: Map of LBA fortified settlements (in black) around Lake Marmara (after Roosevelt and Luke 2017, Fig. 2).

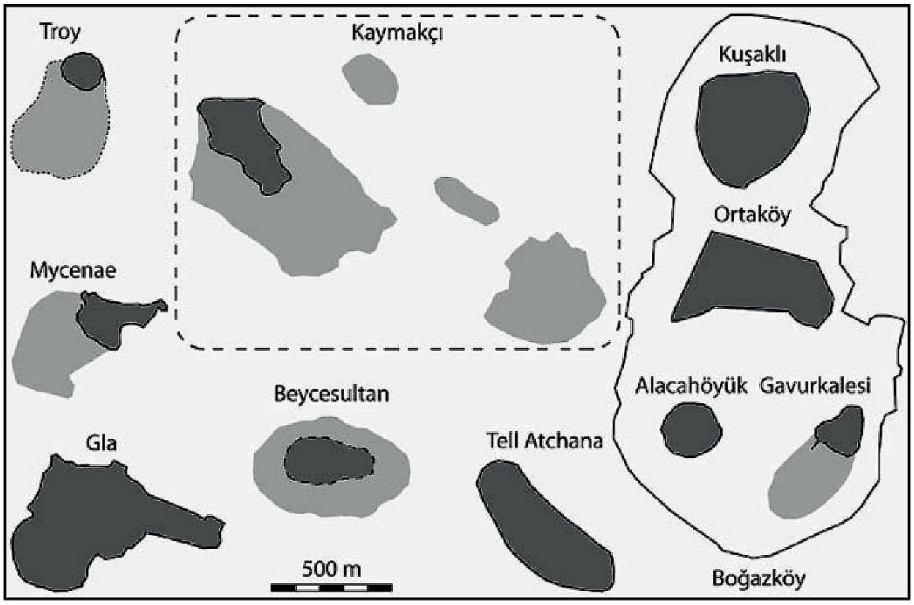

Figure 26: Comparison of site sizes of selected LBA citadels in Anatolia and Greece (after Roosevelt and Luke 2009, Fig. 13).

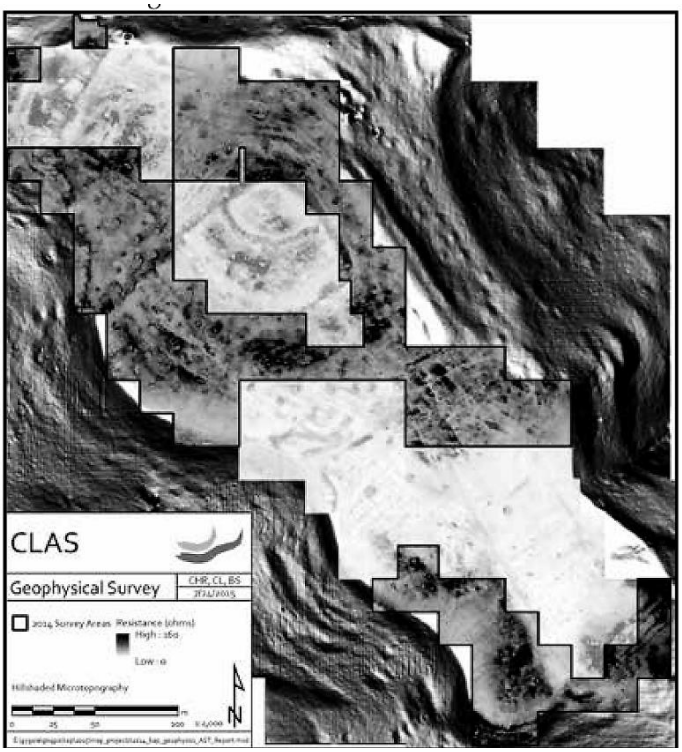

Figure 27: Digital elevation model of Kaymakçı showing areas surveyed with resistivity meter (after Roosevelt, Luke, and Sekedat 2016, Fig. 2).

Figure 28: View of Kaymakçı excavation area 98.531 showing storage unit located on the southwestern terrace (after Roosevelt, Luke and Ünlüsoy 2016, Fig. 12).

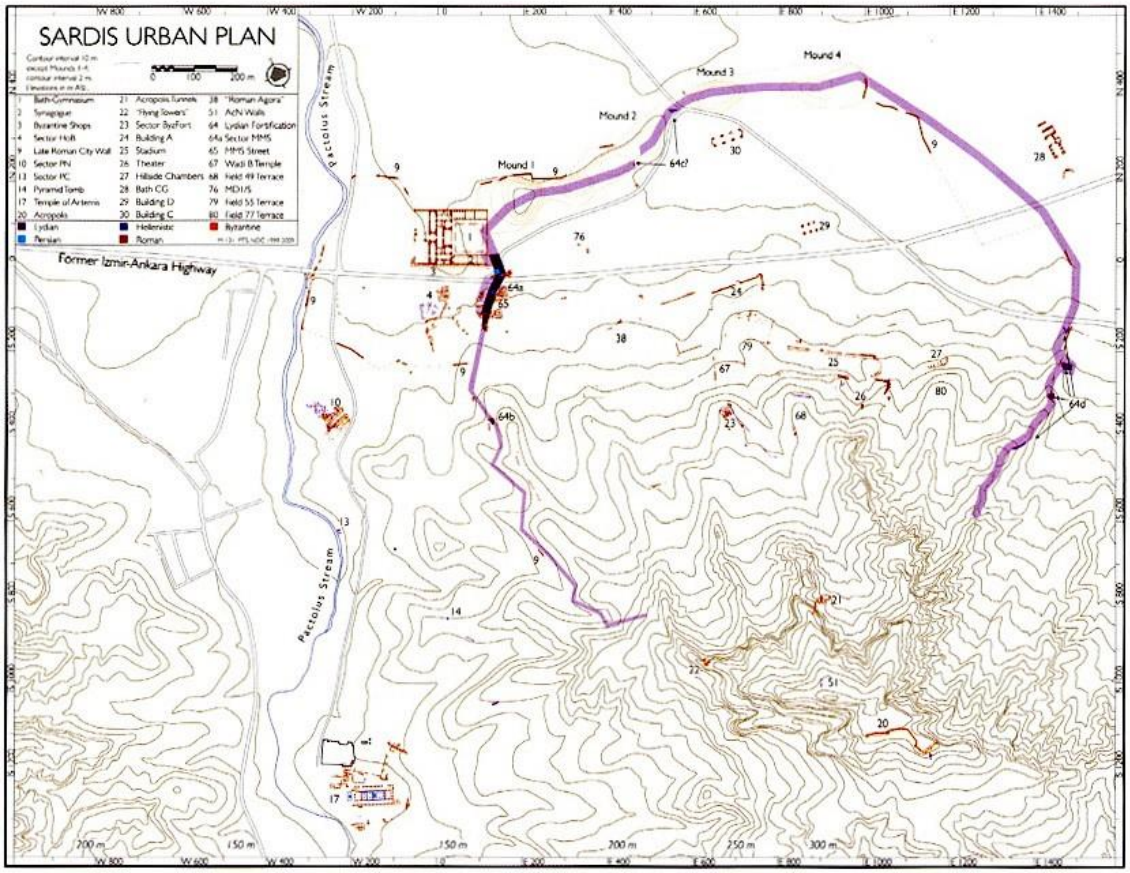

Figure 29: Plan of Sardis (after Cahill 2010, Fig. 2).

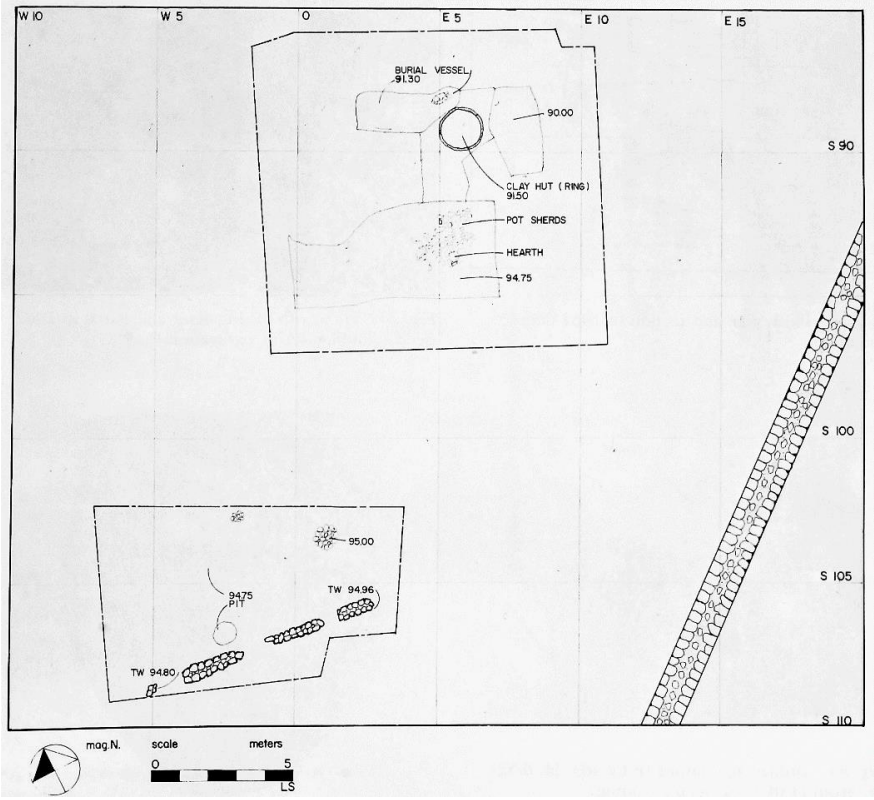

Figure 30: Plan of the earliest strata of occupation at Sardis in the House of Bronzes (1962 and 1966): circular wattle and daub hut and associated pithos cremation burial (after Spier 1983, Fig. 22).

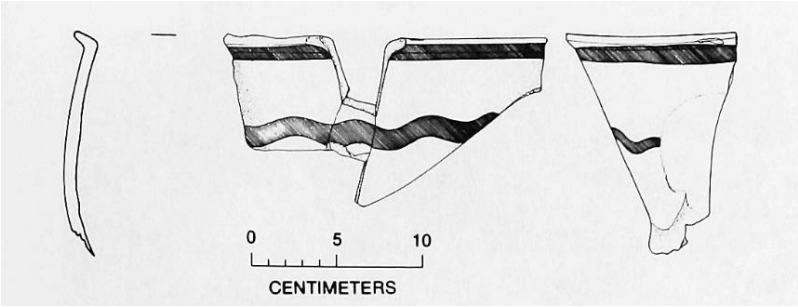

Figure 31: Fragments of locally produced Mycenaean-style krater (P 69.119) from the 'Mycenaean' level at Sardis (after Spier 1983, Fig. 26).

Figure 32: Example of a locally produced gray ware jug (P 60.552) from the 'Mycenaean' level at Sardis (after Spier 1983, Fig. 27).

Figure 33: One handled locally produced PG cup (P 66.107) from House of the Bronzes at Sardis (after Kerschner 2010, Fig. 1).

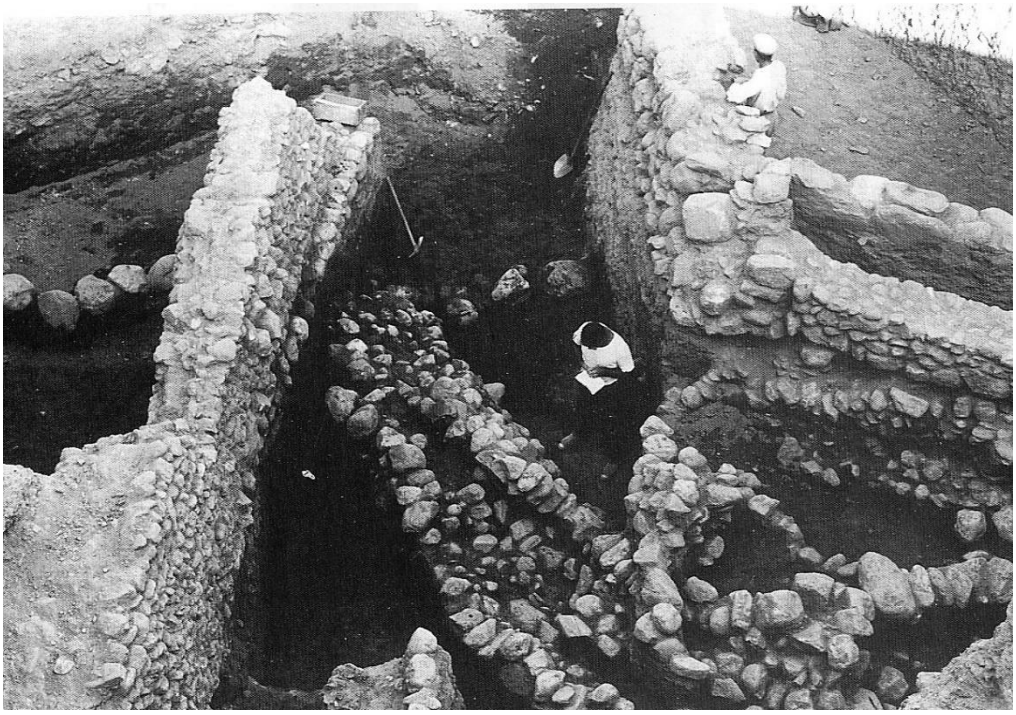

Figure 34: View of early Lydian houses in the area of Pactolus Cliff, excavated in 1960 (after Ramage, N. 1994, Pl. 15.2.2).

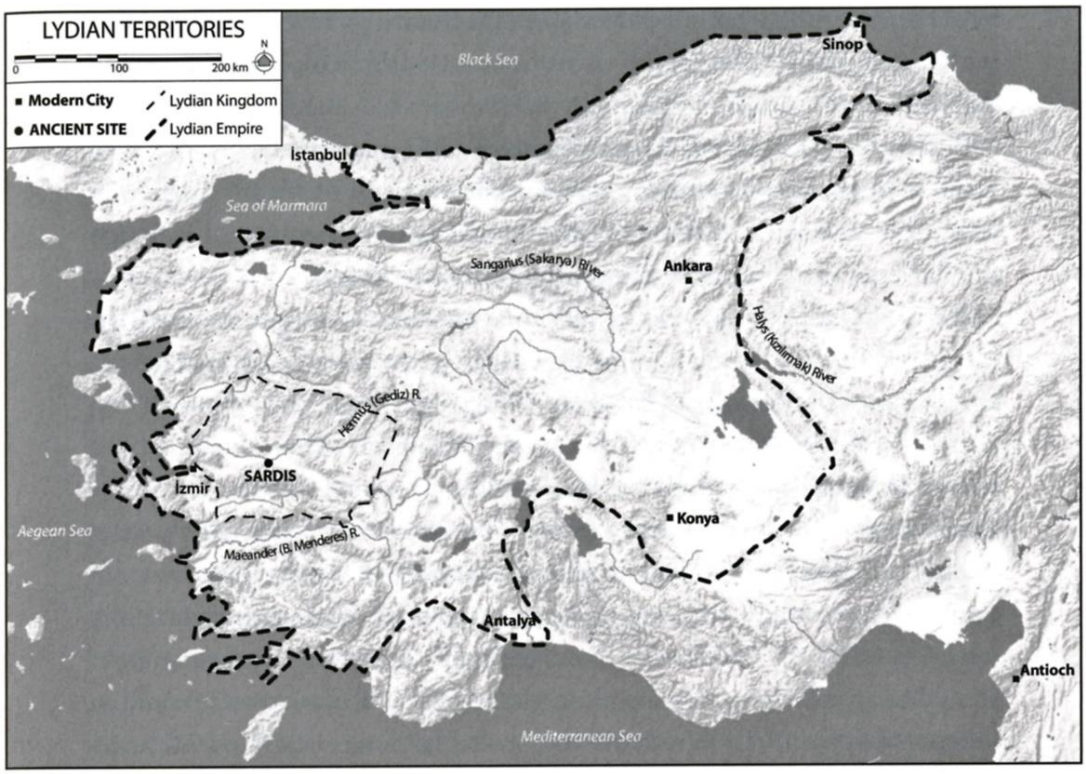

Figure 35: Map showing the largest Lydian territorial control during the 6th century (after Roosevelt 2009, Fig. 2.4).

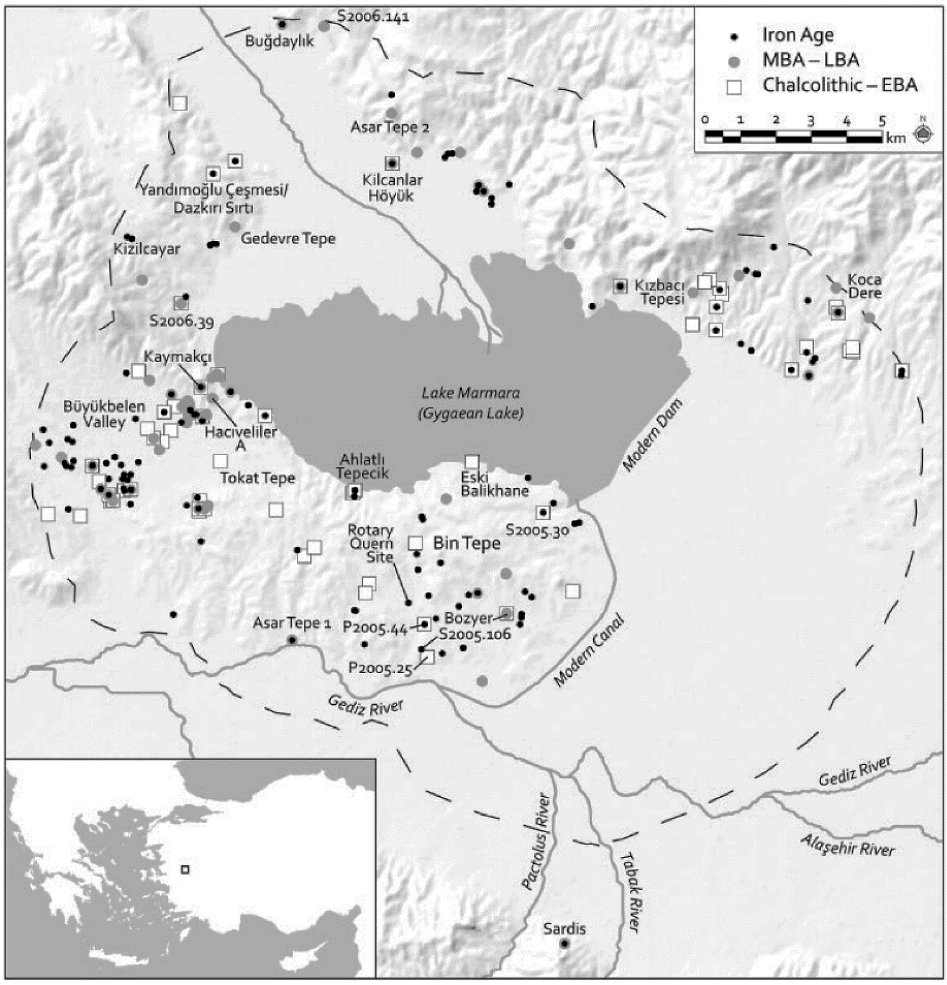

Figure 36: Map of MBA to EIA settlement activity around Lake Marmara (after Luke et al. 2015, Fig. 1).

Figure 37: EIA ceramic wares from Sardis showing the range of typical Lydian shapes: (1) two-handled jug (2) lydion (3)Achaemenid bowl (4) one handled cup in gray ware (5) skyphos (6) lekythos (7) fruitstand (8) column krater; and decorative treatments: (9) polychrome (10) polychrome with pendant multiple brush semicircles and hooks (11) polychrome (12-13) marbled ware (14) red on white bichrome (15) Orientalizing, polychrome (16) brown streaky glaze ware (after Kealhofer et al. 2013, Fig. 4).

Figure 38: Map of sites on the Halicarnassos peninsula (after Bean and Cook 1955, Fig. 1).

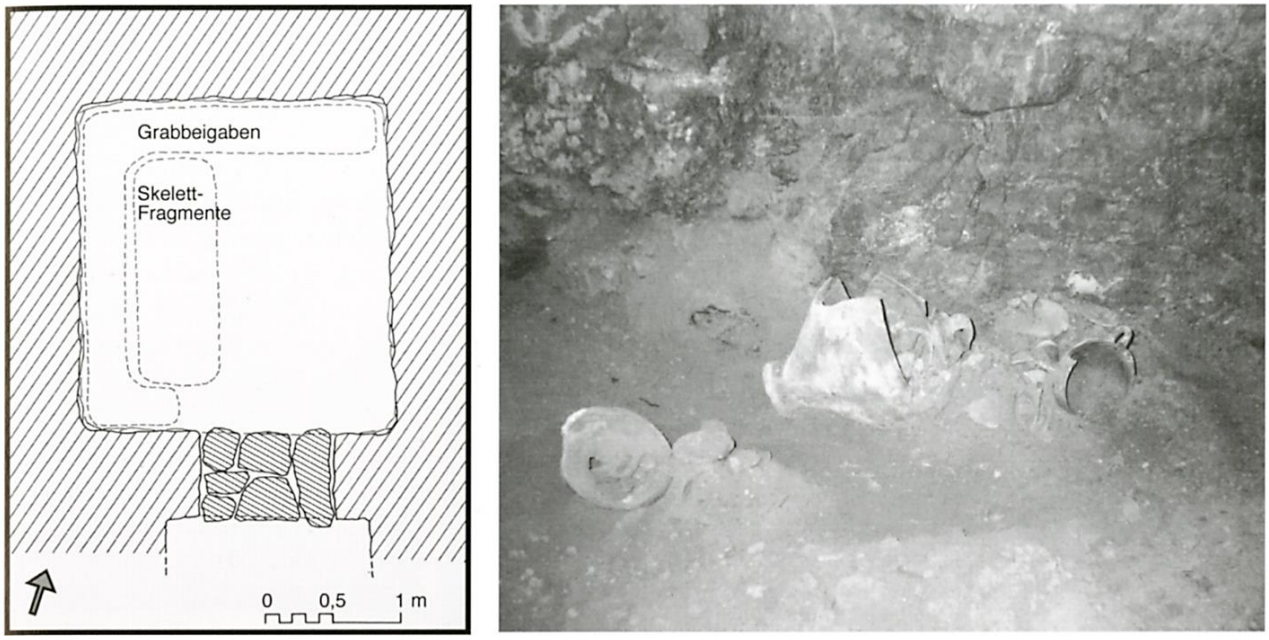

Figure 39: Plan and interior view of the chamber tomb at Pilavtepe (after Benter 2009, Figs. 4-5).

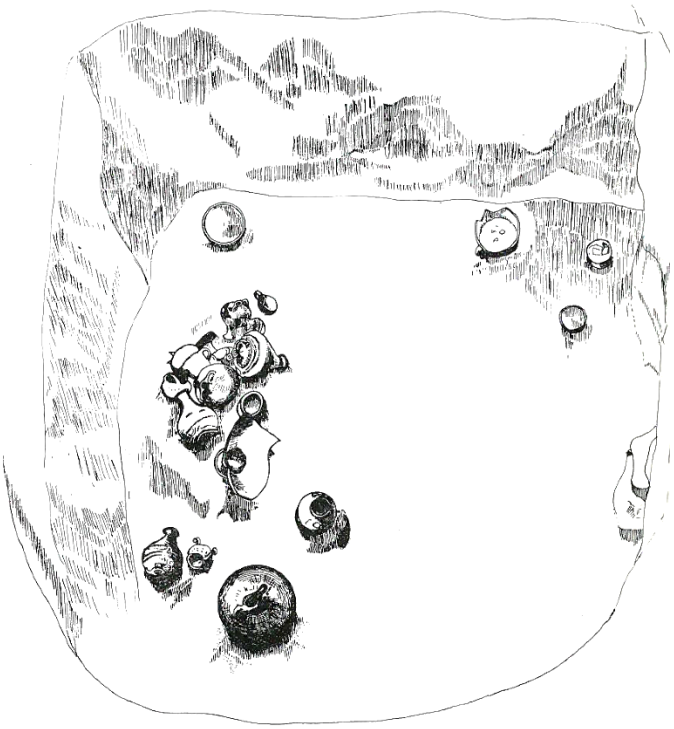

Figure 40: Drawing of Tomb 32 at Müsgebi showing LH IIIC vessels in situ (after Boysal 1967b, Fig. 13).

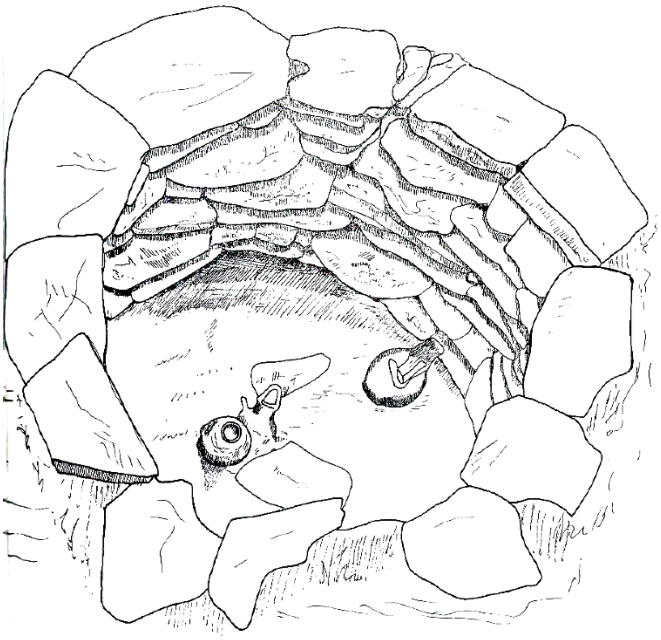

Figure 41: Drawing of a circular 'Submycenaean' tomb from the cemetery at Çömlekçi (after Boysal 1967b, Fig. 23).

Figure 42: ‘Submycenaean’ oinochoai from Çömlekçi (after Boysal 1985, Figs. 1-2).

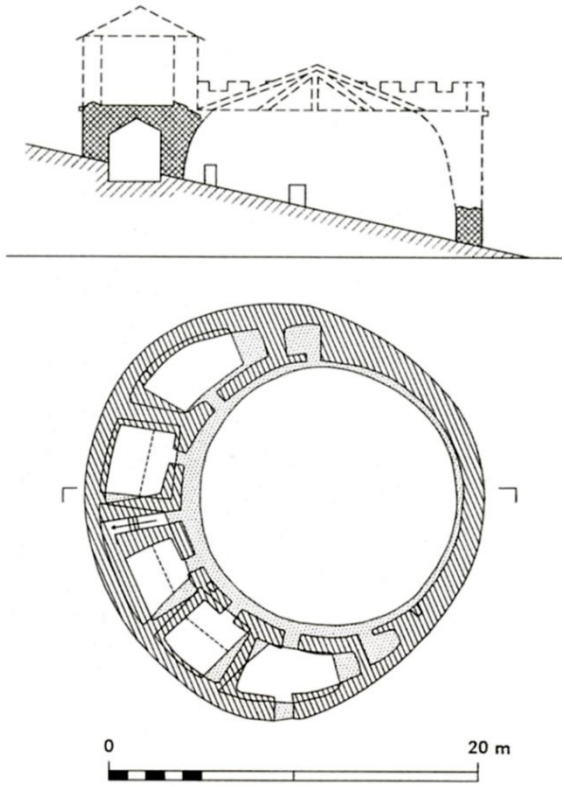

Figure 43: Plan and reconstruction of a ‘canonical’ Archaic compound at Evliç Ören on the Halicarnassos peninsula (after Rumscheid 2009, Fig. 5).

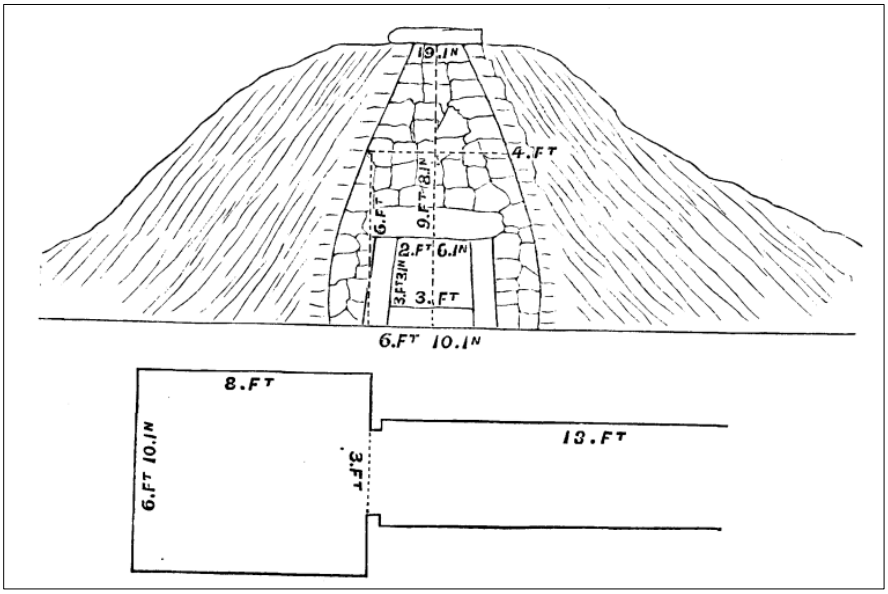

Figure 44: Plan of Tomb A at Assarlık (after Paton 1887, Fig. 3).

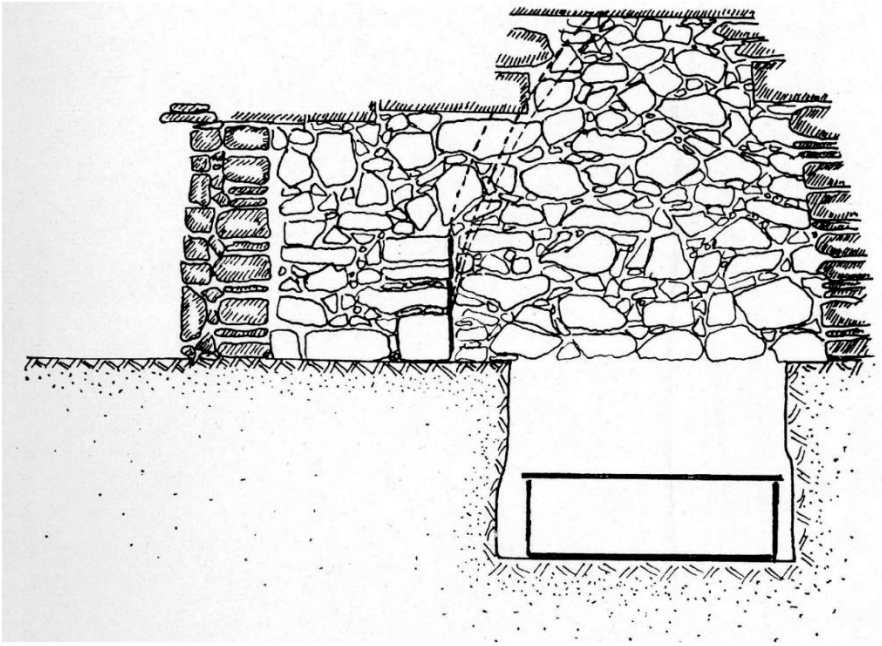
Figure 45: Plan of chamber tomb at Gökçebel/Dirmil (after Boysal 1967, Fig. 24a).

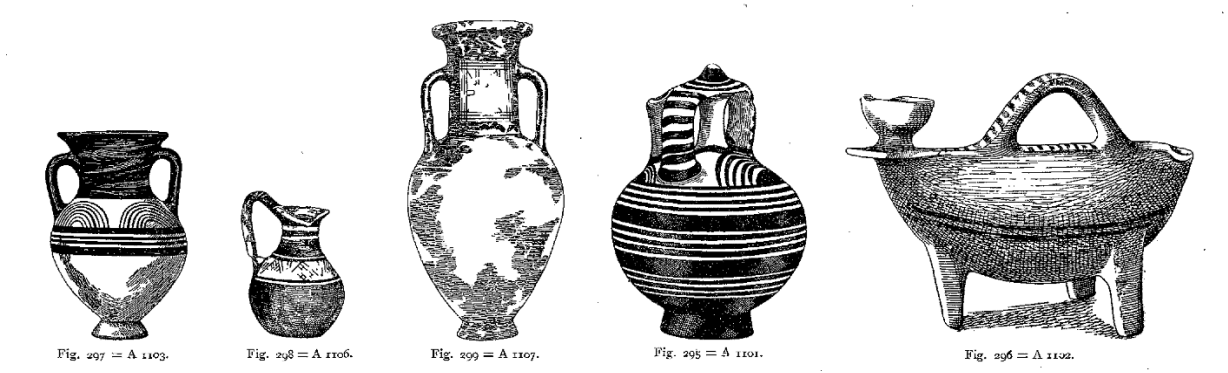

Figure 46: PG pottery from Paton Tomb A (1103), Tomb C (1106, 1107), and Tomb O (A1101, 1102) at Assarlık (after Carstens 2008, Fig. 26, after Forsdyke 1925).

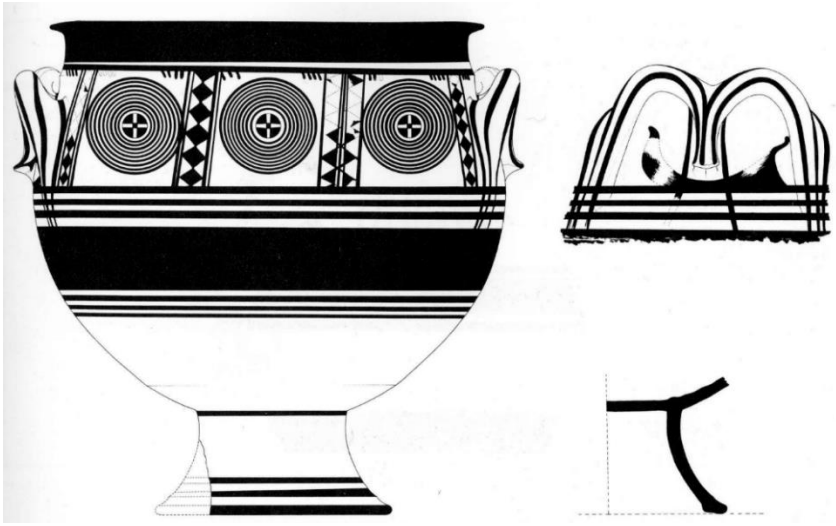

Figure 47: LPG krater from the chamber tomb at Gökçebel/Dirmil (after Bass 1963, Fig. 15).

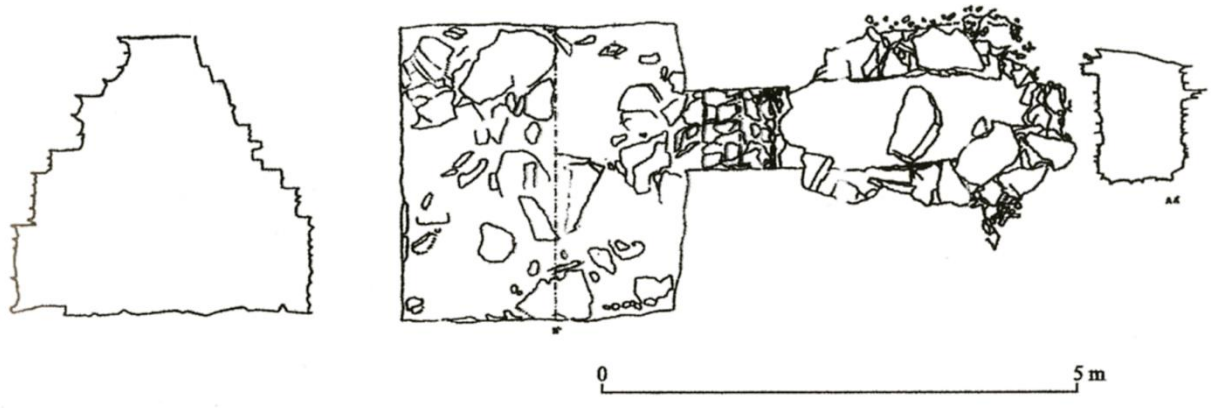

Figure 48: Section and plan of a LPG tumulus at Pedasa (after Diler 2009, Fig. 18).

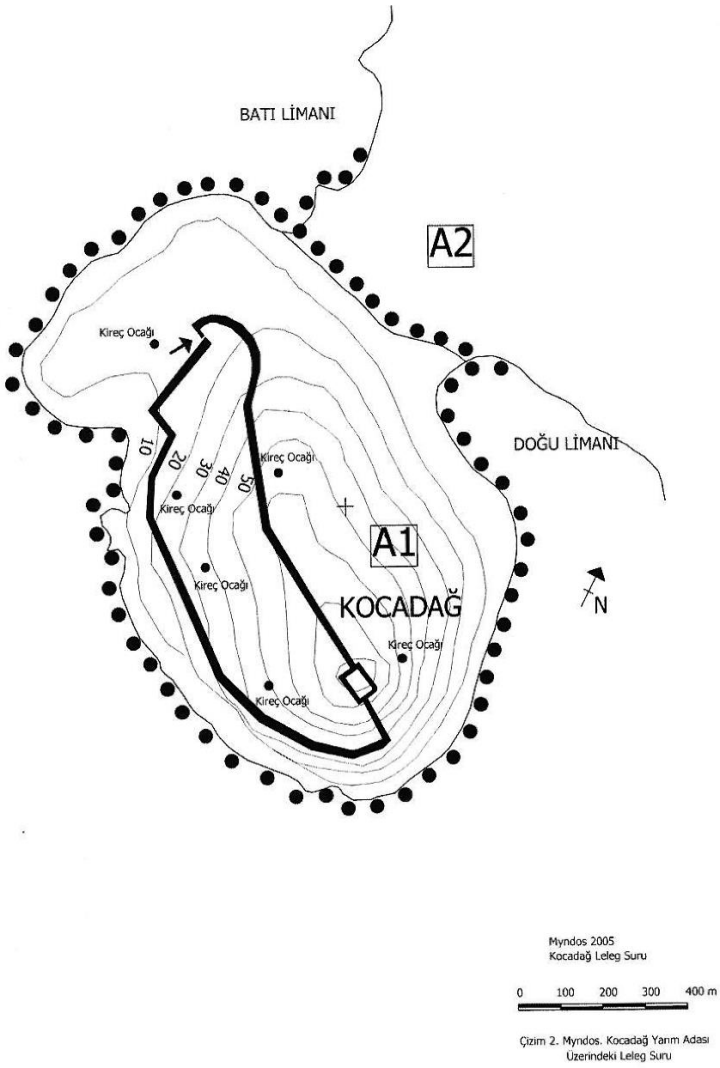

Figure 49: Plan of Old Myndos on the Kocadağ peninsula (after Şahin 2009, Fig. 3).

Figure 50: View of EIA fortification wall at Old Myndos (after Şahin 2009, Fig. 5).

Figure 51: View of fortification wall at Palaiopyli on Kos, probably of LH III date (Photo author).

Figure 52: View of EIA rectilinear houses at Damlıboğaz (ancient Hydai) (after Diler 2009, Fig. 1).

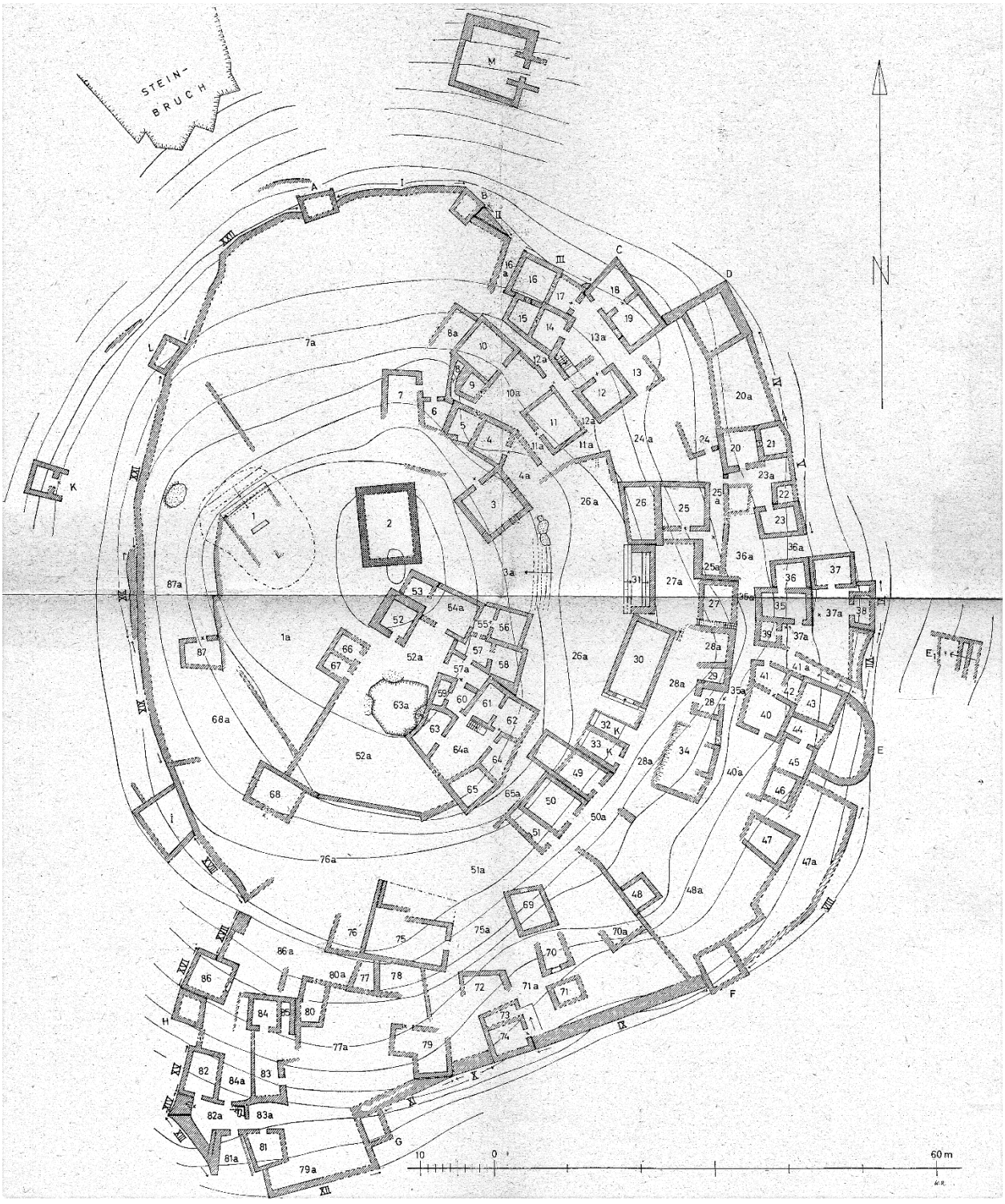

Figure 53: Plan of Alazeytin Kalesi (after Radt 1980, Pl. 1).

Figure 54: Plan of LBA (late) fortification wall on the western side of Çine-Tepecik, Level II 1 (after Günel 2010a, Figs. 4).


Figure 55: Local ‘Anatolian’ wares from Level II 1a at Çine-Tepecik (after Günel 2010a, Fig. 6a-b).

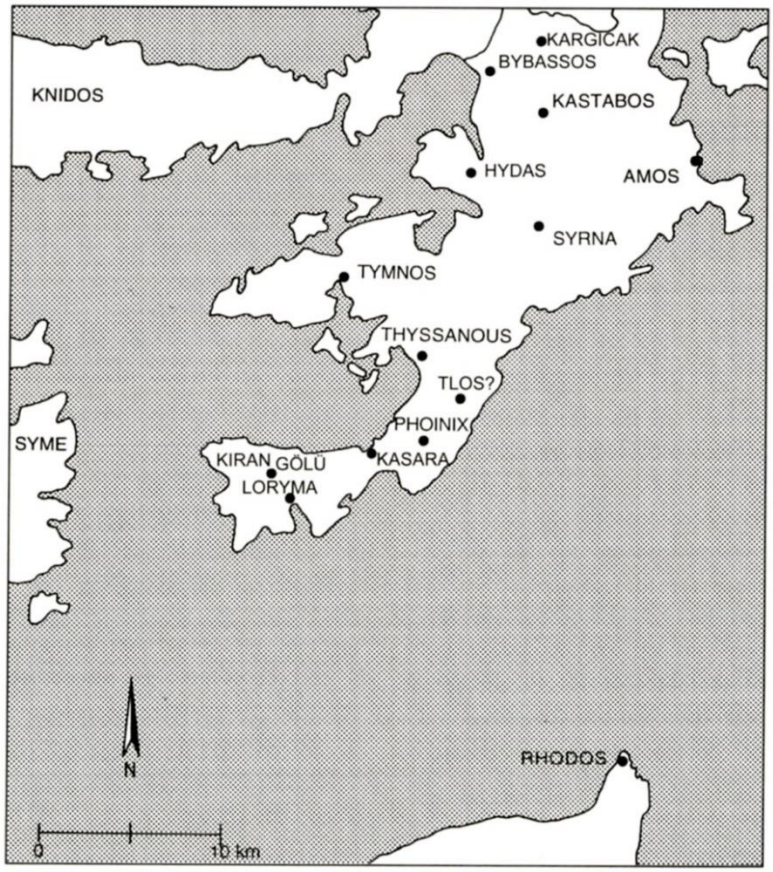

Figure 56: Map of Carian Chersonese (modern Bozburun peninsula) showing locations of settlements with fortification walls of cyclopean masonry (after Held 2009, Fig. 2).

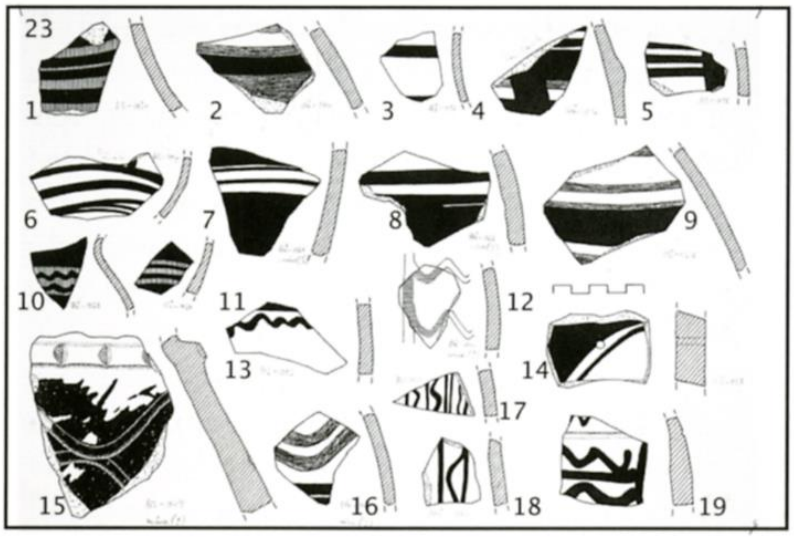

Figure 57: LH IIIC and 'Submycenaean' sherds from Hydas (after Benter 2009b, Fig. 23).

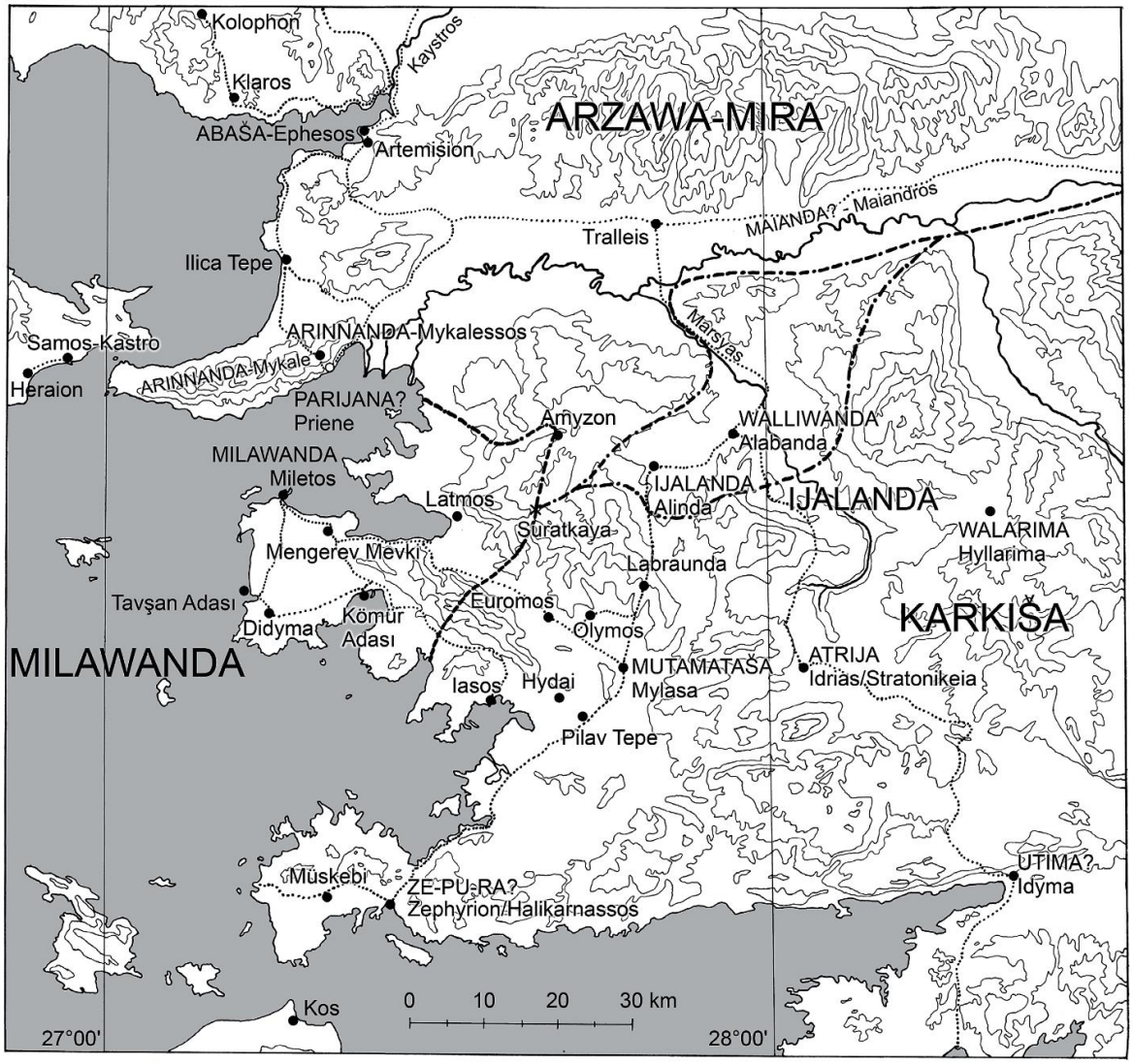

Figure 58: Map of southwestern Anatolia showing proposed reconstruction of LBA routes and boundaries between regions (after Herda 2009, Fig. 4).

Figure 59: Map of Classical and Hellenistic period Caria. Settlements with Carian inscriptions are underlined (after Van Bremen and Carbon 2010, p. 11).

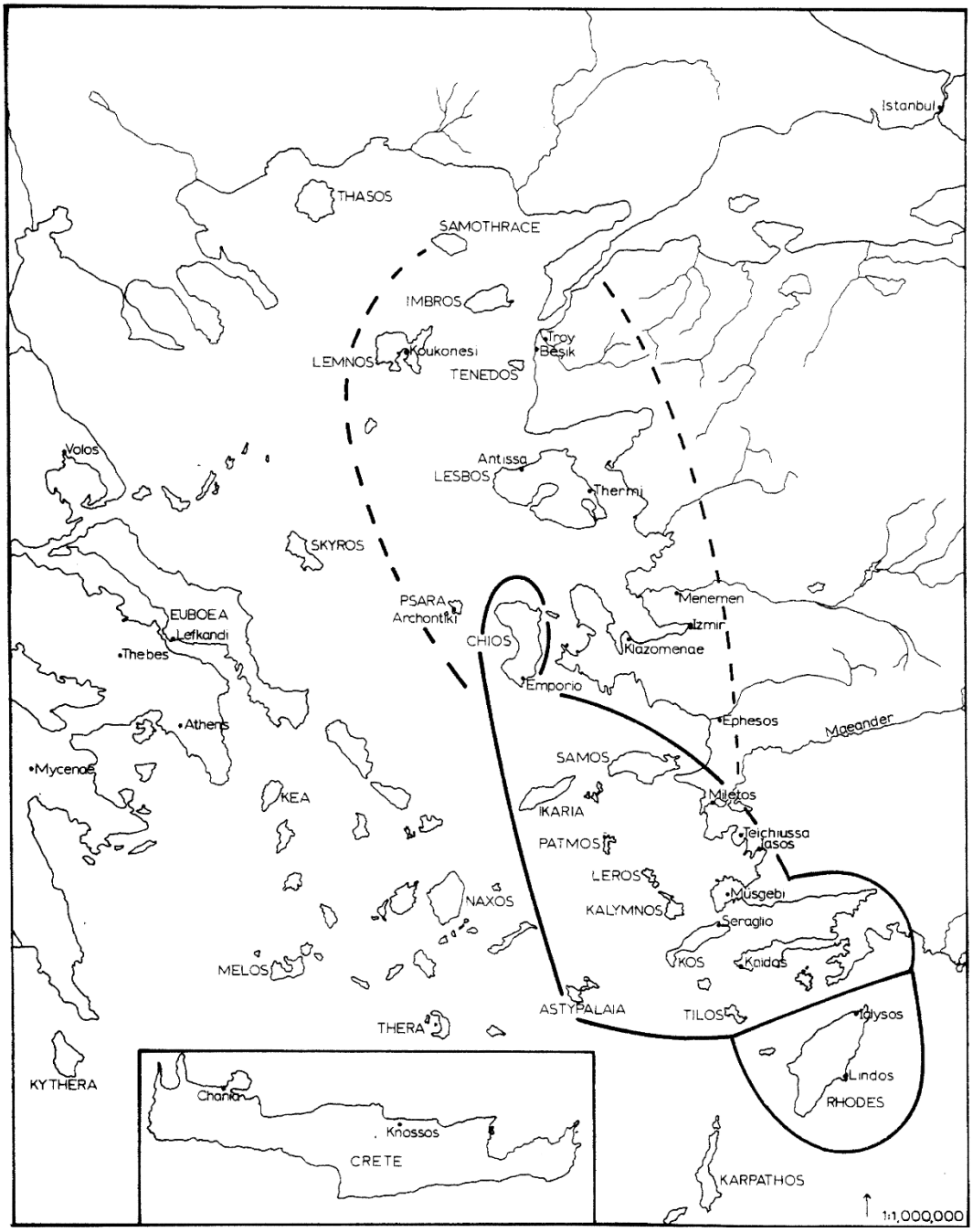

Figure 60: Map of Upper (dashed line) and Lower (solid line) Interfaces during the LH IIIC period (after Mountjoy 1998, Fig. 9).

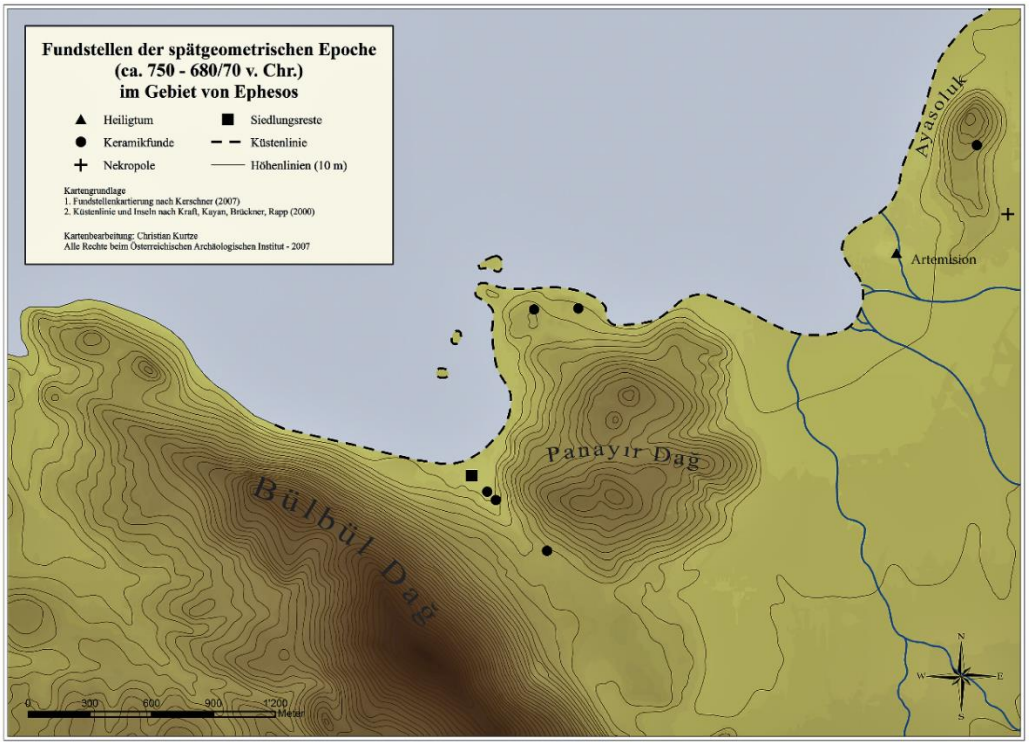

Figure 61: Plan of LG activity at Ephesos (after Kerschner, Kowalleck, and Steskal 2008, Pl. 49).

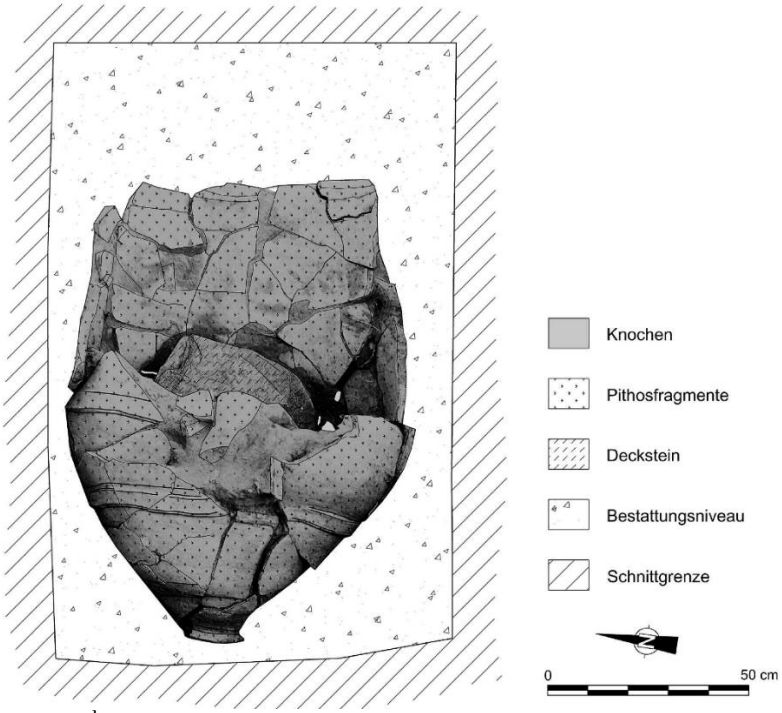

Figure 62: Plan of a 14th century pithos burial from Halkapınar by Ephesos (after Horejs 2008, Fig. 2).

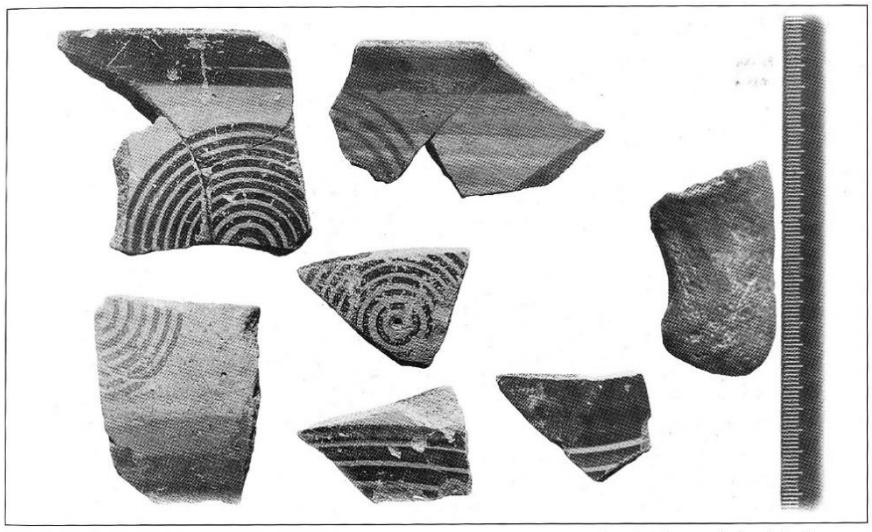

Figure 63: Pottery and terracotta figurine leg from the PG levels from the eastern trench under the 7th century peripteros of the Artemision at Ephesos (after Muss 2005, Fig.10).

Figure 64: EIA handmade one handled cooking pot from the Artemision at Ephesos (after Forstenpointer, Kerschner, and Muss 2008, Fig. 14).

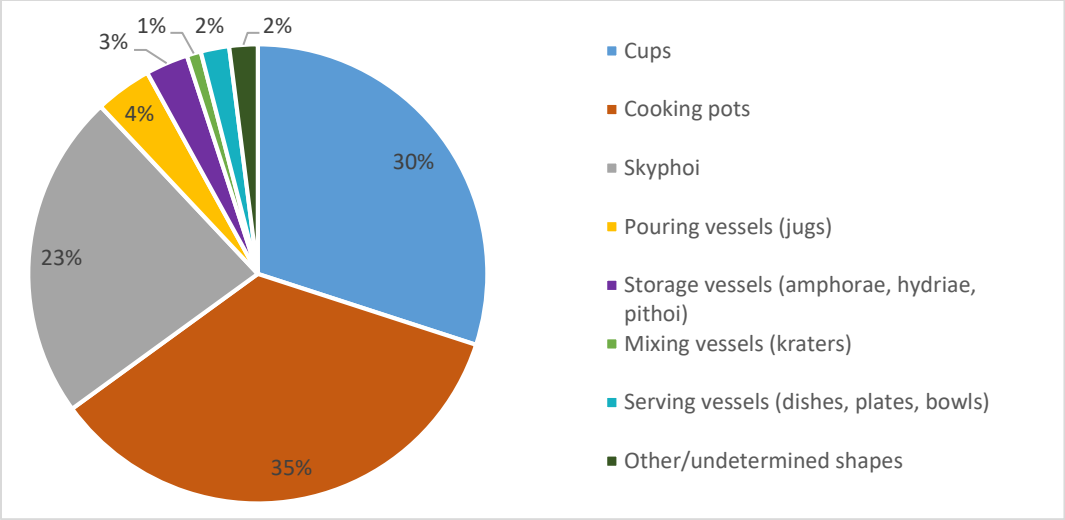

Figure 65: Vessel ratio from the PG deposits from the Artemision at Ephesos (after Kerschner 2011, Fig. 2).

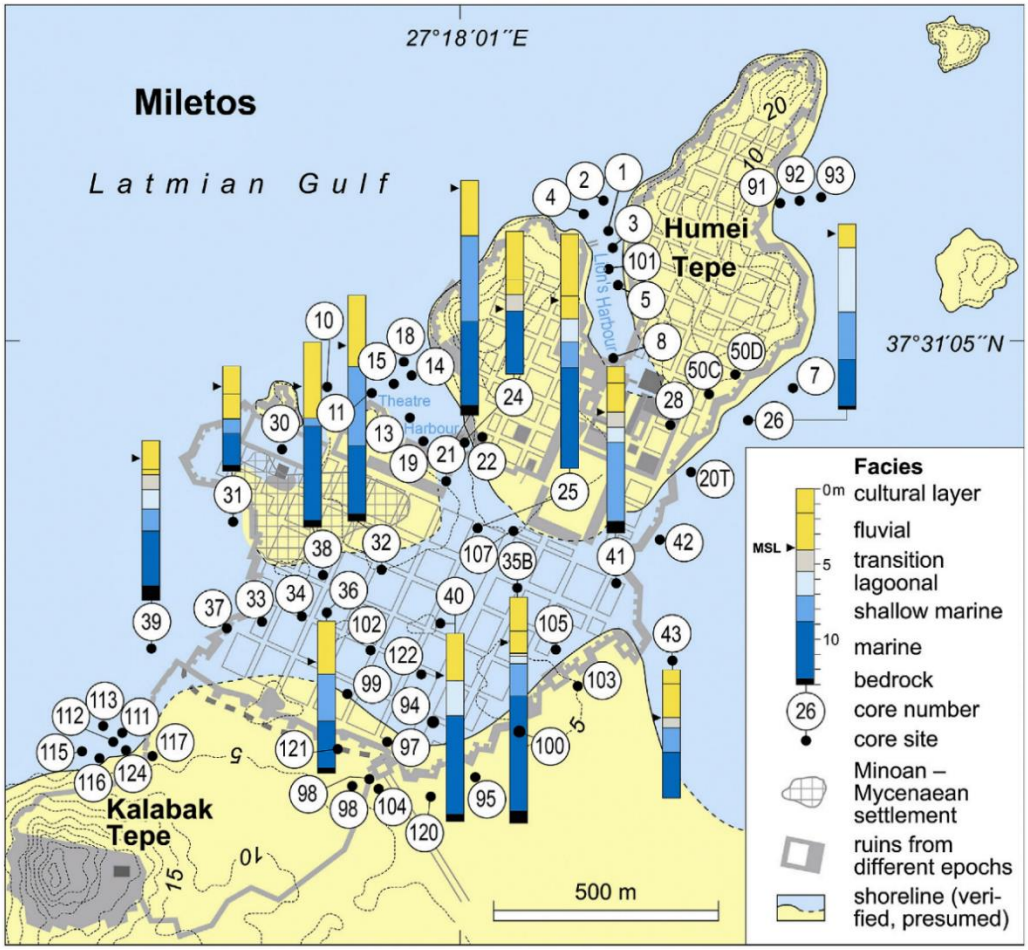

Figure 66: Plan showing reconstructed ancient topography at Miletos at the time of the greatest marine transgression (mid-3rd millennium); the prehistoric settlement was located on the 'Athena Temple hill' (after Brückner et al. 2017, Fig. 7).

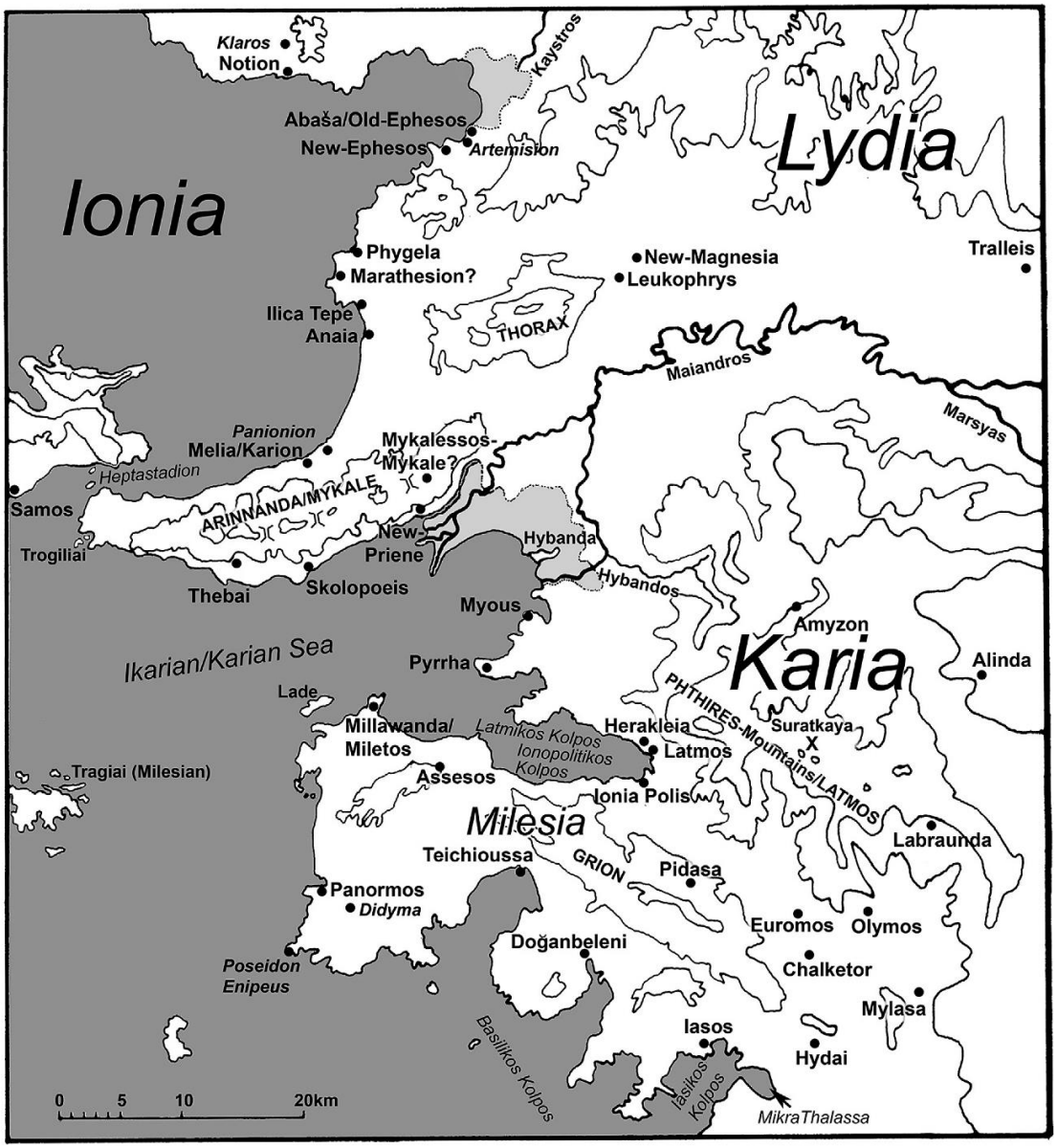

Figure 67: Map of historical topographic reconstruction of southern Ionia and north Caria showing EIA sites (after Brückner et al. 2017, Fig. 2).

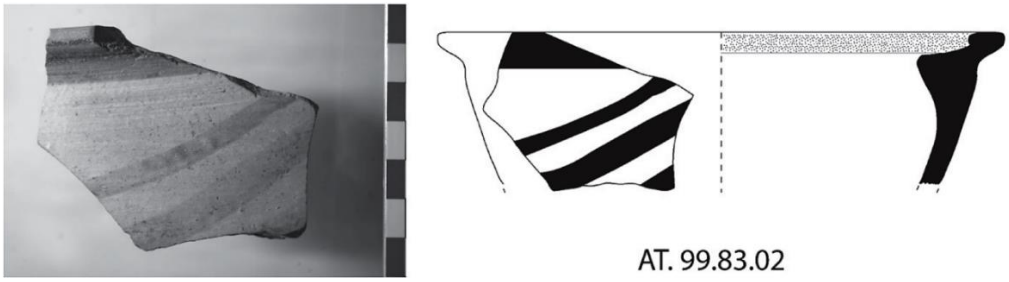

Figure 68: Fragment of a Class X krater from Miletos Level V (after Raymond et al. 2016, Fig. 4.6).

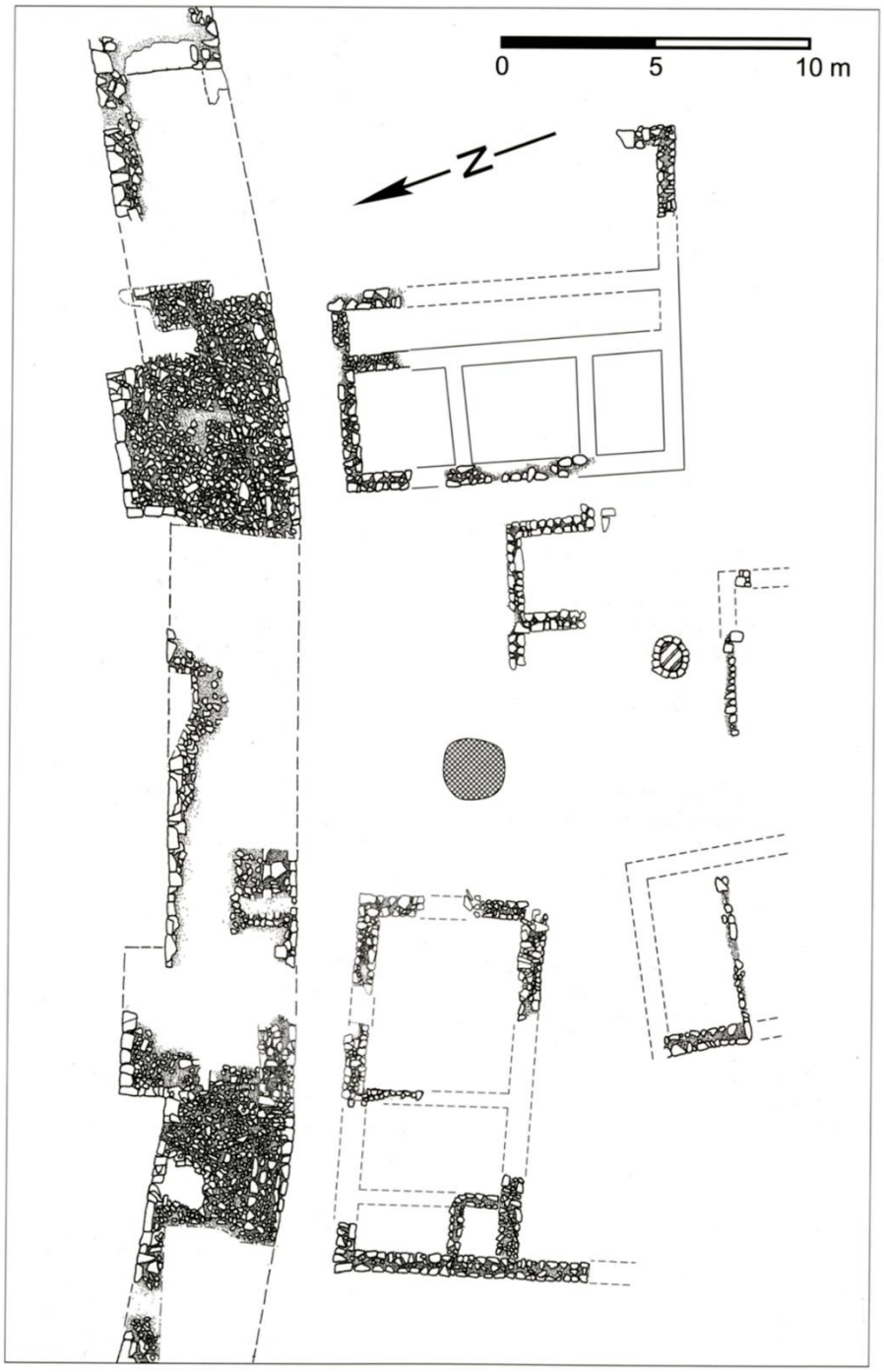

Figure 69: Plan of Level VI at Miletos showing the fortification wall and the Corridor House (top) (after Niemeier 2009; Fig. 2).

Figure 70: LH IIIC Early/Middle mug (left) and fragment of a krater (right) from Level VII at Miletos (after Niemeier 2009, Figs. 4-5).

Figure 71: View of Miletos VI-VII destruction layers by the fortification wall (after Niemeier 2009, Fig. 3).

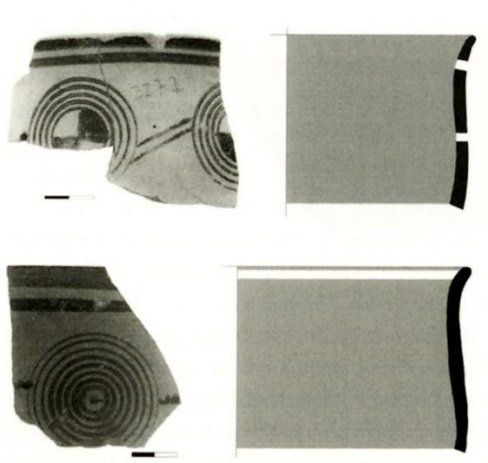

Figure 72: PG skyphoi from Miletos (after Krumme 2015, Figs. 2-3).

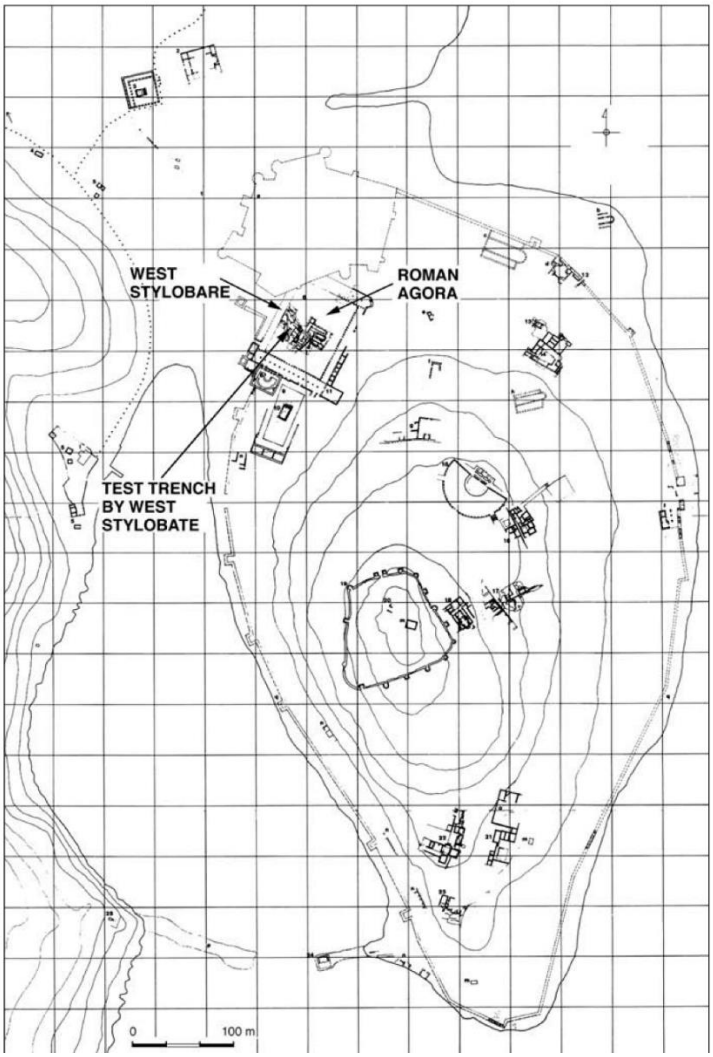

Figure 73: Plan of Iasos showing the Roman Agora and West Stylobate where prehistoric levels were excavated (after Momigliano 2012, Fig. 12).

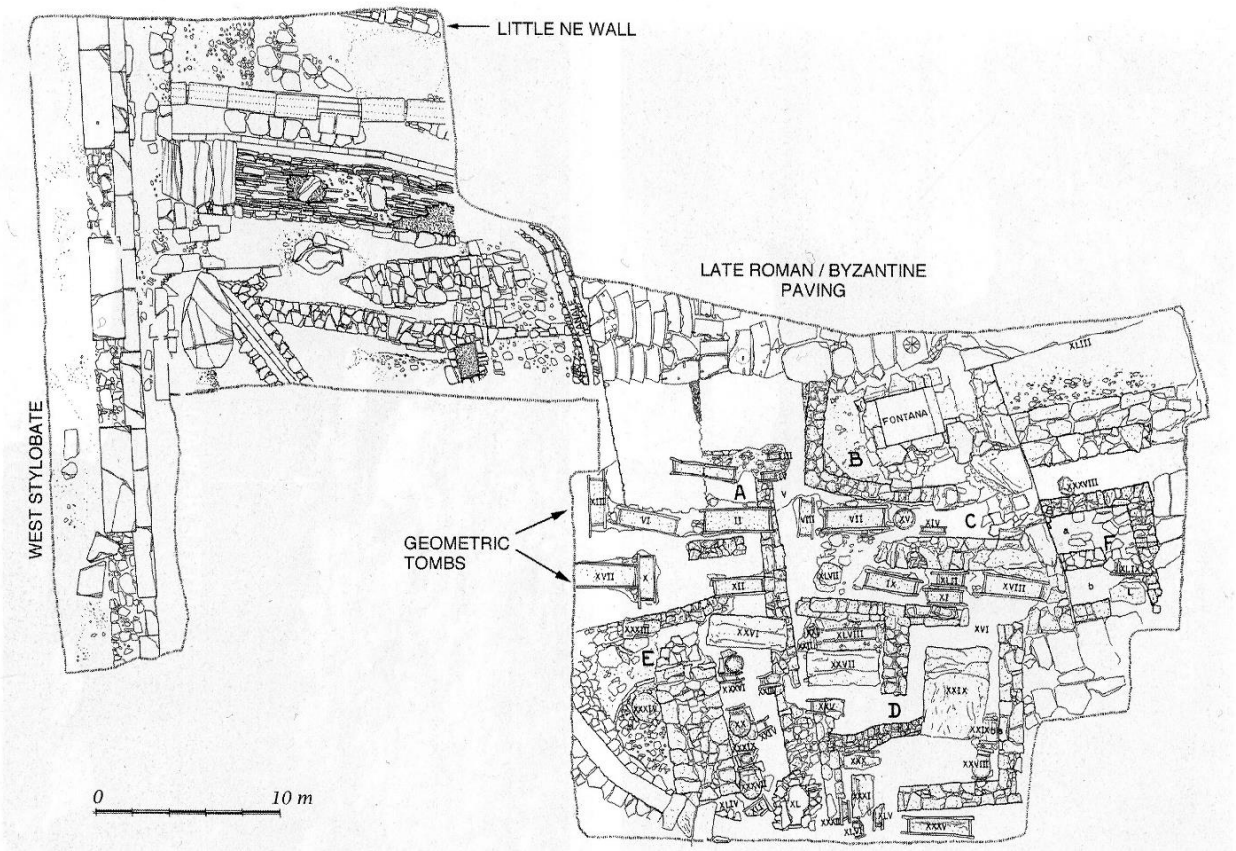

Figure 74: Plan of excavated features in the area of West Stylobate at Iasos, showing 15th-12th century remains: Wall Delta, Buildings A and E (SAIA Plan no. 517; 1970) (after Momigliano 2012, Fig. 19).

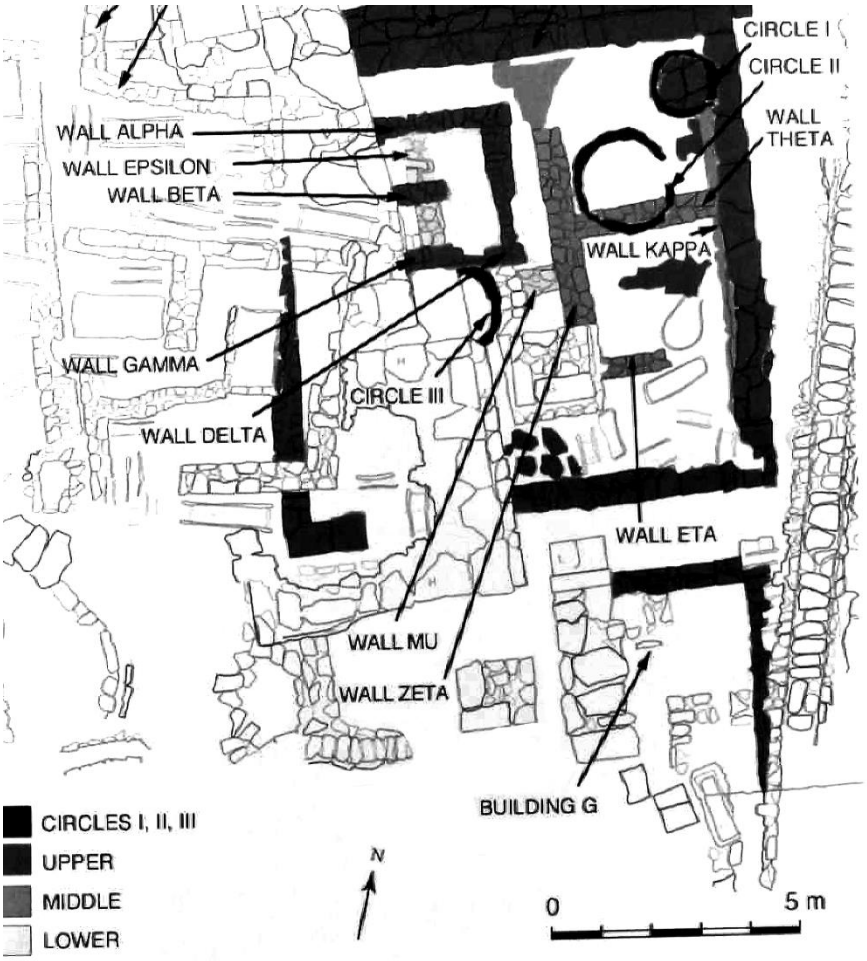

Figure 75: Plan of excavated features around Building F (early LBA) at Iasos, showing circular features possibly of PG period (after Momigliano 2012, Fig. 39).

Figure 76: View of interior of Building F looking north and showing possible PG Circle II (after Momigliano 2012, Fig. 40).

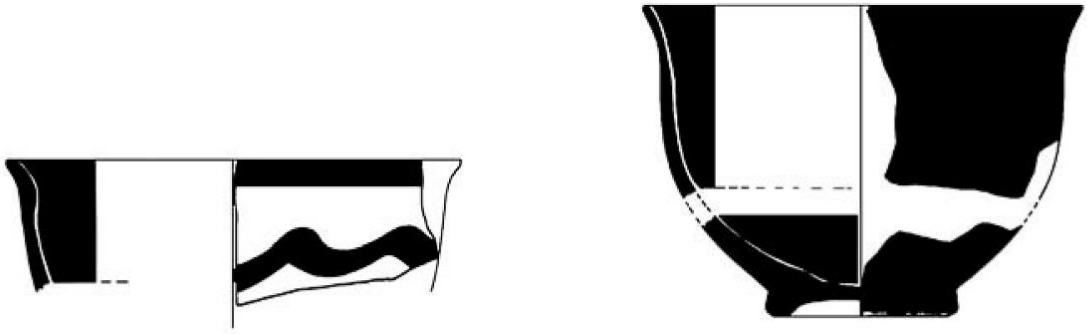
Figure 77: Two LH IIIC Early to Middle locally produced pattern painted kraters from Iasos (after Benzi and Graziadio 2013, Figs. 60-61).

Figure 78: Two Geometric jugs from Tomb XV at Iasos (after Berti 2007, Pl. 53.2).

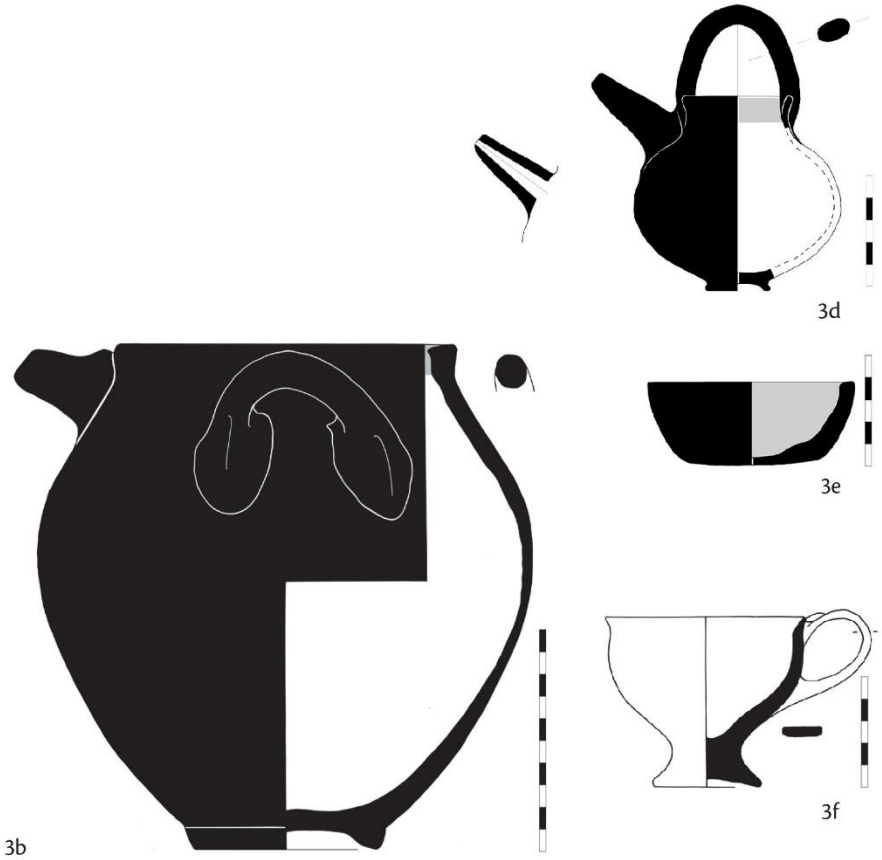

Figure 79: Local Koan 'Anatolianizing' pottery: 3b) monochrome red bridge-spouted jar from the Serraglio (no. 1236); 3d) monochrome dark feeding bottle from Langada Tomb 54 (no. 220); 3e) monochrome dark diminutive bowl from Langada Tomb 27 (no. 91); 3f) unpainted pale medium-coarse stemmed cup from the Serraglio (no 1346) (after Vitale and Trecarichi 2015, Fig. 3).

TABLES

Aegean	Western Anatolian	Absolute Dates (BCE)	Period	Age
LH I	LB IA	1700/1675 - 1635/1600	Pre-Palatial	Late Bronze
LH IIA		1635/1600 - 1480/1470		
LH IIB	LB IB	1480/1470 - 1420/1410		
LH IIIA1	LB 2A	1420/1410 - 1390/1370	Palatial	
LH IIIA2		1390/1370 - 1330/1315		
LH IIIB	LB 2B	1330/1315 - 1200/1190		
LH IIIC	LB 3	1200/1190 - 1075/1050	Post-Palatial	
EPG	EPG	1075/1050 - 1000	Protogeometric	Early Iron
MPG	MPG	1000 - 950		
LPG	LPG	950 - 900		
EG	EG	900 - 850	Geometric	
MG	MG	850 - 750		
LG	LG	750 - 700		

Table 1: Absolute and relative chronologies of the LBA and the EIA in the Aegean and western Anatolia (after Manning et al. 2001; Lemos 2002; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008; Manning 2012; Pavúk 2015).

Period	Approximate date (BCE)	Hittite Rulers (following Beckman 1996)	Western Anatolian Rulers	Important Letters
LB 1B/ LH IIB	Late 15th/early 14th century	Tudhaliya I/II	Kupantakurunta	
LB 2A/ LH IIIA	Early 14th century	Arnuwanda I	Madduwatta	CTH 147 (Indictment of Madduwatta)
	First half 14th century	Hattusili II		
		Tudhaliya III	Tarhundaradu	
	Second half 14th century	Suppiluliuma I (1350-1322)		
		Arnuwanda II (1322-1321)		
		Mursili II (1321-1295)	Uhhaziti (Arzawa-Apaša)	
			Targasnalli (Hapalla)	CTH 67 (Arzawa Treaties)
			Kupanta-Kurunta (Mira-Kuwaliya)	CTH 68 (Arzawa Treaties)
			Manapa-Tarhunta (Seha River)	CTH 69 (Arzawa Treaties)
LB 2B/ LH IIIB	First half 13th century	Muwattalli II (1295-1272)	Manapa-Tarhunta (Seha River)	CTH 191 (Letter to the Hittite king)
			Alaksandru	CTH 76 (Arzawa Treaties)
		Urhi-Teshshup (Mursili III) (1272-1267)		
		Hattusili III (1267-1237)	Piyamaradu (Millawanda)	CTH 181 (Tawagalawa Letter)
	Second half 13th century	Tudhaliya IV (1237-1209)		CTH 211.4 (Sins of Seha River Land)
			Tarkasnawa (Mira); Walmu (Wilusa)	CTH 182 (the Milawata Letter)
		Arnuwanda III (1209-1207)		
	End of 13th century	Suppiluliuma II (1207- ?)		

Table 2: List of Hittite and Arzawan potentates and the most important textual sources pertaining to the events in west Anatolia (after Laroche 1971; Beckman 1996; Hawkins 1998; Beckman, Bryce and Cline 2011; Alparslan 2015).

Type	
Internal	*External*
Transhumance	Transhumance
Seasonal	Seasonal
Mobility	Forced/coerced
	Voluntary
	Return
	Long distance
	Short distance
	Colonization
	Nomadism

Table 3: Different types of movement.

Variables							
Structure	*Scale/size*	*Push*	*Pull*	*Boundaries*	*Duration*	*Recurrence*	*Frequency*
Organized	Small	Economic	Economic	Geographic	Short	Regular	High Low
Individual	Large	Environmental	Environmental	Environmental	Long	Irregular	
		Social	Social	Social	Return	Chain	
		Personal	Personal	Linguistic	Seasonal	One-time	
				Genetic			

Table 4: Variables affecting forms of movement.

Level	Date	Architecture	Events	'Indigenous' Decorated Pottery	'Indigenous' Undecorated Pottery	Decorated Imports	Zooarch. Results	Cultural affiliation
III	MM IB-IIB	Limited remains of N-S terracing walls; altars and channel kiln in later phase	Leveling	Red and beige slip; Red painted ware; Shapes: indigenous and Minoanizing shapes	Indigenous and Minoanizing (tripod cooking pots) in the second phase	Cretan, Kamares and semi-coarse polychrome, ripple ware	Sheep more prominent than goat	Minoan-izing
IV a	LM IA	Altars in sanctuary complex; sherd hearth; channel kiln (?)	Two destruction levels, first including thepra from Thera eruption	Red and beige slip; Red painted ware; Red wash; Shapes: indigenous and increase of Minoanizing shapes	Minoanizing, indigenous cooking pot disappears	LM IA Floral, spiral decoration, ripple ware	Goat more prominent than sheep; murex snails	Minoan-izing
IV b	LM IB-II/ LH IIA-B	Two large rectangular buildings on northwards sloping terrain	Destruction level	Red wash; Shapes: Minoanizing, continuing those of IVa	Continues IVa trend	Marine style (continental LH IIA), decorated wares and LMIB wares	Goat more prominent than sheep	Minoan-izing
V a-c	LH IIIA 1-2	Pottery kilns of the large channel type in V c period; two houses (Oikos 2 and Anta) houses		Red wash only on table wares; Class X ("hybrid" kraters and bowls); Shapes: Minoanizing, continuing those of IVa	Mycenaean-izing cooking pots; Minoanizing pithoi	Mycenaean fine wares (Peloponnese)	Sheep and goat equal	Mycena-eanizing, first phase
VI	LH IIIB	Corridor house of mainland type; fortification wall; chamber tombs	Late destruction level	No Red wash; Decrease of Class X: Shapes: Mycenaean in new Brownish wares	Mycenaean-izing cooking pots and pithoi	Mycenaean fine and semi-fine wares		Mycena-eanizing, second phase
VII	LH IIIC	Destruction of fortification wall	Destruction deposit	Shapes: Mycenaeanizing	Mycenaea-nizing	Mycenaean wares		

Table 5: Stratigraphy of the Bronze Age levels and associated changes at Miletos (after Niemeier 2005; Raymond et al. 2016, Tables 4.1; 4.2; 4.3; 4.4).

Morricone 1975	Main Building Phase	Marketou 1990	Observations
MBA/ MM III	Settlement Preceding City I	LBA IA Early (=LM IA Early/Advanced)	Thera Eruption
MBA III-LBA I or LBA I	City I	LBA IB	Koan Light on Dark and Dark on Light produced
LBA IIIA	City II	LBA II-LBA IIIA1	Construction at Eleona; Mycenaean imports and local production
LBA IIIA-B; LBA IIIB Final	City III	LH IIIA2-IIIB1; LH IIIB1-B2 Late	
LBA IIIC	City IV	LH IIIC Phases 1-4	

Table 6: Main Building Phases of the Serraglio on Kos (after Vitale 2016, Table 5.1).

Class	Dating
Monochrome Gray	LH IIIA2
Monochrome Red	EBA 2 - LH IIIC Phase 4
Monochrome Dark	EBA 2 - LH IIIC Phase 4
Monochrome Black	LH IIIB - LH IIIC Phase 4
Unpainted Fine	EBA 2 - LH IIIC Phase 4
Unpainted Pale Medium-Coarse	EBA 2 - LH IIIC Phase 4
Unpainted Pale Coarse	EBA 2 - LH IIIC Phase 4
Unpainted Pale Gray	LH IIIA2 - LH IIIC Phase 4

Table 7: Local Koan 'Anatolianizing' wares (after Vitale and Trecarichi 2015, Table 3).

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