

# **Cultural Dynamics in Ionia at the End of the Second Millennium BCE:**

## **New Archaeological Perspectives and Prospects**

### **Edited e-Thesis**

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## **Abstract**

Was there ever an Ionian migration? This is a question that has recently led to much discussion among historians and archaeologists. The present study maintains, however, that the way in which the question has been posed means that it can only be answered in either negative or positive terms, which easily leads to polarisation. Moreover, archaeologists have tended to be more concerned with finding archaeological evidence to either support or reject the Ionian migration than with trying to come up with a sustained analytical or reasoned attempt to explore what allowed the material patterns observed to emerge. It is therefore suggested that it might perhaps be best to put the whole question to rest or at least sideline it for the time being and instead study the archaeological remains and the region on their own terms in an attempt to come to a better understanding of the material and social dynamics in Ionia at the end of the second millennium BCE. The aim of this study is not primarily to reject previous research, but rather to steer archaeological research in the region into different directions by asking new questions and offering alternative perspectives. The study starts with a review of shifts in academic perceptions of the region and their socio-political and academic contexts from the mid-eighteenth century up until the present day. Subsequently, it presents a theoretical and methodological discussion. The two main chapters offer new perspectives on ceramic developments at the beginning of the twelfth century and in the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE (i.e. the appearance of Protogeometric pottery). At the very end of this study, I will look ahead by briefly discussing a new analytical project on Early Iron Age pottery at Klazomenai.



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Setting the stage

Was there ever an Ionian migration from the Greek mainland to Ionia at the end of the Late Bronze Age or beginning of the Early Iron Age? This is a question that has long attracted scholarly attention. The traditional story that is often presented about the Ionian migration in textbooks as well as in academic debates is that the Ionians moved from Athens to the west coast of Asia Minor about 140 years after the Trojan War. However, in ancient times there was not a single story about what is in modern scholarship generally referred to as the ‘Ionian migration’. Neither is there agreement as to when such a migration was supposed to have taken place. Prinz (1979: 314-318) distinguishes at least three different main versions. The first one is noted in a short fragment from the mid-seventh century poet Mimnermos from Smyrna (Mimnermos fr. 9 [West]) and mentions that settlers on the west coast of Asia Minor originated from Messenia from where they moved under the leadership of Neleus after having being expelled by the Herakleidai. The second version is noted by Herodotos (1.145) and tells how, just like the Messenians, the Achaians were forced to leave their homelands after the arrival of the descendants of Herakles and moved to the west coast of Asia Minor. The third version redirects the migratory movements mentioned in the other traditions to Athens. This version tells how, after being expelled from Pylos, the Messenians did not move straight to the west coast of Asia Minor, but first stopped in Athens where Melanthos, their leader, became the king of Athens and so did his son Kodros. It is only with Kodros’ sons, Neleus and Medeon, that the Ionian expedition was eventually instigated (cf. Lemos 2007).

In addition to these three traditions, Hall (1997: 52) notes that Hellanikos of Lesbos (*FGrH* 4.101) traced the foundation of Priene to settlers from Thebes. Indeed, Herodotos (1.146.1-2) caustically observes that the so-called Ionian population of Asia Minor was actually an ethnic mixture of Abantes from Euboia, Minyans from Orchomenos, Kadmeians, Dryopes, Phokians, Molossians, Pelasgians from Arkadia and Dorians from Epidauros. All these accounts are just a few examples of the

probably many stories that must have existed in Archaic and Classical times about movements from the Greek mainland to the East Aegean shores. Unfortunately, rather than embracing the diversity, modern scholarship has tended to extract the constants out of these different accounts – that is, the idea of movement from one side of the Aegean to the other – and merged them into a single narrative of a movement that is referred to as ‘The Ionian Migration’ (Mac Sweeney 2013; see also Crielaard 2009).<sup>1</sup>

Because most ancient accounts place the Ionian migration some time after the Trojan War and this war has ‘archaeologically’ been dated to around 1200 BCE, archaeologists have often tried to find archaeological evidence for the Ionian migration in the closing years of the second millennium BCE. This search, however, has long been hampered by the fact that the twelfth through early tenth centuries on the west coast of Asia Minor essentially formed a truly dark spot as a result of the fact that most sites were initially excavated at the end of the nineteenth century by Classical archaeologists who had no interest in perceiving a complete history of the site, but were mainly driven by the desire to investigate sites mentioned in the textual record of the Classical and Hellenistic periods and bring back sculptures for the museums (Greaves 2007: 4-5). It is only during the last twenty years or so that material from pre-Classical layers has become of more interest and excavations of these layers have been carried out more systematically. For instance, at Miletos Barbara and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (1997) started a project in 1996 that was primarily concerned with the investigation of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age remains. At Ephesos, excavations at the Artemision carried out between 1987 and 1991 revealed a large closed Early Iron Age deposit dating between the late eleventh and early eighth century that was stratified above a layer with some (Late) Mycenaean pottery and sealed by a stratum consisting of several alternating thin layers of clay and ash underneath the *peripteros* (Kerschner 2003a; 2003b; 2006; 2011; Bammer 1990: 141-142, fig. 6; Weissl 2002: 321-324, figs. 5-7). Furthermore, recent excavations at Limantepe/Klazomenai have shown a continuous stratigraphic and architectural sequence spanning the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age as well as several LH IIIA2 and one Protogeometric pottery kiln and a range of Protogeometric burials (Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011; in press; Ersoy in press). Although no final publications

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<sup>1</sup> Mac Sweeney 2013 appeared too late to be discussed in this work.

have appeared as yet, these and several other excavations have begun to shed more light on the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in coastal Asia Minor. As a result, the debate whether or not the Ionian migration can be regarded as a historical event has recently seen a revival.

This revival has also been further reinforced by the introduction of recently popular theoretical concepts, such as cultural hybridisation. This has led to an increase in perspectives. Because of this, the original intent of the present thesis was to pick up on this debate and add yet another ‘fresh’ look at the question of whether there ever was an Ionian migration. However, in the course of the research process it became increasingly clear that trying to answer this question was perhaps not the right way to go. There are two main reasons for this hesitation. In the first place, despite the new perspectives that have characterised the recent revival of the debate, the discussion as to whether or not the Ionian migration was a real historical event does not seem to move beyond observing patterns in the material record and explaining them by means of rather vague but yet supposedly forceful concepts, such as migration and acculturation or cultural hybridisation, as if these were complete and sufficient explanations in themselves both for their own existence and for the archaeological phenomena for which they are held to account. There has been, however, no sustained analytical or reasoned attempt to explore what allowed the material patterns observed to emerge.

The second reason is that the debate is mainly about the ancient texts and whether or not they represent historical reality. The consequence is that the question of whether or not there ever was a migration from the Greek mainland to coastal Asia Minor has been posited in such a way that an answer can only be formulated in either negative or positive terms. This, in turn, easily leads to a polarisation of the debate and this is precisely what has happened in the already long debate concerning the historicity of the Ionian migration. Over time scholars have tried to either prove or reject the Ionian migration based on (re)considerations of both textual and (more recently) archaeological evidence. Adding to polarisation is, however, rarely useful and rather than directly dealing with the question of whether or not there ever was an Ionian migration, the intent of this thesis is to take a very different path that does not try to respond to the ancient texts, but attempts to present for the first time a synthesis of the

archaeological evidence currently available and offer new insights into the cultural dynamics in Ionia at the end of the second and beginning of the first millennium BCE. Before, however, setting out how this goal will be pursued in this thesis, it will be necessary to first provide some background on the Ionians and Ionia.

## 1.2 Introducing the Ionians

In Classical times, the Ionians formed one of the three main *ethne*, next to the Dorians and Aiolians, in Greece. The earliest attestation of the term Ionia does not come from a Greek source but from a recently excavated inscription dating to the first half of the fourteenth century BCE from the Temple of Amenhotep III in Egyptian Thebes. According to a reading by Hourig Sourouzian and Rainer Stadelmann (2005), this inscription lists, on one side, the names ‘Luwian’ (*r/lawana* or *r/luwana*), ‘Great-Ionia’ (*Iunia A’a*) and possibly ‘Mitanni’ and, on the other, the lands of Tina and Naharina. With the exception of Tina, which is associated with the *Danaoi* and the southern Greek mainland, Sourouzian and Stadelmann locate all the localities in western Asia Minor. This reading is, however, questioned by Peter Haider (2008). He notes that if the majority of listed places are in Asia Minor, then the mentioned land of Tina/‘Tanaja’ (i.e. the Peloponnese) pleads for a list of localities not confined to a restricted geographical territory, but oriented according to supra-regional diplomatic and/or commercial aspects. On the other hand, if the list should describe a concrete regional territory, as it usually does, then all place names ought to be located within the Aegean world. In this case, Haider suggests locating a Great-Ionia in the middle of Greece around Thebes, primarily because the geography of western Anatolia (cf. Starke 1997; Hawkins 1998) does not allow space for a Great-Ionia and the (east) Peloponnese is known in Egyptian texts as ‘Tanaja’. Furthermore, he suggests that the toponym *r’lawana* should be linked to ‘\*Ruwna’ (*ru-wa-ni-jo*) named in the Linear B texts from Knossos (Chadwick 1997: 278), which would locate this land on the island of Crete or in the southern part of the Aegean rather than in western Anatolia.<sup>2</sup>

Both interpretations are not entirely convincing as it is not impossible that the Egyptians used the terms ‘Great-Ionia’ and *r’lawana* not as independent lands, but as larger regions in western Anatolia or perhaps even the Aegean with which they had

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<sup>2</sup> But see Widmer (2007), who links *ru-wa-ni-jo* to the Lydians.

only limited direct contacts and in which they were only marginally interested. Such a proposition finds support in other notions of Ionia and the Ionians in textual accounts from the East Mediterranean. For instance, Dietrich and Loretz (1998) have argued that the name *Ym'n* in clay tablets from Late Bronze Age Ugarit (KTU 1.4 I 43; cf. 1.40:27 and 1.84:2) can be equated with the Aegean world rather than any specific region.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, it is useful to refer to two fragmentary Linear B tables from the Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos (KN B 164 and Xd 146.4), which mention a group called *i-ja-wo-ne* who were most likely associated with military activities (Driessen 1998/1999).<sup>4</sup> Chadwick (1977) suggests that *i-ja-wo-ne* is an old name for the Ionians (*Iawones*). Driessen argues that the special mention makes it obvious that the *Iawones* were a particular well-defined group and he wonders whether it is possible that the Knossian administration used the designation in the same way as other Mediterranean peoples did: to define those of the Late Bronze Age Greeks they were primarily in touch with. This would suggest the use of a Mycenaean group mainly for military purposes at Knossos which was considered different from the groups the palace usually dealt with and therefore deserved a specific ethnicon.

Where these *i-ja-wo-ne* might have come from is unclear, but there is no reason to believe that the Ionians in the Knossian tablets necessarily constituted the same people as those in the Egyptian and Ugaritic texts. In fact, Rollinger (2011: 268) points out that a continuity of a concept over time and space does not mean that the meaning of the concept was constant as well. He warns that it will always be necessary to take into consideration the different perspectives of the accounts mentioning the Ionians. In a number of papers, Rollinger (2007a; 2007b; 2008; 2009; 2011) shows convincingly how the terms *Iamnāja* and *Iamanāja*, as used in Assyrian and Babylonian accounts dating to the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, cannot simply be translated as Ionians or even Greeks in the modern sense of the word. The terms encompass not just the west coast of Asia Minor but the whole of the Aegean and not just Greek speaking people but also people speaking other languages. For the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Ionians did not form a static and well-defined group,

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<sup>3</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that Rollinger (2007b: 263 n.11) notes that it is not unproblematic to use Ugaritic { ' } as *mater lectionis* for /ā/, because if one reads the form as *ym'n* it will no longer be possible to equate it with 'Ionia'.

<sup>4</sup> Driessen (1993) suggests that the deposit in which these tablets were found might date earlier (LM II/IIIA1) than the bulk of the tablets from Knossos (LM IIIA1/2 and IIIB).

but changed their form with the changing world-view of the Assyrians and Babylonians during the eighth and seventh centuries.

The fluidity of the Ionian ethnonym is not just typical for the Eastern Mediterranean, but also for the Aegean itself. The earliest reference to the Ionians comes from Homer's *Iliad* (13.685) where the Ionians "with their trailing tunics" (*elkechitones*) are mentioned in a battle scene side-by-side with the Boiotians, Lokrians, Phthians and Athenians. Robert Rollinger (2007b: 304-305) argues that the notion of the Ionians in the *Iliad* is possibly a later interpolation belonging to a time that a link between Ionians and their trailing tunics was well established. He particularly refers to parallels with a passage in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (3.147), which dates to the seventh or, more plausibly, the latter half of the sixth century, where exactly the same formula (*elkechitones Iaones*) is used as in the *Iliad*. This time, however, the Ionians are associated with the supra-regional cult on Delos. Consequently, Rollinger argues that it is much more plausible that the "Ionians with trailing tunics" formed a religious delegation at the cultic festivities on Delos than that they were fighters at the gates of Troy. Where these Ionians may have come from or whether they actually formed a well defined group is difficult to say. In fact, Jan Paul Crielaard (2009: 69-70) argues that the Ionians at Delos are identified by a shared (elite) life-style and as such did not strictly form an 'ethnic' group. This would suggest that the 'Ionians' formed a more or less loose and fluid notion that was used to refer to people from a wide range of regions, including the west coast of Asia Minor, the east Aegean islands, the Cyclades and (parts of) the central Greek mainland. It is perhaps also because of this fluidity that in the early sixth century Solon could claim that Attica formed the oldest land of the Ionians (Fr. 4.2.D=4a West=*Ath. Polit.* 5.2).

The picture changes during the fifth century. Despite their different opinions on the primordial homeland of the Ionians, both Herodotos (1.141-143, 1.146-147) and Thucydides (1.12) locate the Ionians on the west coast of Asia Minor. This suggests that during the fifth century the Ionian notion was narrowed down to a specific group living in a specific and well-defined region. To understand this development, it will be necessary to start in the Archaic period when supra-regional identities on the west coast of Asia Minor formed around two inter-state sanctuaries: the Panionion and the Triopion. The Triopion was located at Knidos and established probably already in the

eighth century, although the more monumental buildings date to the later seventh and early sixth centuries (Berges 2006). The sanctuary served not just as a religious centre, but also as a central place for communication and competition. Eventually, it became the centre of the ‘Dorian Pentapolis’, which was formed by the *poleis* of Kos, Knidos, Lindos, Ialysos and Kamiros (Hdt. 1.144).

The location of the Panionion, the centre of the ‘Ionian Dodecapolis’ (Hdt. 1.142), is less clear. Researchers have located the Panionion at present-day Otomatik Tepe near Güzelçamlı and Kalatepe (‘Melie’). However, although some sherds found at the site date to the sixth century, the architectural remains belong to the fourth century (Lohmann 2004: 36-38). Lohmann has, therefore, claimed to have identified an earlier consecrated spot at an altitude of 780 metres on the north side of Mykale which could have served as the earlier Panionion. Surveys and excavations carried out at this spot have revealed a settlement and a small cult building with an offering bench and circular altar all dating to the second half of the seventh century. After a hiatus of about 50 years a 100-foot-long temple probably dedicated to Poseidon Helikonios was erected on top of the ruins around 560 BCE (Lohmann 2007; Lohmann et al. 2007). Whether the earlier cult building on the Mykale indeed functioned for a short period of time as the Panionion has to remain a question, but Crielaard (2009: 66) suggests that the establishment of the Panionion should probably be seen in relation to or even in opposition to the Triopion.

This is an interesting suggestion that finds further support in the foundation stories used by a number of Ionian cities. One of these foundation stories is mentioned by Mimnermos, a mid-seventh century poet from Smyrna. Mimnermos tells that,

*Aipy we left, and Neleus' city, Pylos,  
and came by ship to Asiē's lovely coast.  
We settled at fair Kolophon with rude  
aggression, leaders of harsh insolence;  
from there we crossed the river Asteīs  
and took Aiolian Smyrna by god's will*  
(Mimnermos fr. 9 [West]; transl. after Crielaard 2009: 51)<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Il.* 2.592

This passage is interesting for two reasons. In the first place, no reference is made to the Ionians, an Ionian identity or Athens. The reference to ‘Aiolian Smyrna’ may, as Crielaard (2009: 51) points out, indicate a notion of ethnic opposition (Ionians vs. Aioliens), but it is, as Hall (2002: 72-73) argues, also possible that ‘Aiolian Smyrna’ forms a sort of epithet to differentiate it from other localities of that name. Whatever the case may be, Crielaard (2009: 51) is probably right in arguing that the collective history set out by Mimnermos was first of all a local identity that was probably not defined in terms of being ‘Ionian’. In fact, there is nothing in the fragment to suggest that the concept of an ‘Ionian migration’ already existed in the seventh century.

The second point of interest is that, although Kolophon is supposed to be founded by the Pylian Androklos, a clear link is made with the mythical Pylian king Neleus, the father of the Homeric king Nestor, by using the epithon ‘Nelean’ (Prinz 1979: 322). Neleus also features prominently in a number of other foundation myths in Ionia. Strabo (14.1.3), for instance, mentions that Miletos was founded by Neleus, “a Pylian by birth”, while Neleus’ son was known as one of the founders of Priene. Furthermore, there is epigraphic evidence for a cult of Neleus on Samos (Crielaard 2009: 52, with references). For the sake of clarity, it should be noted that, as Crielaard (2009: 52) remarks, Neleus, the founder of Miletos, cannot be identical with Neleus, the legendary son of Poseidon and father of Nestor. Still, the use of Neleus as the alleged ancestor of many of the *polis* populations in Asia Minor appears to be somewhat strange, because in the *Iliad* (11.689-693) Homer tells how Herakles had killed Neleus and all of his sons, except for Nestor. One might therefore have suspected that, especially in Mimnermos, Nestor and not Neleus featured as the eponymous ancestor of the Ionian cities.

In this light, it is of interest to note that it was Herakles, the eponymous ancestor of the (Dorian) Spartans (Ulf 1996; J.M. Hall 1997), who put Nestor on the Pylian throne. This point is of particular interest in relation to the so-called Messenian Wars, which should probably not be envisioned as single events, as is implied by ancient authors, but as a longer process that included constant raiding on sites such as Nichoria in combination with ideological claims (Figueira 2003; Luraghi 2003; 2008; contra Van Wees 2003). Traditionally it is thought that Spartan interest in Messenia

was primarily directed at the fertile soils (Cavanagh et al. 2002: 156; Luraghi 2002: 41). However, the Messenian shores already formed a key position along maritime routes from the eastern to the central Mediterranean during the Early Iron Age (and before) (Eder 2006). The archaeological evidence for Geometric and Archaic Messenia is far from impressive (Luraghi 2008: 107-146), but it is perhaps telling that exactly at the time of the supposed Spartan conquest of Messenia some time during the late eighth century a settlement shift seems to take place from the western portion of Messenia and the coastal plateaus west of the Aigeleon ridge to the Gulf of Messenia and the Pamisos Valley (Eder 1998: 178; Luraghi 2008: 117). Furthermore, it seems that an increasing number of coastal settlements, especially on the western side of the Gulf of Messenia, were founded at this time (Luraghi 2008: 117). Both developments indicate an increasing focus on the sea and if one, for a moment, forgets the traditional view of the landlocked Spartans, it could easily be imagined that, perhaps in addition to the fertile soils, the good access to maritime trade and communication networks provided by the Messenian shores, the Gulf of Messenia in particular, would have been of major interest to the Spartans.

When seen from this perspective, one could wonder whether Neleus might actually have featured as the king of Pylos in older versions of the *Iliad*, but was replaced by Nestor as a result of Spartan influence. Of course, this suggestion does not necessarily explain why Neleus featured as the ancestor at Smyrna and Kolophon in the mid-seventh century, but things might become clearer when noting that, according to Herodotos (1.174), Knidos, the centre of the Triopion, was a Spartan colony. Whether Knidos ever was a real Spartan colony is debatable, but it is interesting that the cult of Apollo Karneios has been attested at Knidos from as early as the late seventh or early sixth century BCE (Berges 2006: 24-29). Celebration of this cult took place at the Karneia festival in the month Karneios and it is generally accepted that the cult gave its name to the month and, consequently, that the occurrence of the month Karneios implies the existence of the cult (Pettersen 1992: 62; Eder 1998: 123). According to Demitrios of Skepsis, quoted by Athenaios (4.141e-f), the Karneia was an imitation of military training and its yearly celebration took place over nine days during which no military action was allowed.

The cult of this deity was widely celebrated in Lakonia and has also been attested at (supposed) Spartan ‘colonies’ on Thera, Melos and Taras<sup>6</sup>, but hardly anywhere else on the Greek mainland, not even in Messenia or the Argolid. In fact, at Argos the cult is, although attested epigraphically (*IG* IV 620), not mentioned by Pausanias in relation to the city, and Theopompos (*FGrH* 115.357) even states that the Argives worshipped Zeus Agetor rather than Apollo Karneios (J.M. Hall 1997: 40). The emphasis on military discipline suggests, in the first place, that Apollo Karneios was basically a god of war rather than a god of pastoralism, as is usually suggested (Pettersen 1992: 59-60; Eder 1998: 122-124; Malkin 1994: 149-157). But perhaps even more important is that the apparent importance of the cult for the Spartans, a society that was well-known for its warlike behaviour and military discipline, and the wide distribution of the cult in Lakonia, points to the idea that the cult was not just related to war, but was also considered as a way by means of which Spartan elite values were constantly renegotiated, confirmed and communicated to outsiders. The point that this cult has been attested widely in Spartan territories in Lakonia as well as in its claimed colonies overseas could suggest that the cult played an important role in maintaining a relationship between the colonies and Sparta.

If there is some truth in this suggestion, it could be argued that, although the cult of Apollo Karneios and the cult of Apollo Triopios, the deity worshipped at the Triopion at Knidos, were not celebrated at the same location (Berges 2006: 19-24; though see Bankel 1997), a religious link between Sparta and Knidos through the cult of Apollo Karneios made Knidos part of the wider Spartan cult community, at least as of the late seventh or early sixth century. Admittedly, this link is slightly later than the claims by Mimnermos for ancestral links between Smyrna and Kolophon, on the one hand, and Messenia, on the other, but it is certainly not impossible that some mythical links

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<sup>6</sup> Apollo Karneios on Thera: Pindar *Pythian Odes* 5.75-81; *IG* XII (3), 412, 508, 514, 519 line 3, 868, 869, 1294; *IG* XII (3) suppl. 1324 with Jeffery (1990: 319 n. 16); at Taras: painted volute krater with dancing boys and girls (possibly the *kathaliskoi*) (Malkin 1994: 157; Moret 1979: 31-33; Trendall 1967: plate 24); at Knidos: *BE* 74: 549 (race at the Karneia); *SEG* 34: 1745; Berges 2006; Kythera: it is only very recently that a possible attestation of the cult in the form of a ram’s head carved into the wall of a separated space in an ancient stone quarry was found. It has to be noted, however, that after personal observation, the interpretation of a ram’s head is somewhat speculative as the sculpture is heavily worn and forms are very difficult to recognize. The interpretation is possible and perhaps not entirely surprising, but some caution is needed. I would like to thank Dr. Aris Tsaravopoulos for showing it to me during a visit to Kythera in 2007. For an overview and references to other attestations of the cult on the Greek mainland and the wider Aegean and Mediterranean, see Eder 1998: 122; Malkin 1994: 157; Pettersen 1992: 60.

between Sparta and the south east Aegean might go back somewhat further in time. In this case, if Crielaard (2009: 66) is correct in arguing that the establishment of the Panionion should be seen in relation to or even in opposition to the Triopion, it becomes possible to suggest that the ancestral relationship with Neleus claimed by (some of) the members of the Panionion served to create a (mythical) contrast with the cult members at the Triopion at Knidos. In this case, the links between the west coast of Asia Minor and the Greek mainland in the mid-seventh century should be seen in relation to competition between cities on the west coast of Asia Minor and the formation of supra-regional identities in this region for which the struggles in Messenia essentially formed a background rather than there actually being a real migration from Messenia to the west coast of Asia Minor.

This process of ethnogenesis was further reinforced during the sixth century when the Persians integrated the coastal cities into the Persian political system and connected the region with *Iaman* (Rollinger 2007b: 307). Although the term ‘Ionians’ might have primarily served to denote those living within the Persian sphere of influence on the west coast of Asia Minor, this does not exclude, as Rollinger (2007b: 307) points out, that also other people living in the Aegean were also associated with the ethnonym *Iamanāja*. In fact, he suggests that the term might have remained in use in the Aegean and on the Greek mainland, especially in relation to Delos. It is, however, unclear to what extent the term Ionian was already associated with the figure of Ion, who in the Greek genealogy is regarded as the eponymous forefather of the Ionians. Already in Hesiod’s *Theogoneia*, dating to the early seventh century, a first genealogical catalogue of the families of the gods is presented, but it is only in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, a posthumous continuation of the *Theogoneia*, that a genealogy of the Greeks is laid out. It is stated that “From Hellen the war-loving king sprang Dōros and Xouthos and Aiolos who fights from the chariot” (*Cat. of Women* fr. 9 [Merkelbach/West], with West 1985: 36, 57). Doros and Aiolos were the progenitors of the Dorians and Aioliens, respectively. The non-eponymous Xouthos was the father of Iōn (Iaon) and Achaios, who in their turn were the eponymous ancestors of the Ionians and Achaioi (Achaians).

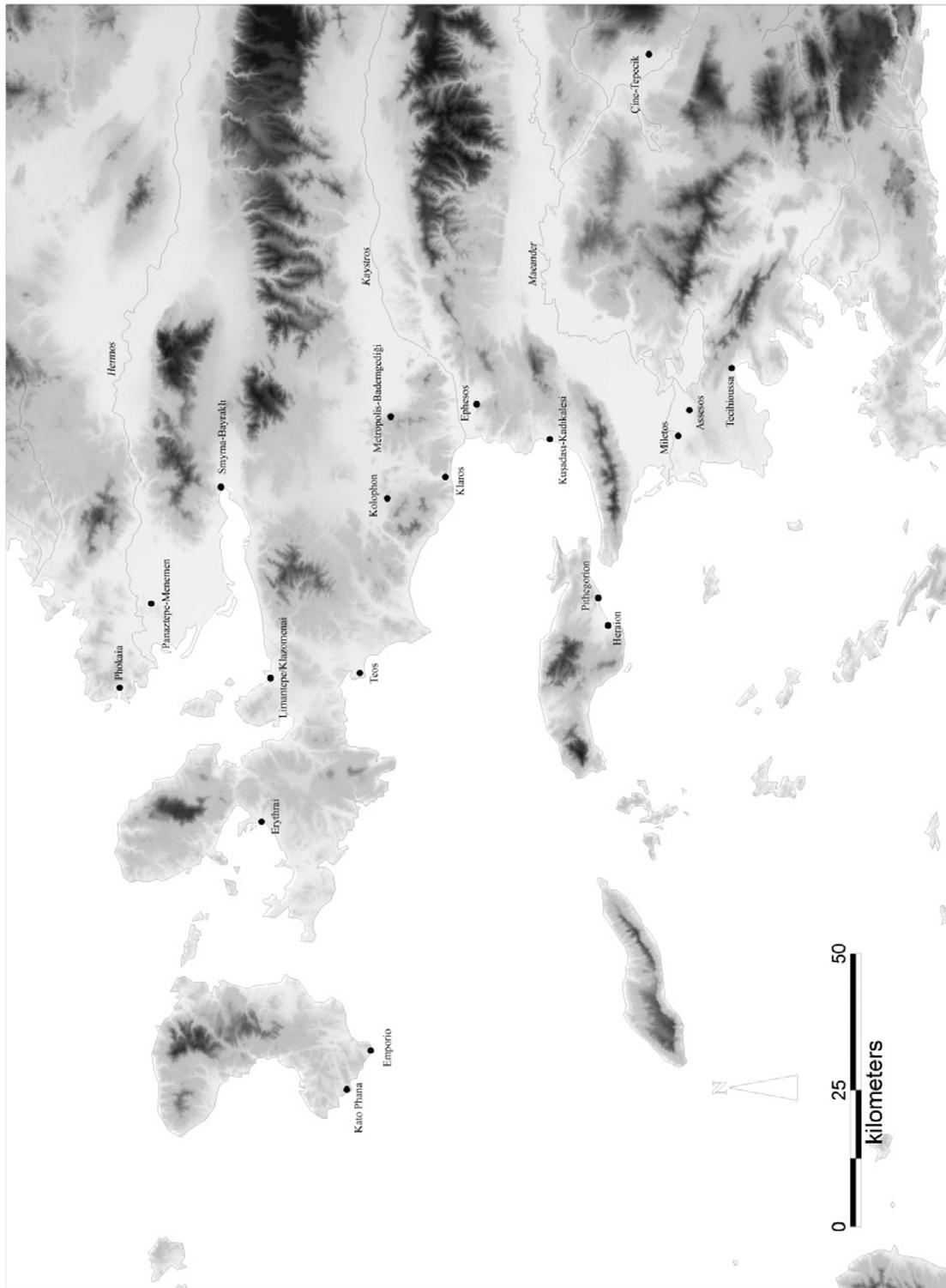
In its final form the catalogue dates to the sixth century, but it has been suggested that it is not unlikely that it evolved by stages from earlier local or regional genealogies

(West 1985: 128, 130-136,164; see also J.M. Hall 1997: 42-44, 48-50). West (1985: 59, 144) suggests that the tradition concerning the three sons of Hellen may have been in oral circulation since the eighth or even ninth century. Edith Hall (1989), on the other hand, argues for a direct relationship between the origins of a pan-Hellenic identity and the Persian Wars. This view is also largely shared by Jonathan Hall (2002: 205-220), who argues for a more aggregate formation during the Archaic period, but also maintains that the doctrine of Pan-Hellenism essentially dates to the middle of the fifth century. He even limits the phenomenon to Athens and argues that pan-Hellenism is a culturally-based Athenocentric notion of Hellenicity.

If Jonathan Hall is correct, it is quite possible that no link existed between the *Iamanāja* on the west coast of Asia Minor and the figure of Ion during the sixth century. This link might have been created though in the wake of the Persian wars when Athens started to carve out its own maritime empire and the first Delian-Attic League was established. Because Delos was an important sanctuary with supra-regional connotations as early as the late eighth century and was one of the places where the Ionians held their *panēgyreis* (assemblies), the site formed a perfect location for Athens to link the Ionian members of the League and those on the west coast of Asia Minor together through the Hellenic genealogy and the figure of Ion, while simultaneously stressing the ethnic purity of the Athenians and advertising Athens as the most Ionian city of all (Rollinger 2007b: 208). Furthermore, as Crielaard (2009; see also Cobet 2007; J.M. Hall 2002: 68-69) shows, Athens redirected previous migration myths to the west coast of Asia Minor to Athens and as such was able to employ these migration myths for propagandistic purposes, especially to substantiate their leadership within the first Delian-Attic League.

### **1.3 Finding Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Ionia**

When looking at the overall picture, it can be concluded that over time the Ionians formed a very fluid group to which different people could belong depending on the perspective of the observer. It also implies that the name 'Ionia' might have referred to different regions in the Aegean over time as well. In fact, in his recent book on Ionia, Alan Greaves (2010a: xii) notes that even in later periods Ionia cannot easily be defined, because its landscape is large and diverse and the limits of what was called 'Ionia' in the ancient world do not appear to follow any clearly demarcated physical



**Figure 1.1. Map of Ionia**

boundary. The consequence, however, is that it is very difficult to define a clearly demarcated region that could serve as the basis for the present study. For the purposes of his book, Greaves (2010a) largely limits his discussion to the cities of the Ionian

*dodecapolis* that are named by Herodotos (1.142) and which subdivide into four groups by their dialects. Alternatively, in his paper on the Ionians, Crielaard (2009) reserves the term 'Ionia' for the coastal area between the rivers Hermos/Gediz and Maiandros/Maeander and the off-shore islands of Samos and Chios. For the purposes of the present study, this latter more geographical definition of Ionia is most sensible, not only because it encompasses what is generally understood as Ionia in modern scholarly (and ancient) discourse, but also because the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in this region is better investigated archaeologically than in the adjacent regions of Aiolia/Troad and Karia. Consequently, in this thesis Ionia is defined as the coastal region between Phokaia in the north and the Miletos area in the south (**fig. 1.1**).

### *Phokaia*

Excavations at Phokaia were first conducted by Felix Sartiaux in 1913 and 1920 (Sartiaux 1921). After a long interval, Ekrem Akurgal recommenced excavations in 1952 and regular campaigns continued until 1957. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s excavations only took place intermittently until Ömer Özyiğit started a new period of excavation in 1989, which continues up till today (Özyiğit 2003b; Greaves 2010a: 96-97). Originally, it was thought that the city was restricted to the peninsula by the harbour, on top of which stood the Temple of Athena, but the recent excavations have revealed that the main settlement of the Archaic period was located on the mainland and that it had fortification walls of more than five kilometres in length, perhaps even stretching to eight (Özyiğit 2006b: 308). Furthermore, the 1991 excavations located the ancient theatre of Phokaia on the slope of Değirmenli Tepe. It is dated to circa 340-330 BCE and is, therefore, supposedly the oldest in Anatolia (Özyiğit 1993).

The importance of this area for the purposes of this introduction is that the area around the theatre revealed pre- and protohistoric remains. The most important ones were discovered in the 2000 and 2001 campaigns when an oval structure was excavated immediately west of a seventh century BCE *megaron* house (Özyiğit 2003a: 342; 2005: drawing 12). Immediately underneath both structures second millennium ceramics were found, suggesting a late second or early first millennium date for the oval building. During the 2002 and 2003 excavations, another oval-shaped structure was found in the same area south of the *megaron* house (Özyiğit 2004: 442-43; 2005: drawing 11). Directly underneath the eastern part of this second



Figure 1.2. ‘Submycenaean’ amphora from Phokaia (redrawn after Özyiğit 2005: fig. 10.7).

oval-shaped structure were remains of a blacksmith’s workshop (Özyiğit 2005: drawing 8; 2006b: 310; Yalçın and Özyiğit 2013). It is suggested that this workshop is to be dated to the (early) eleventh century. This is based on the observation that underneath its foundations a mix of second millennium pottery was found, including Mycenaean pottery dated to the LH IIIA1-III C Middle period (Özyiğit 2005: drawings 5-7, 9), which suggests that the workshop was established some time after the second half of the twelfth century. At the same time, an amphora was found *in situ* on the floor,

which is stylistically dated to ‘Submycenaean’ (Fig. 1.2) (Özyiğit 2005: drawing 10; Yalçın and Özyiğit 2013: 241, fig. 6). This implies that the end of the workshop is probably to be dated to the middle or perhaps even the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>7</sup> If this is true, not only would this be the oldest blacksmith so far uncovered in the Aegean, but also the oval structures are perhaps most likely to be dated to the late eleventh or early tenth century (Özyiğit 2005; 2006b: 310).

Unfortunately, no additional datable evidence was provided in the preliminary reports to support the dates of either the workshop or the oval structures.<sup>8</sup> That activity took place at Phokaia during the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE is clear, however, from the Protogeometric sherds that have been found mixed in with second millennium

<sup>7</sup> Some remarks need to be made in respect to this amphora. In a personal communication (April 2012), Sila Mangaloğlu-Votruba has mentioned to me that the scroll decoration seen on the amphora appears by the end of the LH III C early phase, and is frequently used during the LH III C middle and late phases (for the stylistic criteria, see Mountjoy 2009b). One of the important factors is its rim, which is missing here. Most probably it is neck-handled. The scrolls during the LH III C middle and late phases are somewhat bigger/wider than this, so this looks a bit different in that regard. Also, this scroll looks rather stylised compared to the LH III C ones. The LH III C middle-late examples usually have flat bases, but this one has a ring base. Another feature of LH III C middle-late ones is that most, but not all, of them have a painted ‘hook’ shape from the handles, which this one does not have. Both the decoration and shape can, however, be found on ‘Subminoan’ pottery from Crete (d’Agata 2007: 118; Coldstream and Catling 1996: pls. 98.3, 106.11,13-14,17 (decorative motif only), 112.38-39, 186.50-51) which makes an early eleventh century date not impossible.

<sup>8</sup> Oval structures have also been found at, for instance, Limantepe/Klazomenai (Middle Bronze Age-Early Iron Age; see below), Smyrna (late tenth century, Akurgal 1983: fig. 8) and Antissa on Lesbos (tenth or ninth century; Lamb 1931-1932; Akurgal 1983: fig. 9). There is also an oval house at Phokaia dating to the fourteenth century (Özyiğit 2006b: 310).

pottery in the fills of the Archaic Athena temple (Özyiğit 2006a: 74-75, drawing 2-4) and the remains of a wall of a Protogeometric/Geometric oval tower that was incorporated in the stone fill of the podium of the same temple (Özyiğit 2007: 349). This suggests that there might have been continuous occupation at Phokaia during the late second and first millennium BCE.

### *Panaztepe-Menemen*

The site of Panaztepe is situated thirteen kilometres west of Menemen, to the north of the Gulf of Izmir. Excavations at this site have been going on since 1985 under the direction of Armağan Erkanal and have revealed continuous occupation from the third millennium BCE to the fifth century CE.<sup>9</sup> The site is located on a natural hill at the northern side of a group of hills called ‘The Seven Hills’ on the delta of the Hermos River (modern Gediz River). Currently, the site is located ten kilometres away from the coast, but during the Bronze and Iron Ages it was located on an off-shore island. Excavations at this site have focused on three areas. The first one is the acropolis which is located on the hill at *circa* 71 metres of altitude and most probably is the settlement area of the local authority. Remains on the acropolis are currently largely confined to the Middle Bronze and the Archaic and Classical periods (Günel 1999a: 168-169).

The second location is the *Harbor Town* situated on the eastern slope of the hill and the third is the cemetery areas located on the northern skirts of the hill (Çınerdalı-Karaaslan 2008: 58). There are two cemetery areas in this region, one on the western part of Panaztepe (Western Cemetery Area) and one on the northern part (Northern Cemetery Area). Although the burials date to the second half of the second millennium, it is evident that the Western Cemetery Area was also used as a cemetery during Roman and Ottoman periods, since graves of these periods are stratified above the Middle Bronze levels and the “Workshop District” (Erkanal-Öktü 2008: 70; Erkanal-Öktü and Çınerdalı-Karaaslan 2010). The Panaztepe Late Bronze Age cemeteries have two main phases, of which the first was characterised by a stone paved platform with mini tholos, pithos, urn, stone box, cist, pit and composite burial types (twelfth century BCE), and the second by tholos and cist graves (fourteenth-

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<sup>9</sup> For a recent presentation on Panaztepe by A. Erkanal-Öktü, see <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xBzZA39XbiA> [accessed 13-07-2013].

thirteenth centuries BCE) (Erkanal-Öktü 2008). Besides ceramics, the burials contained a wide range of more than 5000 (often imported) ornaments produced from steatite, carnelian, rock crystal, amethyst, limestone, terracotta, gold, silver, bronze, lead, frit, faience and glass, as well as organic materials like bone and amber (Çınerdalı-Karaaslan 2012). A first full publication of the ceramics from the cemeteries excavated between 1985 and 1990 was published by S. Günel (1999a) and another one (*Panaztepe I*) is apparently in press (mentioned in Çınerdalı-Karaaslan 2012).

In order to link the extensive Late Bronze Age cemetery with the site's occupation sequence, excavations were carried out in the *Harbor Town* between 2004 and 2007 (Çınerdalı-Karaaslan 2008; Erkanal-Öktü and Çınerdalı-Karaaslan 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009). As a result of these excavations five main chronological phases could be established: Ottoman, Late Roman-Byzantine, Archaic, Geometric and Late Bronze Age. The Late Bronze Age phase consists of six building phases of which the first is contemporary with Troy VIIb1 (LH IIIC Early) and VIIb2 (LH IIIC Middle and Late) and the second with Troy VIIa (LH IIIB) and VIIb Early (Çınerdalı-Karaaslan 2008: 62-64). Until 2006, these Bronze Age layers were followed by two architectural phases dating to the Geometric period that were characterised by architectural features and garbage pits filled with a variety of materials (Çınerdalı-Karaaslan 2008: 60-62), but the 2006 excavations unveiled a layer with early Protogeometric material, including rubbish pits, masses of pottery, slag and animal bones below the Geometric levels (Erkanal-Öktü and Çınerdalı-Karaaslan 2008: 23-24).<sup>10</sup> The results of these excavations are eagerly awaited, but it is clear that Panaztepe was an important site that was continuously occupied during the second and first millennia BCE.

### *Smyrna-Bayraklı*

The next site on the west coast of Asia Minor is Smyrna-Bayraklı (**fig. 1.3**) (modern Izmir). Excavations at this site started in 1948 as a joint effort of Ekrem Akurgal and John M. Cook. In the first excavations between 1948 and 1951 Akurgal concentrated on the Protogeometric through Archaic strata, while Cook brought the temple of Athena, published in 1998 (J.M Cook and Nicholls 1998), to light (Akurgal 2006:

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<sup>10</sup> With the hindsight of Phokaia, the presence of slag is interesting. Unfortunately, it is not clear what kind of slag (iron?) was found.

373). In 1966 Akurgal recommenced excavations at the site and was able to establish an uninterrupted sequence of ten settlement phases between 1050 and 300 BCE (Akurgal 1983). Because Akurgal's excavations concentrated on 'Greek' Smyrna, very little is known about possible earlier occupation layers, but it seems that the site was first occupied around 3000 BCE and remained so at least until the first half of the second millennium (Akurgal 1950: 54-58; 1983: 13). This date is largely based on the absence of Mycenaean pottery and the parallels of the Grey and Red Buff wares with those found at Troy VI and Middle-Late Bronze Thermi on Lesbos. However, Mellaart (1968: 188) notes that a handful of Mycenaean sherds came from the excavations at Old Smyrna, but these were not found in the Late Bronze Age layers which only produced local West Anatolian ware. Proper strata bearing Mycenaean ceramics in stratified contexts were not encountered.



**Figure 1.3.** A view of Smyrna-Bayraklı (Photo: author).

The first Iron Age settlement defined by Akurgal (1983: 15-16, 20, 22) is dated to *circa* 1050-1000 BCE. It is characterised by the presence of large quantities of 'Aiolian' Grey Wares (Akurgal 1983: pl. 6; see also Bayne 2000) and the absence of Protogeometric pottery. For that reason, Akurgal argued that this first settlement was established by the Aiolians. It should, however, be noted that dates based on Grey Wares are not unproblematic. Even though this kind of pottery has a long history on the west coast of Asia Minor, it has generally received only limited attention (though, see Bayne 2000; Hertel 2007; Pavúk 2002; 2007a; 2007b; 2010) and is therefore of limited use in terms of chronology. The arguments for assigning this settlement phase to the Aiolians is largely based on the textual tradition mentioning an Aiolian migration shortly after the fall of Troy (see Rose 2008) and the notion that some of the shapes are supposedly related to 'Submycenaean' one-handled cups (Akurgal 1983: 20). Both these links are not indisputable and it is possible that some of the Grey Wares, and by extension the settlement, might date to earlier periods.

In any case, it is noteworthy that, in addition to the ceramics, some scanty architectural remains in the form of some walls belonging to a rectangular house were found (Akurgal 1983: 22, fig. 3). For the second settlement (1000-875 BCE), however, more remains were found, including some Protogeometric pottery (Akurgal 1983: 16-19, fig. 6, pls. 7-9). This period of settlement consists of three sub-phases dated to 1000-950 BCE, 950-925 BCE and 925-875 BCE (Akurgal 1983: 16). Belonging to this second settlement is a well-preserved oval house (Akurgal 1983: 17-18, figs. 4 and 8, pls. 4-5), not dissimilar to those found at Phokaia (see above) and Limantepe/Klazomenai (Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011), and some walls of rectangular houses (Akurgal 1983: 22, figs. 3-5). In addition to these houses, a horseshoe-shaped hearth used for cooking was unearthed as well (Akurgal 1983: 16-17, fig. 7). On top of these Protogeometric layers many more phases of habitation were found, but for the moment it is most important that even though clear evidence is lacking, it is possible that there was continuous occupation at Smyrna-Bayraklı during the final stages of the second and early stages of the first millennium BCE.

#### *Limantepe/Klazomenai*

The Ionian site of Limantepe/Klazomenai (**fig. 1.4**) is located on the south coast of the Gulf of İzmir, near the modern town of Urla. It occupies a unique strategic location

between the Gediz (Hermos) and the Küçük Menderes (Kaystros) Valleys, and was, therefore, one of the most accessible areas from inland Anatolia. Also, being located on the Urla Peninsula in the middle of coastal Western Anatolia, Limantepe/Klazomenai serves as a bridge between the northern and southern Aegean. Archaeological remains dating from the Neolithic onwards have been found at several locations situated around a harbour (Moustaka et al. 2004: 15, map B). In addition to the excavations on land, underwater excavations have been carried out west of Limantepe and off Karantina Island since 1999 (Erkanal and Artzy 2002: 380-383; Erkanal et al. 2003: 430-432; 2004: 171-174; 2010; Şahoğlu 2010). Furthermore, investigations aiming to reconstruct the ancient coast line have been conducted as well (Goodman et al. 2009).



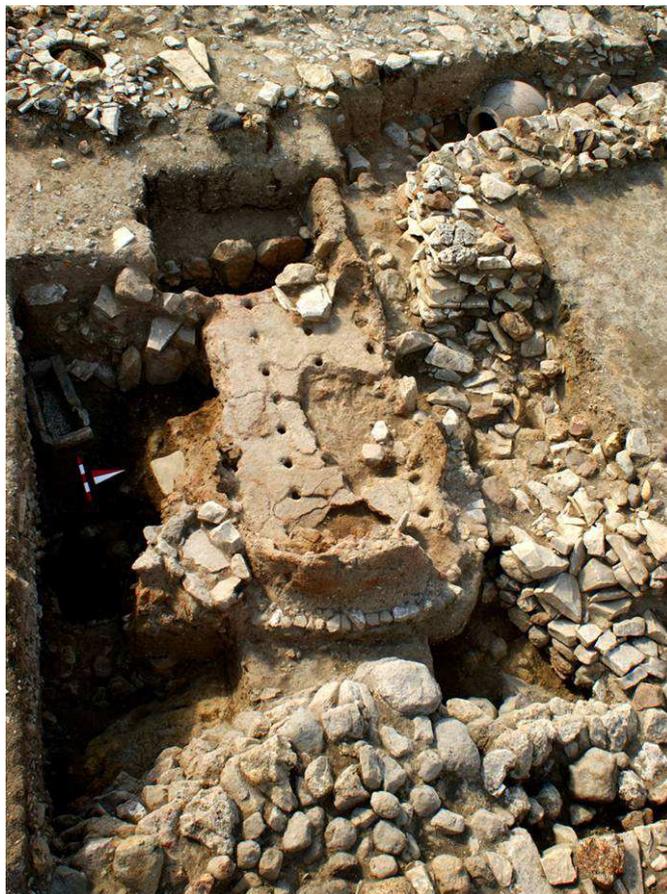
**Figure 1.4. View of Limantepe from Karantina Island (photo: author).**

However, most important for the current purposes are the substantial prehistoric remains found at Limantepe. Unfortunately, much of the Late Bronze Age remains is disturbed and often destroyed due to later structures and soil removal to lower the hill in the 1950s, but the 2006 excavations revealed stratified and preserved remains

dating to the LH III period (Erkanal 2008; Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011; in press; Erkanal and Aykurt 2008). This period is subdivided into three phases: phase II.3 (LH IIIA2), II.2 (LH IIIB), and II.1 (LH IIIC), all of which contained various architectural features. Belonging to phase II.3 are streets, five buildings, four pottery kilns and a deep well (bottom reached at 1.75 metres below sea level) which contained examples of both local Western Anatolian and Mycenaean pottery (Erkanal and Günel 1995: 264; 1996: 307; 1997: 232-233). For the succeeding phase (II.2) remains are limited, but some of the streets and one of the buildings (the so-called 'Pithos-building') remained in use. In addition to these, part of a building, a partially preserved silo and an area paved with flat stones were found. Because five grinding stones and pieces of a spouted basin were also found in this area, it has been suggested that this area functioned as a wine workshop similar to an early Late Bronze Age wine workshop found in Çeşme-Bağlararası (Mangaloğlu-Votruba in press; cf. Erkanal et al. 2009; Şahoğlu 2007: 314-315, figs. 1-2, 4-6). In the final Late Bronze Age phase (II.1) structures were built directly on top of the remains of the preceding phases. All of the buildings were rectangular, except for one which probably had an oval or curvilinear shape. The 'Pithos-building' remained in use, but was re-arranged and probably lost its storage function. Further interesting notes are that east of this structure a hearth was uncovered around which numerous examples of so-called "Aegean style" cooking pots, with either single or double handles were found (Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011; in press), and that in the 1997 excavations two child burials were found with examples of so-called Handmade Burnished Ware (Erkanal 1999: 327, pls. 3-4).

Although it had long remained unclear whether habitation continued without break into the eleventh century, recent excavations at Limantepe have shown that Protogeometric structures were built immediately on top of Late Bronze Age structures and that in at least one case they incorporated Late Bronze Age walls (Erkanal and Aykurt 2008: 225). At least three curvilinear structures have been found ranging in date from the early eleventh century to the Geometric period. The earliest of these three structures was partly destroyed by an intramural child burial in which an Early Protogeometric skyphos was found (Bakır et al. 2004: 103, figs. 3,5). Furthermore, finds included an amphora with handdrawn concentric circles and a cooking pot (Bakır et al. 2004: 104, figs. 4-5). The second curvilinear structure was originally located during the 1998 excavations and subsequently excavated during the

succeeding campaigns (Aytaçlar 2004; Bakır et al. 2004: 103, figs. 2,5). This structure consisted of two phases of which the earliest one could, based on the associated ceramics, be dated to the late eleventh and first half of the tenth century BCE (Aytaçlar 2004: 24). The finds belonging to this first phase mainly consist of storage vessels and a range of spool-objects suggesting that perhaps some sort of textile manufacturing took place inside the building (Aytaçlar 2004: 20-22). There is reason to suggest that there was a gap between the first and second phase of the building, but how long this chronological interval would have been is unclear (Aytaçlar 2004: 24). The third curvilinear structure was found just south of the second curvilinear building and dates to the Late Protogeometric and Geometric periods (Bakır et al. 2004: 102-103, figs. 1,5). In addition to these three curvilinear structures, a mid-tenth century Protogeometric magazine with jars and several jar burials dating to the same period were recently uncovered. These burials contained few skeletal remains but they did produce two bronze bracelets and a typical Protogeometric pitcher with band containing concentric semi-circles around the body (Erkanal and Aykurt 2008).



**Figure 1.5. Picture of the Early Iron Age kiln from Klazomenai (photo: courtesy of Klazomenai Excavations: all rights reserved).**

Protogeometric remains are not confined to Limantepe. In recent years several Protogeometric pithos and cist burials were excavated underneath and near the entrance of the Archaic city wall, which was founded at the beginning of the seventh century and encircled the Archaic and Classical settlement (Ersoy et al. 2009; 2010; 2011). The earliest of these burials date to the first half of the tenth century. But perhaps the most important find in the area of the Archaic settlement is a large rectangular pottery kiln measuring 3.40 x 2.20 metres (**fig. 1.5**) (Ersoy in press; Ersoy et al. 2010: 190-191, figs. 7-9; 2011: 171-172, figs. 3-4). Because of its measurements, it is most likely that this kiln was used for the production of pithoi (Ersoy in press) or perhaps formed a communal kiln.<sup>11</sup> In terms of date, it is very unfortunate that no wasters and very few (Middle Protogeometric) ceramics were found in association with the kiln (Y.E. Ersoy pers. comm.).<sup>12</sup> However, a number of burials were excavated around and directly on top of the kiln. Just like the burials found near the Archaic city wall, the earliest of these burials can be dated to the tenth century, suggesting that the kiln probably belongs to the early tenth or late eleventh century. Without any doubt, then, it can be said that Limantepe/Klazomenai was continuously inhabited during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age.

### *Erythrai*

The next stop on this journey along the west coast of Asia Minor is Erythrai. Excavations were conducted here by Ekrem Akurgal from 1965 to 1984. In 2003 work resumed at the site under the auspices of Coşkun Özgünel and Kutalmış Görkay of Ankara University, with surveys and preparations for excavations. The Second Ankara University Erythrai Excavation and Research Project commenced excavation in 2006, with the support of Özgünel and Görkay and under the direction of Ayşe Gül Akalın (Akalın 2008). Despite all these excavations very little is known about the pre-Archaic periods at Erythrai. The earliest remains so far excavated are from the Temple of Athena, which dates from the eighth century. Some Mycenaean and Late Protogeometric sherds, either from the site or in the more general region around it, and a possible Late Bronze Age settlement were reported (Akurgal 1975; J.M Cook and Blackman 1964-1965: 40; 1970-1971: 41; Mellink 1968: 134; 1976: 281), but

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<sup>11</sup> This is an idea suggested by Alan Greaves at a workshop on western Anatolia at the end of the second and beginning of the first millennium BCE (Istanbul, 24-25 May 2013).

<sup>12</sup> The kiln and the associated material were also presented in a joint paper at a recent workshop in Istanbul (24-25 May 2013).

nothing is published and no ceramics have been illustrated. It is possible that habitation at the site dates back to the second millennium, but this is far from certain based on the current evidence.

*Chios: Emporio and Kato Phana*



**Figure 1.6.** View of the prehistoric acropolis at Emporio from the historical acropolis (photo: author).

Perhaps the best known site on Chios is Emporio (**Fig. 1.6**), excavated by the British School at Athens between 1952 and 1955. The site is located on the southern coast of Chios in the territory of the modern village of Pirgi and offers the only good anchorage and landing place on the southern and eastern coasts of Chios between Chios Town and Kato Phana, situated some ten to twelve kilometres further west. It is therefore no real surprise that excavations showed important prehistoric remains ranging from the Neolithic to the end of the Late Bronze Age (Hood 1981/1982). Architectural remains dating to the Late Bronze Age are limited to excavation Areas D and F and were often badly preserved as a result of erosion during the space of the *circa* 1500 years separating the end of the Late Bronze Age habitation at the end of the twelfth century and the Late Roman occupation on the western site of the

acropolis on which the remains were located. Pottery, however, was found abundantly, including much imported and locally produced Mycenaean pottery ranging from the late fourteenth to the late twelfth centuries BCE.<sup>13</sup> At the end of the twelfth century, the site on the acropolis seems to have been abandoned. What happened at Emporio during the Early Iron Age is unclear, but excavations on the hill slopes of the Prophetes Elias uncovered an extensive village complex with houses, a circuit wall on the crown of the hill, a Megaron Hall and the sanctuary of Athena. This village seems to have taken shape around 700 BCE (Boardman 1967).

Other Late Bronze Age activity on Chios has been attested by surface finds from Leukathia and Nagos in the north of the island (Hood 1981/1982: 7-8), a single kylix foot from Chios town (Hood 1981/1982: 7) and the excavations at Archontiki on Psara, a small islet positioned just off the northwest coast of Chios (Archontidou-Argyri 2005).<sup>14</sup> Early Iron Age activity is sparse. There are some Late and Subprotogeometric burials excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service (Archontidou-Argyri 2004; Tsaravopoulos 1986: 127, pl. 27), apparent stratified Protogeometric layers at Agio Galla (Robertson 1938-1939: 203) – though the finds have disappeared from view (Beaumont 2011: 222) – and the major Apollo sanctuary at Kato Phana (**Fig. 1.7**). The latter site was originally thought to be in use from the ninth century BCE to the early Christian period when a basilica church was erected over the ancient sacred spot (Lamb 1934-1935), but excavations under the direction of Lesley Beaumont and Aglaia Archontidou-Argyri (Beaumont 2007; 2011; Beaumont and Archontidou-Argyri 1999; Beaumont et al. 2004; Blackman 2001-2002: 130; Whitley 2002-2003: 72; Whitley et al. 2005-2006: 97-98; 2006-2007: 80; Evely et al. 2007-2008: 87) have established a continuous ceramic sequence from the twelfth century, and possibly even earlier, to the Archaic period.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, the ceramics generally come from mixed contexts and stratigraphic layers dating to the Late Bronze and early centuries of the Iron Age have, as yet, not been excavated. Still, it seems likely that there was continuous activity at the site during the final

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<sup>13</sup> I was able to see a selection of this pottery in the storerooms of the Archaeological Museum on Chios in November 2011. I am grateful to the British School at Athens for permission to study the material and to the staff at the museum for their help.

<sup>14</sup> Some of the finds from Psara are currently on (permanent) display in the Chios Archaeological Museum, but have as yet not been published.

<sup>15</sup> The final report is scheduled to be published in 2014 by the British School at Athens (L. Beaumont pers. comm.).

stages of the second millennium and the earliest phases of the first millennium. Given this apparent continuity at the sanctuary at Kato Phana, it is perhaps somewhat unlikely that there was no habitation at all at Emporio during the Early Iron Age, but this remains speculative.



**Figure 1.7. View of Kato Phana from the sea-side (photo: author).**

### *Teos*

Teos is situated on a low hilly isthmus between two bays and it had a good harbour area. Unfortunately, because substantial excavations have not yet been carried out, very little is still known about this site, but soundings have produced evidence of settlement from the Protogeometric to the Roman period (J.M Cook and Blackman 1964-1965: 45; 1970-1971: 41; Mellink 1964: 163; 1966: 157; 1967: 169). No material has been illustrated, however, and no Mycenaean finds have been reported. Teos, therefore, seems to have been founded some time during the Protogeometric period, but it is not clear when exactly this would have been.

### *Kolophon*

The first excavations at ancient Kolophon (**Fig. 1.8**) organised by the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard College in conjunction with the American School of Classical



**Figure 1.8. View of the acropolis at Kolophon (photo: author).**

Studies at Athens and directed by Hetty Goldman and Carl Blegen took place in the spring of 1922. The brief excavations revealed extensive traces of public and private buildings on and around the acropolis of the Hellenistic city (Holland 1944) and, in addition, investigated sections of three surrounding cemetery areas with tombs of the Mycenaean, Geometric, and Hellenistic periods (Bridges 1974: 264; Holland 1944: 94). None of these remains have been published. The only exception for which some information is available is a small tholos tomb (Bridges 1974). The tomb lay in the third necropolis, to the west of the city, in the area of the modern village of Değirmendere and had its entrance facing the northeast. The entrance was *circa* 1.90 m. long, *circa* 1.50 m. wide, and its walling was preserved to a height of ca. 1.30 m.

No traces of a lintel, threshold, or differentiated dromos are recorded, but it is possible that two stones shown on the plan near the outer end of the entrance are remnants of a blocking wall. The chamber itself had a diameter of 3.87 m., and, when excavated, the walls were preserved to a maximum height of 1.70 m. above the floor of the tomb. Unfortunately, the tomb was robbed and only some apparent Creto-Mycenaean pot sherds and bones, including a boar's tusk, were originally found. Because the excavators were forced to leave due to political upheavals at the time, the material

was left in the village of Değirmendere and is now lost. There are, therefore, no clear indications as to the exact date of the tomb, but Bridges refers to a quote by Huxley who noted “a late Mycenaean tholos tomb which, so Miss Goldman informs me, was of Mycenaean III B or C date” (Huxley 1960: 39, quoted by Bridges 1974: 265; also Bruns-Özgan et al. 2011: 226). Bruns-Özgan et al. (2011: 227) do not rule out, however, that this tholos tomb dates to a later period.

On the other hand, investigations in 2000 on the Halil Ağa Tepesi have revealed Geometric and perhaps Late Bronze Age settlement remains (Şahin 2008), although it should be noted that the evidence for Late Bronze Age settlement is essentially based on two stone axes that are dated to the thirteenth century BCE based on parallels with a similar stone axe from Klaros. Yet, this axe from Klaros does not, as Bruns-Özkan et al. (2011: 222 n. 96) point out, come from a clear Late Bronze Age context either and is therefore a dangerous parallel. It is only in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE that clear evidence for settlement activity at Kolophon is available (Bruns-Özgan et al. 2011; Greaves 2010a: 100-101; Şahin 2008). This is, of course, not to say that earlier settlement is not possible. In fact, it is not unlikely that habitation at Kolophon itself dates back to the Late Bronze Age (see also Bruns-Özgan et al. 2011: 229), but this cannot be determined with any certainty based on the present evidence.

### *Klaros*



**Figure 1.9. View of the Apollo sanctuary at Klaros (photo: author)**

In ancient times, the site of Klaros (**fig. 1.9**) was situated within the area of ancient Kolophon, about two kilometres from the coastal site of Notion. Klaros was particularly famous in Hellenistic and Roman times for its Temple of Apollo. Theodore Macridy conducted investigations there in 1907 and 1913, and from 1950 the site was investigated by French expeditions, especially under the direction of Louis Robert (1950-1960) and, more recently, Julliette de la Genière. Since 2001 the site has been excavated by a team from Ege University led by Nuran Şahin. The first temple dedicated to Apollo was founded in the seventh century, but there is extensive evidence that activity at the site dates back to earlier periods. Already the French excavations uncovered a number of Protogeometric sherds, figurines and metal objects (Mitchell 1989-1990: 98-100; 1998-1999: 148-149; Gates 1995: 239-240) dating to the tenth and ninth centuries. More recently, the excavations under the direction of Nuran Şahin have uncovered not only additional Protogeometric and Geometric finds from underneath the temple (Şahin et al. 2008: 438-440; Şahin et al. 2009: 116-117), but also even earlier material, including ceramics, figurines, pieces of animal bone and bronzes (among them *fibulae* and arrowheads), that can be dated to the (late?) thirteenth (LH IIIB) through eleventh centuries BCE ('Submycenaean') (Şahin et al. 2010: 251, fig. 7; Şahin 2011: 154-155, figs. 3-6, drawings 2-5). Although clear stratigraphic layers are mostly missing, this suggests that, similarly to Kato Phana and the Artemision at Ephesos (see below), there was continuous (ritual) activity at the site from perhaps as early as the (late) thirteenth century BCE onwards.

#### *Metropolis-Bademgediği Tepe*

The fortified site of Bademgediği Tepe is located north of Metropolis along the Izmir-Aydın highway and has been excavated since 1999 by Recep Meriç (Meriç 2003; 2006; 2007; Meriç et al. 2006; Meriç et al. 2007; Meriç et al. 2008; Aybek et al. 2009). These excavations have revealed several prehistoric strata of which the earliest (Stratum VI) is dated to Middle Minoan III-Late Minoan I. This layer is followed by another one (Stratum III-V) dated to the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries BCE. The site appears to be abandoned during the thirteenth century and again reoccupied in the twelfth century (Stratum II). After the twelfth century, the hill was occupied once more for a short period in the Geometric period (Stratum I) and then completely abandoned. Of particular interest is, of course, the twelfth century settlement.

**Figure 1.10 Pictorial krater from Bademgediği Tepe (after Mountjoy 2007: fig. 14).**

Unfortunately, the finds are almost completely confined to ceramics, including local LH IIC pottery (Meriç and Mountjoy 2002), and other small finds, such as animal bones and terracottas, which have not been published. No architectural remains, except for the fortification walls, have been found, which means that most finds are without context. The most interesting finds are a Mycenaean animal figurine (Meriç *et al.* 2006: 250) and sherds of a pictorial krater (**fig. 1.10**) (Meriç *et al.* 2007: 244, fig. 3; Mountjoy 2005).

Further Bronze Age finds are reported from the Acropolis at Metropolis. Here Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery, including painted pottery and so-called 'Handmade Burnished Ware' dating to the twelfth century, has been uncovered (Meriç 2006), but none of it has been published as yet. The same is true for some Early-Late Geometric sherds and a shoulder fragment of a Protogeometric amphora with sets of concentric circles which have recently been found (Aybek *et al.* 2010: 204). If their identification is correct, these sherds could perhaps indicate that, even though Bademgediği Tepe might have been abandoned at the end of the twelfth century, Metropolis was continuously inhabited between the twelfth and eighth centuries, but nothing can be said with any certainty. This may suggest that Bademgediği Tepe did not primarily function as a settlement, but as a fortification. Finally, it is noteworthy that, in addition to the ceramics, there is also a seal with possible (imitation?) Luwian-Hittite signs on it, although a precise identification is difficult (Schachner and Meriç 2000). Schachner and Meriç (2000: 91-92) suggest a

date for this seal in the thirteenth century or perhaps even later. They base their arguments on the fact that similar seals have been found in association with LH IIC pottery in Greece and Egypt.

*Ephesos (Apaša)*<sup>16</sup>



**Figure 1.11.** View of the Artemision with the Ayasuluk Hill in the back (photo: author).

The famous site of Ephesos, which attracts almost two million visitors per year, is located near the modern town of Selçuk. Even though the site is now situated several kilometres inland, it was a coastal site throughout most of its history (Brückner et al. 2008; Kraft et al. 2000; 2001; 2005; 2007). Excavations at the site were first undertaken by the British archaeologist J. T. Wood (Wood 1877; cf. Challis 2008: 114-139) and from 1895 by Austrian scholars. Although most tourists go to the Classical through Roman site, the most important remains dating to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age come from two locations: the Ayasuluk Hill and the Artemision (**fig. 1.11**). The latter of these two was regarded as one of the wonders of the ancient world and is located about two kilometres north of the Roman city in a swampy area

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<sup>16</sup> The website for the excavations at Ephesos can be found at <http://www.oeai.at/index.php/excavation-history.html> [accessed 05-04-2012].

below Ayasuluk Hill (Bammer and Muss 1996). Remains on the Ayasuluk Hill are obscured by the Byzantine church of St. John and adjacent citadel that dominates the area today (Greaves 2010a: 101), but it has been argued that it is here that the Bronze Age settlement of Apaša, known from Hittite sources, was located (Bammer and Muss 2007; Büyükkolancı 1999; 2000; 2007; 2008b). On the hill a possible Late Bronze Age water sanctuary is found (Bammer and Muss 2007) as well as a late-fourteenth century tomb (Horejs 2008: 120).<sup>17</sup> Recent excavations under the direction of Mustafa Büyükkolancı have also uncovered a fortification wall and some Western Anatolian, Late Mycenaean, Protogeometric, Geometric and Archaic pot sherds (Büyükkolancı 2000; 2008a; 2008b; Kerschner 2006: 368). This suggests continuing habitation throughout the twelfth through seventh centuries BCE, but further stratigraphic evidence will be required.

A similar continuity can also be observed at the nearby Artemision where underneath the Archaic and Classical Temple a large amount of ceramics (Kerschner 2003; 2006; 2011; Forstenpointer et al. 2008), terracotta figurines (Forstenpointer et al. 2008; Muss 2007b; 2007a) and animal bones (Forstenpointer 2001; Forstenpointer et al. 2005; 2008) have been found in a closed context that was stratified above a layer with some (Late) Mycenaean pottery and sealed by a stratum consisting of several alternating thin layers of clay and ash (Kerschner 2011: 19; see also Bammer 1990: 141-142, fig. 6; Weissl 2002: 321-324, figs. 5-7). Based on the ceramics, this context has been dated by Michael Kerschner (2003a, 2006, 2011) between the late eleventh and early ninth centuries. Unfortunately, a final publication of the pottery has not yet appeared and is eagerly awaited. Late Bronze Age finds are scarcer and largely unpublished, but they appear to include ceramics (Bammer 1994)<sup>18</sup> and terracotta and ivory figurines (Muss 2001; 2004; 2007b). This could suggest, as Sarah Morris (2001) has argued, that the cult of Artemis Ephesia at Ephesos ultimately dates back to the Bronze Age. Once again, however, more data are required to make any clear judgement.

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<sup>17</sup> A Late Bronze Age tomb, possibly to be dated to the late fourteenth century (LH IIIA2), has recently been located near Halkapınar, a town about twelve kilometres northeast of Ephesos (Horejs 2008).

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Michael Kerschner has informed me that he is currently working on the publication of the Mycenaean sherds found at the Artemision in collaboration with Dr. B. Eder.

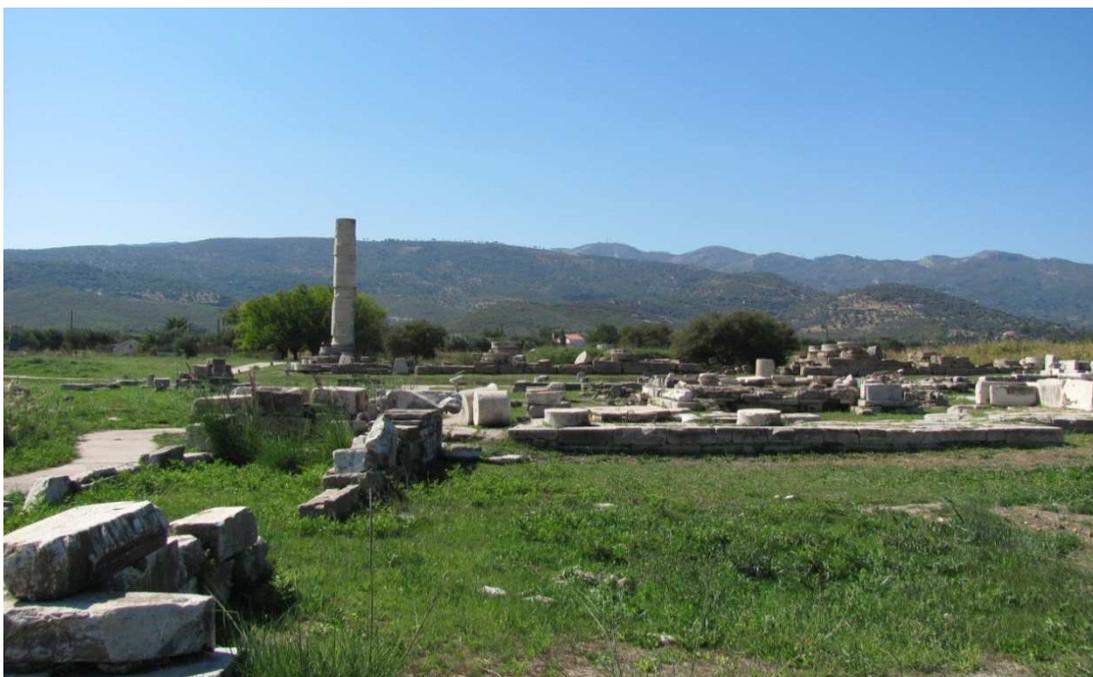
### *Kuşadası-Kadıkalesi (Anaia)*

It takes only a short drive from Ephesos to the harbour town of Kuşadası, which currently functions as an important harbour for cruise ships. Ancient remains have been found at Kadıkalesi, a name given to a Byzantine castle built on the coast eight kilometres south of Kuşadası to control the channel between the mainland and the island of Samos. This castle sits on top of a mainly Bronze Age mound that measures 250 meters in diameter and is 23 metres high. The site has been investigated with survey, planning and excavations since 2001 under the direction of Zeynep Mercangöz and Engin Akdeniz (Akdeniz 2006; Mercangöz 2003; 2008). The excavations have revealed five different layers dating to Byzantine and Ottoman times (Level I), Ancient Greek and Roman times (Level II), Late Bronze Age (Level III), Middle Bronze Age (Level IV) and Early Bronze Age (Level V) (Akdeniz 2006: 7). No architectural remains of Late Bronze or Early Iron Age date have, as yet, been reported, but there is much red ware, grey ware, gold wash ware, imported and local Mycenaean pottery (Akdeniz 2006: 7-10) as well as Protogeometric, Subprotogeometric and Geometric pottery (Mercangöz 2003: 128, fig. 7). It is mentioned that locally produced painted ('Mycenaean') pottery forms the biggest percentage of the total ceramic assemblage and that there is nothing obviously earlier than LH IIIC (Akdeniz 2006: 8), but no clear data have been provided so far. In addition to the ceramics, several figurines have been found (Akdeniz 2006: 10-14), including a bronze male figurine in Hittite style (Akdeniz 2006: fig. 17), a bronze figurine with vulture-eagle head and winged human body (Akdeniz 2006: fig. 18), and a terracotta female figurine head in Mycenaean style (Akdeniz 2006: fig. 19). Although full excavation reports are to be awaited, the ceramic evidence suggests that Kadıkalesi was continuously inhabited during the twelfth through eighth centuries BCE.

### *Samos: Heraion and Pithagorio*

The island of Samos is located just off the coast from Kadıkalesi and is particularly known for the Archaic Temple of Hera (**fig. 1.12**) and the Archaic settlement at Pithagorio. The first trial excavations at the Heraion were conducted by Joseph Pitton de Tournefort in 1702 and in 1879 Paul Girard discovered the statue of "Hera" of Cheramyas (a *kore* dedicated to Hera by Cheramyas). Excavations were

recommended by the Archaeological Society of Athens in 1902 and 1903 and then by the German Archaeological Institute under the direction of Theodore Wiegand in 1910. Since 1925 there have been continuous excavations by the German Institute at Athens, with a break in 1939 to 1951 (Greaves 2010a: 103). So far, very little evidence for activity before the Archaic period has been uncovered, although Milošević (1961) found a prehistoric settlement below the Heraion and there is some evidence for tenth century cult activities (Jarosch 1994). Recently, new excavations led by W.-D. Niemeier (Morgan et al. 2009-2010: 156-157) excavated more Early Bronze Age remains and investigated a tree stump associated with the paving of altar 3 (second half of the eighth century BCE). These investigations showed that the tree does not belong to a tree that grew here but was deposited as it has no roots and bears axe marks at the bottom. The temporary removal of this stump revealed a paving of flat limestone slabs on which conical cups of Cretan-Minoan type were placed upside down. No further evidence for continuity at the site from the Bronze into the Iron Age has been uncovered, however. In addition to the Heraion, clear evidence for habitation dating back to the tenth century have been uncovered underneath the modern town of Pithagorio (Tsakos 2007). However, Protogeometric finds are essentially confined to some sherds and vessels, but there is quite some evidence for Geometric activity in the form of cemeteries and a settlement.



**Figure 1.12. View of the Heraion on Samos (photo: author).**

## *Miletos*



**Figure 1.13.** View of Miletos (photo: author).

Miletos (**fig. 1.13**) was perhaps the most important Ionian city in the Archaic period and has a long history of excavation, starting in 1899. Like Ephesos, Miletos is currently located inland, but in ancient times it was situated along the shores of the Aegean (Brückner 2003). History at Miletos goes back to the Late Chalcolithic (Miletos I) when the site was situated on a number of islands (W.-D. Niemeier 2007a: 6-7), but the site seems to have flourished particularly during the later stages of the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age (Miletos IV, V and VI) when it had strong Aegean connections. Niemeier has on various occasions even argued for a Minoan and Mycenaean colonisation at the site during these phases mainly on the basis that Minoan and Mycenaean pottery are supposed to comprise about 95% of the total ceramic assemblage and that ‘Minoan’ and ‘Mycenaean’ kitchen wares have been found (W.-D. Niemeier 1998; 1999; 2002; 2005; 2007a; 2009). Also, several pots inscribed with what appears to be Linear A script have been uncovered (W.-D. Niemeier 2007a: 12, pl. 4.1). It is, however, important to note that in the earlier excavations the ratio of recognisable Mycenaean forms, both decorated and undecorated, to undecorated Anatolian forms was not recorded (Greaves 2002: 57-58). Moreover, it is noteworthy that Ünal (1991) has claimed that the relative proportion of Mycenaean pottery did not exceed five percent of the total.

Unfortunately, since no full publication of either the Mycenaean pottery or the Anatolian wares (but see now, Kaiser 2009; Kaiser and Zurbach in press) has appeared as yet, there is no way to verify these claims. Moreover, most prehistoric layers have been excavated in only a small area around the Athena Temple (Greaves 2002: 48). There are some further prehistoric remains belonging to Miletos V and VI about 400 metres south of the Athena Temple between the Hellenistic city wall and a church, on the Stadium Hill, in the area of the Church of Michael/Dionysos Temple, and the Delphinion (B. Niemeier and Niemeier 1997; W.-D. Niemeier 2007a: 14), but these are not very substantial. It is, however, clear that during Miletos V (second half of the fifteenth to the end of the fourteenth century) the site was an important production centre of ceramics. Eight pottery kilns were found during excavations (W.-D. Niemeier 1997; 2007a: 13) and chemical analyses have shown that Miletos must have been an important production centre for local Mycenaean pottery (Akurgal et al. 2002). It seems, therefore, that, unlike other sites on the west coast of Asia Minor, there may be some reason to suggest that Mycenaean pottery dominated at Miletos. Whether this also suggests Mycenaean presence during the Late Bronze Age (Miletos V and VI) is a different matter.

In any case, Miletos V was destroyed at the end of the fourteenth century, probably by the Hittite king Mursili II who conquered Millawanda (Miletos) during a war against Arzawa and Ahhiyawa (Greaves 2002: 59, 70; W.-D. Niemeier 2007a: 14).<sup>19</sup> The most important features of the succeeding phase, Miletos VI are an ‘Anatolian’-type defensive wall running east-west under the Temple of Athena (W.-D. Niemeier 2007a: 15-16).<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, a Mycenaean-type corridor house was found (B. Niemeier and Niemeier 1997: 197-198, fig. 1) as well as a possible attestation of the

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<sup>19</sup> For the location of Arzawa, see Hawkins 1998. The location of Ahhiyawa is controversial at best, but it has often been attributed to the Mycenaean mainland (see W.-D. Niemeier 1998). However, it is perhaps somewhat more likely that it was located in the southeastern Aegean (Mountjoy 1998; Sherratt 2010b: 10-11). Alternatively, Steiner (2007: 596-601) has recently suggested that the royal residence of Ahhiyawa must have been on the Anatolian mainland, most likely in Karia, although he notes that it must be left undecided whether some off-shore islands were also parts of the state of Ahhiyawa. For a full overview of the Hittite texts mentioning Ahhiyawa, see Beckman *et al.* (2011).

<sup>20</sup> Note, however, that the date of this ‘Anatolian’-type wall is debated. Dates have been suggested between ca. 1300 and the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Niemeier 1997: 197-197, with further references). Niemeier (1998: 38; 2007a: 15; 2007b: 83) suggests that a date in the later part of the 13<sup>th</sup> century is most plausible, mainly because this would fit the Hittite take-over of the site.

Linear B script on two pithos fragments (W.-D. Niemeier 1998: 37, pls. 13-14)<sup>21</sup> and a Mycenaean-type terracotta figurine of the Psi-type (Schiering 1959-1960: 25, 30, pl. 18.1-2). Finally, there are some Late Mycenaean (LH IIIB/C) chamber tombs on Değirmentepe (W.-D. Niemeier 2007a: 15, fig. 1.1, pl. 5.5).<sup>22</sup> It is, however, important that most finds come from the old excavations – the only substantial Miletos VI find context excavated more recently is a well, which among other ceramic finds contained some (plain) Mycenaean household wares (W.-D. Niemeier 2007a: 15) – and that the reason for highlighting these finds and characterising them as being of Mycenaean-type is essentially to support a particular narrative of Miletos as a Mycenaean colony.<sup>23</sup> As long as no complete publication of all finds and their contexts has appeared, a certain degree of reservation is therefore advised in interpreting the finds from Miletos.

The end of Miletos VI is not clear, but is usually placed some time during the twelfth century (Mountjoy 2004; W.-D. Niemeier 2007a: 16, with further references). In a recent paper, Niemeier (2009) has claimed, however, that recent excavations have clarified an uninterrupted sequence throughout the twelfth through eighth centuries around the Athena Temple and that, therefore, there was continuous ritual activity at the Athena Temple from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (Miletos IV) to the Archaic period. Unfortunately, contextual information to substantiate this claim is not provided. What this means for the end of Miletos VI is unclear. Moreover, publication of the actual data will be necessary to verify the claims, but it is noteworthy that ‘Submycenaean’ and Protogeometric pottery is known from the older excavations at Miletos (Desborough 1952: 221; B. Niemeier and Niemeier 1997: 218; Weickert 1959/1960: pls. 50-53). Most of the material still awaits publication though (Krumme 2003; in press).

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<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, both inscriptions are fragmentary and the symbols used are ambiguous and could equally be Linear B or Hittite script (Greaves 2002: 63).

<sup>22</sup> The original publication was by Weickert (1940: 325). The finds from these excavations were believed to have been lost during World War II (Mee 1978: 133), but have recently been rediscovered in Berlin (B. Niemeier and Niemeier 1997: 203) and a selection of the material is now on public display in the Altes Museum, Berlin (Greaves 2002: 59).

<sup>23</sup> As argued by Alan Greaves at a workshop in Istanbul, 24-25 May 2013.

### *The Miletos-area: Assesos and Teichiussa*

In addition to Miletos itself, two other sites with Late Bronze and Early Iron Age activity have been identified in the *Chora* of Miletos. The first one is located on Mengerevtepe (Assesos), seven kilometres southeast of Miletos. Here, what has been called, a “Mycenaean burial” (LH IIIB), which is probably a chamber tomb, and a sanctuary dedicated to Athena Assesia with remains dating to Protogeometric through Archaic times were found (Lohmann 2007: 364). The other site is Teichiussa (Saplı Adası peninsula, Gulf of Akbük), which was originally identified by Voigtländer in the 1980s (Voigtländer 1986; 1988a; 1988b; 2004; 2009; see also Lohmann 2007: 365-371). The site occupies *circa* 1.5 hectares and was occupied continuously throughout the second millennium. Furthermore, Protogeometric to Late Archaic sherds come from destroyed tombs dug into the Late Bronze Age layers and walls. Other Protogeometric sherds have been found at Kömür Adası, which is located very close to Teichiussa (Lohmann 2007: 364). As such, it could be said that Teichiussa and its surrounding region was most likely continuously inhabited throughout the second millennium and first half of the first millennium BCE.

### *Çine-Tepecik*

Çine-Tepecik Höyük is located in the Çine district, on the Maeander River and 36 km south-east of Aydın. It was originally located during field surveys (Günel 2003; 2006b; 2006c) and has been excavated since 2004 under the direction of Sevinç Günel of Hacettepe University (Günel 2006a; 2007; 2008a; 2008b; 2009; 2010a; 2010b; 2011; 2012; in press). The site is located one kilometre east of the Çine Çayı on the banks of the Kalabak stream and occupies a strategic position in relation to various routes of communication, especially those from and to the Aegean. The excavations have shown that the site was continuously inhabited from the prehistoric to the Karian-Geometric period and that it had close contacts with the Aegean world during the Chalcolithic and the Bronze Age. Deposits dating to the later second millennium are found in Levels II.1 and II.2 and there is evidence for a fortification wall with square towers (Günel 2010b: fig. 4). Several architectural features, including storage facilities, were found that belong to Level II.1, which represents the latest period of the Late Bronze Age settlement (Günel 2010b: figs. 4-5; 2011: fig. 2). Ceramic imports from the Mycenaean mainland as well as locally produced versions of

Mycenaean pottery dating to the late fourteenth through late thirteenth centuries have been found. During the twelfth century all painted pottery was, as at several other sites on the west coast of Asia Minor, locally produced, either on site or elsewhere on the west coast of Asia Minor (Günel 2010b). There are some examples of figurative kraters, but these have not yet been published (Günel 2011: 71-72).<sup>24</sup> Throughout its appearance, painted pottery comprises, as at Limantepe (Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011; in press), about ten percent of the total ceramic assemblage (Günel 2010b: 28). Despite its somewhat inland location, Çine-Tepecik, therefore, seems to follow similar developments to those sites located directly on the coast. This changes, however, at the end of the twelfth century. There is evidence for destruction by severe fire at several locations at this time and it is unclear whether the site continued to be inhabited, but ceramic finds dating to the 'Submycenaean' and Karian Geometric periods point to habitation after the destruction level (Günel 2008b: 133, fig. 7; 2010b: 42). If this is indeed the case, it is interesting to note that Protogeometric pottery has not (yet?) been found at Çine-Tepecik, for it suggests that Aegean connections might have become less important. This requires, however, further information.

#### **1.4. Outline of the study**

With the introduction of the Ionians and Ionia it is time to set out the principal aim and outline of the present study. The overview presented in the previous section of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Ionia shows the amount of work currently being carried out in the region. Unfortunately, no attempt has yet been made to use the information to write a synthesising archaeological narrative of the region's cultural dynamics during an important formative period in both Western Anatolian and Aegean history. Without doubt, this is partly due to an overprivileging of Greek literary sources at the expense of other forms of evidence (see Greaves 2010a; 2011; 2013) and partly the result of the fact that the current state of publication is limited at best due to the working of a community of practice in Ionia that values quality and completeness of final publications over the promptness of their appearance (Greaves 2010a: 22-26); indeed, to date not a single comprehensive publication of the Bronze and Iron Age remains has appeared for any of the Ionian sites. Despite this situation, I

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<sup>24</sup> For examples, see the following presentation by Sevinç Günel on Youtube: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1iAWPFto\\_ak](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1iAWPFto_ak) [accessed 13-07-2013].

strongly believe that to enhance our understanding of the region it is of crucial importance to try and piece together the information available into a more or less coherent whole, while, of course, recognising that there are still many blank spots to be filled in. Consequently, this thesis presents the first synthesising study of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Ionia based, on the one hand, on a critical review of the published archaeological literature and, on the other, personal visits to the region, two very brief studies of the ceramic material from Klazomenai, and many conversations with scholars and students working in the region.

Because of both my own personal interests and a strong bias towards ceramics in the published reports, the chief focus of this study is on ceramics and in particular the tendency in archaeological narratives to associate ceramic change with historical, cultural and sometimes even ethnic change. This conceptualisation is derived from a broadly (and often implicit) art-historical perspective, inherited from traditional culture-history concerns and the pre-occupations of Classical archaeology, that is inclined to regard (particularly painted) pottery as of paramount ethnic, cultural and historical significance (Sherratt 2011b: 260). In Chapter 3, it will be argued that the reasons and causes for material change and innovation are much more complex than this. In fact, rather than conceptualising historical dynamics as a linear process, the argument is made that change and innovation tend to be unpredictable and are not necessarily caused by or related to any social concerns. To be able to explore these complex dynamics and come to a fuller understanding of ceramic change in Ionia at the end of the second millennium, Chapter 3 advocates a fundamental shift in perspective, away from material remains as self-contained and inert objects that can be described in minute detail and fitted into typo-chronological classification systems, and towards an investigation of how ceramic styles take shape continuously as part of an ongoing process in which localised and everyday practices of making, using and abandoning material things tie in with the dynamics of connectivity and mobility.

Chapters 4 and 5 will depart from the current debate on the historicity of the Ionian migration in the sense that they focus on issues raised in this debate. Particular focus will be placed on the appearance of 'Aegean'-style cooking pots at the beginning of the twelfth century and the introduction of Protogeometric-style pottery in the mid-eleventh century. It needs to be emphasised that the primary intent of the two chapters

is not to either support or reject the arguments made for a movement of people from one side of the Aegean to the other during either one of those two periods. Instead, the aim is to move historical and archaeological enquiry into a different direction by proposing different lines of thinking that might help in building up from the ground a dynamic and practice-led picture of ceramic change and innovation in Ionia at the very end of the second millennium BCE. Chapter 6 will summarise the results and look ahead by briefly discussing a new analytical project on Early Iron Age pottery at Klazomenai. But first it is important to place the present study in perspective. As Kostas Vlassopoulos (2011: 156) points out, the writing of history is not a straight line from darkness to illumination. It has followed certain paths, while abandoning others; it has imposed certain ways of looking at the past, while pushing aside others; it has accepted certain metahistories, while eschewing others. It is, therefore, of crucial importance not to dismiss past scholarship as simply redundant, but rather to reflect on the practice and context of historical writing. This will be the goal of the next chapter.



## Chapter 2

### Tracing the Ionians in modern scholarship

#### 2.1. Introduction

Historiographical research for Ionia is not completely new. General studies detailing, for instance, the background against which German and British archaeologists commenced collecting expeditions to the west coast of Asia Minor to acquire antiquities for the various European museums are not uncommon (Greaves 2007; Challis 2008; Bilsel 2012). Moreover, Alan Greaves (2007; 2010a: 27-44), Naoíse Mac Sweeney (2011: 59-63) and Olivier Mariaud and Kenan Eren (2006) have all discussed various aspects of the contexts in which the archaeological and historical investigation of the Bronze and Iron Ages in the region has taken shape. Despite the extremely useful insights presented by these studies, none of them, however, discuss how modern perceptions of ancient Ionia and the Ionians have changed over the past two centuries or so and what the reasons or causes for these shifts were. This chapter, therefore, intends to present a comprehensive and detailed overview of the socio-political and academic contexts in which the investigation of the Ionians and Ionia took place since ca. 1750 CE and how this shaped scholarly perception.

#### 2.2 Dorians and Ionians: 1750-1870

During the second half of the eighteenth century, a growing interest in the ancient Greek world arose in Western Europe. In the first instance, this growing interest was especially centred in Germany where, as a result of the Enlightenment, intellectuals started to compare the contemporary German kingdoms with the freedom of the independent city states in the Classical world. One of the main characters in this development was Johann Winckelmann. During his career Winckelmann devoted himself to studying Greek and Roman art on display in Italy. Inspired by the philologist Julius Caesar Scaliger's (1484-1558) division of Greek literature into four successive periods, he intensively studied inscriptions and other dated works by noting the stylistic threads. As such, he was able to present a stylistic analysis of Greek art in his work *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1772 [1764]). Not surprisingly, this analysis resulted in a four-stage development from an old and

primitive style, to a high style, a refined style and finally a period of ‘imitation’ and ‘decay’ (cf. Trigger 2006: 57). Winckelmann was certainly not without his predecessors, as Marchand (1996: 7) notes. By the mid-eighteenth century Greek antiquities were not rare items in Europe, and several French scholars had developed stylistic characterisations of ancient Mediterranean art comparable to that of Winckelmann. However, what made Winckelmann so influential was that he associated the Greeks with nature, genius, and freedom, while at the same time he saw the modern world as unnatural, overspecialised and tyrannical (Marchand 1996: 9; Trigger 2006: 57-58).<sup>25</sup>

The admiration of the Greeks also resulted in a growing interest in the texts of the ancient Greek world, and especially in the Homeric Epics. Marchand (1996: 17) notes that no fewer than six new translations of the Homeric poems were published between 1754 and 1793. But the most influential book on the Homeric epics was written by Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824), a student of Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729-1812). Wolf was in large part responsible for the establishment of *Altertumswissenschaft*, a new academic discipline that especially focused on critical analysis and the concept of the *Volksgeist*, or spirit of the people, through the study of language and textual sources. In 1795 he published a book called *Prolegomena ad Homerum*<sup>26</sup> in which he demonstrated the fundamental importance of the establishment of authentic texts for interpretations of their history, authorship, and meaning. In this work the influences of Winckelmann and the contemporary admiration of ancient Greece are clear in the sense that, for Wolf, one of the most important reasons for applying such an approach was to “investigate how far the ancient evidence would take us in polishing these unique remains [e.g. the Homeric epics] of the Greek genius” (Wolf 1985 [1795]: 47). Like Winckelmann, Wolf praises the genius of the Greeks throughout his entire work. In fact, he argues that the Homeric epics should not be regarded as the product of just one poet, a view generally held at that time (cf. Morris 2000: 79-84), but was the work of many different poets. Wolf (1985 [1795]: 77-116) argues that, despite the genius of the Greeks, the epics were too long for one man to remember without the help of written sources. Writing

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<sup>25</sup> This chapter particularly deals with aspects of so-called ‘Hellenism’ from a Western European perspective. For a critical discussion of Greek Hellenism, see Hamilakis 2007, esp. chapter 3.

<sup>26</sup> The book was originally published in Latin, but in 1985 an English translation was published by A. Grafton, G.W. Most and J.E.G. Zetzel.

may have already been introduced, but since Homer is silent about it, it seems unlikely, according to Wolf, that it was already widely used. As such, Wolf (1985 [1795]: 92) states that, “those writers [e.g. Homer and Hesiod] were not writers but singers”.

In addition to this, there are a few other points in Wolf’s book that are of interest to mention. One of them is that Wolf associates the invention of the alphabetic script with the Phoenicians. He states that, “... both consistent report and the form of the Greek letters convincingly show that of these peoples [i.e. Phoenicians, Egyptians, Hebrews, and Latins], the first that I mentioned either discovered this device independently or so improved and spread it to other peoples, particularly the Greeks, that they could be called and considered its inventor” (Wolf 1985 [1795]: 77). Although it was certainly not shocking for most eighteenth century scholars, this idea that the Greeks would have adopted something from the Phoenicians would, within the context of increasing racist, or perhaps better anti-oriental, feelings in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, later be seen as absolutely absurd by many scholars (cf. Said 2003 [1978]).<sup>27</sup> The most extreme form of this rejection almost certainly is Kossinna (1930), who argued that writing was a Stone Age invention. However, even Wolf himself was not without any racial feelings. In his *Darstellung der Altertumswissenschaft* (1869 [1807]) he argues, within a context of already long existing wide-spread anti-Jewish prejudices that go back to the Middle Ages, that the Jews were of a lower *Geisteskultur* (intellectual culture) than the Greeks and the Romans. As Marchand (1996: 21) notes, for Wolf the Roman and effectively only the Greek civilisations constituted *Altertum* (antiquity) as a whole, while other ancient people were dismissed as ‘Barbari’.

Another interesting point that can be observed in Wolf’s work is that, while he extensively praises the genius of the Greeks as a *Volk*, he assigns almost all important inventions and introductions to the Ionians. It was the Ionians who, according to Wolf (1985 [1795]: 82-85), introduced writing into the Greek world. Originally, this script would, Wolf argues, have either been inscribed on wooden tablets and boards when it was for public matters or on cloths in the case of private purposes. However, neither

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<sup>27</sup> On the role of the Orient in German scholarly thought between circa 1800-1820, see Marchand 2009: Chapter 2.

wood nor cloths would have been refined enough to write down the *Iliad*. Therefore, the Ionians, whom Wolf sees as the producers of this first refined poem, began to scrape skins and prepare them for writing long before real parchment, the introduction of which was also ascribed to the Ionians, was made. Indeed, Wolf regards the Ionians as the most refined Greek people. Perhaps the most explicit expression of this view can be observed in the quote that, “*the making of the books* [original italics], among both the *Ionians and the rest of the Greeks* [my italics], was not earlier than this period [i.e. the time of Peisistratos]” (Wolf 1985 [1795]: 92). Interestingly, this view is the complete opposite of what, thirty years later, Karl Otfried Müller will argue in his account of the Dorians. However, before moving to Müller, it is first important to have a closer look at political and intellectual developments in Germany during the first decennia of the nineteenth century.

The constant invasions of French armies into German territory during the late eighteenth century and the ultimate defeat of the Prussian armies by Napoleon in 1806 at Jena had a major impact on German society. While for people like Winckelmann and other German intellectuals like Herder and perhaps Goethe the comparison between the Greeks and modern societies in general was the point that mattered, these constant attacks created a new German cultural nationalism in which the relationship between the German *Volk* and the ancient Greek civilisation was especially central (Marchand 1996: 24). This resulted in a series of pedagogical and social reforms during the years directly following the battle at Jena. Education in particular came to be one of the central aspects that had to represent this new national identity. Although there were already several educational reforms initiated by Enlightenment reformers, such as Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Basedow, during the third quarter of the eighteenth century (Marchand 1996: 25 with further references), the real reforms and the subsequent institutionalisation of neohumanist pedagogy were established between 1809 and 1810 under the driving force of Wilhelm von Humboldt, the head of the newly created Prussian Educational and Ecclesiastical Affairs Section (Section für Kultus und Unterricht) (Rebenich 2011).

Like many of his contemporaries Humboldt was a great admirer of the ancient Greek world and he believed that through the study of the ancient Greeks a new and better

society could be created in the present.<sup>28</sup> In one of his essays, called ‘Über das studium des Alterthums, und des Griechischen insbesondre’ (‘On the study of Antiquity, and the Greek in particular’) (Von Humboldt 1961 [1807]), he argues that only through the study of people in the past could the highest form of humanity in the present be reached. However, he adds that not every society or nation is worthy of study. The only nations that are worthy of study are those of which the available remains truly reflect their *Geist* and character, while, at the same time, the character possesses a multiplicity and unity, and is rich in diversity. Also, the character of the nation should be of such a level that the character of the people at any level and without any consideration of any individual differences is of secondary importance to the character of the nation. In Humboldt’s opinion, it is the Greeks, and in particular the Athenians, who are the only people in Antiquity that reached such a high level on all of these points. Therefore, only through the study of the ancient Greeks could a higher stage of humanity be reached. This view was also even more explicitly expressed in one of his later essays ‘Latium und Hellas oder Betrachtungen über das Classische Altherthum’ (Von Humboldt 1961 [1806]). In this essay Humboldt states that the Greeks had, just like Winckelmann had argued, developed the most natural, and for the time, the most ideal sculpture. Furthermore, they had poetry that like no other had raised reality to ideality, and their religion was stripped of idolatry, idealising man. They also had universally enviable mores and a polity that fostered good breeding and wealth without plunging itself into oligarchy and plutocracy (Marchand 1996: 29-30).

This latter point about good breeding and wealth is particularly interesting in respect to the Ionians. Although Humboldt does not mention the Ionians explicitly, it seems that he shared a similar view to that of Wolf. As has been mentioned earlier, Wolf regarded the Ionians as the most refined of all Greeks and, according to him, the Ionians were responsible for the cultural and also financial richness of the ancient Greeks. Besides, in the ancient world Ionian cities, such as Athens or Miletos and Ephesos on the west coast of Asia Minor, were famous for their richness. By stating that the Greeks as a *Volk* had a polity that fostered good breeding and wealth, it seems

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<sup>28</sup> However, it needs to be noted that particularly in the late 1820s Humboldt became increasingly interested in the Orient, but this came too late to have any significant impact on Prussian institutions (Marchand 2009: 72, 95-96).

that Humboldt implicitly refers to the Ionian Greeks. It has to be admitted that since Humboldt does not mention the Ionians explicitly, there is of course no direct proof that he made this link, but at the same time it should not be forgotten that Humboldt was a close friend of Wolf and that he admired him (Marchand 1996: 25). Moreover, it is quite remarkable that it is precisely the wealth of the Ionians that was, as will be seen later, used by people like Müller and Curtius to oppose the Ionians to the Dorians.

That Humboldt was indeed influenced by Wolf can be observed in the idea that, while Humboldt argued that the Greeks as a *Volk* had raised all the cultural elements to the highest standards, he did not see them as representing different expressions of the *Volksgeist*. In 'Über des Studium des Alterthums' (Von Humboldt 1961 [1807]), but more specifically in 'Latium und Hellas' (Von Humboldt 1961 [1806]) and his book *On language: the diversity of human language-structure and its influence on the mental development of mankind* (Von Humboldt 1988 [1836]), Humboldt argues that the key to understanding these different forms of cultural expression, and hence the key to understanding the national character, lies in the study of the Greek language. Languages were not the product of God but of nations of native speakers. The structure of these languages embodied each nation's character. Although all languages were human-made, some languages remained closer to nature than others. Not surprisingly, the Greek language, which, according to Humboldt, exhibited unparalleled transparency and universality, was one of them. It is this emphasis on language that, as Marchand (1996: 29) has noted, shows clear influences from Wolf and that also made Humboldt's ideas different from contemporary ideas in which the different cultural forms were regarded as different expressions of the *Volksgeist*. Because of this belief that the study of the past through language was the key to a better society, it is not very surprising that it was philology which became the most important aspect of Humboldt's educational reforms and his new *Bildung*. However, it should be noted that, as has been mentioned earlier, these reforms were also a reaction to the defeat of the Prussian army at Jena. Therefore, the emphasis on philology could also be regarded as a way to culturally oppose Germany to France where education was based on mathematics and pure science (Bernal 1987: 283-285).

Together with the rise of Hellenism and the establishment of *Altertumswissenschaft* the early nineteenth century sees, originally primarily based on language (cf. Marchand 2009: 124-130), a rise in anti-Jewish and Orientalist feelings that came to an initial climax during the Greek War of Independence (1821-1830). It was for example Shelley (1821; quoted in Bernal 1987: 290-291) who argued that, “we are all Greeks. Our laws, our religion, our arts all have their roots in Greece”. From a European perspective, the war was thus seen as a struggle between European youthful vigour and Asiatic decadence, corruption and cruelty (Bernal 1987: 291). For the Greeks, too, the war was about a clash between civilisation and barbarism, but for them the war had less to do with the general European stereotypes of the east and more with ridding the classical lands from the Ottomans who had polluted it. It was, in a sense, a continuation of the ancient wars against the Persians, since the Ottomans were constructed as the oriental other (Hamilakis 2007: 78).<sup>29</sup>

This racial degeneration of the contemporary East eventually came to influence conceptualisations of the past as well, the Phoenicians in particular, by the end of the nineteenth century. Although at the beginning of the century both French and British scholars identified with the Phoenicians at various times, as examples of mercantile entrepreneurs and successful maritime empire-builders, who additionally introduced civilised aspects such as writing<sup>30</sup>, they slowly caught up with nineteenth century growth of anti-Semitism in Europe, Germany in particular, by the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. As a result, first the Egyptians and then the Phoenicians came to be perceived as ‘racially’ inferior and the Greek legends of their having not only colonised but civilised ‘sacred Hellas’ became not merely distasteful but paradigmatically impossible (Bernal 1987: 289-292, 338-339, 350-352; Marchand 2009: 27-28).

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<sup>29</sup> This purification can best be seen in the demolitions and clearings of basically all post-classical (and especially Ottoman) traces of activity on the Athenian Acropolis starting immediately after the War of Independence (Hamilakis 2007: 87-89).

<sup>30</sup> Nathan Davis (1812-1882), an American who excavated Carthage for the British Museum between 1857 and 1859, argued that Roman art was crude and learned from the Greeks. At the same time, however, he also maintained that the Phoenicians were further advanced in artistic skills at the time that Carthage was founded, and that the Punic actually not only taught the Greeks their artistic skills but also taught the Romans how to make beautiful mosaics (Challis 2008: 93).

It is, however, not just the Phoenicians that were pictured as racially inferior; ambivalent feelings were also extended to the study of the ancient Greeks. Some Philhellenes started to argue that Slavs had entirely replaced the true Hellenes and that, therefore, the contemporary Greeks could not be seen as heirs of the Hellenic *Volksgeist* (e.g. Fallmerayer 1830: 143-213; cf. Morris 2000: 47). As such, it was no longer enough to regard contemporary Greece as the birthplace of Europeanness. Instead, it was necessary to start searching for the pure essence of Greece before it was tainted by Oriental (and Slav) corruption (Bernal 1987: 292-294; though see Marchand 1996: 44-51 for a critical note on the unilateral focus of Bernal on the influence of racism on the German educational system). In this search for racial purity in the past, a further element, the notion of blood as an ethnic marker, was introduced under the influence of Johann Herder (1744-1803). In a time before the construction of a field of genetics, 'uncontaminated' blood, that is blood that has not been mixed with blood from another ethnic origin, was seen by romantics as the essence that lay behind the notion of 'racial' purity. As such, being of pure 'blood' became an important element in the constitution of an ethnic group (J.M. Hall 1997: 7-8), even though language continued to be the most important characteristic of an ethnic group.

The questioning by Philhellenes of contemporary Greeks as heirs of the Hellenic *Volksgeist* during the first half of the nineteenth century meant that the origins of the Greek language, which was still central to the study of ancient Greece, had to be rethought. As mentioned earlier, it was already Humboldt who saw the Modern Greek and German languages as being pure and uncontaminated by foreign influences. However, it was especially Ernst Curtius (1868: 18-24) who argued that a language as beautiful as Greek could not have developed in the Mediterranean, but must have originated further north (cf. J.M. Hall 1997: 8; Bernal 1987: 335). This idea of a northern origin of the Greek language was based on the recent discovery that Greek, just like German, was part of the Indo-Germanic (now called Indo-European) or Aryan language family. Because of this, the Greeks would have been part of an Aryan *Urvolk* (Curtius 1868: 16). Although Curtius did not explicitly link the origins of the Classical Greeks with Germany, as a result of his view of the northern origin of the Greek language, in combination with the generally held view in the nineteenth century that the character of the *Volk* was moulded more by its original homeland than

by its current location (J.M. Hall 1997: 7), an (in)direct link between Germany and the origins of the Greeks and their language is implied.

It is also within the context of racial purity that the work of Karl Otfried Müller on the Dorians was important. As Jonathan Hall (1997: 9) points out, his work set the stage for the way in which the Dorians have been viewed by historians even down to the present day. Like Humboldt and others, Müller (1824a: 15-16; cf. J.M. Hall 1997: 8) stresses the ‘nordic character’ and the ‘purity’ of the Dorian dialect. The Ionian dialect, on the other hand, could only have been enervated and have degenerated from this true dialect as a result of Asiatic influence.<sup>31</sup> This opposition in dialect is just one of the many differences Müller observes between Dorians and Ionians. In fact, it is especially through opposition to the Ionians, as articulated in the textual sources of the Peloponnesian War period, that Müller characterises the Dorians. For Müller the Dorian character represented the polar opposite of the Ionian character in seven aspects: the Dorians defended a sense of freedom, fought in a time-honoured tradition, placed faith in the integrity of their manpower, valued tradition, acted cautiously and after due deliberation, predicated their collective consciousness on ancestry, and preferred aristocratic forms of government, whereas the Ionians were enslaved to the ambitions of the state, took the cowardly option of fighting on the sea<sup>32</sup>, used their wealth to buy support, welcomed innovation, acted rashly and impetuously, resorted to *ad hoc* contingencies, and opted for democracy (K.O. Müller 1824b: 5-8; cf. J.M. Hall 1997: 9; see also Rawson 1991: 323; Musti 1985: xiv). However, it was especially because of the Ionian curiosity about external reality and receptivity to external interests and impressions that they were condemned to foreign contamination and premature dissolution (Rawson 1991: 323). Therefore, the only people who can stand as true Greeks must be the Dorians who, as Rawson (1991: 323) states, “place man at the centre of vision, flee mystery and the dark, [are] content with the here and now, and confident in the gods”.

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<sup>31</sup> This anti-Asiatic attitude relates directly to the strong anti-Semite feelings in Germany at that time.

<sup>32</sup> Note that this point seems to be a direct reference to the underdog position of Germany in the international situation during the nineteenth century. Whereas the British and French had their overseas empires, Germany did not possess any colonies and was not otherwise involved in international colonial activities, though Germans were omnipresent on Dutch and Portuguese ships and were involved in providing metalwork for the ships and producing astronomical charts and excellent maps (Marchand 2009: 28).

It was, however, Müller's pupil Ernst Curtius who brought these oppositions between Dorians and Ionians to a subsequent stage by arguing that of these two groups only the Dorians were real Hellenes. In his works *Die Ionier vor der ionischen Wanderung* (1855) and *Griechische Geschichte* (1868), Curtius argued, mainly following Thucydides, that some time after the first Greek tribes had populated Epirus, a group of people from the north moved into Thessaly. This movement caused the Aiolian Boiotians to move to the south, whereas other groups were pushed around. One of these groups was the Dorians. Because of the northern invasion they moved from Phthiotis to Hestiaiotis where they started the Apollo-cult, which was according to both Müller and Curtius one of the basic elements of the Dorian *Volksgeist*, and mixed with the Herakleidai, the descendants of Herakles. As one group they then first migrated to the Pindos area before they moved in a southern direction and founded Boion, Erineos, Pindos and Kytinion in Boiotia. From this area the Dorians were responsible for bringing all tribes from Mount Olympos to the Corinthian Gulf under one banner through the celebration of the cult of Apollo. The result was that a country called 'Hellas' was formed, the inhabitants of which were known as the 'Hellenes'. After some time a divide emerged between north and south Hellas causing real Hellenic groups like the Dorians to move further south. This migration is also known as the Dorian invasion or the Return of the Herakleidai.

The implications of this reconstruction by Curtius are clear. He sees the Dorians as the founders of Hellas and the only true Hellenes. The Ionians, on the other hand, are regarded as closely related to the Pelasgians, the original inhabitants of Greece before the coming of the Hellenes, and therefore ethnically no true Greeks. For Curtius one of the main reasons for this argument is that there are no stories that tell where the Ionians originally came from and when they had settled on the Greek mainland. Consequently, they must have migrated to Greece at a time before the coming of the Dorians (Curtius 1855: 4; 1868: 28). Based on this argument, Curtius (1855: 5; 1868: 36-44, 104-112) maintains that the Ionians must have originated from the west coast of Asia Minor and the north-eastern Aegean where they were originally divided up into Pelasgians, Tyrrhenians, Thracians and Dardanians. These people were known as East Greeks and were closely related to the sea and as such rivals of the Phoenicians. They followed the Phoenicians on their sea-routes and ultimately landed in Egypt. By the eleventh century BCE, the East Greeks had settled the complete west coast of Asia

Minor and the eastern Aegean islands and were called 'Ionians' or 'Iaones' in Phoenician, 'Javan' in Hebrew, 'Iuna/Iauna' in Persian and 'Uinin' in Egyptian. They quickly expanded their power in the Aegean and settled on other Aegean islands and the Greek mainland. However, after the coming of the Dorians to the Peloponnese, the Ionians were forced to move to Attica and from there (back) to the eastern Aegean. As such, Curtius (1868: 104-112) argues, the Ionian migration is nothing more than a return of the Ionians to their original homeland. Here they mixed with the local Ionian population in the already very old cities of, for example, Miletos and Ephesos. However, the newcomers from the Greek mainland brought all the good from Greece with them, creating a flourishing Ionia.

The views of Müller and Curtius on the ancient Greeks were not without their critics. Beloch (1913: 10) states that in their search for the true Hellenes they made history out of myth and it was apparently not necessary for them to follow Müller's own scientific model for the study of myths (K.O. Müller 1968 [1844]). Beloch even accuses Müller of undermining history as a science. He states:

"Da er ein sehr gelehrter und auch scharfsinniger Mann war, da ferner sein Lehrer Böckh für die nötige Reklame sorgte, ist er zur Autorität geworden, an der noch der heutige Philologe nicht ohne eine Verbeugung vorübergeht; und so hat er den Karren der griechische Geschichte noch tiefer in den Sumpf gefahren, in dem er schon steckte, so tief, dass wir ihn noch immer nicht ganz haben herausziehen können. Es ist die Schuld der von Otfried Müller begründeten Richtung, dass alle Arbeit auf dem Gebiete der älteren griechischen Geschichte so gut wie völlig unfruchtbar geblieben ist, bis gegen das Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts Männer hervortraten, die auf dem Grunde weiterbauten, den Niebuhr gelegt hatte" (Beloch 1913: 10-11).

"Since he was a learned and also perspicacious man, and his teacher provided a lot of publicity, he came to be an authority with whom even present-day philologists ally themselves without any critical note; as such he has driven the wagon of Greek history even deeper into the marsh in which it was already stuck, so deep that we have still not been able to pull it completely out. It is the fault of the direction embarked on by Otfried Müller, that all the work in the area of ancient Greek history has remained completely useless until at the end of the nineteenth century men stood up who built on the foundations laid down by Niebuhr" (my translation).

In respect to Curtius, Beloch also states that his book was full of admiration for the aesthetic side of Hellenism, but had very little to do with historical criticism.

Furthermore, Curtius lacked any sense of political understanding and did not pay any attention to scientific developments (Beloch 1913: 11). Despite these harsh criticisms of Müller's and Curtius' work, their ideas that the Dorians were the only true Hellenes and that both the Dorian invasion and the Ionian migration were historical facts remained the leading view for a long period, to some extent even up to the present day. Nevertheless, the excavations by Schliemann from the 1870s onwards at Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns and many other sites added a new dimension to the investigation of the ancient Greek world.

### **2.3. The Ionians between 1870-1939**

The excavations by Schliemann at Troy, Mycenae and Tiryns from the 1870s onwards brought a shock to the academic disciplines studying the ancient Greek world. Suddenly, it was shown that before the eighth century another highly developed civilisation had existed in the Aegean that was, according to Schliemann, described in the Homeric epics. This view directly challenged the generally held opinion of historians that the Homeric epics were essentially legendary and had more importance for the Greek national faith. Grote (1888: 290-294)<sup>33</sup>, for example, argues that the Homeric epics supplied the Greeks with a grand and inexhaustible object of common sympathy, common faith, and common admiration. In his opinion, the Trojan War was to be regarded as an expression of Greek-barbarian opposition in the eighth century and, although the poems could give valuable pictures or real manners, they gave no historical facts.

As Morris (2000: 84) remarks, Grote's views were controversial, but by the 1860s his view had won over most British and German readers. Schliemann's excavations, however, heavily disrupted this view and scholars tried to challenge his discoveries by questioning Schliemann's professionalism as well as his interpretations. For instance, Jebb (1907) argued that Hissarlik (Troy), Mycenae and Tiryns were not the palaces of the Homeric heroes but Byzantine fortresses. Despite this resistance, which was especially strong in the German academic community, public opinion shifted towards Schliemann and, as Morris (2000: 88) points out, "by 1914 most Homerists agreed

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<sup>33</sup> The first edition of Grote's *History of Greece* was published between 1846 and 1856.

that the poems reached more or less their modern forms around 700, but described the Mycenaean world which had ended around 1200’.

The renewed interest in the Homeric epics as a result of archaeological excavations also triggered a renewed interest in the origins of the Greeks. The questions of whence the Greeks originated and when they came to Greece became especially important issues. Mainly based on the assumption that the Mycenaeans were not Greek-speakers, as for instance Tsountas had argued (Tsountas and Manatt 1897), J.B. Bury (1900), for instance, argued that they must have been part of an ‘Aegean Civilisation’, as he labelled it. Whereas during the nineteenth century all research on ancient Greece was based on texts and linguistics, the archaeological discoveries of the late nineteenth century introduced a new dimension. It became possible not only just to illustrate the greatness of the Classical Greeks, but also to address questions such as when the Greeks might have come to the south and where they might have come from in some more detail. This is not to say, of course, that archaeology suddenly took over the whole study of the ancient Greek world. In fact, it was generally accepted among historians that archaeology could not investigate the true nature of past societies. Most adamant about this is Beloch (1913: 2) who states that monuments do not tell anything about the inside of society, only texts can do that. Abbott (1888: 25-26) is a bit more careful, but he too emphasises that, although monuments show that opulent and powerful tribes once inhabited Hissarlik, Mycenae and Tiryns, they do not tell anything of the time in which they were built or who built them.

This view of archaeology was directly influenced by the way archaeology was operating at that time. Marchand (1996: 104-115) argues that in the 1870s German classical art historians turned away from Winckelmann’s interests and toward a semi-scientific model in which a more formalist analysis of style had great appeal. Archaeologists soon followed them. As Morris (2000: 53) notes, in the early twentieth century the standard archaeological text came to be the artefact-centred monograph, describing the architecture, sculpture, small finds, or pottery from a certain site. By using a non-narrative account archaeologists could align themselves with *Sprachphilologen* and as such feel more scientific than *Sachphilologen* for whom the re-presentation in narrative was the highest form of explanation. According to Morris,

this aim of archaeologists to win scientific status immediately affected their right to study the past in their own way. He states that “by producing ‘analyses’ rather than narratives, Greek archaeologists won scientific status but surrendered the disciplinary high ground – the right to shape the story of the relationship between the Greeks and the west – in return for a small but secure niche within Hellenism” (Morris 2000: 53).<sup>34</sup>

It was, however, precisely the more ‘scientific’ side that made archaeology important in actually attempting to illustrate and date the origins of the Greeks. Some people, such as Kossinna (1930), went as far as to argue that the Greeks were part of the Indo-German race, which originated in north and central Europe (mainly Germany) and from there expanded further south to Greece, Italy, south-eastern Europe and Asia Minor around 2000 BC. Although Kossinna’s Indo-Germanic interpretations of European prehistory and, to a large extent, his racist assumptions were generally rejected, it was common practice in the historical sciences to place the Greeks somewhere in the Balkans before they moved south during the second millennium BCE. Bury (1900: 36-41), for instance, argues that throughout the third and second millennium Greeks moved in several tribal migrations from the edges of the Aegean Civilisation in northern and central Greece. Some of these tribes, such as the Ionians, Dryopians, Phokians, Abantes and Kadmeians, went even further south and mixed in with the local populations. According to Bury, these groups were, on the one hand, able to impose their language on the local population, but, on the other, also assimilated with them and ultimately became participators in the Aegean civilisation.

During the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, some of these early Greek migrants (e.g. Ionians, Achaians and Aiolians) also expanded to the west coast of Asia Minor, which lay outside the Aegean civilisation, bearing with them the Aegean civilisation. Interestingly, Bury (1900: 41-50) argues that this migration cannot be proven by archaeological finds, since the sites on the west coast of Asia Minor were, although newly founded, continuously inhabited from their foundation onwards and, therefore, overlaid the earliest remains. The only exception he sees is near Mount Mykale where

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<sup>34</sup> However, see Marchand (1996: 112-114) who points out the importance of trained architects taking over the supervision of excavations, with the result that archaeological reports began to include more measurements and discussions of building materials than interpretations of objects or rhapsodies on the splendours of ancient form.

Late Mycenaean pottery had been found. However, the idea that Ionians and other Greeks had migrated already in the Mycenaean period is based on Bury's assumption that the luxurious Ionian civilisation of the historical period must have developed out of the Aegean civilisation, which on the Greek mainland was ended by the final invasion of Boiotians, Thessalians and Dorians during the twelfth century.

Bury's emphasis on Ionian luxuriousness, in which he implicitly follows people like Müller and Curtius in opposing the Ionians to the Dorians, acquired completely new connotations towards the end of the nineteenth and in the first half of the twentieth century as a result of the early excavations in Ionia, first by the British archaeological explorers Charles Newton at Knidos, Halikarnassos (Bodrum) and Didyma (1856-1859) and John Turtle Wood at Ephesos (1863-1874) and then by German archaeologists, most famously Carl Humann at Pergamon (1878-1896), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (1891-1893), Priene (1895) and Ephesos (1895), and Theodor Wiegand at Priene (1896-1898), Miletos (1899-1911) and Didyma (1905-1911). The prime aim of these excavations was to bring back home Ionian sculptures of mainly Classical/Hellenistic date to Western European museums (Greaves 2007: 4-5; see also Hogarth 1909: 13). This is particularly clear from the fact that between 1880 and 1886 a vast amount of antiquities excavated at Pergamon was sent to Berlin, including the entire Pergamon Altar (Bilsel 2012), but can also be observed in a passage in the diary of Theodor Wiegand, the first German excavator of Miletos, dated May 1908 in which he states that "We have succeeded in packing up the entire market gate of Miletos, of which three-quarters of all the ancient dressed stones were found, with the designation 'architectural fragments', without the Turkish officials having the least idea that they have given us a whole monument the size of Constantine's arch in Rome" (quoted in Marchand 1996: 215).

Particularly in Germany the impact of the excavations was significant. Mainly because a much better reinforced antiquities law in Greece prevented antiquities from the major excavations by Ernst Curtius at Olympia (1875-1881) from being transported to Germany, the tangible results of these excavations fell short of living up to the expectations in Berlin. As Bilsel (2012: 92) notes, for Prussia's *gymnasium*-educated public, the most highly praised outcome of a state-sponsored archaeological expedition was the monumental sculpture it was expected to yield. Despite the first

Ottoman Antiquities Law (1874), the German archaeologists working on the west coast of Asia Minor were able to ship vast amounts of antiquities to Berlin. As a result, in general, the procurers of the Pergamon Altar were greeted with greater and more nationalistic fanfare than the excavators of Olympia had received just a few years before (Marchand 1996: 96) and as early as 1886 the ‘Zeus Altar of Pergamon’ came to be identified with the glory of the unified German *Kaiserreich* (Bilsel 2012: 109).

The success of the excavations in Ionia not only helped to provide Germany with a ‘cultural legacy’ that allowed it to compete with Britain and establish itself as a legitimate heir to the classical world, but also stimulated a wholesale change in the reception of ancient Ionia in Western Europe. Although the Dorians were still regarded as true Greeks by many scholars, the Ionians once more came to be regarded as the cradle of Greek culture. For example, Hogarth (1909: 7) states that, “Even in the face of the discoveries at Sparta, it may be said without hesitation that the Greeks of western Asia Minor produced the first full bloom of what we call pure Hellenism, that is, a Greek civilisation come to full consciousness of itself, and destined to attain the highest possibilities of the Hellenic genius”. This view was also clearly supported by Bilabel (1920: 1) who claims that,

“Und doch, wie sehr verschwindet die Bedeutung Athens etwa im 8./7. Jahrhundert hinter der Korinths oder der kleinasiatischen Kolonialstädte! Namentlich die letzteren waren es, das muß stark betont werden, die die führende Rolle im griechischen Geistesleben in den angedeutende Zeiten, ja sogar noch früher, innehatten und im Mittelpunkt der ersten griechischen Kulturblüte standen. Unter ihnen wider ragen die Städte des begabtesten der griechische Stämme, der Ionier, allen voran Milet, hervor”.

In other words, it was Ionia in which the foundation for the organisation of Greek society and the Greek state, as well as for philosophy and poetry, was laid.

Unfortunately, the increased archaeological investigation of ancient Ionia did not extend to Bronze and Iron Age layers. Despite being discovered at for instance Miletos at an early date (Greaves 2007: 5, with further references), these layers were rarely considered of any interest, let alone formed the primary aim or even an integral part of investigation. Consequently, despite Schliemann’s discoveries at Troy,

Mycenae and Tiryns, the archaeology of the Ionian migration remained out of the scope of archaeological enquiry. The study of the traditions essentially continued to be the only sources through which questions concerning the early history of Ionia were addressed. This does not automatically mean, however, that the traditional date of the Ionian migration some time in the late eleventh or early tenth century was not debated. Eduard Meyer (1915: 392) thought the Ionian migration to be a product of Mycenaean times, whereas Caspari (1915: 179) proposed the eleventh century and Beloch (1913: 399) a date between 1300 and 1000 BC. Bilabel (1927: 399) was vaguer still and held that the Ionian migration must have taken place some time during the end of the second millennium. Bolkestijn (1913: 441) argued for a date somewhere “in the end of the Mycenaean period” and, as Jongkees (1948: 71) notes, these words perfectly express the thoughts of all the scholars mentioned. Nilsson (1933: 99), on the other hand, proposes a slightly later date when he notes that the Ionian migration took place “not before the very end of and just after the Mycenaean age”. Similarly, Hogarth (1909: 41) states that colonists from the west came over “not far from the opening of the first millennium B.C.”. Alongside these two lines of thought, De Sanctis (1943: 171) occupied a place apart. He thought that the Dorian migration took place “prima del fiorire della civiltà micenea”, and that the Ionian migration, which he does not actually date, was closely related to it.

However, just after the Second World War two things changed. In the first place, R.M. Cook (1946) challenged *Panionismus* and questioned the claim that Ionia was in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE the infants’ school of Hellas. In doing so, he exploded the chronological basis upon which the existing view of the primacy of Ionia was based and, in particular, questioned current attitudes to the ancient chronology with regard to the dates for the founding of the Ionian colonies. In his opinion, Ionia, whatever its position in literature and thought, was late in developing economically and socially. The second change was the introduction of archaeology into the debate concerning the date of the Ionian migration. It was probably the Dutch scholar Jongkees (1948: 73-75) who first introduced the excavations of several Ionian sites on the west coast of Asia Minor into his argument. Based on the evidence available then, he observed that the earliest finds from Ephesos dated from Geometric

times, and that also the temple of Artemis did not go further back than circa 700 BC.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, the foundation of Smyrna was dated by Gjerstad (1937: 30) to the ninth century.<sup>36</sup> At Kolophon, Miletos and Samos some remains dating to the Mycenaean period had been uncovered at that time, but Jongkees (1948: 73) notes that a great renewal and enlargement took place at every one of these sites during the Geometric period.<sup>37</sup>

A similar situation was also found at many other sites on the west coast of Asia Minor and it was on this basis that Jongkees (1948: 75) suggested a ninth century date for the Ionian migration. In his opinion, the argument for a migration during the Mycenaean period was unlikely as “the coast of Asia Minor has always attracted seamen; it is even surprising that so few traces of Mycenaean settlements have been found (imported wares are more numerous, of course), whereas the South coast of Anatolia and Cyprus tell a completely different story”. However, the fact that so few Mycenaean settlements had been uncovered at that time, in combination with the idea that the Ionian migration resulted in “masses of Greeks on the West coast of Asia Minor ...[and]... comprised i.a. the foundation of Ephesos, Colophon, Samos, and Miletos as *Greek* towns” (Jongkees 1948: 75; original italics), could only mean, according to Jongkees, that the migration must have taken place some time during the ninth century when all these sites see substantial enlargements. It was this archaeological date for the Ionian migration that would remain a widely accepted date especially among archaeologists until new archaeological discoveries of eleventh century Greek pottery during the 1950s challenged it again.

#### **2.4 The Ionians and their migration become visible ...or not? (1945-present)**

In the first decades after the end of the Second World War, interest in the Greek Early Iron Age steadily increased as a result of scholars, in the first place particularly historians, becoming more and more aware that the origins of many aspects typical of the Archaic and Classical periods could be traced back into the Early Iron Age, and

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<sup>35</sup> More recent excavations and the study of the finds have shown, however, that the earliest phases of the temple are to be dated to the Protogeometric period. See pp. 31-33 above.

<sup>36</sup> Here again, more recent excavations at Smyrna have uncovered much earlier material. See pp. 17-19 above.

<sup>37</sup> At least at Miletos, the gap between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age has now almost been closed and continuation from the Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age is almost certain. See pp. 35-37 above.

that the Homeric epics might also have their origins in this period (cf. Morris 2000: 88-94). In the 1950s also the first major monographs concerning the archaeology of the period between ca. 1200 and 700 BC appeared (Desborough 1952; Lorimer 1950; cf. Morris 2000: 92-94). From that time onwards, the Early Iron Age became an increasingly studied period. In the first instance, this increasing interest had no direct consequences for the debate about the historicity of the Ionian migration. Although Desborough (1952: 314) mentions the presence of Greek Protogeometric pottery on the west coast of Asia Minor, he is very cautious about relating a supposedly major event like the Ionian migration to the very little evidence available at that time.

In addition to the lack of archaeological remains, this hesitation was probably also caused by scholars such as Hanfmann (1948; 1953) who believed that a migration cannot be recognised by pottery alone, but should be accompanied by a study of the architecture. In Hanfmann's (1953: 7-8) opinion, the facts that there was a gap in habitation at Miletos between 1200 and 1000 BCE, that the earliest habitation at Kalabaktepe started around 700 BC, and that Homer mentioned that Miletos was a Karian city, all pointed away from an early date for the Ionian migration. He regarded the oldest architecture on the west coast of Asia Minor at sites such as Old Smyrna and the Heraion on Samos as dating to 900 and 850-800 BCE, respectively, and the oldest graves at Kolophon as having a date of about 800 BCE. It was because of this that Hanfmann dated the earliest movements from the Greek mainland to the western coast of Asia Minor to the middle of the ninth century and suggested that the earlier Protogeometric pottery should be regarded as part of a longer process in which at first only a few pots travelled. These pots were then followed by traders who started to settle in small groups and slowly took over the native settlements. In the ninth century, with the introduction of Early Geometric pottery<sup>38</sup>, more substantial groups arrived. It was this arrival of more substantial numbers of people, who also produced Greek pottery locally, that could be equated with the coming of the Ionians (Hanfmann 1953: 11, 15; see also Hanfmann 1948: 146-147).

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<sup>38</sup> Interestingly, current scholars find it hard to find Early and Middle Geometric pottery comparable to that from Athens. Instead, the ninth and early eighth century pottery is usually caught under the heading 'Subprotogeometric', because, as for instance at Lefkandi, the local Ionian pottery remains very 'Protogeometric-looking' – that is, the continuing use of sets of concentric (semi-) circles as a decorative motif.

With this archaeological date Hanfmann subscribed to the already mentioned date previously suggested by Jongkees (1948). However, during the 1950s, the excavations at particularly Ephesos and Miletos uncovered an increasing number of Greek Protogeometric sherds. Particularly at Miletos these sherds show a strong local character, but there are some stylistic links with Rhodes, Dirmil and Attica (Weickert 1957: 121-125, pl. 36; 1959/1960: 52-53, pl. 51-52; with Desborough 1964: 163; cf. Lemos 2002: 212; Lemos 2007: 718-719; Krumme 2003). For Desborough (1964: 163) the presence of this early Greek pottery already showed that, after a short break during the twelfth century, re-occupation started at Miletos. However, it was the stylistic links with Attica that made him suggest that this re-occupation was a result of the Ionian migration which, according to tradition, went from Athens to the Aegean islands and the west coast of Asia Minor. As a result, the Ionian migration should, according to Desborough, not be dated to the ninth century, but to the eleventh century (Desborough 1964: 254). This rather early date, which was solely based on pottery, was also accepted by scholars such as Huxley (1966: 23-25), J.M. Cook (1975) and Emlyn-Jones (1980: 12, 14), and, until very recently, was the generally accepted date for the Ionian migration.

Before moving on to the more recent debate concerning the date and, in fact, the very historical existence of the Ionian migration, it is important to note that by proposing a date for the migration that was solely based on very little pottery, the arguments made by Hanfmann that the study of a migration cannot be based on pottery alone but should also include the study of architecture, were completely ignored. Of course, architectural remains dating to the eleventh century had not been discovered at that time – and have, with the exception of Limantepe/Klazomenai and Smyrna-Bayraklı, still not been uncovered – but the argument that the appearance of Protogeometric pottery could be linked to the arrival of Greeks might be placed in the context of the excavations at Al Mina, which had originally been carried out by Woolley in the 1930s. Originally, the aim of this research was to trace connections between the early civilisations of the Aegean, in particular that of Minoan Crete, and the more ancient cultural centres of western Asia (Woolley 1938a: 1). Unfortunately for Woolley, hardly any Bronze Age remains were found.<sup>39</sup> In fact, the oldest layers (Level X-IX)

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<sup>39</sup> Some Mycenaean figurines and seals were found in 1947 and 1948 (Woolley 1948).

found dated to the late ninth and eighth centuries (Woolley 1938a; 1938b).<sup>40</sup> Based particularly on pottery and graffiti on vases, and in comparison with other sites such as Alexandretta, Woolley (1938a: 15-16) argued that Al Mina must have been inhabited by Greeks or Levantines of Greek origin.<sup>41</sup>

Twenty years later, however, John Boardman (1959; see also Boardman 1965; 1990; 1996) made the argument that a small group of cups found at Al Mina must have been produced not just by Greek settlers but by Euboian potters living at Al Mina. In other words, the Greeks, and Euboians in particular, had founded a colony in the Levant. Although this view has recently been heavily criticised and alternative explanations for the appearance of Greek pottery at Al Mina have been suggested,<sup>42</sup> it is precisely this equation between Greek pottery and the presence of Greek settlers that is important in relation to the Ionian migration. Since pottery could show that Greeks had founded a colony at Al Mina, a colony that was not mentioned in the textual sources, it was easy to apply a similar approach to sites, such as Miletos, where Greek pottery was found and which the textual sources explicitly mentioned as having been founded by Greeks. As such, Desborough and others could argue that the earliest Greek pottery with its stylistic links to Attica at sites in western Asia Minor could be regarded as evidence for the arrival of Ionians from Attica.

The theoretical equation between ethnicity and pottery at Al Mina was not something invented by either Woolley or Boardman, but should be understood within the context of a much longer tradition. The origins of research on ethnicity can be traced back to a growing national consciousness which has its origins in sixteenth and seventeenth century antiquarianism in northern and Western Europe. This national consciousness was expressed by loyalty to a king or hereditary prince. This early patriotism should,

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<sup>40</sup> For some examples of sherds resembling a Protogeometric style, but dating to the Geometric period (currently labelled as Sub-Protogeometric) and originating from Euboea and the Cyclades, see Robertson (1940: 2-6, esp. fig. 1). See also Boardman (1990) who argues that, based on scientific clay analysis carried out by R.E. Jones on pottery from Lefkandi and Al Mina (R.E. Jones 1986: 694) as well as on stylistic grounds, most of these sherds are Euboian.

<sup>41</sup> This view was, in Woolley's opinion, also supported by the fact that the harbours of North Syria are so cut off geographically from the interior by the barrier of the Amanus (in spite of the passes of the Orontes valley and Beilan) that they have always tended to belong politically to Europe rather than to Asia (Woolley 1938a: 15-16).

<sup>42</sup> For the debate on the early presence of Greeks at Al Mina and in the eastern Mediterranean in general see Boardman (1959; 1965; 1990; 1999); Popham (1994); Lemos (1992; 2005); Lehmann (2005); Papadopoulos (1997b); Waldbaum (1997); Luke (2003); Crielaard (1998; 1999); Coldstream (1989; 1998); Sherratt and Sherratt (1993), Perreault (1993); Hodos (2006: 37-41).

according to political scientists, be distinguished from the nationalism that developed in Europe along with industrialisation. Nationalism is then defined as “an all-embracing sense of group identity and loyalty to a common homeland that is promoted by mass media, widespread literacy, and a comprehensive educational system” (Trigger 2006: 212). This concept was a product of the French revolution and, in the first instance, was not linked to ethnicity, but gradually national identity became equated with cultural unity and European states came to be viewed as political expressions of ethnic identity that was based on history, language, culture and race (Trigger 2006: 212).

This spread of nationalism also provided fertile ground for a growing interest in archaeological remains, and especially those remains that could be used to trace ethnic or national origins back to a distant past. For example Vögelin and Montelius developed a ‘direct ethnohistorical’ method to trace certain groups of people back into prehistory by using find associations and horizons (Trigger 2006: 223-232). At the same time, other archaeologists were concerned with chronology and the definition of ethnic groups in relation to archaeological material through the systematic compilation of typical object types and their geographical distribution (S. Jones 1997: 15). These ideas were the basis for Gustav Kossinna to develop his ‘settlement archaeology’. In this archaeology, cultures were defined on the basis of similarities in material culture in a certain geographical region and in a specific time period. It was also assumed that cultural continuity indicated ethnic continuity, which means that major prehistoric ethnic groups like the Germans, the Slavs and the Celts could be identified on the basis of culture provinces. Individual cultures, on the other hand, were supposed to correspond with tribes, such as the Vandals and the Lombards (S. Jones 1997: 16; Trigger 2006: 235-241).

Although Kossinna’s ideas never became very popular outside Germany, the work of Gordon Childe, whose work was of major influence on British archaeology (Sherratt 1989), shows many similarities with the work of Kossinna. Although Kossinna’s Indo-Germanic interpretations of European prehistory and, to a large extent, his racist assumptions were generally rejected, it was common practice in British archaeology, for example, to track down the historical Dorians by “the appearance and steady development of culture, distinguished by objects of pottery and bronze, known as

geometric” (Casson 1921: 212). What Childe, in contrast to Kossinna and others, did, however, was to consider material assemblages to be more important than individual artefact types. In other words, this meant that cultural boundaries had to be established through considering the whole assemblage available rather than by just looking at individual types (S. Jones 1997: 17-18).

This contrast, however, did not remove, as Sian Jones (1997: 24) notes, the principal assumption of Childe’s culture-historical approach that bounded, homogeneous cultural entities correlate with particular peoples, ethnic groups, tribes and/or races. This assumption was based on a normative conception of culture that maintained that, within a given group, cultural practices and beliefs tend to conform to prescriptive ideational norms or rules of behaviour. Such a conceptualisation of culture is based on the assumption that culture is made up of a set of shared ideas or beliefs, which are maintained by regular interaction within the group, and the transmission of shared cultural norms to subsequent generations through the process of socialisation, which purportedly results in a continuous cumulative cultural tradition. This culture-historical approach was rejected by the ‘New Archaeology’ in the 1960s and 1970s, but in Classical archaeology the more traditional approach towards studying ethnicity remained. It is then also as a result of this strong tradition in Classical archaeology, in combination with a strong Hellenocentric point of view, that the arguments for a direct relationship between Greek pottery and the presence of Greek settlers should be viewed.

Although an eleventh or early tenth century date for the Ionian migration based on pottery is still accepted by many scholars (e.g. Kerschner 2006; see also Vanschoonwinkel 2006; Forstenpointer *et al.* 2008; Herda 2006; 2009; 2013; Herda and Sauter 2009; W.-D. Niemeier 2005: 21; 2007b: 87-90; see for linguistic arguments, Finkelberg 2005), some scholars have recently questioned not only the date, but also the very existence of the migration. In respect to the date, Irene Lemos (2007) notes that the actual numbers of Greek ‘Submycenaean’ and early Protogeometric sherds found on the west coast of Asia Minor are very limited. Such low numbers of Greek pottery appearing throughout the Aegean, Lemos argues, would be very difficult to associate with the large-scale Ionian migration of the texts. Besides, she notes that the historical situation in mainland Greece and especially at

Athens by the end of the 'Submycenaean' and the beginning of the Early Protogeometric periods does not offer a reasonable socio-political or economic context in which a major migration could have taken place. She wonders why the Athenians would have decided to start a long journey eastwards when most of the Attic countryside was not yet exploited to any great extent. In fact, the first evidence of occupation in the Attic countryside dates to the end of the Protogeometric period (cf. C.G. Thomas and Conant 2001: 78-80).

Based on these two observations, Lemos argues that it would be very difficult to accept the traditional date of the Ionian migration 140 years after the Trojan War (i.e. somewhere at the end of the eleventh or early tenth century) as a historical fact. Instead, she argues that it would be more likely that Greeks migrated to the west coast of Asia Minor shortly after the fall of the Mycenaean palaces on the Greek mainland. In her opinion, this collapse, in combination with the collapse of the major empires in Anatolia and the Near East, would have created a context of uncertainty and social unrest that prompted people to move to other places that were thought to be safe for at least a short period of time during the middle stage of the LH IIIC period (Lemos 2007: 723). She supports this hypothesis by arguing that in this period, "the islands and the Asiatic coast produced a distinctive pottery style and the number of burials, including rich warrior burials, increased on Naxos, Rhodes and Cos" (Lemos 2007: 723-724). But then more destruction and abandonment of settlements followed. According to Lemos, these new destructions and abandonments at the end of the LH IIIC period might have initiated more movements of people. As such, she suggests that a massive migration of peoples, as described by the traditions, may have taken place in a relatively short time in the decades following the collapse of the Mycenaean citadels.

Jan Paul Crielaard (2009), on the other hand, has recently rejected the very existence of the Ionian migration altogether. On an archaeological level, Crielaard (2009: 55-56) notes that excavations at Miletos have yielded architecture, pottery and tomb types indicating that the site was inhabited by Mycenaean or, at least, that it had very close links with the Mycenaean world (W.-D. Niemeier 1998; 1999; 2007a; 2007b), while at Ephesos, the Ayasuluk hill (Büyükkolancı 2007, 2008) contained a fortified settlement that is supposed to belong to a population with a mixed Anatolian-

Mycenaean material culture. Also, below the later Artemision at Ephesos, Crielaard points out, traces of Late Bronze Age occupation were brought to light, including a cult place with Mycenaean traits (Bammer and Muss 1996; Forstenpointer et al. 2008: 33; Mountjoy 1998: 38; see Crielaard 2009: 55, n. 130 with further references). Furthermore, painted pottery found on the eastern Aegean islands and the west coast of Asia Minor shows close contacts with the Aegean world (Mountjoy 1998). After the fall of the Mycenaean palaces on the Greek mainland and of the major Near Eastern empires at the end of the Bronze Age, sites such as Samos, Klazomenai/Limantepe, Ephesos (both Ayasuluk hill and the Artemision), Miletos, Assesos and Techiussa in the area of Miletos, and possibly also on Chios, at Erythrai and Kuşadası all show either only a very short gap in inhabitation or even direct continuity (for bibliography see Crielaard 2009: 56, n. 135; see also Chapter 1 above). Because a similar situation of continuity also exists on the Greek mainland (Crielaard 2006), Crielaard (2009: 56) suggests that during the Bronze-Iron transition the western and eastern Aegean were parts of the same cultural area in the sense that new pottery styles, house types and burial customs were picked up more or less simultaneously. As such, there is, in Crielaard's opinion, no reason to argue for a migration based on archaeological evidence. In fact, he suggests that the Ionian migration myth is a construct of the Archaic period and that the formation of an ethnic Ionian identity did not take place before the sixth century.<sup>43</sup>

Jonathan Hall has argued for a middle way between the two extreme points of view. He, too, sees the appearance of Greek pottery on the west coast of Asia Minor as a result of the arrival of Greek settlers (J.M. Hall 2002: 92-93), but he also regards the Ionian migration myth, and in fact Ionian self-consciousness, as a construct of the Archaic period (J.M. Hall 2002: 67-73). One of his key arguments in suggesting that the development of an Ionian ethnic identity is a construct of the Archaic period, is the origin of the name 'Ionians'. He argues that it is generally agreed that the ethnicon 'Ionian' is connected to the *Yaw(a)naya* mentioned in a number of Assyrian documents dating to the later eighth century (cf. Brinkman 1989; Kuhrt 2002; Rollinger 2001) and is employed to designate all Greeks, Ionians or otherwise (cf. Aramaic *Ywn*; Hebrew *Yāwān*; Egyptian demotic *Wjnn*; Coptic *weyenin*; Old Persian

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<sup>43</sup> Greaves (2010: esp. 222-225) makes a similar argument. For similar critical re-evaluations of the Ionian migration tradition, see Cobet 2007, Mac Sweeney 2013.

*Yauna*; modern Arabic *jūnānī*; Turkish *jūnān*). However, it was also used for denoting non-Greeks on the Anatolian seaboard such as the Aziyak, Kunzumpiya and LaBBunu listed as guests of the Babylonian court in the sixth century (cf. Brinkman 1989). Based on this, Hall (2002: 70) suggests that one option is that “... the name [Ionian] was originally derived from the Ionians proper of Asia Minor and then applied indiscriminately to all populations of western Anatolia”.

At the same time, he also sees a second probability. He suggests (2002: 70-71) that the ethnonym ‘Ionians’ (*Iones*) must have been contracted from the compound noun *Paniones*. However, if *Iones* is derived from *Paniones*, the former term can, according to Hall, hardly function as the ethnic realisation on which the latter is based, especially when one takes into account that the term *Paniones* was not intended to denote *all* Ionians but only those on the west coast of Asia Minor and the offshore islands of Samos and Chios. This exclusion of Ionians outside these areas seems to infer that the meaning of *Paniones* is in fact “all those who dwell in Ionia”. Hall (2002: 71) states that, “This would explain perfectly why all the inhabitants of the Anatolian seaboard, Greek or not, might be termed *Yawanaya*, but it might also suggest that those who would eventually call themselves Ionians ultimately drew their name from a territory which had itself been named not by the Greeks, but by the Assyrians and perhaps even the Hittites before them”. The apparent acceptance of a non-Greek name by the Greek settlers may suggest, according to Hall (2002: 71), that “the first Greeks of Asia Minor were seeking inclusion and a sense of belonging within the ethnic mosaic of the Near Eastern world”.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> There is quite some debate as to whom the ethnicon ‘Ionians’ might have referred. Crielaard (2009: 43), for instance, notes that in an Assyrian text dated between 735 and 705 BC *Yaw(a)naya* are said to have raided the Phoenician coast. According to Burkert (1984: 17-18) these Ionians were West Ionians from Euboea (cf. Luraghi 2006: 34-35, 41 for Ionians from Euboea, the Cyclades and Asia Minor). Crielaard adds to this that Euboians were probably already active in the Eastern Mediterranean in the tenth century with a peak in the second half of the eighth century. This would imply that what the Assyrians meant was not people from the west coast of Asia Minor, but people from the west side of the Aegean. On the other hand, in for example the Assyrian and Babylonian documents dating to the seventh and sixth centuries as well as references in the Old Testament, it seems that the term *Yaw(a)naya* or *Yāwān* was associated with the Aegean as well as with Cyprus and Cilicia (Brinkman 1989: 56-61; see also Crielaard 2009: 42 with further references). This implies that the Ionians were not necessarily related to a single geographical region or a single group of people. As hinted at in Chapter 1, for the Assyrians *Yaw(a)naya* and *Yāwān* probably denoted different people than for the Babylonians or Egyptians.

## **2.5 The current debate in perspective**

This brief survey of the current (archaeological) debate regarding the Ionian migration reveals that basically three different lines of thought can be distinguished. As Alan Greaves (2010a: 10-11) points out, there are those who accept the tradition at face value as being essentially factual and seek to apply archaeological evidence to prove the truth of these myths. Secondly, there are those who reject the Ionian migration and instead seek to develop an understanding of Ionian culture based principally on independent archaeological source material. Finally, there are those who take a particularist approach and seek to nuance the understanding of the mythic tradition to find individual cases where it can be reasonably aligned with the archaeological material. These three schools of thought do not just represent different ideas about the Ionian migration though. When looking at the two extreme viewpoints, it can be observed that they largely seem to be occupied by, on the one hand, German or German-speaking and Turkish scholars (most notably Akurgal 1961: 8-9; 1983: 15-26) and, on the other, British or Anglo-Saxon oriented scholars. In order to understand this divide it is important to make a few remarks on the recent history of Classical archaeology.

Classical archaeology has often been regarded as being culture-historical centred with a special focus on the archaeological artefact as an object of art and with limited or no interest in theoretical discussions in other areas of archaeology. Indeed, as Ian Morris (2006: 253) remarks, classical archaeologists have long rarely mentioned the most influential works of the 1960s and 1970s Processual revolution. For that reason, the classical archaeologist has often been caricatured as sitting with his back to the rest of the archaeological community and general public wondering what the noise behind him was about. Morris criticises this view and one of the points he makes is that, far from wondering absent-mindedly about the prehistorians' noise, classical archaeologists looked down on these others with scorn and slight regard, addressing a higher message to the more educated sectors of the general public. Classical archaeologists gave themselves the mission of revitalising Western art and saving modernity from itself. Next to this, prehistorians' activities deserved little attention (Morris 2006: 256).

But things started to change in the 1970s. In the age of Biafra, Belfast and My Lai, the questions new archaeologists asked about food supply, demography and exploitation appeared more relevant than glorifying a unique Western aesthetic and moral superiority that students and many members of the public no longer felt. As a result, classical archaeologists, particularly those of the Early Iron Age (Snodgrass 1971; 1977; 1980), started to highlight state formation, adapting systems theory, neo-evolutionism, model-building, and quantitative testing (Morris 2006: 262). This refocusing of classical archaeology was further enforced with the introduction of post-processual archaeology in which questions of identity, ideology and power came to form the major focus. As Morris (2006: 263) notes, classical archaeologists had already been asking these questions for some time and this gave them the opportunity to join the debates. Once again, students of the Early Iron Age took the lead (e.g. Morris 1987; Morgan 1990; Whitley 1991; Osborne 1996; J.M. Hall 1997; Shanks 1999), but students interested in slightly later periods of Greek (e.g. Osborne 1985; 1987) and Roman periods (e.g. Alcock 1993; Woolf 1998) were also involved.

However, classical archaeology did not simply follow prehistorians, but as of the late 1990s also took the lead in a number of areas. One of the main issues in both Greek and Roman archaeology was the Greek colonisation of the eighth and seventh centuries and Roman imperialism from the late third century BCE onwards. Traditionally, this debate was focused on the concepts of Romanisation and Hellenisation that pictured the Roman and Greek cultures as superior to the colonised populations. This perception changed quite dramatically as of the late 1990s when various studies started to appear that, influenced by post-colonial theory, dealt with issues of cultural contact and hybridisation, as well as of neutral engagement, such as the 'middle ground' (Blake and Knapp 2005; Burgers and Crielaard 2007; Dietler 1997; 2010a; Van Dommelen 1997; 2002; 2005; 2006; Van Dommelen and Knapp 2010; Christopher Gosden 2004; Hodos 2006; 2009; Knapp 2008; Malkin 2002; 2004; 2005; Woolf 1998).

Hodos (2009: 222) remarks that basically hybridisation refers to the social interactions and negotiations that take place between colonists and the colonised (Knapp 2008: 57), and relates actively and directly to the social agents, negotiations and interactions involved in a contact situation (Van Dommelen 2005: 116-118;

Knapp 2008: 59-60). The medium through which these active interactions take place is called the 'middle ground' (White 1991). This middle ground provides a neutral ground where value systems are united and a working relationship between colonists and colonised can be created. These negotiations often result in new sets of meanings and interactions over time, which in turn may affect the conventions of the contributing parties imparting long-term changes to the local cultures (Hodos 2009: 222). In arguing that during the Bronze-Iron transition the western and eastern Aegean were part of the same cultural area and that the tradition of the Ionian migration was a construct of the Archaic period, Crielaard implicitly argues for a process of cultural hybridisation, but instead of colonisation and the subsequent interaction and negotiation between colonists and colonised, he sees maritime trade and communication as the main motor behind this process. He remarks that, "With the archaeological information we have today, it would be overdramatic to cling to the picture of the eastern Aegean as 'a potentially or actually hostile shore', separated from mainland Greece by 'a hundred of miles or more across dangerous seas'" (Crielaard 2009: 56). When this process of cultural hybridisation is supposed to have started is not made explicit though.<sup>45</sup>

It is interesting, however, that German and Turkish scholarship seems to have long been largely unaffected by this 'post-colonial' movement in British archaeology (though, see now Ulf 2009; Panagiotopoulos 2012; 2013; Stockhammer 2012a; 2012b; 2012c). There are a number of factors that need to be taken into consideration. Of course, Germany does not really have a colonial past like the United Kingdom and the Netherlands and this might partly explain why such a 'post-colonial' movement might not have taken place in German scholarship. But perhaps more important is that German scholarship has a long history of archaeological excavation on the west coast of Asia Minor. Excavations at Miletos, Didyma and Pergamon already started at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. As was already noted above, those excavations were mainly driven by the urge to show the Ionian cultural supremacy in the archaeological record and bring back sculptures of this mainly Classical/Hellenistic Ionian culture to Western European museums.

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<sup>45</sup> However, in various personal conversations Crielaard places the origins of this process as far back as the Middle Bronze Age when Minoan and later Mycenaean-style pottery starts to make its appearance at various sites in the eastern Aegean and the west coast of Asia Minor.

Certainly, Marchand (1996: 219-220) remarks that, with the deeper penetration of archaeologists into the Orient, leaving the Greek colonies on the coast, German ambitions had settled on outstripping other nations in the number, scale, and 'scientificness' of their digs, and their celebrations of their finds had come more and more to rest on the historical, rather than aesthetic, importance of the objects uncovered, but this does not escape the point that, as Alan Greaves (2010a: 33) notes, the responsibility for the publications of sites like Miletos, Samos, Priene, Didyma, Myous and Ephesos (the last by the Austrian Archaeological Institute) remained (and still is) with scholars of a relatively small number of universities in Germany and Austria. Naturally, in combination with the philhellenic origins of the excavations this situation has provided fertile ground for strong academic dynasties and traditions to develop and the excavators' awareness of this long history of archaeological research and their role as inheritors of that tradition has almost certainly played a significant role in the current position of German (and Austrian) archaeologists regarding the historicity of the Ionian migration.

However, there is also another factor that needs to be taken into account. Particularly in post-war Germany archaeology has, as Greaves (2010a: 34) points out, placed great emphasis on *Wissenschaft*. This approach separates theory from method and the context of discovery of an idea from its context of evaluation and seeks to find explanations that can be generalised, are testable and are independent of value judgements. In the first place, final publications should therefore be devoid of any 'trendy' archaeological theories which may pass out of fashion and with that invalidate the overall work. But perhaps even more important is that in this search for scientific facts both historical records and archaeological evidence are regarded as objective sources of evidence about the past that do not require interpretation or analysis. The result, however, is a fairly straightforward and traditional interpretation of both the textual and archaeological records that is largely devoid of any recent theoretical developments in Classical archaeology.

The most interesting element of the current debate concerning the historicity of the Ionian migration, however, is the position of Turkish scholars, who generally seem to accept the historicity of the Ionian migration – although it should be noted that things

are slowly changing. Particularly in the wake of the early years after the First World War in which the Greeks claimed the Smyrna (Turkish Izmir) region partly based on the claim that this region had already been Greek since the times of the Ionian migration (Davis 2000: 88-89), one would maybe have expected a complete rejection of this tradition. In order to understand this seemingly ambivalent attitude towards the Ionian migration, it is important to understand the role of archaeology and the Greek past in the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Immediately after the First World War Greeks, Armenians, Kurds and other ethnic components of the defunct Ottoman State allied themselves with European powers negotiating a new political map of the Near East. The Treaty of Sèvres signed on 10 August 1920 between the Allied Forces (excluding the United States) and the Ottoman Empire confirmed these claims. One of those was the recognition of Greek claims on the Aydin province which, at that time, housed a substantial Greek-Orthodox population and in which Izmir, one of the most significant commercial centres in the Eastern Mediterranean, was located (Davis 2000: 83).

It was also at this time that large-scale archaeological projects started in this region carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service and often sponsored by the Athens Archaeological Society as well as by various foreign archaeologists operating from the foreign schools in Athens in order to 'protect' the European cultural heritage that was previously neglected by the Turks (Davis 2000: 83-87). The very presence of the activities of the foreign schools based in Athens, Davis (2000: 88) suggests, would have telegraphed to the world their acceptance of the sovereignty of Greece in this region and its right to control the cultural resources of the lands it occupied. However, the Turkish War of Independence, through the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the chief commander of the war and later the first president of the Turkish Republic, resulted in an unexpected victory and the signing of the Lausanne Treaty on 24 July 1923 by the Allied Forces and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. This treaty drew up the borders of the new Turkish Republic and put an end to any claims by the various ethnic groups (Atakuman 2008: 216-217).

With the signing of the Lausanne Treaty a geographical unity was created, but the Republic was far from being a homogeneous ethnic unity. In fact, as Atakuman (2008: 217) notes, statistical studies indicate an overwhelming linguistic and religious

variety existing within the borders of the Turkish state in 1935. In response to this situation, the Kemalist regime favoured a discourse of an ethnically united nation and for that employed a particular understanding of 'Turkishness' which was set out in the so-called *Turkish History Thesis* and basically encompassed political unity, linguistic unity, geographical unity, genealogical unity, historical ties, and moral ties (Atakuman 2008: 217). For the purposes of this chapter, the historical ties are of most interest. In respect to this it is significant to note that the Republic set out to emulate the Western civilisation from the very beginning. Previously, the Ottomans had attempted to adopt and adapt various European inventions and innovations to improve their Islamic traditions and institutions, notably in the military and bureaucratic fields. By contrast, the Republic's leadership chose to abandon the cultural idiom of Islam and to opt instead for the civilisation of the West as Turkey's structural and intellectual framework (Erimtan 2008: 142).

To make such claims was not as easy as it looked, because, while embracing western science and modernity, the early Turkish Republic was confronted with centuries-old European stereotypes about the 'terrible Turk' or 'the sick man of Europe'. Although the *Turkish History Thesis* might have had questionable and pseudo-scientific claims, one of the major goals was to set the historical record straight against these western claims (Ergin 2010: 15). The key element in this was to show the Turkish capacity for civilisation. For this, the *Thesis* created a deliberate break with the recent past of the Ottoman Empire and the perceived backwardness of Islam and its Ottoman defenders and promoted an alternative historical reality in which a genealogical relationship was created with European nations that was expected to reside in the racial and linguistic origins of the Turks and Europeans, which were believed to be located in the steppes of Central Asia.

The agenda behind these claims was to disprove the image of Turks as a secondary Mongoloid race. The *Thesis* argued that the Turks in Anatolia were related neither to the Mongoloid race nor to the other Near Eastern races, but in fact were a brachycephalous race, just like the Europeans (Atakuman 2008: 219). From Central Asia, the Turks had been moving westward, in regular waves across thousands of years, civilising the rest of the world in the process. Turning to Anatolia or Asia Minor more specifically, the *Thesis* explicitly states that the population of Asia Minor

are Turks who have been made known with names such as Hittite and other comparable ones (Erimtan 2008: 143). As such, not only was a direct genealogical link created between modern Turkey, its western regions and the Hittites but also primacy was given to Turkish origins in civilisational accomplishments.

At the same time, however, while emphasising the Hittites as a rival to and more ancient civilisation than that of the Greeks, Turkish scholars could not afford to relegate ancient Greece, which was at that time regarded as the cradle of civilisation by many Europeans, to oblivion, especially in a country that was striving to establish cultural and historical superiority in European eyes (Ergin 2010: 26). The solution to this dilemma was found not just in providing the Turks with a common origin as the Europeans located in Central Asia, but also in arguing that founders of other civilisations all migrated from or passed through Anatolia, resulting in an archaeological heritage that is richer than the original centre of each civilisation (Ergin 2010: 26-27). Against this background, it is not surprising that the well-known Turkish archaeologist Ekrem Akurgal (1911-2002) traced the origins of Greek art to the Near East and the (neo-) Hittite empire in particular (Akurgal 1961; 1968).

Although this provided Greek civilisation with Anatolian roots, the Greeks were also held responsible for the collapse of the Hittite empire and the associated cultural life. Akurgal (1968: 162) argues that, “The Aegean migration also ruined the cultural life of Anatolia, where the Hittites had maintained a great independent culture for almost 800 years”. This Aegean migration is not so much the Ionian migration as related to what is known as the ‘movements of the Sea peoples’ as well as the arrival of Thracians and Dorians in western Asia Minor (Troy) and the Greek mainland, respectively. Yet, elsewhere Akurgal (1961: 2) maintains that “Die eigentliche Urheber der ägäischen Wanderung sind die Griechen und, im Anschluss an sie, die Thraker gewesen. Die Griechen hatten bereits im 16. Jahrhundert in Milet festen Fuss gefasst und dort in Südionien, wie wir aus den hethitischen Quellen des 14. und 13. Jahrhunderts erfahren, wahrscheinlich das Reich der Ahhijawa gegründet”.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> The issue of the kingdom of Ahhijawa has been a matter of dispute for a very long time and still is an unresolved riddle. See W.-D. Niemeier 1998 for an overview of the varying views as to its location and Sherratt (2010b) for a recent revival of the issue.

Despite the Mycenaean influence, it was, according to Akurgal, only with the arrival of the Ionians that the Greeks established stable footing in coastal Asia Minor:

“Die anglo-türkischen Grabungen, die vier Jahre lang unter Leitung von John Cook und dem Autor in Bayraklı (Alt-Smyrna) durchgeführt werden, haben zum ersten Male einwandfrei ergeben dass die Besiedlung Kleinasiens durch die Griechen früher, als man bis heute allgemein annahm [see above], eingesetzt hat. Besonders wichtig ist, dass bei den Grabungen in Alt-Smyrna schichtenweise große Häuserquartiere freigelegt wurden, so dass die frühgriechischen Kulturreste zuverlässig beobachtet und studiert werden konnten. Von den ans Tageslicht gebrachten Funden verdient vor allem die mit schönen Beispielen vertretene Keramik des protogeometrischen Stiles erwähnt zu werden. Das Vorkommen der protogeometrischen Keramik in Bayraklı besagt, dass die Gründung der griechischen Kolonie Smyrna bis ins 11. Jahrhundert zurückgeht und damit das von Eusebios für Myrina angegebene, aber selbstverständlich auch für Smyrna gültige Gründungsdatum, das Jahr 1046, annähernd bestätigt worden ist. Smyrna und Myrina sind Städtenamen, die in Form von Nebenbildungen ein und demselbe Worte entstammen und einer vorgriechischen altkleinasiatischen Sprache angehören. Die Vorfahren der Griechen haben wohl als einzelne Kaufleute diese Städte schon seit dem 14. Jahrhundert bewohnt. Aber die endgültige Besiedlung wird, wie die von uns freigelegten Kulturschichten deutlich vor Augen führen, erst nach die Eroberung von Troja zustande gekommen sein” (Akurgal 1961: 8).

It is apparent in these quotes that with the arrival of the ‘Aegean migration’ and the arrival of the Ionians the Hittite Empire and associated cultural life came to an end and the era of Greek occupation began. Yet, despite the fact that Akurgal has had and still has an immense influence on Turkish archaeology<sup>47</sup>, it seems that particularly his nationalist views on the Ionian migration are no longer shared by most of the Turkish excavators working at various sites on the west coast of Asia Minor.<sup>48</sup> At the same time, however, the issue of a migration from the Greek mainland to the west coast of Asia Minor is still very current, although efforts are increasingly focused on the

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<sup>47</sup> See, for instance, the recent rather laudatory account of Akurgal by Coşkun Özgünel (2010).

<sup>48</sup> However, Fahri Işık (2009; see also Işık 2007) has recently not only rejected the historicity of the Ionian migration, but also argued that the Ionians owe their gods and goddesses, their script, their cultural and intellectual achievements to Anatolia rather than Greece. His argument is first of all based on the notion that the tradition of the Ionian migration was fabricated over centuries in Athens. He also refers to the late fourteenth century BCE inscription from the Temple of Amenhotep III in Egyptian Thebes published by Hourig Sourouzian and Rainer Stadelmann (2005) and mentioned in Chapter 1. He regards this inscription as evidence that the Ionians and the Ionian identity already existed at least two hundred years before the supposed Ionian migration. Furthermore, he emphasises the Anatolian ‘roots’ of simple styled terracotta figurines, apsidal buildings and Anatolian Grey Wares. Although most of his arguments are in many ways sensible, his account has a very nationalistic undertone. This becomes particularly clear in his agreement with Akurgal’s notion of the artistic and cultural superiority of the Eastern Greeks/Anatolians over Western Greeks.

developments taking place at the beginning of the twelfth century rather than the mid-eleventh century.

One reason for this persistence might perhaps be related to the history of archaeology and its role in the establishment of a national history. In respect to Greece, Hamilakis (2007: 100) argues that the main epistemological principle that Greek archaeology followed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and still is, despite the changes, extremely influential to the present day, is that of empiricism or positivism. According to this principle, it is not conjectures, opinion or interpretations that archaeological writing should be about, but it is accuracy and precision above all that matter. The material traces of the past should be reproduced with almost religious fidelity. Once this is done, they should be allowed to speak by themselves and, by their mere presence, tell the story of the past. This is a view that also comes very close to the German approach. In early Republican Turkey, archaeology formed, as Ergin (2010: 217) notes, an important supporting discipline for assisting in the recovery of documents, providing evidence for other disciplines, and ultimately contributing to a historiography that gave more primacy to the Turkish past. In the early days of the Republic, a number of influential Turkish archaeologists were sent to be educated in Germany (Greaves 2010a: 34). One of them was Ekrem Akurgal whose work and influence on archaeology in Turkey, and Ionia in particular, have already been noted. It is therefore not a real surprise that archaeological work in Ionia has been firmly grounded in the 'Great Tradition' of Classical scholarship.

At the same time, it should be realised that things seem to be changing slowly. This has become particularly clear to me in conversations I had with a number of Turkish doctoral students and scholars over the past few years, but it can also be observed in the claim by K. Görkay (2010: 196) that "Archaeologists of my generation, those younger than I, or even students of archaeology, should take on the issue of formulating the future of their fields themselves. We should decide for ourselves what kind of a professional environment we want and begin to build it, instead of leaving things to the previous generation, the state, or the process of accession to the EU, or the hope thereof". The remarks made here are, therefore, not an attack on the more traditional approach to archaeology in Turkish and German archaeology and a

defence of the theoretical approach in Anglo-American archaeology; they merely serve to understand current scholarship.

## **2.6. Final remarks**

To reflect on the socio-political and intellectual backgrounds against which academic discourse has taken shape over time is not only crucial to scientific practice in general, but also helps to place recent debates in context. This chapter has but started to unravel the long and complex history of scholarly interest in Ionia and the Ionians. It was shown, however, that through time scholarly discourse has portrayed Ionia and the Ionians in often contradictory terms, from being the cradle of ancient Greek civilisation to the complete opposite of what Greek civilisation was supposed to stand for. It was also argued that the clear divide in recent debates between scholars accepting the Ionian migration as a historical fact and those who reject its very historicity should be seen against this historical background and the particular (theoretical) developments in archaeological practice in the UK, Germany and Turkey over the past few decades. The aim has not been to criticise or support either of these traditions; rather the intent was to provide a historical and intellectual background that would help to ground the present study. In the next chapter, this intellectual basis will be further substantiated through the development of a particular (theoretical) perspective on what stimulates or causes material change and innovation. This perspective will then form the lead in proposing different ways of thinking about material developments on the west coast of Asia Minor at the end of the second millennium BCE.

## Chapter 3

### Theoretical and methodological considerations

#### 3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, it has become clear that archaeological narratives tend to be written from a particular Hellenocentric perspective that portrays ‘peripheral’ regions, such as the west coast of Asia Minor, as rather backward and veritable new worlds, there for the taking of enterprising and migrating Greeks. In response to these narratives, the concept of ‘cultural hybridity’ has been used to argue for a much more gradual and dynamic process of cultural interaction between the ‘Anatolian’ communities and the Aegean. Although this response is in many ways justified, the persistent use of latent ethno-cultural labels to describe and characterise material objects and social practices tends to reinforce rather than dissolve the Aegeo-Anatolian divide. Instead of seeking to categorise material objects and social practices along ethno-cultural lines and use this to determine the level of ‘Anatolianness’ or ‘Greekness’ of the Ionian communities, this chapter critically reviews current trends in archaeological theory to develop a particular understanding of the concept of ‘material entanglement’ that makes it possible to move beyond this simplistic binary and come to a much more complex understanding of the cultural and material dynamics on the west coast of Asia Minor at the very end of the second millennium BCE. First, however, it would be useful to make some personal remarks as to the use of theory in current archaeology and how it has been applied to Ionia.

#### 3.2. Theory: some critical remarks

What does it mean to be theoretical? Asking such a question is highly relevant given that in ‘post-processual’ archaeology empiricism is often met with scepticism as it is argued that social structures were put into practice by actors, who manipulated the rules of the game, and in doing so either replicated or indeed renegotiated or transformed the social structure. Because this manipulation took place with reference to social meaning, meanings that were not directly observable but hidden inside people’s heads, the implication is that an objective science of human society based on ‘observables’ was simply not possible. Therefore, it is argued that, if the aim is to

understand the archaeological record, it will be necessary to refer not simply to what processes led to certain patterns, but to people's thoughts and intentions, which are held to be central to understanding how the archaeological record was created (Johnson 2009: 81). To gain insights into these thoughts and intentions archaeologists have often borrowed concepts and theoretical frameworks from other social sciences. Indeed, basically all theoretical concepts currently fashionable, such as 'agency theory', 'theory of materiality', 'theory of personhood', 'post-colonial theory', are one way or another borrowed from sociology, anthropology and philosophy.

Of course, there appears to be little wrong with this. In fact, it highlights the interdisciplinary nature of archaeology. At the same time, however, it also implies that essentially archaeology as an independent discipline is denied the ability to come up with meaningful theoretical perspectives itself. This underestimates and neglects the power and nature of the archaeological discipline, which is after all about things (Olsen 2010; Olsen et al. 2012). Moreover, there are various problems to note with the way theoretical frameworks are selected and subsequently applied. One of them is that archaeologists tend to be very selective in picking out only those elements of an original concept or philosophy that can easily be accommodated to their data or expectations, while conveniently forgetting about other fundamental elements. In addition, concepts that made sense in their original configuration are all too often taken out of their original context and applied to a completely different situation and dataset, assuming that the same truths will cross disciplinary and contextual divides. Furthermore, it could be argued that studies that self-consciously privilege 'theory' tend to talk about everyday and mundane activities in rather abstract and obscure terms which mystify rather than clarify the message.

Sue Sherratt (2011a: 15) argues that this mystification is a by-product of the agonistic arena in which theoretical discourse tends to operate and essentially: "the more incomprehensible a piece of writing or a lecture is, the more profound it is suspected of being by those who are afraid to admit they do not understand it". Bjørnar Olsen (2010: 6) adds to this that, "the closer one moves to the sacred inner circle of theory-building and systematic empirical generalisations, the more devoid of things social science become". One could even go one step further and argue that theorists do not just tend to talk about everyday life in abstract terms, but do not talk about everyday

life at all. All too often, they rather seem to be preoccupied with revealing some abstract and invisible social forces that nobody has ever seen but that nevertheless are supposed to influence, if not drive, human behaviour from behind the scenes. This latter point is very well expressed by Bruno Latour (2005: 22) who states that when “[scholars] pronounce the words ‘society’, ‘power’, ‘structure’ and ‘context’ [and ‘social’, ‘agency’, etc. may be added to this], they often jump straight ahead to connect vast arrays of life and history, to mobilize gigantic forces, to detect dramatic patterns emerging out of confusing interactions, to see everywhere in the cases at hand yet more examples of well-known types, to reveal behind the scenes some dark powers pulling the strings”. But if these forces cannot be seen, do they really exist?

But perhaps most problematic is that theoretical concepts often tend to be approached as if they were complete and sufficient explanations in themselves both for their own existence and for the archaeological phenomena for which they are held to account. There usually is no sustained analytical or reasoned attempt to show what allowed the material patterns observed to emerge. This point becomes particularly clear in the current debate concerning the historicity of the Ionian migration. As pointed out in the previous chapter, there are currently three main points of view with respect to the historicity of the Ionian migration. First, there are those who accept the texts at face value and argue that the appearance of Protogeometric pottery on the west coast of Asia Minor is the ultimate evidence for an acculturation process which was brought on by the influx of people from the Greek mainland. Second, there are those who reject the historicity of the Ionian migration and suggest that the appearance of Protogeometric pottery is the ultimate reflection of an ongoing process of cultural hybridisation. Third, there are those who accept the Ionian migration as a real historical event, but try to find individual cases where the textual record can be reasonably aligned with the archaeological evidence.

Despite their obvious differences, these different interpretative frameworks share one major problem. In taking as their ultimate reference point either the textual record or other currently popular theoretical concepts, scholars actually set up valid hypotheses, but instead of testing these hypotheses by making empirically visible how the processes worked, they use them to explain often confusing and ill-understood patterns and interactions observed in the material record. Concepts such as migration

and acculturation or contacts and cultural hybridisation are approached as if they were complete and sufficient explanations in themselves and therefore do not require further explanation or investigation. It is here that problems with the artificial dichotomy between theory and empiricism can clearly be observed. It is one thing to use a theoretical framework to search for and subsequently explain patterns in the archaeological record, but it is another to actually *understand* what was going on. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to set out a perspective that might help in moving a step closer to understanding material, and in particular ceramic, change on the west coast of Asia Minor during the twelfth through early tenth centuries BCE.

### **3.3. Instable stability**

A first step in finding a way to merge theory with empirical data is to start with a particular characteristic of the current debate concerning the historicity of the Ionian migration. When looking closely at the various positions in the Ionian migration debate, it can be observed that one of the key elements that both separates and binds the various perspectives is a particular view of change and continuity in which change is directly associated with radical, event-oriented revolutions. Indeed, implicit in the arguments used by those in favour of the Ionian migration is that changes in the archaeological record represent a clear break point in history and can, therefore, be associated with some radical event (i.e. migration). Those rejecting the historicity of the Ionian migration, on the other hand, observe similar changes, but they do not see them as warranting the label of radical change and, consequently, find explanation in concepts like cultural hybridisation that allow for more gradual evolution to take place.

The link between change and revolution is a relatively recent phenomenon. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the term *revolution* applied to the cyclical movements of astronomical objects and changes in fortune rather than political rupture, and the term *révolution* expressed disorder rather than a programme of action to achieve a goal that consciously created a break with the past (Clark 2003: 41-51; Gamble 2007: 15). It is only with the major revolutions of the late eighteenth through early twentieth centuries (the American Revolution in 1776, the French Revolution in 1789 and the Russian Revolution in 1917) that history was essentially transformed from a cyclical to a linear narrative that could be typologised into stages, each of them

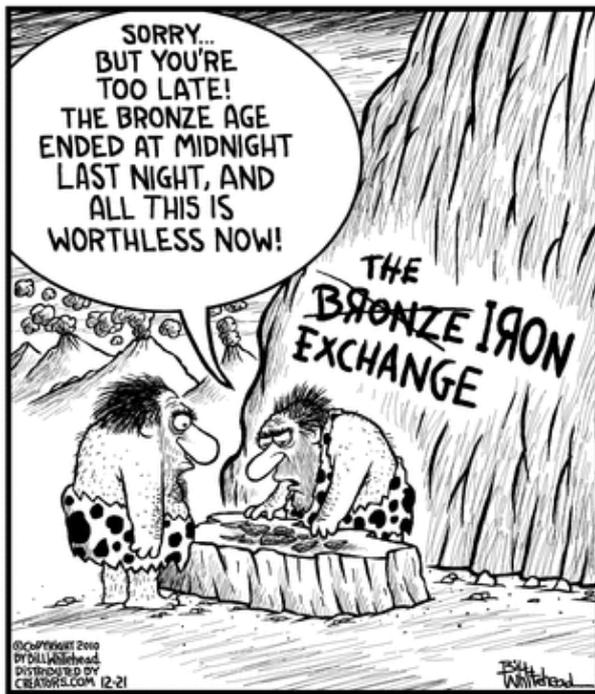


Figure 3.1. Cartoon by Bill Whitehead (<http://www.creators.com/comics/free-range/70578.html> [accessed 14-11-2013]).

characterised by a revolution (Gamble 2007: 15). In archaeology, this changing perspective on time becomes first apparent in the kind of eighteenth century art history of Johann Winckelmann and others, but is more firmly formalised in the introduction of the three-age system by Christian J. Thomsson in 1836 in his aim to organise the collection of prehistoric and protohistoric artefacts of the Royal Commission of Danish Ancient Monuments in Copenhagen. Whereas classification had originally involved the organisation of entities on a synchronous grid, it now became

connected with *sequence* (J. Thomas 2004: 37). As a result, history was ontologised as a “series of replacements” (Olsen et al. 2012: 42).

In the course of the nineteenth century, the three-age system of stone, bronze and iron ages was further refined and subdivided, and in 1865 Sir John Lubbock, in his book *Pre-historic Times*, had separated the earliest into an Old and New stone age, or Palaeolithic and Neolithic. However, as Clive Gamble (2007: 12) notes, these terms no longer just denoted a certain period of time, but now marked the difference in technology between hunters and farmers. This notion was further enhanced by the early work of V. Gordon Childe. Gamble (2007: 12) remarks that Childe was as enthusiastic as the next archaeologist about refining the three-age divisions and adding geographical as well as chronological detail through excavation, but by 1935 he had lost patience with mere cataloguing. In a lecture to the Prehistoric Society he cried out: “What then is to become of the hallowed terms Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age?” (Childe 1935: 7, quoted by Gamble 2007: 12). His answer was as simple as radical: “I should like to believe that they may be given a profound significance as indicating vital stages in human progress. I would suggest that the classification of Old Stone Age, New Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age represent

real revolutions that affected all departments of human life” (Childe 1935: 7, quoted by Gamble 2007: 12). As such, to Childe, the various stages represent periods in which people adopted radically different ways of life. As Witmore (2007: 555) puts it, “Within one temporal box inhabiting the Mesolithic are hunter/gatherers; in another, settling down in the Neolithic, are agriculturalists and pastoralists – humans of ‘nature’ on one side and humans of ‘culture’ on the other” (fig. 3.1).

Over the past century, time has come to be cut into increasingly thinner slices, even to such an extent that in a recent contribution to the second edition of *Archaeological Theory Today* (Hodder 2012a), Bjørnar Olsen argues that in current archaeology, “Time is not allowed to be ‘flattened’, mixed or hybridized, but has to be cleansed and sequenced – in short, ‘unlocked’. Through ever more fine-grained dating methods and advanced stratigraphical and typological sequencing, prehistoric settlements and sites are cut into increasingly thinner slices of time, cleansing them from the historical conditions that grounded these presents” (Olsen 2012: 216). The idea behind this way of thinking is that stability is the rule and change the exception. But is stability really so self-evident that it does not require any further exploration or explanation? According to Bjørnar Olsen (2010: 140), social stability is essentially enabled by the stability, concreteness and security produced by things, because it is through the interaction with things that habits and actions become standardised and predictable, producing what can be thought of as (social) structures and institutions.

Yet, as Ian Hodder (2011: 160; 2012b: 4-5, 65, 68-70) notes, material stability may often appear true in the short time-span of ethnographic inquiry, but from an archaeological perspective things seem transient, always changing, problematic, unbounded. They are always falling apart, transforming, growing, changing, dying, running out (see also Olsen et al. 2012: 119-120). For instance, the walls of the houses on display at Çatalhöyük may appear solid and timeless; after all they have stood for 9000 years. But, as Hodder (2012b: 65) points out, this appearance of permanence is an artifice of the massive use of chemicals, consolidants and grouts inserted by the conservators who are involved in an endless daily struggle to keep up the mudbrick walls that have been excavated. Unfortunately, it is very unclear when problems will emerge and repair and innovation are required. As a result, much human life would be less a case of careful planning and more one of improvisation and situational problem

solving (Hodder 2011; 2012b; Ingold 2010; 2013; Ingold and Hallam 2007). Tim Ingold (2007a; 2008) refers to this fundamental process as ‘human wayfaring’.

The consequence, however, is that change and innovation are not preformed but often occur in the moment, are unpredictable, and form the rule rather than the exception. This process is by definition open-ended and does not intend to go anywhere in particular. Yet, at the same time, it is hard to escape the idea that there is some directionality to it. Witmore (2007: 556-557), for instance, notes how throughout western Europe segments of a network of Roman roadways still direct the flow of people’s lives today. To change the roads is extremely difficult, because once built a road connects to other roads, and to buildings and facilities along roads. Furthermore, depending on which side of the road one drives, cars will have to be adjusted, road signs replaced, and so on. In other words, a whole infrastructure has become dependent on the Roman road network – which in itself was already largely dependent on the underlying topography.<sup>49</sup> This has the consequence that roads cannot be changed without having to change the whole infrastructure. This does not mean that it is not possible, but it usually is easier to find solutions to certain problems within the existing situation. A similar form of directionality can also be seen in archaeology. As Hodder notes,

“When I excavate at Çatalhöyük I dig a trench or a hole in the ground and from long and bitter experience I know that the hole I dig restricts later actions. For example, as I dig I decide where to place the earth from the hole. If I place the earth in a large heap on one side of the trench it becomes very difficult to expand the trench in that direction – I would need to expend much labor and costs moving the heap of soil before I could dig under it. In any case, as the trench is made deeper, any expansion sideways at the bottom involves moving a lot of earth at the top. And then there are our efforts to deal with the unruliness of things. At Çatalhöyük we follow UK Health and Safety regulations so that we do not dig straight down but step in the trench gradually as we go down. So the trench gets smaller and smaller as we go down in case the deposits we have dug through shift and collapse on the excavators. So expanding sideways a small distance at the bottom of the trench involves expanding much larger distances at the top of the trench. Archaeologists very much dig themselves into holes so that earlier material decisions constrain later action” (Hodder 2012b: 104-105).

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<sup>49</sup> See further the interesting discussion by Gavin Lucas (2012) on the concept of the palimpsest.



Figure 3.2. An excavation trench at Barçın Höyük, Turkey, in 2007 (photo: author).

Both the examples of the Roman road system and the archaeological trench (**fig. 3.2**) show that decisions made in the past have a direct impact on the present and the direction in which future action is headed. In a way, the past bumps up against the present in a non-linear way. Gaivin Lucas (2005), therefore, argues that time is like space, a multi-dimensional entity. Alternatively, time can also be compared to a wave that is constantly changing shape and character as it picks up, incorporates or lets go elements whilst on the move. In either case, however, change is not only the rule rather than the exception, but also does not form a break with the past. In fact, in dealing with the consequences of past decisions in the present, the tendency is always to find solutions that work within what is already there. This is, as Hodder (2012b: 169) points out, not because people are inherently conservative but because it is in their interest to do so. Consequently, rather than trying to come up with even more fine-grained dating methods and advanced stratigraphical and typological sequencing, it would be more fruitful to explore the fundamental process of human wayfaring and figure out how this process brought forth material change and innovation.

### 3.4. Making stability

Under the influence of the growing importance of so-called ‘material culture studies’, many archaeological studies have increasingly become preoccupied with consumption practices rather than with production. Stockhammer (2012c: 11), for instance, argues that, “A focus on consumer decisions is most promising in order to demonstrate the power of objects that force people to act”. A turn to consumption during the late 1980s and 1990s was, as Michael Dietler (2010b) shows, part of a critique of production-focused studies that failed to take into account of the ways in which people enrol things in everyday social practices. However, instead of restoring the balance, this turn to consumption has itself come to largely neglect the making of things. In a recent article in *Archaeological Dialogues* Tim Ingold, therefore, criticises material culture studies, including archaeology, for focusing too much on consumption rather than on production itself and as such valuing the materiality of things over the very materials of which these things are made (Ingold 2007b). Similarly, Olsen (2010: 32-34) argues that since the late 1990s consumption studies have become more and more narrowed toward shopping, the exchange of goods, the desire for things, their aestheticisation, and the media image of them, rather than their uses and the ways material objects are lived with. Very little is said about the dull, ordinary, and inconspicuous materiality that people constantly engage with, such as walls, streets, fences, parking spaces, fishing grounds and gas stations. Even less attention is paid to making. As Ingold (2007b: 9) puts it, “[...] such studies take as their starting point a world of objects that has, as it were, already crystallized out from the fluxes of materials and their transformation. At this point materials appear to vanish, swallowed up by the very objects to which they have given birth”. Ingold’s plea, therefore, is to once more take materials seriously, since it is from them that everything is made.

In a response to Ingold’s paper, Tilley (2007) and Miller (2007) argue that materiality differs from mere ‘materials’ or ‘matter’ in its inclusion of the social. In particular Tilley claims to be more interested in materials for their social significance and, therefore, argues that the term ‘materiality’ holds advantages over ‘materials’ (for a recent discussion of materiality, see Knappett 2012). But what is meant by ‘the

social'? Bruno Latour opens the introduction to his book *Reassembling the Social* with the following remark:

“[...] when social scientists add the adjective ‘social’ to some phenomenon, they designate a stabilized state of affairs, a bundle of ties that, later, may be mobilized to account for some other phenomenon. There is nothing wrong with this use of the word as long as it designates what is already assembled together, without making any superfluous assumption about the nature of what is assembled. Problems arise, however, when ‘social’ begins to mean a type of material, as if the adjective was roughly comparable to other terms like ‘wooden’, ‘steely’, ‘biological’, ‘economical’, ‘mental’, ‘organizational’, or ‘linguistic’. At that point, the meaning of the word breaks down since it now designates two entirely different things: first, a movement during a process of assembling; and second, a specific type of ingredient that is supposed to differ from other materials” (Latour 2005: 1).

It is this second meaning of the social that Miller and Tilley have in mind, but Ingold’s position comes much closer to the first meaning, which is also Latour’s view, that the social is a gathering. Ingold maintains that a thing is not a self-contained object, but is made from materials that have properties of their own and are not necessarily predisposed to fall into the shapes required of them, let alone to stay in them indefinitely. It takes people, who have to make the most of their own skill and experience, to bring these materials together and combine or redirect their flow in the anticipation of what might emerge (Ingold 2010: 93-94; Ingold and Hallam 2007: 3-4). For Ingold, then, people do not “take a back seat” (Knappett 2007: 23), but are at the heart of things. In fact, it is exactly through an ongoing engagement with and manipulation of materials and things that people are able to adapt to the conditions they find themselves in. In this light, the social is formed by the mix of materials and people rather than being some superorganic dimension by which the life of people exceeds their organic life.

This perspective sheds a different light on how things take shape. Traditionally, people are seen as the makers of things. For instance, Alfred Gell (1998: 16) argues that “agents initiate ‘actions’ which are caused by themselves, by their intention, and not by the physical laws of the cosmos”. In this sense, as Ingold (2010: 95) points out, the intention is the cause, the action, and by extension the object, the effect. This is also what Panagiotopoulos (2013: 48) seems to have in mind in his discussion of the tension between a thing’s material and its design when arguing that a ‘design’ is “the

plan which lies behind the construction of an artifact”. Ingold (2010; 2013: 20-21) refers to this way of thinking as the ‘hylomorphic model’. This model is problematic for two reasons. First, although people are involved in the process of making things and they may even have some idea in mind as to what material form they want to get at or even have an object in front of them, crafting is a creative activity in which not so much the idea but the actual engagement with materials allows things to take shape (Ingold 2013: 101-103). How this engagement unfolds is not necessarily predetermined. After all, things go wrong all the time, with the result that the material forms taking shape as part of the making process are not necessarily a direct reflection of the initial idea. Perhaps the best examples of this can be found in the way the involvement of children in, for instance, the painting of pottery may result in what appears to be unskilled or unconventional decorative schemes or elements on vessels that were otherwise of good quality in terms of shape and overall decoration (Langdon 2013). Second, it has already been noted that things are always falling apart, transforming, growing, changing, dying, running out. To maintain continuity people will have to intervene by either repairing things or making new ones. Consequently, rather than being the cause, people are involved in an ongoing correspondence with materials and it is in this process that things take shape.

When looking from this perspective, it could be argued that the aim of making things is not to reach a terminus in the form of a finished object, but is all about generating the right (material) conditions for everyday life practices to be sustained (Barrett 2012). As Tim Ingold (2010: 92) puts it following the painter Paul Klee, “form is the end, death; form-giving is life”. In this light, Olsen (2010: 140) might be correct in arguing that social stability is enabled by things, but because things are not inert it is up to people to find ways to maintain the stability of things. At the same time, to examine the processes from which, for instance, ceramics and ceramic styles emerge, it is not necessary to confine oneself to the study of production. Usually, production and consumption are studied as two separate entities that follow each other in time. Dietler, for instance, starts a paper on consumption in the *Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Hicks and Baudry 2010) with the remark that “Consumption is a material social practice involving the *utilization* of objects (or services), as opposed to their production or distribution” (2010b: 209). Definitely, there is certain logic to this. After all, things need to be made first before they can be

used. However, to exchange a study of consumption for one of production is to move from one extreme to another. Although it will often be difficult not to unconsciously fall back on the production-consumption dichotomy, it might be useful to ask how certain innovations might have helped to keep things going in terms of both production and consumption.

### **3.5. The local and the global**

In trying to create or maintain material stability, (crafts)people not only bring together materials but are also constantly on the look-out for information and knowledge that might help them in dealing with the specific challenges they are faced with. An important point to make, however, in respect to the drawing together and manipulation of flows of information is that information does not move by itself. The flows of information people tap into can originate from basically everywhere, cut across many different scales without break of continuity, and can take any form, but they do not move magically. Information may flow in people's skills or as part of the attributes of devices or other material things. Mobility, thus, plays an essential role in the movement of information. In discussing issues of mobility, network images have become commonplace across a broad spectrum of disciplines, including archaeology (Gamble 2007; Knappett 2005; 2011). Tim Ingold (2008: 1806) has argued, however, that the proponents of network perspectives focus, in the first place, not on things, organisms, or persons but on the connections between them and thereby adopt what is often called a relational perspective. Such a perspective, Ingold notes, allows for the possibility that, with any pair of connected entities, each can play an active part in the ongoing formation of the other. Relations, it is supposed, are mutually constitutive. The consequence is that before a connecting link can be established things already have to exist. However, as both Latour (2005: 204) and Ingold (2007b) maintain, movements and displacements come first, places and shapes second. For Latour, then, a network "is not made of nylon thread, words or any other durable substance but is the trace left behind by some moving agent" (Latour 2005: 132). Networks in this sense are about movements not connections. It is for this reason that Ingold (2007a) prefers to substitute the typology of the network with that of the 'meshwork'.

Movement is restricted to neither spatial nor temporal scales. The flows of information people draw on in finding ways to create material and social stability can

have moved both long and short distances, but in bringing together and mixing the various flows they all become both local and global at the same time. Making in its widest meaning, therefore, is not just a local practice, but incorporates both the macro and the micro without there being a difference between the two. This ability of people to operate across different scales, from the local to the global, is often encapsulated in the term ‘glocalisation’ (Maran 2011; Knappett 2011: 10). Furthermore, information not only moves through space but also through time in both a literal and metaphysical sense. Because time does not stop, every movement through space is simultaneously a movement through time. But perhaps even more important is that in their everyday life people always draw on the past. Innovations do not just occur out of nothing, but emerge from people being creative in bringing together and manipulating already existing flows of materials, energy and information. The most vivid example of how past information still pertains today is, of course, the extent to which the modern car is indebted to the invention of the wheel in the fourth millennium BCE. In a similar way, novices draw on knowledge and information from their tutors in growing into knowledge, even though they do have to find their own comfort in doing things.

What strands of information will be picked up on is not something that is predetermined. People are not robots faithfully following some rigidly choreographed templates that have been passed down from generation to generation as part of a scheme or code of conduct which more or less destines its recipients to replicate the same sequence over and over again. For instance, Darwinian evolutionary archaeology holds that information which has led to successful decisions in the past becomes encoded and available to future generations, but that because individuals are different and variation is constantly being generated, the possibility exists that novel forms of action will be favoured by selection in the future, at the expense of existing cultural practices (Shennan 2012: 17). At the same time, however, if change and innovation are about fixing holes in the dyke, as is maintained in this chapter, then the information that is selected to deal with these problems is not so much selected for its reproductive fitness, adaptive resource acquisition or replicative success in transmission, but rather for, what Hodder (2012b: chapter 6) calls, their ‘fittingness’. By this he means that traits may be adopted because they help to create material coherence and as such afford social continuity to be maintained.

Certain things, however, 'fit' better at different times. Hodder (2012b: 114) notes, for instance, how the recent introduction of the Hawk Eye system in professional tennis came forth out of a need to limit the impact of failure in human judgement (i.e. the referee) in the game due to there being increasingly much at stake as a result of tennis becoming a mass spectator sport with increasing financial benefits for successful players from advertising and prize money. At the same time, he also notes that such a system would not make sense in a local club, on a court in a friend's back garden or even fifty years ago when there was much less at stake. Similarly, a concert piano would not fit in with a Mesolithic hunter-gatherer site. This is not so much because the piano was not yet invented, but because, as Hodder (2012b: 4-5) remarks, it requires highly specialised skills to play, it is based on a specific western 12-tonal system, and it uses a cast iron frame and high-tension wire that only became available in the Industrial Revolution. At the same time, Hodder (2012b: 126-132) shows how the piano and the different types music that could be produced with it are caught up with particular ways of life at various stages in history. People in the Mesolithic could not understand, hear, and make a grand piano, because they did not have the factories, ships to import the materials, the imperial reach, the organisation of labour, or the ideas about music that made the piano possible. The piano fitted a particular context that was simply absent in the Mesolithic. As such, the reason why certain forms of information are selected and incorporated or indeed rejected is not the result of past success, but is because they cohere in particular contexts and as such help to generate the conditions that make reproductive fitness possible.

In bringing together and combining materials, energy and strands of information, dynamic mixtures (sometimes in the form of things) are being created of which the original elements can or can no longer be identified. As Mol and Law for instance note, "For though a sugar solution may crystallize and the kidneys separate urine from blood, the egg and the oil in mayonnaise are irreversibly altered when they are mixed" (1994: 660). The consequence of the creation of such mixtures is that it might or might not be possible to break down artefacts into what are supposed to be their constituent components and subsequently trace the 'origins' of the individual components. Yet, to find the origins of certain phenomena is central to many archaeological studies. To a large extent this is the consequence of the modern perspective on change as discussed above. Gamble (2007: 5), for instance, notes that,

“Archaeologists will tell you that they were put on this earth to explain change. What they usually mean by that is their unflagging search for the evidence of origins; the fieldwork quest for the oldest. And once found these origin points, like well driven tent pegs, secure the ropes to explain the changes that led in the first place to the point of origin”. The problem, however, is that change does not necessarily have an origin and neither does information. Certainly, flows of information might start out at some point, but in their movement they, like a wave, constantly pick up, incorporate or let go elements and as such might be transformed in shape and character to such an extent that at some point the ‘original’ piece of information do no longer exists anymore or can no longer be recognised as such. Therefore, rather than trying to pin down a point of origin, it will be more useful to explore how people tied themselves in with information flowing along the lines of a web or meshwork of movement. As such, it is less important to figure out where exactly certain strands of information might have originated from and more important to see how people were able to find and subsequently manipulate flows of information for their own purposes.

### **3.6. Investigating material change: some thoughts on a methodology**

So far, it has been argued that change and continuity, production and consumption, and local and non-local are not necessarily opposing concepts. Humans are social beings and social stability arguably is enabled by things. However, these same things are not inert, but tend to fall apart, wear out and crumble. As a result, people are involved in a continuous process of, for instance, making repairs to their houses or producing or importing new ceramics to replace broken ones. For this they bring together and combine materials, information and energy that may originate from a potentially wide range of places. Local practices of making, using and abandoning material things are, therefore, inextricably tied in with the strands of a wider web of movement. Consequently, to understand the complex causes and processes that stimulated material change and innovation, it will be important to investigate the working of this dynamic entanglement. This is definitely not an easy exercise. For one thing, the need to transverse scales is a problematic issue. Social scientists have suggested a wide range of typologies to be able to think beyond traditional scales of analysis. Mimi Shellar (2004), for instance, works upon the notion of ‘gel’, whereas Annemarie Mol and John Law (1994) suggest the concept of ‘fluid space’. Tim Ingold (2008; 2009) combines the typology of fluid space with his idea of the ‘meshwork’. In

archaeology, Ian Hodder (2012b) has recently proposed the idea of a sticky web. However, Carl Knappett (2011: 32) notes that these calls for the recognition of fluid social typologies do not appear to be accompanied by a set of methodologies. It will, therefore, be necessary to look for alternative possibilities.

Perhaps the question that needs to be asked first is whether one believes that change is primarily triggered by forces of extra-regional origin or that internal processes form the main stimulants. This is a question that has often led to controversy between two contrasting schools of explanation for innovations or cultural change: one which favours evolutionary or autonomist explanations, and one which prefers an interventionist or diffusionist approach emphasising the spread of innovations (Rahmstorf 2011: 100-101; Sherratt 1993: 1). Of course, neither purely autonomist nor purely diffusionist explanations are fully competent to explain all forms of cultural and material change; rather, it is more a question of emphasis on either one or the other. For instance, proponents of what is perhaps rather awkwardly called ‘world-systems theory’ might emphasise the role of external forces (for a discussion, see Sherratt 2010a), but based on the arguments made in this chapter, my personal answer would be that localised processes definitely can stimulate change, including seemingly abrupt shifts. To this must, however, be added that, at the same time, people make use of and are influenced by their relations with others. Ideally, then, the suggestion would be to start from an essentially localised perspective that investigates the local practices of making, using and abandoning, which, in turn, may help to gain insights into how people experienced and constructed ‘the social’. Through this examination, evidence can be detected that makes it possible to explore further the web of movements in which the particular community was entangled and chart connections and continuing trajectories across space and time.

Unfortunately, such a study requires a very intensive and detailed empirical study, which is often not feasible due to constraints in time and finances or the state of archaeological investigation. This is particularly true for the west coast of Asia Minor at the end of the second and beginning of the first millennia BCE. As an alternative, it might be useful to follow Knappett (2011) in his argument that one should recognise trans-scalar continuities and find means of ensuring that these are respected while also using categories such as micro-, meso-, and macro-scale to facilitate analysis.

Although one of the weaknesses of Knappett's book is that, despite its supposedly rigorous methodological basis, it does not effectively link the different scales of analyses together such as to offer a coherent picture, the analyses of local practices (micro), on the one hand, and macro-regional patterns of exchange and interaction, on the other, definitely offer opportunities to study the interplay between the local and the global. In this case, one would first examine local practices and how these might have stimulated change and then, in addition, locate the community within a wider web of human and material mobility and place the local developments within a wider context of macro-regional patterns of exchange and interaction such as to examine the interaction between internal and external causes for change.

In either case, however, a practice-led and essentially empirical approach would form the basis of analysis. This call for a practice-led approach is not new. For instance, in their discussion of the issue of 'hybridity', Peter Van Dommelen and Michael Rowlands (2012) argue that hybridity cannot be read in archaeological artefacts, but takes place in practice. They therefore advocate a 'practical perspective' that takes material culture seriously, redirects attention to the activities that involved material culture, and does not distinguish between practices and objects. Philipp Stockhammer (2012b; 2012c) makes a similar argument. A problem, however, is that these models focus primarily on how people adopt, adapt, or reject specific non-local elements from a consumer's perspective. It is essentially consumers who decide what will be incorporated into local practices; producers do not appear to play an active role in this process. Moreover, they (implicitly) see external stimuli as the main causes for cultural and material change and as such ignore the elusiveness of material things and their role in stimulating continuous innovation. On the other hand, they also make the important observation that things do not reflect practices, but help to make them possible. For instance, Stockhammer (2012c: 26-31) shows how the function of the kylix in Mycenaean Greece differs from its function in the Levant. Similarly, in the Aegean amphoroid kraters were most likely used to mix wine with water, but in the Near East these same kraters might have been used for a completely different act of drinking: i.e. with straws directly from a large vessel which probably contained beer and not wine (Stockhammer 2011: 289; 2012c: 23-25). These observations make clear that objects do not necessarily form direct windows into past practices; rather they make practices possible.

However, if objects do not reflect practices, how can these practices be studied? The answer to this question is probably to be found in the point that an advantage of action is that it makes a difference and as such potentially leaves a material trace. This notion essentially forms the basis for the forensic sciences, but is also a useful (and widely accepted) notion in archaeology. To investigate the many causes and processes that stimulated material change, it will be necessary to detect and follow these traces. Indeed, the archaeologist is often portrayed as a hunter who engages with his surroundings while following the trail of an animal (Edgeworth 2012: 78; Ingold 2013: 11). As Andrew Jones (2009) rightly points out, archaeology is a hybrid subject and few other subjects range as widely in the spread of their disciplinary interests. As such, the archaeologist has a wide range of different methods in his or her possession and can search around for usable methods, or bits and pieces thereof, that may be reassembled with others to form the most appropriate research tools to approach the specific materials at hand (Olsen 2010: 13). To provide some guidance in studying the everyday practices in which ceramics were entangled in the past, Peter Tomkins (in press) has developed a practice-led characterisation of ceramics, called ‘Total Integrated Characterisation’ (TIC). This approach starts by grouping ceramics according to a combination of macroscopic observations and petrographic thin section analysis of their fabrics. Based on this grouping, other variations in terms of morphology, surface treatment, firing, techniques of forming and finishing, use, fragmentation and taphonomy will be recorded.

The advantage of Tomkin’s approach is that fabrics represent a more sensitive indicator of technological variation and allow us to identify discrete traditions of production without distorting the cultural connotations often inherent to stylistic labels. Moreover, it explicitly draws attention to production as well as other practices in which people and pottery were entangled, such as cooking, storing, serving, giving, receiving, fragmenting, discarding etc. and makes it possible to study effectively how one micro-variation at any one stage of the overall formation process relates to another. As such, it moves beyond a mere *chaîne opératoire* approach that is essentially concerned with reconstructing the physical sequence of operations and bodily gestures ancient technicians employed to make, use and repair objects (Dobres 2000; 2010). Also, the approach is cost-effective as various methods are all employed

strategically, with the high-resolution techniques the last to be used (if at all) rather than the first. Unfortunately, to fully implement this approach requires access to primary source material, which is unavailable for the present study. Nevertheless, the approach is useful in the sense that it focuses on the material characteristics of ceramics and the engagement between people and materials in the formation process of ceramics. This focus not only has the potential to gain insights into how people experienced and constructed ‘the social’, but it also allows one to get a grip on the internal processes and causes that may have stimulated material change, which is the basic aim of this thesis.

At the same time, it has already been noted that, in addition to this localised perspective, it will be necessary to investigate how in their practices people may have been influenced by their relations to others. These relations may include direct or indirect contacts with other communities in the region as well as further afield through traders and itinerant craftspeople, regional centres, (religious) festivals, large periodic fairs and small regular market-circuits, and so on, but may also involve direct interaction between, for instance, different craftspeople within a single community. In particular the role of itinerant craftspeople and direct interaction between different craftspeople in the diffusion of styles, technologies and ideas is often noted in Aegean archaeology (e.g. Papadopoulos 1997a; 2009; Ersoy 2003; Doonan and Mazarakis Ainian 2007). Also, the relation between ceramic skeuomorphism and long-distance trade in, for instance, metals and textiles is sometimes pointed at (e.g. Sherratt 1999: 181). In all cases, the level of influence these interactions may exert on local material developments tends to be associated with the position of sites in relation to local, regional and supra-regional routes of trade and communication. This point is actually one of the basic and in many ways very useful premises of world-systems theory. Consequently, where necessary or appropriate the particular position of a site within a wider web of human and material mobility will be examined in this thesis to explore, on the one hand, how external forces influenced localised practices, but, at the same time, also stimulated regional patterns to emerge.

### **3.7. Final remarks**

Material change is often conceived of as ‘episodic’, something (at least retrospectively) conceived of as bringing something new to things themselves or

society at large (Olsen 2010: 163). This conception is particularly clear on the west coast of Asia Minor at the end of the second millennium BCE, where stylistic changes in ceramics have often been regarded as signalling a turning point in social history. In response to these episodic narratives, scholars influenced by postcolonial theory have come (often implicitly) to use the concept of ‘hybridity’ to accommodate the increasing evidence for continuity in the region and argue for a more gradual evolution driven by cultural contact and interaction (e.g. Crielaard 2009). One problem with the concept of ‘hybridity’ is that it is mostly used as a political metaphor in postcolonial discourse and has a pejorative biological background (Stockhammer 2012: 89), but even more important, in my opinion, is that the concept is all too often used as a means to detect, describe and explain patterns emerging out of confusing interactions without actually understanding the working of the everyday mechanisms and processes that stimulated the patterns to take shape.

To be able to gain insights into these dynamics an alternative theoretical perspective was developed in this chapter. The basis of this perspective is formed by the notion that stability and change are complementary phenomena rather than opposing concepts. In fact, change and innovation are often required to maintain continuity in the sense that things are not inert and endure over different temporalities and as such need constant maintenance or replacement. Consequently, to maintain the material conditions for everyday social practices to be sustained, people are involved in an ongoing process of bringing together and combining flows of materials and information from a potentially wide range of sources. To study this particular entanglement and gain insights into how it stimulated material change, a practice-led approach was suggested that tackles the interplay between, on the one hand, essentially localised practices of production and consumption and, on the other, wider patterns of exchange and interaction. In the next two chapters, this approach will form the basis for a reconsideration of the material developments at the beginning of the twelfth and then in the eleventh centuries BCE.

## Chapter 4

### Ceramic innovation in Ionia at the beginning of the twelfth century

#### 4.1. Introduction

In her account of the historicity of the Ionian migration, Irene Lemos (2007) argues that the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces, in combination with the collapse of the major empires in Anatolia and the Near East, created a context of uncertainty and social unrest that prompted people to move to other places that were thought to be safe for at least a short period of time during the middle stage of the LH IIIC period. She supports this hypothesis by arguing that in this period the islands and the Asiatic coast produced a distinctive pottery style and the number of burials, including rich warrior burials, increased on Naxos, Rhodes and Kos. This claim that the Asiatic coasts produced a distinctive pottery style is perhaps correct, but cannot be regarded as evidence for population movements. As Penelope Mountjoy (1998; 1999: 45-46, 967-969; 2013; in press) has argued on various occasions, the LH IIIC painted pottery from the west coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent Aegean islands shows an extremely homogeneous style that develops organically from the local LH IIIB style and, therefore, at least to Mountjoy (1998: 60), suggests continuity of inhabitants. There are, however, some notable changes. First, imported LH IIIA2 and IIIB Mycenaean pottery (mostly Argive), which used to comprise only a very small portion of the ceramic assemblages, all but disappears. Second, there appears to be a tendency towards a general worsening in the overall surface treatment of the pots. The surfaces become less well polished and the slip thicker and more unevenly applied (pers. comm. D.S. Mangaloğlu-Votruba). Also, matt paint seems to take over from lustrous paint around this time (Mountjoy 2013: 579). Third, the twelfth century sees the appearance of 'Aegean'-style wheelmade cooking pots. The aim of this chapter is to investigate the possible causes and processes that stimulated these innovations.

#### 4.2. Imported pottery and local production

In Central Macedonia, a decline in the quality of surface treatment at the beginning of the twelfth century is interpreted as a reflection of speedier and greater production of painted wheelmade pottery (Andreou 2009). To investigate whether a similar situation

might be postulated for the west coast of Asia Minor, it would first be useful to look at how pottery production was organised. The best way to investigate this is through fabric analysis as this makes it possible to identify discrete traditions. Unfortunately, no systematic project has yet been carried out in the region and it is not possible to do this as part of the present study. Evidence will therefore have to be gathered through more general observations of ceramics and ceramic developments. A useful point of departure in this is that the potter's wheel was already introduced in Western Anatolia as early as EB II (Şahoğlu 2005) and as such formed a well-established tradition by the time that imported Mycenaean pottery arrived in the region by the end of the fourteenth century (Mountjoy 1998). Because of this, it is hardly a surprise that very quickly after imports began to arrive on the Asiatic shores local potters started to produce a local form of Mycenaean-style painted pottery. Initially, this local pottery shows clear affinities with the 'Anatolian' plain wares (and vice versa) in the sense that similar shapes were produced in both Anatolian and painted form (**fig. 4.1**) (Mountjoy 1998; Zurbach 2011). However, Mountjoy (1998) notes that these mutual influences slowly disappear in the course of the thirteenth century and that the painted pottery develops into a very homogeneous group, which she has coined the 'East Aegean koine' (Mountjoy 1998; 1999: 45-46, 967-969; in press).

**Figure 4.1.** A painted and a Grey ware jug from Panaztepe-Menemen (after Günel 1999a: pl. 167.1 and 166.1).

Unfortunately, little is known about the developments of the ‘Anatolian’ wheelmade wares during the Late Bronze Age due to a lack of systematic (published) research, but an apparent decrease in the continuing fusion of painted and unpainted wheelmade forms in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries may indicate either that potters learned how to produce shapes proficiently in multiple traditions or that different specialists were producing different shapes in different wares. Because the technology of the wheel had already been known in western Asia Minor for centuries, and because there is little reason to assume major differences in the fashioning techniques used for the plain ‘Anatolian’ and painted wares (Zurbach 2011: 50), there would seem, at least in that respect, to be no clear reason why potters could not have produced in multiple traditions. On the other hand, however, it is intriguing that the different wares (grey, reddish-buff and painted wares) probably required different firing conditions, and hence different forms of knowledge, to achieve their specific characteristics. This is an assumption largely based on the fact that grey wares necessarily require a reducing atmosphere in the final stages of the firing process, whereas both painted and red-buff wares require oxidising conditions. In theory it is, therefore, possible that painted and red-buff wares could be fired in the same kiln load. However, it is interesting to note that one of the collapsed pottery kilns dating to the late fourteenth century found at Limantepe/Klazomenai was filled with mostly local reddish-buff coloured unpainted pots (Mangaloğlu-Votruba in press).<sup>50</sup> Although this observation does not rule out the possibility of potters being able to produce in different traditions, it is perhaps more likely that individual households/workshops specialised in the production of certain wares and perhaps even specific shapes.

This is not to say that these different potting traditions were spatially separated. In fact, there are several examples of painted local ‘Anatolian’ pots (**fig. 4.2**) which suggest at least a certain degree of interaction between the various traditions. To place this latter point into a wider perspective, it is useful to refer briefly to the situation at Tell Kazel in Syria. Here, two chemical and petrographic analysis programmes (Badre et al. 2005; Boileau et al. 2010a) have shown that, although apparently locally produced, pots classified as ‘local Mycenaean pottery’ – that is, those local products

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<sup>50</sup> It is, however, puzzling that Grey Wares and cooking pots were also found in the same kiln-load (pers. comm. D.S. Mangaloğlu-Votruba, May 2013).

that are deemed to follow Aegean developments closely (Jung 2012: 105) – were made of a different and much more standardised fabric than the other ceramics for which a series of different petro-fabrics and chemical groups were identified that clearly reflect the geological heterogeneity of the Akkar Plain (Boileau et al. 2010a: fig. 2). The apparent high level of homogeneity of the local Mycenaean pottery in chemical and petrographic terms indicates a conscious clay selection by the potters (Jung 2011b: 127; 2012: 109) and may suggest that these ceramics were produced by different people than those producing all the other ceramics found at the site (see further pp. 128-131 below). In addition to the normal Syrian-type and local Mycenaean ceramics, there is also a type of ceramics that combines Aegean and local elements in their shapes, decorations and technological features. Pots belonging to this category feature a whitish slip and red paint and are basically represented by amphoroid kraters and piriform jars (Jung 2012: 108). Chemical and petrographic analyses have shown that these ceramics are directly associated with a petrochemical group that includes a range of Syrian-type vessels, including trefoil-mouthed jugs, jars ('Canaanite jars') and bowls (Badre et al. 2005: 29-30, figs. 4-5). This situation is in many ways reminiscent of the few examples of painted 'Anatolian' wares in Ionia. However, the main difference between the situation at Tell Kazel and on the west coast of Asia Minor is that, as elsewhere in the Levant, the production of 'local Mycenaean' pottery at Tell Kazel only commenced at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the twelfth century.

**Figure 4.2. Painted 'Anatolian' bowl from Bakla Tepe (after Özkan and Erkanal 1999: fig. 12).**

If there is indeed some truth to the suggestion that the various ceramic wares found on the west coast of Asia Minor were produced by different potting traditions working alongside one another at the same production site, it is important to consider that mostly preliminary reports suggest that during the late fourteenth and thirteenth centuries painted pottery, including small amounts of imported Mycenaean pottery, comprised about five to ten percent of the total ceramic assemblage (Günel 1999a: 183, Gr.1 and 9; 1999b; 2010b: 28; Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011; in press; Erkanal 2008; Kerschner 2006: 367-368; see also Troy, Mountjoy 2006).<sup>51</sup> If indeed correct, these numbers would not only provide an important correction to the emphasis that has often been placed on these ceramics (Greaves 2010b: 882-884), but they also make it plausible that only a few workshops, perhaps not more than two or three per production site, produced these ceramics, although this needs, of course, to be confirmed by further analysis.

In this light, it may be important that John Papadopoulos (1994: 481; 1998: 115 n. 38) remarks that many ethnographic studies of traditional modern potters have shown that craftsmen, especially those who are highly skilled, find it difficult to keep up with market demand due to factors such as the seasonality of the work (Vitelli 1977; Blitzer 1990: 679, 698), the health of the potter – Blitzer (1990: 679) notes that potters mentioned that chronically aching hands and feet and rheumatism during the cooler months played a role in their schedules –, and the internal organisation of a potter's establishment – at Koroni in Messenia, for instance, the potter laboured, most commonly, with two assistants, which means that a workshop was formed by three people of whom the potter was the true centre without whom the workshop could not function (Blitzer 1990: 679, 698). Certainly, it is difficult to find any clear evidence, but assuming that at least seasonality of potters' activity is plausible for Late Bronze Age pottery production on the west coast of Asia Minor, it could be postulated that this may have put up restrictions to the potters' ability and flexibility to respond to the changing circumstances under which they had to carry out their work.

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<sup>51</sup> Important to remark is that these numbers generally seem to be based on a careful consideration of all the ceramics and their contexts rather than a rough estimation to support a certain argument, as has been the case at Miletos where, depending on the argument made, estimations of the relative proportion of Mycenaean-type have varied from just five percent of the total to the majority of it (Ünal 1991: 22-24; Niemeier 2005: 12, respectively).

In the light of these observations, it is of interest to consider briefly whether the growth of local painted ceramics was stimulated by the decreasing numbers of imported pottery reaching the East Aegean or whether an increase in local production displaced the imports, as is arguably the case on Cyprus (Sherratt 2003). One characteristic of the growth of Cypriot Painted Wheelmade III ware is that it increases steadily in LC IIC until it forms a significant portion of the overall assemblage in the earlier part of LC IIIA when it makes up an average of 68 percent of the fine and decorated pottery from Enkomi Level IIIA and an average of 38 percent of the total pottery from Kition Floors IIIA and III (Sherratt 2013: 624, with further references). On the west coast of Asia Minor, however, as already noted, locally produced and imported painted pottery combined generally does not appear to exceed five to ten percent of the overall ceramic assemblages during the late fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. Intriguingly, this number does not seem to change during the twelfth century, although at that time the painted pottery is fully produced in the region (Günel 2010b: 28; Meriç and Mountjoy 2002: 83; Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011; in press).<sup>52</sup> This would suggest that the increase in production was more likely caused by the demise of imported pottery than that it stimulated it. On the other hand, however, it is also possible, and perhaps even plausible, that during the second half of the thirteenth century the two processes tied in together and stimulated each other without there necessarily being a clear cause. In that case, the replacement of imported pottery by locally produced painted ceramics would have taken place gradually over a few decades.

In either case, however, the apparent increase in production on the west coast of Asia Minor at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the twelfth century may not seem too substantial from an archaeological point of view, but for a potter it meant that more pots had to be produced in roughly the same time. Certainly, this was probably a somewhat gradual process and one workshop working with a fast wheel would already be able to produce large amounts of vessels. However, if indeed potters were often struggling to meet the market demand due to, for instance, the seasonality of the

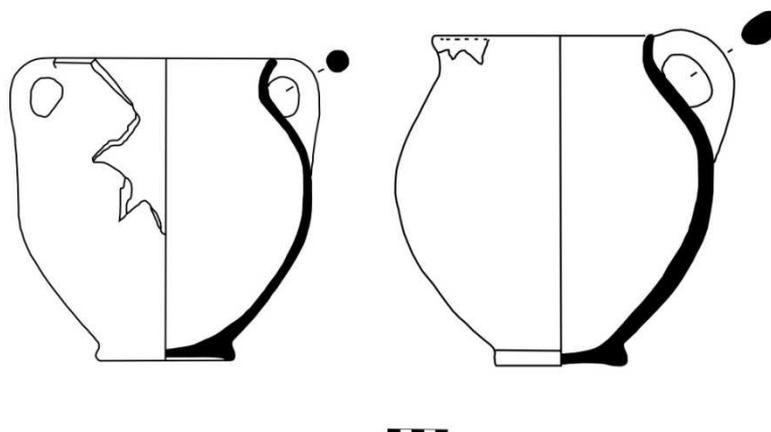
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<sup>52</sup> An exception appears to be Kuşadası-Kadıkalesi where it is claimed that locally produced painted pottery forms the biggest percentage of the total ceramic assemblage in the twelfth century (Akdeniz 2006: 8), although it should be noted that clear statistics have not yet been provided.

work and if also only a limited number of potters was involved in the production of painted pottery, an increasing demand for locally produced painted pottery and the associated extra time and effort needed to make more pots may have forced potters to compromise in the care they invested in the individual pots. Although somewhat speculative given the evidence available at present, such a situation would definitely provide a plausible context in which one might suspect the surfaces of painted pots to show a tendency to become less well polished and the slip to be thicker and more unevenly applied.<sup>53</sup>

### 4.3. ‘Aegean’-style wheelmade cooking pots: evidence for migrants?

With the establishment of a potential link between the disappearance of Mycenaean imports and a general worsening quality in surface treatment of the locally produced painted pots, it is time to turn to a highly controversial issue. At the beginning of the twelfth century a new type of (‘Aegean’-style) cooking jug/amphora appears at least at Limantepe/Klazomenai (**fig. 4.3**) (Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011: 47, fig. 2b; in press),



**Figure 4.3.** Wheelmade ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots from Limantepe/Klazomenai (redrawn after Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011: 69, fig. 2b).

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<sup>53</sup> The observation that lustrous paint is replaced by matt paint is something that is much more difficult to explain due to the possibility that it could have been caused by a number of factors. The lustrous appearance of Mycenaean pottery was probably achieved through a combination of the use of a fine fraction of the clay slip enriched in illitic clay minerals; this process is reflected in the chemical composition of the paint layer by an increase in the potassium content (R.E. Jones 1986: 791-792). R.E. Jones (1986: 791-792) also remarks that the optimal conditions require a firing temperature not exceeding 850 degrees Celsius. Under these conditions minimal morphological changes in the clay minerals on the surface of the pot occur with the result that the paint layer is more permeable to gases and as such achieves its smooth, lustrous, black painted surface.

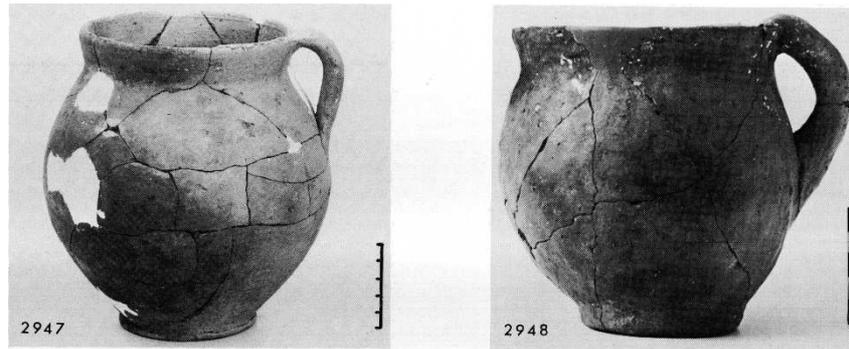


Figure 4.4. Wheelmade and handmade cooking pots from Emporio, Chios (after Hood 1981/1982: pl. 127; reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens).

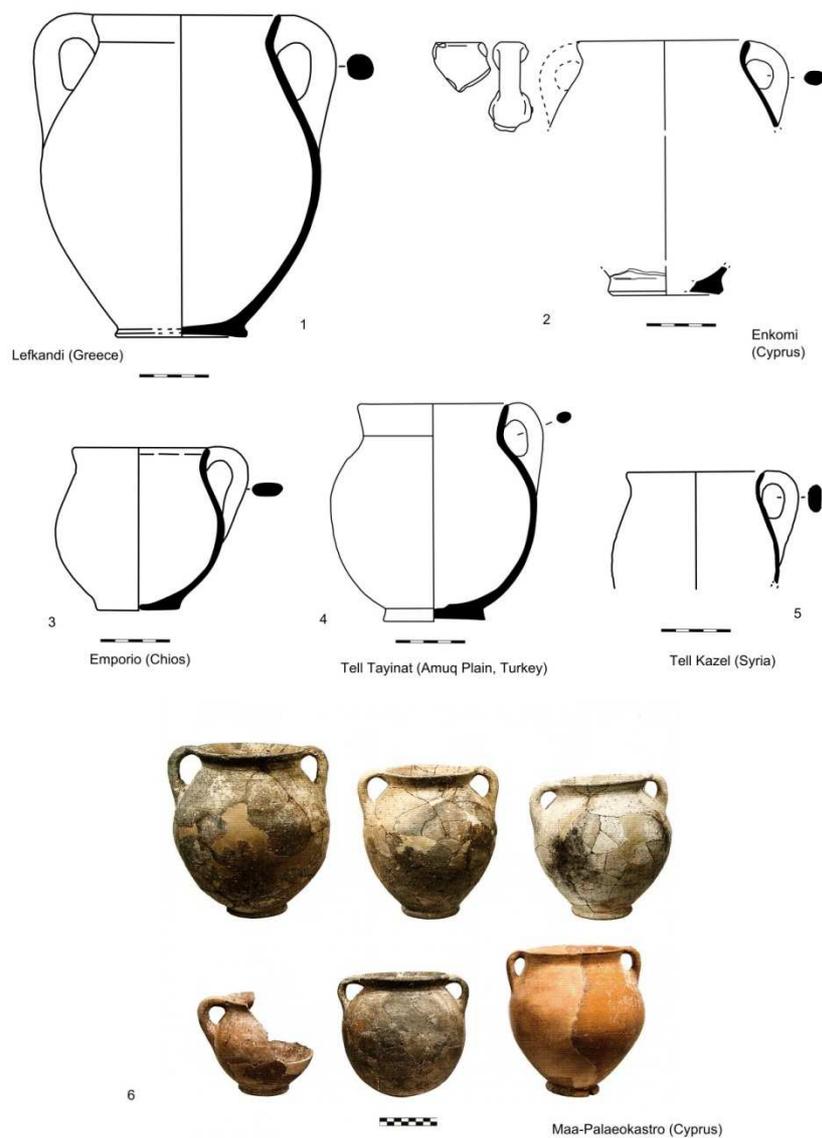
and apparently also at Çine-Tepicik.<sup>54</sup> A similar type of cooking pot in both handmade and wheelmade form is also found in the LH IIIC levels of Emporio on Chios (**fig. 4.4**) (Hood 1981/1982: 617-618, fig. 280, pls. 127, 129a,b,d). The pots are produced on the wheel and characterised by an ovoid body, a wide mouth and either one or two vertical strap handles. These wheelmade cooking pots have a wide range of parallels both in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean (**fig. 4.5**). Interestingly, where and in whatever quantities these cooking pots appear outside the Mycenaean heartland, they tend to be regarded as evidence for the arrival of Mycenaean refugees, mostly on the basis that these pots are supposed to represent a different cooking tradition and have little commercial value. Particularly in the Levant and Cyprus these cooking pots are often linked to the arrival of ‘Philistine’ immigrants from the Aegean (e.g. Janeway 2008: 134-135; Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 45; Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008; Killebrew 2005: 222-224; Yasur-Landau 2010: 124-138, 227-241, 263; Spagnoli 2010).

Some general remarks need to be made in respect to this assumed relationship. In the first place, these cooking pots are turning up at an increasing number of sites in the Eastern Mediterranean and the ‘peripheral’ zones in the Aegean (i.e. the west coast of Asia Minor and Central Macedonia<sup>55</sup>) and it is hardly feasible that all of them represent Mycenaean refugees. Second, the focus on Mycenaean refugees fleeing and settling in other parts of the (Eastern) Mediterranean is the result of a very strong Aegeo-centric perspective first introduced by Tsountas in the 1890s, which

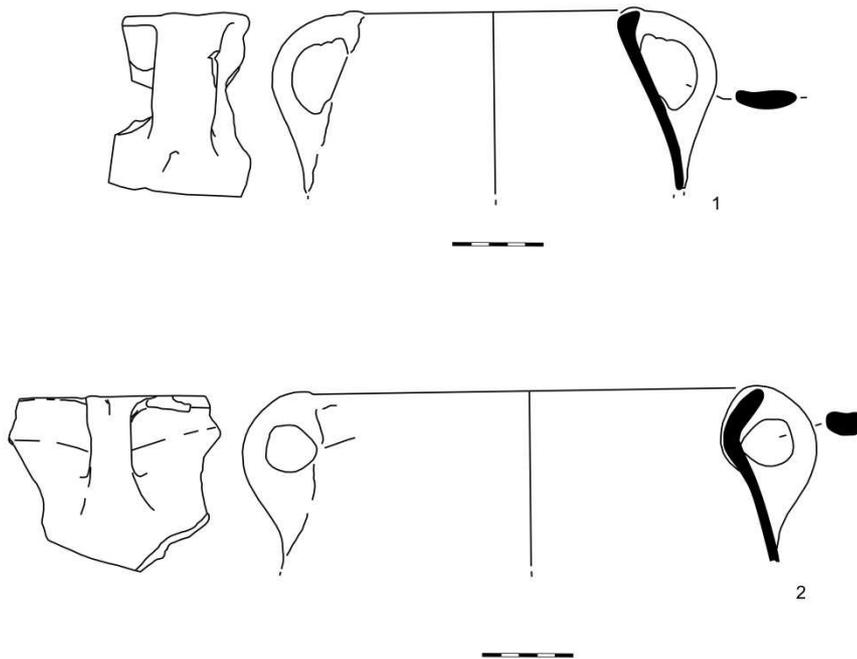
<sup>54</sup> This is based on a paper delivered by Sevinç Günel at the RCAC in Istanbul on March 27, 2012 in which she showed some examples. None have been published so far, however. There are also two examples from Çomlekçi in Karia, but these are supposed to date to the late twelfth/early eleventh century (Boysal 1969: pl. 36.7-8).

<sup>55</sup> Personal comment by S. Andreou.

particularly on Cyprus has become entwined with modern political history (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998; Given 1998; Leriou 2002). Third, there is the question of whether the ‘Mycenaean’ cooking pots from Cyprus really derive from the Aegean. For instance, the tripod cooking pots of the Late Bronze Age Aegean do not appear on Cyprus or in the Levant. Moreover, the wheelmade cooking pots of LC IIC-III A Cyprus are arguably merely wheelmade versions of the handmade cooking pots which can be seen on Cyprus since at least the Middle Bronze Age, but which, until Webb published an article on these pots (**fig. 4.6**) (Webb 1994), had rarely been discussed or illustrated (E.S. Sherratt, pers. comm.).



**Figure 4.5.** 'Mycenaean' cooking pots from the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean (1: redrawn after Evelyn 2006: fig. 2.8.3; 2: redrawn after Jung 2011a: fig. 4.6; 3: redrawn after Hood 1981/1982: 618, fig. 280.2949; 4: redrawn after Janeway 2011: fig. 3.7; 5: redrawn after Badre 2011a: 166, fig. 9c; 6: after Karageorghis 2011: 27, fig. 1; reproduced with permission by V. Karageorghis).



**Figure 4.6.** Late Bronze Age handmade cooking pots from Enkomi (redrawn after Jung 2011a: figs. 1.1 and 1.4).

In addition to these points, there is the question of the extent to which the difference between rounded bases, characteristic of most of the local handmade cooking pots on Cyprus, and the articulated bases of the ‘Mycenaean’ cooking pots are actually related to cooking practices at all. Jung (2011a: 61) argues that “[...] new motor habits came along with the flat-based Mycenaean cooking pots [which are] suited to a horizontal movement on a flat surface that is close to the fire”. He, therefore, sees a link with new ‘Mycenaean’ hearth constructions formed by platforms of mud or plaster, frequently with a sherd layer underneath (Jung 2011a: 70; Karageorghis 2011: 22-23). However, first of all, the implication that the moving of cooking pots in relation to the fire is related to motor habits that are culturally determined is problematic at best. There is no reason to believe that the bodily movements involved in moving around and using round-based and flat-based pots require any specific motor habits. To put a pot on the fire is as easy or as difficult as moving it on a flat surface close to the fire. Second, the slight differences in shape, including globular vessels with short, everted rims and articulated bases, and ovoid shapes with rounded base and continuous profile, may actually be a reflection of continuous profiles being more suited for hand-building techniques, while the articulated bases of Mycenaean-type cooking ware would have resulted in fault lines if retained on handmade vessels (Strack 2007: 137). Third, there is no reason to suspect that the rounded handmade cooking pots

would signify any significant differences in cooking practices, because if they were provided with lids or covers, they could be used for boiling and equally well for slow baking in embers or in an oven without much additional liquid, producing ‘casserole-type’ dishes (Kanta 2003: 176). Finally, recent studies show that the ‘Mycenaean’ hearths are already in use on Cyprus in the thirteenth century (Iacovou 2013: 612; Knapp 2008: 260-261; Fischer 2006-2007) and as such are unlikely to be associated with the arrival of newcomers around 1200 BCE.

Because of these points, there is, at least for the Eastern Mediterranean, every reason to question a direct link between the appearance of ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots and a supposed arrival of newcomers from the Aegean. This, however, brings into question the mechanisms behind the appearance of this type of cooking pot on the west coast of Asia Minor. Can they be assigned to newcomers from the Greek mainland or is the situation more complex? The contextual evidence currently available is limited at best. At Limantepe/Klazomenai, several examples of these cooking pots were found around a (‘Aegean’-type) hearth paved with ceramics, situated east of a curvilinear building of which only the southern part was uncovered, showing that the building had an entrance in the eastern wall (Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011: 47; in press). The location of the cooking pots in relation to the hearth indicates that they were most likely used for boiling or for keeping (semi-) liquids warm by the fire. Unfortunately, no residue analysis has been carried out yet and no (published) information is available about possible soot marks or about associated ceramics and other archaeological materials, such as animal bones, which could shed more light on the kind of activities that took place around the hearth and what role the cooking pots might have played in these practices.<sup>56</sup>

Important, however, is that this type of cooking pot was certainly not the only type in use. At Aphrodisias (Joukowsky 1986), Beycesultan (Mellaart and Murray 1995) and

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<sup>56</sup> As for the residue analysis, several studies using Organic Residue Analysis have recently been carried out, which included a study of cooking pots (see studies in Tzedakis et al. 2008). The results are, however, ambiguous as, not surprisingly, most cooking pots, or at least pots that have been classified as such, appear to have been used for multiple foodstuffs and purposes. In terms of possible soot marks, S. Mangaloğlu-Votruba told me that soot marks appear to be present on the sides of the cooking pots from Limantepe, which indeed suggests they stood next to the hearth. See also Ben-Shlomo (2011), Evely (2006: 207) and H.W. Catling (2009: 424-431) for soot marks on cooking pots from southern Israel, Lefkandi and the Menelaion. See also a paper by Gur-Arieh et al. (2011) for some experimental work on soot marks on pottery.

Panaztepe-Menemen (Günel 1999a) the local repertoires comprise an extensive range of cooking utensils (figs. 4.7-4.10).<sup>57</sup> Assuming that this situation is representative for other Ionian sites as well, the remark can be made that, even if not all of these local pots were in use simultaneously or used primarily for cooking activities, the wide variety of shapes and sizes makes it highly unlikely that the few ‘Aegean’-style pots found along the coast had any significant impact on the overall cooking practices in the region, particularly as the function of these pots seems to have been very basic. In fact, one could even wonder what advantages or novelties in terms of cooking practices these pots provided when compared to the other cooking wares.

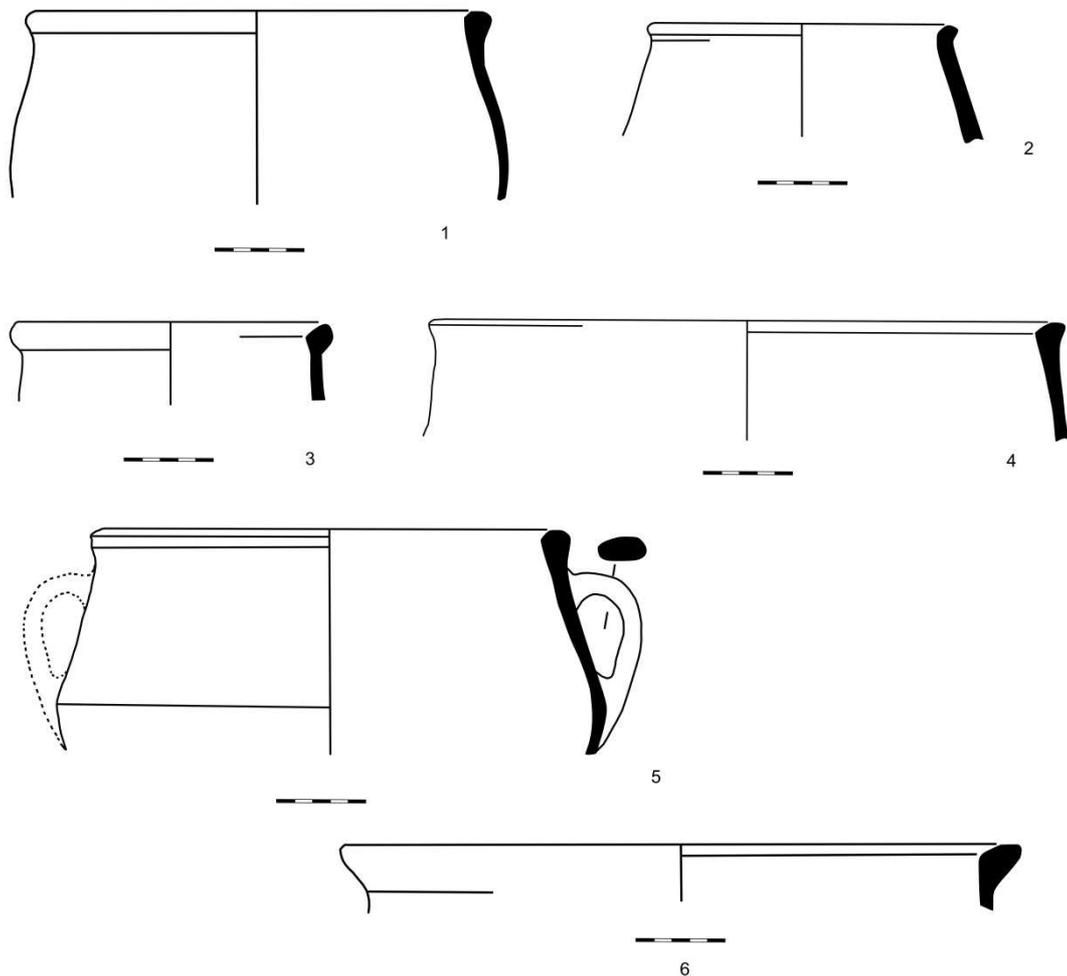


Figure 4.7. Cooking pots from Late Bronze Age Aphrodisias (redrawn after Jouwkowsky 1986: pls. 489.15, 490.27, 491.8, 491.12, 492.6, 493.22).

<sup>57</sup> In a recent presentation at a workshop in Istanbul (May 24-25 2013), Sıla Mangaloğlu-Votroba showed some wheelmade Anatolian cooking pots from Limantepe, which appear to be close to those found at Panztepe-Menemen.

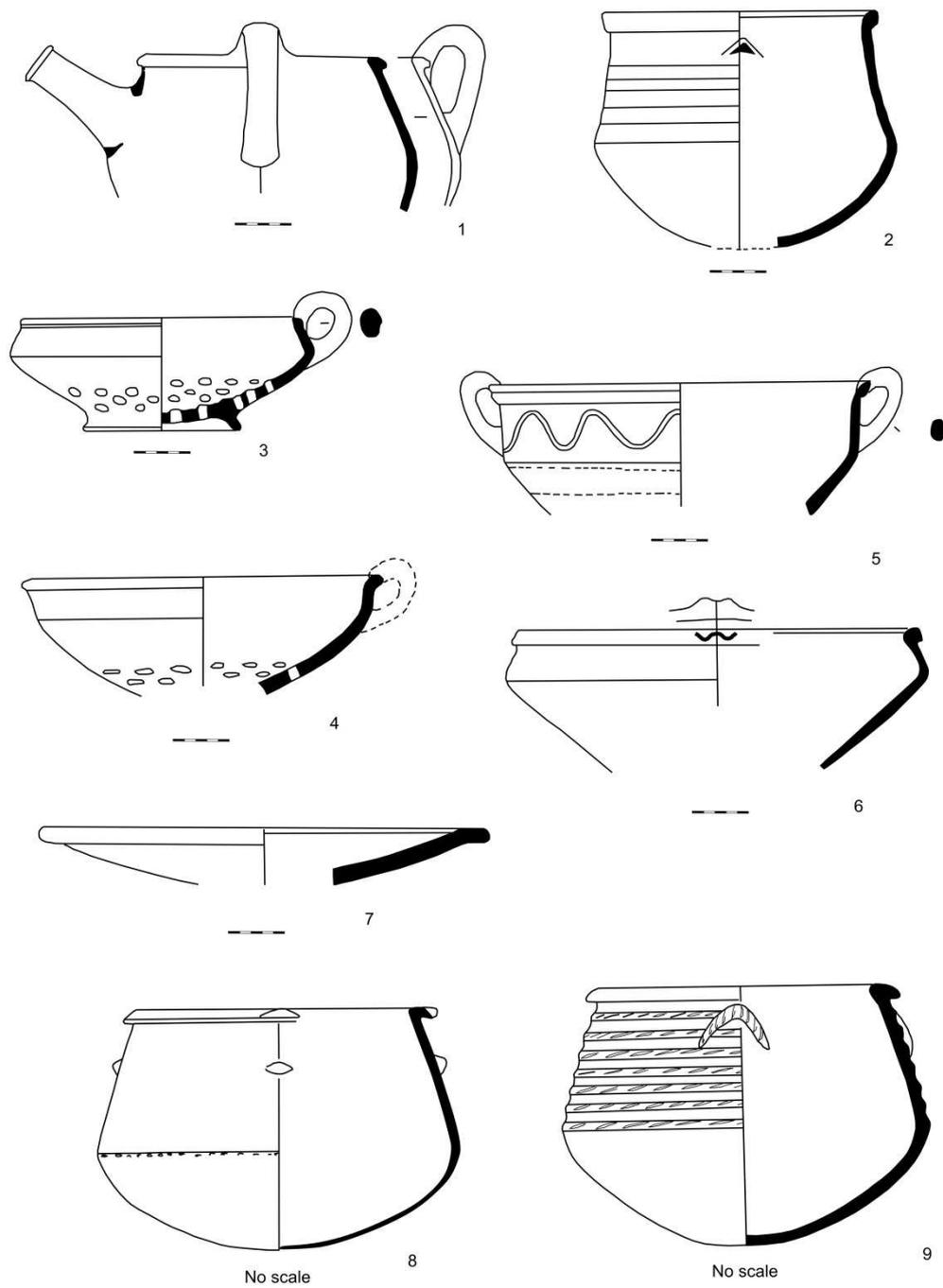


Figure 4.8. Kitchen utensils from Late Bronze Age Beycesultan (Level II), cooking pots (2, 8-9), baking plate (7), colanders (3-4), spouted pot (1), and carinated bowls (5-6) (redrawn after Mellaart and Murray 1995: figs. P 28.2-3, P29.1-7).

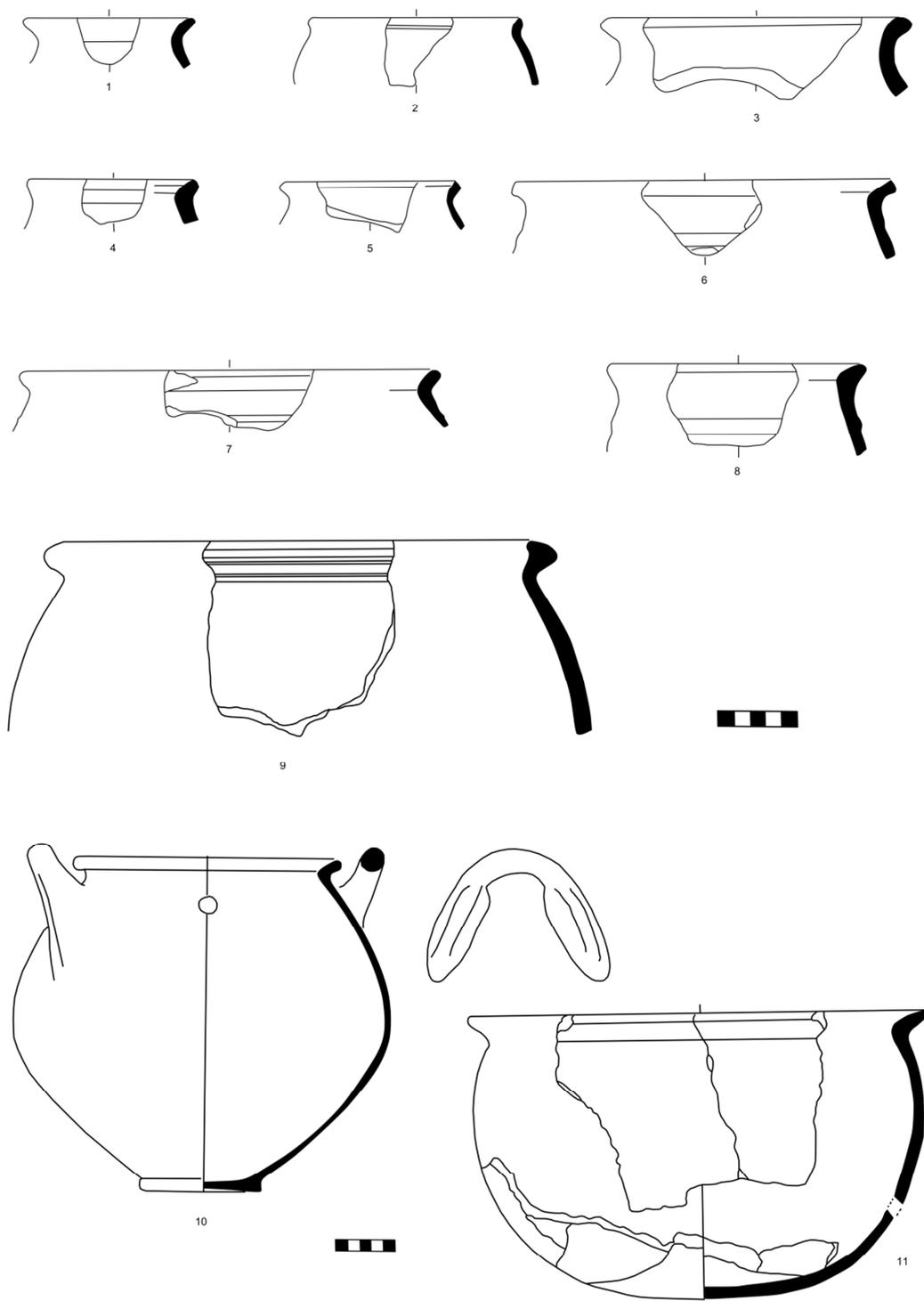


Figure 4.9. Coarse ware cooking pots from Late Bronze Age Panaztepe-Menemen (redrawn after Günel 1999a: pls. 79.2, 80.4, 82.4, 85.6, 84.1, 84.4, 89.6, 91.4, 94.3, 90.4, 92.1)

**Figure 4.10. Coarse ware cooking pot from Panaztepe-Menemen (after Günel 1999a: pl. 163.1).**

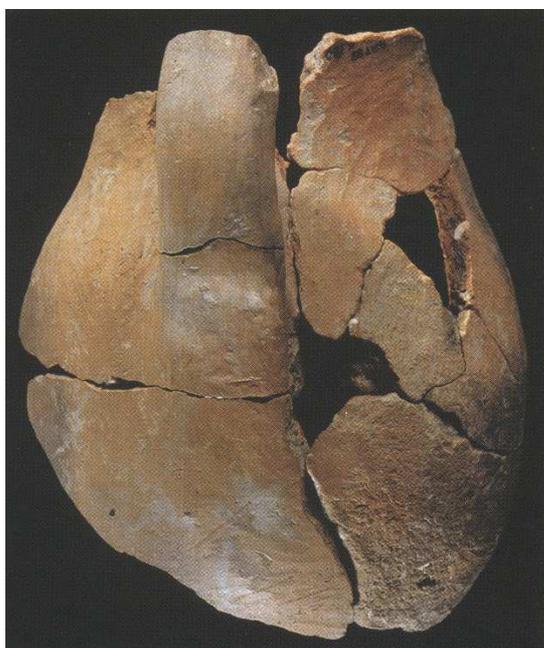
At first, this observation would seem to support the idea of the arrival of small groups of migrant people who brought the tradition of using these cooking pots with them. But if this was the case, it would also appear logical that these newcomers should have produced these pots themselves. Yet, unless they brought their own specialised potters with them, the fact that these pots are wheelmade makes it likely that they were produced in a specialised (workshop) environment where both the required tools and skills were available to throw pastes that were coarse enough to withstand thermal expansion. Fabric analysis will have to determine whether the pots represent a completely new tradition of potting or whether they can be associated with any existing potting tradition, but it is noteworthy that at Tell Kazel on the Syrian coast one of the ‘Mycenaean’ cooking pots was made of the same calcareous fabric as the finer and coarser vessels of Mycenaean type (Jung 2012: 109). In the East Aegean, at least at Limantepe/Klazomenai, the cooking pots show different quantities of mica in the clay, which are not dissimilar to the varieties in the clay of painted ceramics. It should, however, be noted that the ‘Anatolian’ wares, too, are often mica-rich (Mangaloğlu-Votruba pers. comm.). It is, therefore, not possible to make any firm statements as yet. In fact, one cannot even be sure that the pots were produced on-site (see further below). Even so, if a similar situation to Tell Kazel is, at least for the moment, postulated for the west coast of Asia Minor and it is assumed that the cooking pots were produced by potters normally involved in the production of painted

pottery, the consequence would be that the cooking pot was introduced within already existing traditions.

When looking from this perspective, it is significant that recent research at Ephesos and Miletos has indicated that there is a remarkable continuity in the use of certain clay pastes for the production of various (fine) wares from the Bronze Age through to the Archaic period and beyond. Based on a macroscopic analysis of wares found at Ephesos, spanning a period of over one thousand years from the Late Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period (including the Protogeometric and Geometric periods), Michael Kerschner (2005) has found that the fabric is remarkably homogeneous throughout, indicating that the same clay beds were used and the clay processed consistently in the same way throughout that time. This observation is also confirmed by the Neutron Activation Analyses carried out by M. Akurgal et al. (2002; see also Kerschner 2005; 2007; Kerschner and Mommsen 2009) on Late Bronze Age and especially Archaic painted fine wares from Miletos. These analyses show that, at least at Miletos, chemically speaking there is little to tell the Archaic material apart from the Late Bronze Age pottery. Interestingly, Akurgal et al. (2002: 46-47) argue that this apparent continuity over several centuries is unlikely because of the supposed cultural changes that took place at the end of the Late Bronze Age and during the Early Iron Age. A similar continuity is also expected for Limantepe/Klazomenai as well as other sites, but not yet proven.

Because the numbers of 'Aegean'-style cooking pots found at the various sites along the Asiatic coast are (still) small, it is certainly possible that local potters produced the cooking pots for migrant families, but there is the question as to why they would have been prepared to do so. Ethnographic studies suggest that small to medium large cooking pots last somewhere between one year (Foster 1960) and 2.5-2.7 years (David 1972). By comparison, at least according to David (1972), bowls have an average life-expectancy of 2.7 years. Of course, these figures need to be approached with caution, but if there is any truth to them, it means that cooking pots have a life-expectancy similar to, if not shorter than, most table wares. Consequently, even though the number of cooking pots appears to be small, one may ask why potters producing painted pottery would have added yet another type to their repertoire,

particularly given that they were probably already struggling to make a sufficient number of fine table wares, as has been suggested above.



**Figure 4.11.** Early Iron Age handmade cooking pot from the Artemision at Ephesos (after Forstenpointer et al. 2008: 44, fig. 14; reproduced with permission by M. Kerschner).

Furthermore, one wonders why these putative immigrants relied on local potters to produce the pots for them when, for instance, handmade versions could essentially fulfil the same functions and are potentially easier to make at a household level, as they do not require the specific skills and knowledge required to operate the wheel (cf. Walberg 1976). These handmade versions were not uncommon on the Greek mainland (and on Chios) during the twelfth century, even though they only became particularly popular in the Protogeometric period when they also occurred in a standard shape that varies little from site to site (Lemos 2002: 85; cf. Reber 1991; Strack 2007). For instance, at Kalapodi, right from the beginning of the LH IIIC sequence in Horizon I, handmade and burnished cooking pots are found together with their wheelmade counterparts (Rutter 2007: 292; Jacob-Felsch 1996: 73-78, pls. 24.35, 26.67, 27.77, 30.142, 31.156, 32.175, 35.224), although they only become really popular in the Early Iron Age. The same is true for Tiryns (Kilian 2007; Stockhammer 2008) and Mitrou, where handmade and burnished rim-handled cooking pots occur together in LH IIIC Middle contexts with wheelmade and unburnished versions of the same basic form (Rutter 2007: 294).<sup>58</sup> On the west coast of Asia Minor, however,

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<sup>58</sup> At other sites, the situation is less clear. The earliest examples of burnished wares from Asine date to an advanced stage of LH IIIC (Santillo Frizell et al. 1986), but the material is mostly too fragmentary to deduce whether these include cooking jugs. The clearest examples of handmade one-handled cooking pots date to the early eleventh century (Santillo Frizell et al. 1986: figs. 9, 13, 19, 22, 30, 33-35, 37, 39), although it also noted that there are fragments which indicate that the Mycenaean tradition of making wheelmade cooking pots was still a living one in the later stages of LH IIIC (Santillo Frizell et al. 1986: 82). At Mycenae, wheelmade cooking wares continue to appear until at least LH IIIC Middle (French 2007: 177, 179), but French (1989: 40, fig. 3) has also illustrated a handmade cooking jug which was supposedly found in deposits dating to the latest stages of the LH IIIB period. Finally, at Corinth Rutter (1979: 371, 399-400) notes the presence of both wheelmade (with smoothed surfaces)

handmade cooking pots have so far only been found in Early Iron Age contexts at Ephesos (**fig. 4.11**) (Forstenpointer et al. 2008: fig. 14) and Limantepe/Klazomenai (personal observation), but have not (yet?) been identified in earlier contexts.

Finally, there is the issue that pots, even cooking pots, do not reflect practices, but only make them possible. As such, the same type of cooking pot could potentially have been used for different purposes and types of cooking. Given the wide range of cooking pots already available on the west coast of Asia Minor, this raises the question why the putative newcomers could not have used local pots that were widely available for their own purposes and why they needed to use their own pots. Consequently, when taking together all the observations made so far, it can be postulated that it is perhaps not very plausible that the ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots can be seen as a direct reflection of the arrival of newcomers. This is not to deny the possibility of migration, but the point is that pots, even cooking pots, do not equal people. But if this is the case, what possible alternative explanations are there? Because there is a lack of published material and access to primary source material, it is not aimed here to develop a well-defined and fool-proof model; rather, the intention is to offer two possible alternatives that could form a basis for future research.

#### **4.4. ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots in Ionia: a technological perspective**

The first alternative model focuses primarily on Limantepe/Klazomenai and works on the assumptions that the ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots were produced on-site and were not imported from elsewhere in the East Aegean and that the production of these pots was somehow linked to the production of painted pottery.

##### *Issues of technology*

The first point to be made is that it has already been suggested that ceramic production was organised around a number of different workshops, each with its own tradition and specialisation, operating alongside one another at a single production site. Preliminary and rather rapid macroscopic observations on a small selection of the Early Iron Age painted ceramics from Klazomenai during two brief visits in 2011 and

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and handmade burnished cooking pot ware in LH IIIC deposits assigned to his LH IIIC Phase 4, which is equated with Lefkandi Phase 2b (later stage of LH IIIC Middle).

2013 suggest that at least a number of discrete fabric groups can be identified.<sup>59</sup> The most obvious differences between the various groups are the amount of silver mica (much, little or none) and differences in colour. Unfortunately, no data are currently available for the Bronze Age ceramics, but Sila Mangaloğlu-Votruba (pers. comm.) notes that the local painted pottery from Limantepe seems to comprise at least two fabric groups, one with much mica and one with less mica. This may suggest at least two discrete traditions and possibly two workshops.

With this in mind, it would be interesting to look at other characteristics of these traditions, particularly in respect to the shaping technology used. Archaeologists usually tend to divide their pottery into two main groups, handmade and wheelmade, but there are a number of intermediate techniques between the two (Knappett 1999; Gosselain 2000). The most important of these intermediate techniques is one that can be carried out on slower rotary devices and is usually referred to as the ‘wheel shaping’/‘wheel fashioning’ (Courty and Roux 1995; Roux and Courty 1998) or ‘handmade and thrown’ (Knappett 1999: 117-118) technique. This technique starts with coiling a roughout – that is, a hollow volume which does not present the final characteristics of the pot – which can then be thinned and shaped with the help of a number of techniques in which rotative kinetic energy (RKE) generated by the spinning of the wheel is applied only at certain stages in the process (Roux and Courty 1998). The skills required for both wheel throwing and wheel shaping are essentially the same, and consist of two-handed bilateral control, stability of the forearms, regularity and constancy of pressure, modulation of pressure according to clay plasticity, speed of the wheel and fashioning operation (Roux 2003: 18; Roux and Corbetta 1989; Roux and Courty 1998: 750). However, whereas the wheel throwing technique requires a number of different operations to be carried out in synergy, the wheel shaping technique consists of a series of essentially independent operations (Roux and Courty 1998: 748; Knappett 2004: 259). This does not necessarily make the wheel throwing technique more difficult or more skilful than the wheel shaping technique, just different.

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<sup>59</sup> A more intense and systematic study involving both macroscopic and petrographic analyses is planned to commence in 2014.

It should be noted that the wheel shaping technique does not constitute a single technique, but rather is an umbrella for a range of possible sub-techniques. Roux and Courty (1998; see also Jeffra 2013) have identified at least four different wheel-shaping techniques (**fig. 4.12**). The first technique entails the building, joining and thinning of the coils by means of discontinuous pressure without the help of rotative kinetic energy (RKE) generated by the turning of the wheel, which is only introduced in the shaping of the body. The second technique is to build and join coils by means of discontinuous pressure and without the help of RKE, and to use RKE to thin and shape the body. The third technique uses RKE in joining the coils and thinning and shaping the body, while the coils are built by discontinuous pressure. Finally, there is also a fourth technique in which forming and joining the coils as well as thinning and shaping the body is done with the help of RKE. A symmetrical platform is fashioned, upon which the next coil is laid, once the wheel has stopped. Joining the coils is done with the help of RKE.

**Figure 4.12. The four wheel-fashioning methods (after Roux and Courty 1998: fig. 1).**

In terms of skill, Roux and Courty (1998: 750) note that Methods 1 and 2 are the easiest since RKE is applied on pots made of already joined elements, which therefore do not split apart when the centrifugal force is applied. Method 3, which requires intermittent pressure on each joined coil, is the most difficult. This method is better adapted to large coils (equal to or greater than 1 cm diameter) and to coils of even thickness. Method 4 enables the potter to gradually centre each part of the pot and to join coils as and when placed. The problem of the application of centrifugal force to the assembled elements is in this technique therefore reduced to the joining of only two elements. However, even though methods 1 and 2 are the easiest, they hardly present any saving of time when compared to the coiling technique, given the time required for building, joining and thinning coils by discontinuous pressure. Method 3, the most difficult, is the quickest. At the same time, Roux and Courty (1998: 750) remark that, if the intention is to obtain regular walls that do not display marks of the joining of coils, the highest quality vessels can be obtained by techniques 1 and 4, because they enable the potter to erase coiling patterns. Moreover, technique 4 is also suited for the production of very large vessels (Jeffra 2013: 6). Methods 2 and 3 require the wall to be more strongly modified before joining patterns are erased, which raises the issue of water saturation and necessitates, for the final shaping, a collaring operation to close the mouth of the pot, which has to remain large enough during the fashioning stages to enable the potter to put his hand inside to work on the walls.

From an archaeological perspective, it is often very difficult to tell pots produced by wheel throwing apart from those produced by wheel shaping without the use of X-Ray analysis (Berg 2008; 2009; though for a possible ground-breaking attempt, see Roux and Courty 1998).<sup>60</sup> Even so, empirical evidence suggests that Middle Eastern devices of the fourth and third millennium BCE were used to fashion pots not through wheel throwing or any other technique but through wheel shaping (Roux and de Miroschedji 2009). Studies by Carl Knappett (1999; 2004; Crewe and Knappett 2012) and Ina Berg (2009) suggest that both wheel shaping and wheel throwing were used simultaneously and for the forming of similar shapes in Middle Bronze Age Crete,

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<sup>60</sup> Bouzakis and colleagues (2011) recently published a study that used computer tomography, three-dimensional laser scanning, and solid-modelling software to identify the applied manufacturing methods.

although in a recent paper Jeffra (2013) argues that in her study she found no evidence for wheel throwing in any of the studied material at Knossos, Mytos-Pyrgos or Palaikastro on Crete. In fact, she concludes that between MM IB and LM IA there was a chronological progression, starting with an array of RKE-based methods (in which there was no clear preference) and concluding with a fairly homogeneous field of method 3 use for vessels of all sizes studied (Jeffra 2013: 13). In any case, recent observations on Protogeometric pottery from Athens by John Papadopoulos (pers. comm.) and Late Bronze and Early Iron Age pottery from Mitrou (Štěpán Růckl pers. comm.) suggest that wheel shaping was a much used technique. For the west coast of Asia Minor, no systematic analysis has yet been carried out, but in combination with the fact that wheel shaping and wheel throwing are used simultaneously in other parts of the Aegean it is not unlikely that both techniques were practised simultaneously on the west coast of Asia Minor as well.

Based on the assumption that there is a link in petrographic terms between cooking pots and one or more workshops producing painted pottery and the observation made on the different shaping techniques, it would be interesting to compare the *chaîne opératoire* of various shapes with that of the different cooking pots. Because cooking pots have to withstand rapid variations in temperature as well as frequent handling and activities such as cleaning or stirring without cracking, the mechanical properties that define their use are very complicated in terms of physics, compared to a decorated pot that is manufactured to pour wine or water.<sup>61</sup> This means that specialist knowledge, skill and experience are required in terms of clay-paste composition, surface treatment and firing techniques. As a result, although the basic clay resources may be similar to those used for fine wares, many parts of the *chaîne opératoire* of a cooking pot will inevitably differ significantly from those of, for instance, a fine ware jug. There is, however, one aspect in which some overlap may potentially exist and that is shaping technology. Although ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots are usually classified as wheelmade (Popham, Schofield and Sherratt in Evely 2006: 207), it will require macroscopic research and possibly radiography to determine whether the pots were fully wheel thrown or whether they were wheel shaped, and, if the latter, what wheel shaping technique may have been used. It is definitely possible to shape these

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<sup>61</sup> For a study of the influence of tempering on the mechanical performance of pottery, see a paper by N.S. Müller et al. (2010).

cooking pots with both the wheel throwing and the wheel shaping techniques, although it needs to be pointed out that the temper makes the clay both irritating to the potter's hands and less responsive to the forming technique (Tite 2008: 223) and as such favours a wheel shaping technique.

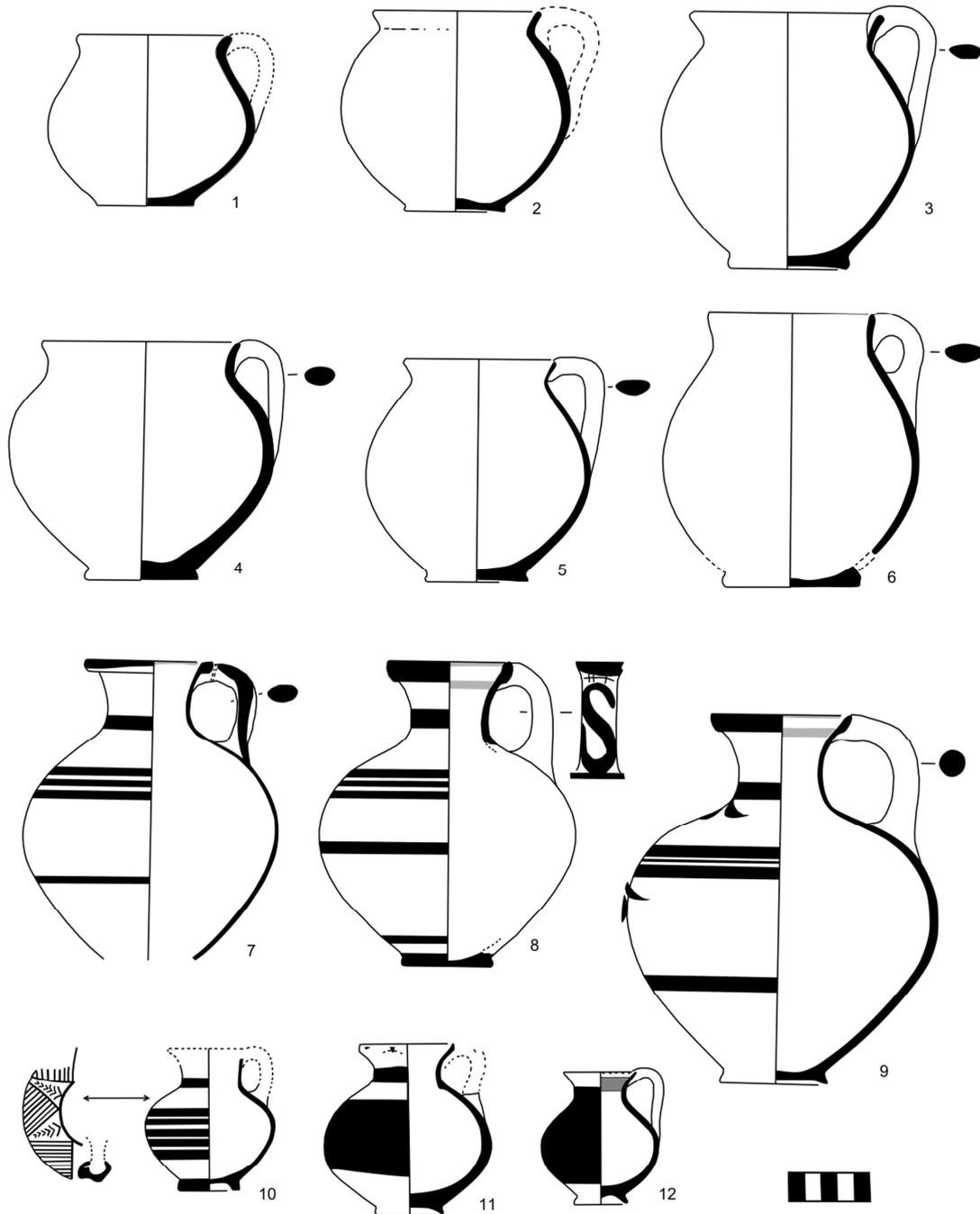


Figure 4.13. Coarse ware wheelmade cooking pots and fine ware jugs from Lefkandi (redrawn after Evely 2006: 208, fig. 2.33; 200, fig. 2.28.1-3; 2-4, fig. 2.31.9-11).

Because of the difficulties in determining the specific techniques used in the shaping of various ceramics, it is not possible to make any firm statements. Nevertheless, it is interesting to compare cooking pots with other jugs and amphoras in terms of shape. Unfortunately, the level of publication on the west coast of Asia Minor is too low to enable a good comparison, but when looking at the material from Lefkandi (**fig. 4.13**), it can be observed that in terms of overall body shape there is often little to tell the cooking pots apart from other closed forms.<sup>62</sup> This, in turn, suggests not only that the bodies of these shapes were built up in a similar fashion, but also that it is possible that the cooking pots were modelled on the fine ware jugs and amphoras (and vice versa). Because the local jugs and amphoras do not seem to differ significantly from those found at Lefkandi, there is little reason to doubt that a similar pattern also exists on the west coast of Asia Minor. The similarities in shape strengthen the idea that there is a link between the cooking pots and painted pottery and hence that they were produced by potters involved in the production of painted pottery, but it raises once more the question of why these pots were produced in the first place. A direct link with a possible arrival of (small groups of) newcomers from the Greek mainland has already been questioned. This makes it interesting to explore whether perhaps (one of) the reason(s) that these pots appeared might be that they fulfilled a particular function, not in terms of use but in terms of production, for instance in the acquisition of skills required to build medium to large closed vessels.

#### *Children and ceramic production*

The involvement of children and apprentices in a variety of crafts is widely recognised and studied in archaeology. Kamp (2001) located children in crafting processes through the identification of fingerprints in fired clay vessels, whereas Crown (2001; 2007) and Budden and Sofaer (2009) explicitly considered the role of children's cognitive and motor development in their ability to form and decorate ceramic vessels. As Baxter (2005: 54-55) points out, this latter form of study acknowledges that the archaeological evaluation of skill in craft production is through the level of standardisation of products, which is believed to be the result of experience, proficiency, and talent (Costin and Hagstrum 1995: 623). Standardisation is reflected in reduced variability or increased uniformity. Therefore, a lower level of

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<sup>62</sup> Numbers 4 and 7-8 in fig. 4.13, in particular, can be placed directly on top of each other.

skill, and most likely child production, is associated with higher variability in products. Similar studies to identify children or apprentices in the crafting process are rare in the Aegean (but see now Hatzaki 2012; Langdon 2013).<sup>63</sup> But even more important is that, despite these attempts to identify the novice in the pots, neither ethnographic nor archaeological studies seem ever to have attempted systematically to describe the actual learning process and the methods used in this. It will, therefore, be necessary to offer some general theoretical remarks based on ethnographic, archaeological and neurological research.

No one is born a skilled potter and becoming one entails a long period of apprenticeship of about ten years (Roux 2003: 15, 18) within a relatively formal context of direct instruction and ongoing engagement with materials that is usually provided by a workshop environment (Loney 2007: 198). In this learning process, the novice constantly transforms ‘discursive knowledge’ obtained through observation into ‘non-discursive knowledge’ – that is, “the transference understood at a cognitive level in terms of the principle of *what* needs to be done, into the practical action of *how* things are, or should be, done” (Budden and Sofaer 2009: 203). Knappett (2005: 5) gives the example of riding a bicycle. It is possible to understand the principles of how to ride a bicycle without actually being able to perform the task. Only through repeated practice can one cycle without constant reference back to the articulation of those principles. Much of the literature on learning to make ceramics, as Kamp (2001: 429) notes, suggests that observation and imitation are the most frequent methods of skill acquisition. This does not mean that verbal instructions are not part of the process. In fact, instructions may even come from those who do not themselves do the craft but have watched others. For instance, in her ethnographic study Kramer (1997: 47-48) notes that in Rajasthan (India) males make all the wheelmade pottery. Men are usually taught by male family members of their own or the preceding generations. However, she also notes that, on one occasion, she observed two mothers verbally supervising their sons of about ten, who were learning to use the wheel.

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<sup>63</sup> At a conference on Theory in Greek Archaeology in Ann Arbor (Michigan, 4-5 May 2012) Ioannis Smyrniaios (Cardiff University) presented an extremely interesting paper which aimed to locate learner potters in the production of Geometric pottery at Athens by looking at the forming and attachment of handles to vessels.

The acquisition of skills may proceed through a series of stages. Based on various ethnographic studies carried out among the Pueblo and Pimam-speaking groups in the American Southwest, Crown (2001: 455) notes that the learning process generally followed a sequence that mirrored the production process. It started with forming vessels at the youngest age, followed by decoration, and finally firing, with the progression largely driven by the child's interest and skill level. In these communities girls usually began to learn to make pottery at about age five, and generally were expected to have all the knowledge to run their own households (including producing acceptable pots) by age fifteen. Similarly, following ethnographic work by Donley-Reid (1990) on the learning sequence for the young daughters of Swahili potters, Kamp (2001: 429-430) notes that in this society girls start making small pots that they use as toys and for learning to cook at around the age of three to five. As the girls become older, the size of the pots they produce increases, until they are making full-sized vessels.

Ina Berg (2007: 246; see also Kamp 2001: 429-430) identifies three basic stages in this learning process. In the first stage, apprentices do not yet know how to centre the clay on the wheel effectively, with the consequence that they are limited to producing open vessels of up to 6 cm in height. In the second stage, once apprentices have learned how to centre the clay and use asymmetrical but simultaneous hand movements, they can move on to throwing larger vessels of up to 22 cm. Only the most experienced potters can throw unrestricted or restricted closed vessels higher than 22 cm and thus reach the third stage. Not all potters will, however, learn the more difficult forms. From a neurological perspective, there is a certain logic to this progression as the ability to carry out more complex actions involving a number of tasks is only reached at the age of twelve (Read and Van der Leeuw 2008). From an archaeological point of view, this progressive learning curve makes it likely that, in general, experienced potters can be expected to have produced the more elaborate closed shapes, whereas their younger companions were involved in making the less demanding shapes. Such a situation can, for instance, be seen at the Bronze Age tell of Százhalombatta (Hungary) where Budden and Sofaer (2009) have observed that, even though smaller vessels require a lower degree of skill than larger complex ones, cups were actually more error-prone, with a significantly lower investment of skill

than the larger vessels. They suggest this was the result of learner potters producing most of the smaller open vessels.

Little information is known about the level of skill invested in the production of the 'Aegean'-style cooking pots on the west coast of Asia Minor, but it is potentially significant that, as already noted, in terms of overall body shape there is often little to tell the coarse ware cooking pots apart from other closed vessels. This suggests a close association between the two types of vessels in terms of production. In this light, it is noteworthy that closed vessels generally require a higher level of skill than open vessels due to their complexity. As the form grows in height and width, any error made will become exaggerated and even small mistakes may compromise a successful outcome. Inexperienced handling of the clay may cause slumping, warping and thus cracking as the pot starts to dry out or in the firing process (Budden and Sofaer 2009: 207). Within a context in which potters were already pressed to meet market demand, as may have been the case on the west coast of Asia Minor, it is certainly a possibility that potters considered it too great a risk to have the work of children take up space in the kiln. The result may have been that children did make fineware pots, but that these pots, perhaps with a few exceptions, never made it to a finished state. On the other hand, however, if indeed the cooking pots were shaped following a similar technique as the fine ware vessels, it could perhaps also be speculated that, instead of actually shaping fine wares, children acquired the basic skills to shape medium to large closed vessels through the shaping of the 'Aegean'-style cooking pots. In this case, because workshops producing different types of pottery probably worked closely together, the cooking pots may, whenever there was space in a kiln, have been fired along with other (coarse ware) 'Anatolian' vessels that required similar firing conditions. The advantages of such an organisation would have been that the work of children did not affect the production of painted finewares and that successful coarse ware (cooking) pots could actually be sold.

This is, of course, an extremely speculative suggestion and, at least for the moment, perhaps nothing more than a useful thought exercise, but such a hypothesis could perhaps be pursued further. First, it would mean that pots that are now recognised as of 'Aegean' or 'Mycenaean' style were not necessarily actively adopted from elsewhere; it is also possible that the shape was formed based on the local jugs,

hydrias and amphoras and as such was essentially a local innovation that just happened to look similar to cooking pots found on the Greek mainland. Second, the fact that so few cooking pots are found not only suggests that the pots had only a marginal role in the overall repertoire of cooking utensils, but also makes it possible to speculate that, if indeed these pots were used in training learner potters, most of them were actually never fired or used and as such never ended up in the archaeological record. However, the whole hypothesis proposed here only has a chance of working if it can indeed be proven that the cooking pots were made in workshops that also made painted pottery and that the technology used to shape the cooking pots and the bodies of medium to large closed vessels was the same or at least similar.

#### **4.5. ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots in Ionia: a mobility perspective**

An important weakness of the first scenario is that it is concerned mainly with essentially localised practices and does not take into consideration issues of human and material mobility. This section, therefore, offers another alternative explanation that considers more explicitly the role of mobility and in particular the role of itinerant potters and the movement of pottery itself. For this it starts on Cyprus.

##### *A view from Cyprus*

In discussing the wheelmade cooking pots on Cyprus, Jung (2009: 81, fig. 7; 2011a: 60) notes that the overall percentage of wheelmade pottery increased dramatically at Enkomi from around one third in Level IIB to more than 80 percent in Level IIIA. Mycenaean-type painted ceramics form the largest part of the wheelmade repertoire of Level IIIA, while unpainted pots make up only 27 percent of the fine and medium coarse wheelmade pots. In addition, Jung (2011a; 2012: 112-115) remarks that the ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots seem to come into use only at a number of settlements – e.g. Enkomi, Maa-*Palaeokastro* and Sinda [as well as many other sites, including Alassa and Palaepaphos] – in LC IIIA and quickly replace the handmade cooking pots that were used in previous times. These rapid shifts, in combination with the supposed introduction of the ‘Mycenaean’-type hearth, make him argue for the arrival of Mycenaean refugees from the Aegean. However, Spagnoli (2010: 106) remarks that the wheelmade cooking pots are attested in LC II *and* LC III levels at Kition, Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Myrtou-*Pigadhes*, and Maa-*Palaeokastro*. Furthermore, Level IIB

at Enkomi comprises probably a century in duration, which makes such crude percentages miss any steady increase from beginning to the end of this level. Moreover, it is well-known that Dikaios threw quite a lot of other pottery away (E.S. Sherratt pers. comm.). Finally, it has already been noted that the 'Mycenaean' hearths are already found in LC IIC (Iacovou 2013: 612; Knapp 2008: 260-261; Fischer 2006-2007: 86) and that the wheelmade cooking pots could very well be wheelmade versions of handmade cooking pots used in previous times (Spagnoli 2010: 105-106), although Jung (2011a: 61) remarks that on average the Mycenaean cooking pots of Enkomi IIIA are smaller than the preceding handmade types.

Based on these observations, a more indigenous cause for the appearance of wheelmade cooking pots seems more likely. For this, it is useful to remark that during the Late Bronze Age Cyprus produced and exported substantial quantities of mostly handmade fine pottery. In addition to the export of these ceramics, Cyprus and Cypriot traders were also responsible in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries for marketing Mycenaean (particularly Argive) pottery to a fairly wide social spectrum of consumers in the Eastern Mediterranean (Sherratt 1999). The characteristic handmade export wares in LC II steadily faded out by the end of the thirteenth century and were replaced by White Painted Wheelmade III pottery, which incorporated a number of Aegean-looking shapes and decorations that may have started out as a form of import substitution in the coastal urban centres quite early in LC IIC and progressively increased in quantity in LC IIIA at the beginning of the twelfth century (Sherratt 2003: 45). These ceramics were also exported to the Levantine coast (Sherratt 1998: 302; 2013: 638; Van Wijngaarden 2002: 40; Artzy 2013: esp. 335), with the result that, as Sherratt (2003: 45) argues, the Cypriot market for specially produced fine wares from the Aegean was gradually undermined, so that by the end of the thirteenth century the number of Mycenaean ceramics reaching Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean had diminished virtually to nothing, presumably along with whatever substances had travelled in the small decorated stirrup jars and piriform jars that had formed a substantial proportion of this trade.

When considering the wheelmade cooking pots in the light of these developments, a possible scenario would be that the LC II handmade cooking pots were produced within the large ceramic industry producing large quantities of various types of

handmade pottery. However, as a result of the growing production of White Painted Wheelmade III as well as Plain Wheelmade pottery (Keswani 1991) in the course of the thirteenth century, the handmade industry gradually declined in importance and eventually largely came to stop producing pots for export. Within this context, it is quite possible that the production of cooking pots was shifted to the wheelmade industry. This suggestion is backed up by two further observations. First, the general similarities in terms of body shape between the Aegean-style wheelmade cooking pots and other medium and large closed vessels, such as jugs and amphoras can be highlighted once more, because it suggests that the ‘Aegean’ or ‘Mycenaean’ type cooking pot would have formed an almost natural shape to make as it fitted in with already existing ways of modelling pots. In this light, the ‘origins’ of the shape should not be sought in the Mycenaean repertoire on the Greek mainland, but rather in the local wheelmade closed shapes and the handmade cooking pots. The second point is that presence of wheelmade cooking pots appears to be particularly strong at sites, such as Enkomi and Kition, where the production of White Painted Wheelmade III ware was mainly concentrated (Knapp and Cherry 1994: 62).<sup>64</sup>

#### *A view from the northern Levant*

With this in mind, it is of interest to turn to the northern Levant where a few ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots have been found at Tell Kazel (Badre 2011a: 166, fig. 9c; Jung 2012: 107, fig. 12.2.6), Tell Arqa (Charaf 2011: 207-208, fig. 5.5), Tell Tayinat in the Amuq Plain (Janeway 2008: 134-136, fig. 5.5; 2011: 176-177, figs. 3.7-8) and perhaps Ras Ibn Hani (Du Piêd 2008: 182; 2011: 226). In discussing this region, Tell Kazel would once more form a useful point of departure because of its position as one of the best published sites in the region. During the Late Bronze Age, Tell Kazel belonged to the region called *Amurru*, originally constituted as a kingdom during the fourteenth century BCE, but which became a vassal state of the Hittite empire during the thirteenth century. The site itself could possibly be identified with Sumur, known as the stronghold of the kingdom of Amurru (Badre 2011b: 205). Remains belonging to the LB II have been found in two areas of the site and belong to an extensive habitation quarter (Area II) and a temple complex (Area IV) (Capet 2003; Badre 2006; 2011b).

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<sup>64</sup> Note, however, that the picture might be a bit skewed due to the fact that Enkomi and Kition are most fully published.

Relative Chronology Levant	Tell Kazel Habitation Phase	Tell Kazel Area IV (Temple)	Tell Kazel Area II (Settlement)	Chronology in Aegean terms
Late Bronze II	Phase 6	Level 6 Lower	Unknown	LH IIIA Late
Late Bronze II		Level 6 Upper	Unknown	LH IIIB Early
Late Bronze II	Phase 5	Level 5 Lower	Level 6 Lower	LH IIIB Middle
		<i>Abandonment</i>	<i>Abandonment</i>	
Transition Late Bronze II/Iron Age I	Transitional Phase	Level 5 Upper	Level 6 Upper	LH IIIB Developed/Late
		<i>Sea People Destruction</i>	<i>Sea People Destruction</i>	
Iron Age I		Levels 4-3	Level 5	LH IIIC Early
		<i>Destruction</i>	<i>Destruction</i>	Before LH IIIC Late

Table 4.1. Tell Kazel chronology (after Jung 2006; Badre 2011b).

The Temple area includes three superimposed cellae, all of them oriented west-east, and their dependencies. Two of the cellae belong to the Late Bronze Age (Phases 6 and 5); the third belongs to the Iron I period. The Phase 5 temple includes two superimposed floors, separated from each other by what appears to be a brief abandonment. The Late Bronze Age settlement (Level 6 - Phase 5) consists of a large building complex, Building II. At the end of the first phase (Level 6, lower), the building was almost completely emptied and abandoned and, as in the temple area, the building complex witnesses a brief abandonment between the lower and the upper floors. The period of abandonment is unclear, but Building II was soon briefly re-occupied by squatters before the entire site was destroyed by fire at the beginning of the twelfth century BCE. This destruction has been attributed to the Sea Peoples' incursion mentioned in an inscription dating to the eighth regnal year of Ramesses III, which explicitly refers to the destruction of Amurru (Badre 2006: 92-93; Jung 2006: 203-207; 2007: 567; 2011b: 123; 2012: 105). Reinhard Jung (2007: 567) has dated this incursion to ca. 1179/1176. The period between the abandonment and destruction is called the 'Transitional Phase'. It is in this phase that small quantities of 'local Mycenaean', 'Mycenaeanising/Aegeanising' pottery as well as a rather substantial number of Handmade Burnished Wares are found (Badre 2006; 2011b; Jung 2006; 2007; 2011b; 2012).

It has already been noted that two chemical and petrographic programmes (e.g. Badre et al. 2005; Boileau et al. 2010a) have shown that, although apparently locally produced, pots classified as ‘local Mycenaean pottery’ were made of a different and much more standardised fabric than the other ceramics at Tell Kazel for which a series of different petro-fabrics and chemical groups were identified that clearly reflect the geological heterogeneity of the Akkar Plain (Boileau et al. 2010a: fig. 2). The apparent high level of homogeneity of the local Mycenaean pottery in chemical and petrographic terms indicates a conscious clay selection by the potters (Jung 2011b: 127; 2012: 109) and probably indicates that these ceramics were produced by different people than those producing all the other ceramics found at the site. Because local Mycenaean pottery was not produced before at Tell Kazel and the technological tradition did not exist, this tradition may have been introduced from elsewhere. One could perhaps think about one or more families arriving from the Aegean, but a more regional explanation is also possible.

One of the characteristic elements of the local Mycenaean pottery at Tell Kazel is that its fabric contains medium to large quantities of mainly white inclusions. It also has a total or nearly complete lack of surface treatment. Both points show, according to Jung (2006: 189; 2007: 558), closer technological links with some of the LC IIC-III B ‘Mycenaean’-type pottery from Cyprus and Cilicia than with the LH IIIC ceramics from the Aegean, where inclusions are usually much smaller and less numerous, and the surface often shows more or less carefully smoothed and/or slipped surfaces; a nearly complete lack of surface treatment, as is common at Tell Kazel, is rare.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, the range of shapes produced basically consists of serving and drinking vessels. These include deep bowls, conical kylikes, unpainted carinated kylikes, painted mugs, painted kraters, painted basins, shallow angular bowls and closed vessels (amphorae and hydriae) (Jung 2006: 191-193; 2012: 110). This range differs not too much from what can be seen elsewhere on Cyprus and in the Levant. In fact, strong Cypriot influences form a general characteristic in the ceramic repertoire in the

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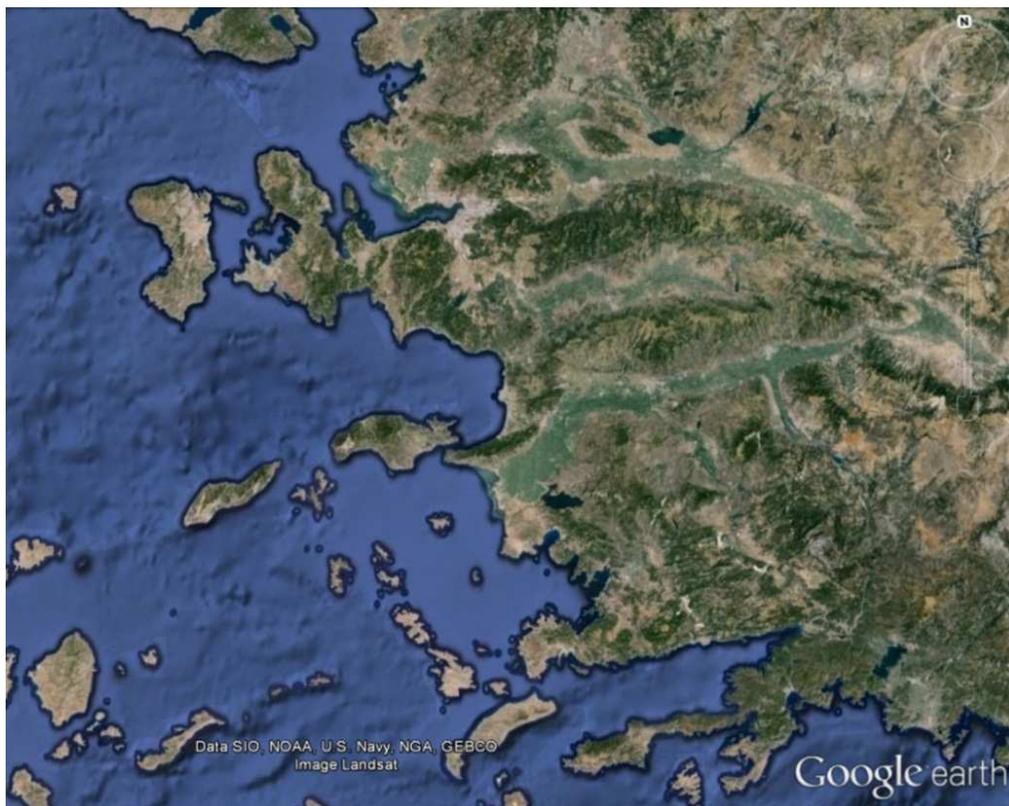
<sup>65</sup> Jung (2011b: 128) notes that swirls have been smoothed away from the base interiors of the vessels and lumps of clay are not visible on the surfaces. This indicates that at least a minimum of care for achieving a somewhat smooth surface was taken by the potters. Furthermore, on some painted local Mycenaean pots the lower exterior surface below the largest diameter was made more even (or the profile was adjusted) by paring with some hard instrument.

Levant and Cilicia during the twelfth century, probably due to the fact that Cypriot production of an Aegean type of pottery begins well back in the thirteenth century, starting probably with the so-called Rude Style kraters and increasing steadily in quantity and repertoire during the course of the century (Kling 1991; Sherratt 1991; 2013: 637). For these reasons, if the tradition of making 'Mycenaean'-type ceramics was introduced from elsewhere, it is perhaps more likely that at Tell Kazel the tradition of making local Mycenaean pottery was introduced by (itinerant?) craftspeople originating from Cyprus rather than by craftspeople originating in the Aegean.

At other sites in the northern Levant, too, Aegean-type pottery with often strong links with Cyprus starts to be produced towards the end of the thirteenth or very beginning of the twelfth century (Bretschneider et al. 2008; Bretschneider and van Lerberghe 2011; Janeway 2008; 2011; Du Piéd 2008; 2011; Vansteenhuyse 2010; Venturi 2010; Harrison 2010), although particularly in the Amuq links with Cypriot White Painted Wheelmade III pottery may only begin to appear in the twelfth century (Janeway 2011; Lehmann 2013; Sherratt 2013: 626-627, 642). This type of pottery generally only comprises a relatively small portion of the overall ceramic assemblage and is usually referred to as being of 'Mycenaean type', but the kind of hard, exceptional smooth surface and deep glossy paint that is characteristic of imported Argive LH IIIA and IIIB pottery at its best is never seen on the local pottery, perhaps because it actually is modelled on Cypriot White Painted Wheelmade III pottery rather than Argive pottery (Sherratt 2013: 640). In comparison to Tell Kazel, unpainted pottery is perhaps less frequently found at other sites – although it should be noted that it is possible that in many older excavations unpainted pottery may have been ignored or thrown away –, but the ceramic developments at Tell Kazel do not seem to differ significantly from other sites in the northern Levant (and one can probably also add Cilicia; cf. French 2013; Gates 2010; 2013; Ünlü 2005). Because of this, it is certainly possible that Cyprus or itinerant potters from the island may have had some role in the diffusion of White Painted Wheelmade III pottery to the Levant more generally.

The significance of this point is that with the local production of a local version of White Painted Wheelmade III pottery the 'Mycenaean'-type cooking pots also arrive. As on the west coast of Asia Minor, these pots are added to a wide repertoire of

handmade and wheelmade Levantine cooking pots (Badre 2011a; Vansteenhuyse 2010; Vansteenhuyse and Bretschneider 2011; Harrison 2010: 88-89; Janeway 2011: 175-176). In the first place, this suggests that the very small numbers of ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots found in the northern Levant must, as on the west coast of Asia Minor, have formed a rather insignificant addition to an already existing repertoire. But even more important is that, given that itinerant potters from Cyprus may have been involved in establishing a tradition of making local Mycenaean pottery at least at Tell Kazel and that one of the ‘Mycenaean’ cooking pots found at this site was made of the same calcareous fabric as the finer and coarser vessels of Mycenaean type (Jung 2012: 109), the low numbers in which the cooking pots appear in the northern Levant would allow the suggestion that the cooking pots were not introduced by ‘Sea Peoples’ or refugees from the Aegean but by migrant or itinerant craftspeople or traders from Cyprus who produced and/or sold the pots on the spot, perhaps to replace local (cooking) pots that were temporarily unavailable.<sup>66</sup>



**Figure 4.14. Google Maps view of the Eastern Aegean.**

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<sup>66</sup> This suggestion may also provide an alternative explanation for Ann Killebrew's arguments about the local ‘Mycenaean’-type cooking jugs in Canaan being made from different clay recipes than the LB II cooking pots (Killebrew 1998: 164-165; 2005: 222-224).

### *Back to the East Aegean*

Of course, direct evidence for the role of traders and/or itinerant craftspeople in the appearance of the ‘Mycenaean’-type cooking pots in the Levant is lacking, but the suggestion is interesting enough to warrant further elaboration in respect to the west coast of Asia Minor, particularly as the East Aegean would have been particularly suited for small-scale movements of (crafts)people. When flying over the west-Anatolian coastline (**fig. 4.14**), it is amazing how inextricably tangled up sea, islands, peninsulas, river valleys and coasts all appear. This situation must have stimulated a specific regional dynamic that allowed people, materials (in all forms and shapes) and information to flow along entangling routes and pathways. A strong regional character is indeed reflected, on the one hand, in recent studies on Aegean maritime networks by Carl Knappett, Tim Evans and Ray Rivers (2008; Knappett et al. 2011) which suggest that the East Aegean essentially formed a system on its own with only relatively few gateways to other parts of the Aegean, and, on the other hand, Mountjoy’s LH IIIA2-III B Upper and Lower Interfaces and her LH IIIC East Aegean *koine*. Furthermore, Nicoletta Momigliano (2009: 130-131) and Alan Greaves (2010a: 84-85) suggest that during both the Middle Bronze Age and the Archaic period (as well as earlier periods) much exchange in the East Aegean took place probably through cabotage – that is, small-scale maritime exchange in small to medium-seized coastal vessels that would pick up and offload goods at many different ports as they travelled by island-hopping and following coastlines.

In this web of entangling pathways, harbours arguably played a particularly important role, not only because it is at these locations that various routes and pathways tied in together, but also, as Casson (1938: 466) already pointed out many years ago in respect to the Aegean islands more generally, because they functioned as markets for the sale and purchase of commodities as well as for the docking of ships. When looking from this perspective, it is of interest to note that in ancient times potters would have rarely sold their wares solely from their workshops to local residents who came to buy immediately or order specific pots for a later date; they also perhaps sold them at large periodic fairs and (religious) festivals or to ships’ captains as well as local and visiting traders who accumulated pottery from the production centres and resold it in larger land markets (Blitzer 1990: 698-701). Moreover, potters may also

have set out themselves, sometimes conveying with them a consignment of wet clay. Once arrived in a village or harbour they might sell pots ready made and also make pottery to commission. In some cases, they might even have mended damaged pots and partly remade others (Casson 1938). Because so many different people came together at harbour markets, these locations arguably formed interesting places for both local and itinerant potters as well as people trading pots to sell their products. Indeed, Casson (1938: 466) aptly notes how in the pre-war Aegean in any island harbour the visitor almost always saw at least one caique moored with its bows or stern to the quay, and on the quay spread out invitingly the various pottery wares which the ship had come to sell retail to the inhabitants. Casson (1938: 467) also remarks that he sees no reason why one cannot make a fairly safe assumption to the effect that ancient fabrics in the Bronze Age and Classical Greece were distributed and sold in the same way.

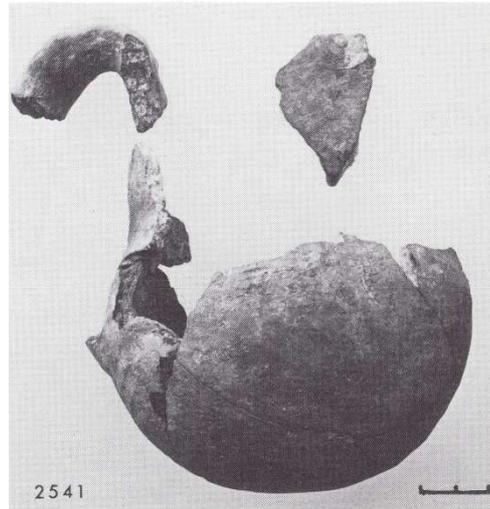
In this perspective, then, since the cooking pots appear in relatively small quantities along the Asiatic coast, Casson's observations concerning the role of harbours as markets make it possible to suggest two further explanations. The first one is that the cooking pots were commissioned by local customers to replace similar pots (in terms of use) that had broken but were (temporarily) unavailable at that time and produced on the spot by itinerant potters using local clays. Alternatively, it is possible that traders had picked up these pots along the way at a production centre and sold them to local customers. Although it was long assumed that cooking pots *have* to be produced locally due to their alleged low economic and commercial value, it is now widely recognised that in some cases they do move around. The best known example is the Late Bronze Age cooking pots from Aegina which were exported in substantial quantities (Gauss and Kiriatzi 2011). Also, recent petrographic analysis of coarse wares from Early Iron Age Knossos have shown that some of the cooking pots were imported from a specialised centre possibly located in the Cyclades (Boileau and Whitley 2010; Boileau et al. 2009; 2010b). This preference for specialised, non-local cooking wares persisted beyond the Early Iron Age into Classical times (Coldstream and Eiring 2001: 87). As for the situation in the East Aegean, it is noteworthy that the cooking pots from Limantepe/Klazomenai all show silver mica (S. Mangaloğlu-Votruba pers. comm.) and so do several examples from Emporio (Hood 1981/1982: 617). Yet, silver mica is common on both Chios and much if not all of the Ionian

mainland. Although this does not preclude the possibility that the pots were produced at a single centre, neither can it be regarded as a decisive feature. Petrographic and possibly chemical analyses will be required to shed more light on the provenance of the 'Aegean'-style cooking pots, and particularly whether they were made in one or several places.

Certainly, the suggestion that either potters or pots (or both?) moved around cannot be substantiated at this point. Nevertheless, the suggestion is intriguing enough to warrant some speculation as to where the potters or the pots might have originated. In this light, it is intriguing that at Emporio on Chios handmade and wheelmade versions of the 'Aegean'-type cooking pots were found together in the LH IIIC levels (**fig. 4.4**) (Hood 1981/1982: 150, 617-618, fig. 280, pls. 127, 129a,b,d). Although one has to be extremely cautious because of the lack of proper strata at Emporio, there is the feeling that in the LH IIIC levels 'Mycenaean'-type pottery, which generally speaking has little or no decoration and the motifs are of the simplest (Desborough 1964: 159; Hood 1981/1982: 619-620), outnumbers any other type of pottery (e.g. matt painted and grey wares) that may have been in use in previous periods. Jung (2009: 78) points to several handmade and burnished deep pots with or without lugs and plastic decoration, which may have parallels with Coarse Ware of Troy VIIIB and handmade burnished ware from the Greek mainland (Hood 1981/1982: 618, fig. 280.2953-2954, 622, pl. 127.2995), but it should be kept in mind that 2953 comes from Area F, Stage 6B, which may be assigned to a Late Bronze Age phase (LH IIIB?) that predates the LH IIIC period (Hood 1981/1982: 580, 584), and that 2954 was not assigned to any specific stage. Moreover, Hood (1981/1982: 622) remarks that 2995 may very well have been an import from either the Trojan area or from the north or west.

Whether the apparent increase in the numbers of LH IIIC painted pottery also means that the site was settled by Mycenaean refugees, as Desborough (1964: 159) and Hood (1981/1982: 89, 580) maintain, is difficult to say. In fact, a more gradual development, similar to that on Cyprus, is certainly not impossible, but clear evidence is lacking. Important, however, is that both the wheelmade and handmade cooking pots seem to resemble Early Bronze Age (tripod) cooking/coarse ware pots, though without the actual legs (**fig. 4.15**) (Hood 1981/1981: 558-560, pls. 109.2541-2542 and 111.2543). Although it is unsure whether Emporio was inhabited during the Middle

Bronze Age (Girella and Pavúk in press), this may suggest that the ‘Aegean’-style wheelmade cooking pot was just a wheelmade version of a type of pot that had already been in use for centuries.<sup>67</sup> In addition to this, it is also noteworthy that the range of ceramic cooking pots appears, unlike on the west coast of Asia Minor, to be mostly limited to this particularly shape, although there are some other types as well (Hood 1981/1982: 617-618, fig. 280). Certainly, wheelmade pottery in the form of grey wares and matt painted wares had



**Figure 4.15. Early Bronze Age Cooking jug from Emporio Area F, Stage 4 (Per. 1) (after Hood 1981/1982: pl. 109; reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens).**

already been produced since at least the latest stages of the Middle or the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (Hood 1981/1982: 571-578; cf. Girella and Pavúk in press), but if there is indeed a close link between the production of Mycenaean-type pottery and the wheelmade cooking pots, as is maintained in this chapter for essentially all regions discussed, it is perhaps possible to suggest that, as on Cyprus, the appearance of the wheelmade cooking pot on Chios was associated with the increase in the local production of ‘Mycenaean’-type pottery during the twelfth century.

Could this perhaps mean that the wheelmade cooking pot was introduced to a site like Limantepe/Klazomenai by Chian potters moving around and producing pots on the spot? This is certainly an intriguing possibility, particularly given the maritime character of Chian

**Figure 4.16. Minoan kitchen ware from Miletos IV (after W.-D. Niemeier 2007a: pl. 3.3).**

<sup>67</sup> This suggestion contrasts with Jung’s suggestion that the handmade cooking pot found in the LH IIIC levels was derived from the wheelmade version (Jung 2009: 78).

communities throughout history. On the other hand, it needs to be kept in mind that Miletos was an important, if not the most important, production centre of Mycenaean-type pottery in the East Aegean during the Late Bronze Age (Akurgal et al. 2002). On various occasions, Niemeier has noted the presence of Minoan-type kitchen and cooking wares at the site (**fig. 4.16**) (W.-D. Niemeier 1998; 2005: 6, pl. 11; 2007a: 11, pl. 3.3). Mycenaean cooking jugs have not been mentioned as such, but Niemeier (2005: 10) mentions the presence of tripod cooking pots. It is, therefore, certainly possible that a wider range of wheelmade coarse wares were present at the site. What happens at Miletos during the twelfth century is unclear. As noted in Chapter 1, it was long assumed that Miletos VI ended some time during the twelfth century (Mountjoy 2004; W.-D. Niemeier 2007a: 16, with further references), but recently Niemeier (2009) has claimed that new excavations have clarified an uninterrupted sequence throughout the twelfth through eighth centuries around the Athena Temple and that, therefore, there was continuous ritual activity at the temple of Athena from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (Miletos IV) to the Archaic period.<sup>68</sup> Under the assumption that habitation was not interrupted, it is potentially significant that, as at other sites on the west coast of Asia Minor, silver mica is present at Miletos (noted by Mountjoy 2009a: 59 based on comments by W.-D. Niemeier), because it makes it possible that, in addition to Chios and/or Chian potters, Miletos or Milesian potters played a stimulating role in the wider introduction of the Aegean-style cooking pot in the East Aegean.

On the other hand, whatever the exact origins of either pots or potters may have been is perhaps of lesser relevance than the very point that the role of small-scale mobility in the formation of regional material traits has long been neglected in favour of long-distance trade and communication networks and the establishment of contacts with the Bronze Age centres of civilisation in the Eastern Mediterranean. Certainly, Near Eastern imports at Panaztepe-Menemen (Çınerdalı-Karaaslan 2012) and Cypriot pottery at Troy (Kozal 2003; 2006) as well as the presence of Trojan Grey Wares in the Eastern Mediterranean (Mommsen and Pavuk 2007) and a few examples of Mycenaean pottery produced at Miletos and Ephesos found at Tell Kazel (Badre et al.

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<sup>68</sup> Note, however, that contextual information to substantiate this claim is not provided.

2005: 32-33)<sup>69</sup> clearly show that East Aegean communities had either direct or indirect contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean. However, because these imports have attracted much attention, little effort has yet been made to systematically explore small-scale movements and contacts within the East Aegean itself. To gain further insights into this regional dynamic is perhaps the most important challenge for future research.<sup>70</sup>

#### **4.6. Final remarks**

This chapter first suggested that, based on an examination of the way the production of pottery may have been organised, a tendency towards a general worsening in the overall surface treatment of the pots – the surfaces become less well polished and the slip thicker and more unevenly applied and also matt paint seems to take over from lustrous paint – from the late thirteenth or early twelfth century onwards was closely associated with the demise of imported Mycenaean pottery and an increase in the local production of painted pottery. But by far the most important issue raised in this chapter was the issue of the ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots. Their appearance in the Eastern Mediterranean and on the west coast of Asia Minor has often been regarded as evidence for the arrival of Mycenaean refugees who had fled the Aegean after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces.

Without denying the possibility that migrants might have arrived on the west coast of Asia Minor, it was argued that a direct link between the cooking pots and migrants from the Greek mainland is not very likely. After all, pots, even cooking pots, do not equal people. Two alternative and perhaps somewhat provocative explanations – or lines of thinking – were offered. The first one suggested that the shaping of the cooking pots helped children to become knowledgeable in the making of medium to large closed vessels, whereas the second one made a case for the idea that the cooking pots were commissioned by local customers to replace similar pots that had broken but were (temporarily) unavailable and produced on the spot by itinerant potters, or

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<sup>69</sup> There is one Mycenaean belly-handled amphora or hydria from Tell Kazel (TK 69) that was imported from Ephesos. Another kylix (TK 14) was imported from Miletos. The provenance of these vessels was established by means of NAA.

<sup>70</sup> Currently, at least two dissertations are being written on the issue of (maritime) mobility in the East Aegean. One is being prepared by Jana Mokrišová at the University of Michigan and the other one by Steven Vasilakis at the University of Sydney.

that traders had picked up these pots along the way at a production centre and sold them to local customers.

Of course, neither of these alternative explanations can be proven based on the evidence currently available – but neither can the migration theory! The main intent, however, was not to offer well-defined and fool-proof models as this is simply impossible given the current state of publication; rather the aim was to follow up on observations made in Chapter 3 and challenge from a more practice-oriented perspective a tendency in archaeology to regard material change and innovation as a clear break with the past and explain change by tracing evidence of its supposed origins and then use some supposedly forceful yet often vague event or process, such as migration and hybridity (for a critique, see pp. 95, 97-98 above), to link the point of origin with the site or region under study. The picture, arguably, was much more complex than that.



## Chapter 5

### Protogeometric pottery in Ionia

#### 5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter showed that the causes and processes stimulating material change and innovation at the beginning of the twelfth century are much more complex than has hitherto been assumed. There is, therefore, every reason to have a closer look at the relationship that has often been created between the literary tradition of the Ionian migration from Athens to coastal Asia Minor and the appearance of Protogeometric-style pottery in the region in the eleventh century. From an archaeological perspective, this connection rests on two important assumptions, both of which essentially derive from the important work of Vincent Desborough: first, the Protogeometric style was invented by Athenian potters and from there diffused to other regions (Desborough 1948; 1952: 298-299; 1964: 136, 261-263; 1972: 145)<sup>71</sup>, and, second, the style signals a final break with the Mycenaean past and the start of a new era that, according to Desborough (1964: 263), would eventually develop in the Classical Greek world. The first aim of this chapter is to critically examine and challenge both these assumptions by looking more closely at the processes that stimulated the development of a Protogeometric-style of pottery both at its supposed point of origin (e.g. Athens) and in an alleged peripheral Aegean region (e.g. Central Macedonia). This review will then form the basis for a re-examination of the evidence from Ionia and the development of a new interpretative framework that sheds a very different light on the dynamics that stimulated the appearance of Protogeometric-style pottery in this region.

#### 5.2. Protogeometric pottery at Athens

Perhaps the best place to make a start is the alleged ‘birthplace’ of the Protogeometric style: Athens. To understand the appearance of the Protogeometric style, it will be

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<sup>71</sup> The ‘origins’ of Protogeometric pottery, a term first coined by Wide (1910) in his discussion of the material from the Arsenal Cemetery on Salamis, has been much disputed over time. Macedonia (Skeat 1934), Thessaly (Jacob-Felsch 1988), Kephallenia (Marinatos 1932: 37) and Naxos (Wells 1983: 120) have all been suggested as the ‘birthplace’ of the Protogeometric style, but the most widely held view is the one originally proposed by Vincent Desborough (1948; 1952: 298-299; 1964: 136, 261-263; 1972: 145): Attica.

necessary to start in the twelfth century. Very little is known about LH IIIC Athens, but there are indications that the Acropolis was occupied during the whole of this period (Lemos 2006: 509-511; Smithson 1977; 1982). In addition, there are domestic deposits in the area to the east of the Acropolis filled with LH IIIC Early pottery (Mountjoy 1999: 496-498). Furthermore, a number of LH IIB through LH IIIC burials have been found in the later Agora which were deposited in re-used tombs (Immerwahr 1971: 181-190), although some of the tombs dug into the bedrock in the area of the Hephaisteion have been assigned to the Final Mycenaean/Submycenaean (Papadopoulos 2002: 156). There are further burials south and east of the Acropolis, including a so-called 'warrior burial' which can probably be dated to LH IIIC Early, and some more in re-used chamber tombs in the north bank of the Ilissos River (Lemos 2006: 511). As a consequence, the best known site in Attica is the large chamber tomb cemetery at Perati on the east coast of Attica, which was in use from about 1200/1190 to circa 1075 BCE (Iakovides 1980).

Early Iron Age Athens is much better known, although most of what is known about the eleventh and tenth centuries comes from tombs excavated by the German Archaeological Institute in the Kerameikos (Kraiker and Kübler 1939; Kübler 1954; 1974; Ruppenstein 2007) and the American School of Classical Studies in the area of the Classical Agora.<sup>72</sup> In addition to these clusters, there are also a number of other find spots (Lemos 2002: 152-154; 2006: 511-512), including a few tombs on the acropolis (Gauss and Ruppenstein 1999) and some other tombs recently discovered as a result of rescue excavations associated with the construction of the Athenian metro-system around Syntagma Square (Parlama and Stampolidis 2003). With the exception of a well on the north-slope of the Acropolis (Smithson 1977), no clear settlement evidence has, as yet, been found, but Papadopoulos (2003: ch. 5; *contra* Lemos 2006: 514-516) has argued that the Early Iron Age settlement was most likely situated on the Acropolis. Associated with this settlement there was an industrial quarter in the area of the later Agora, clearly evidenced by the presence of potters' debris and test pieces in a range of Early Iron Age well deposits found there (Papadopoulos 2003). These deposits have also yielded a very small quantity of discarded metalworkers' moulds (Mattusch 1977: 341 n.2, 373; Smithson 1982; Papadopoulos 2003: 3, 107,

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<sup>72</sup> The publication of the Agora tombs by J.K. Papadopoulos will appear in the *Agora*-series.

fig. 2.48) and a number of loom weights and spindle whorls (Papadopoulos 2003: 172-175). Furthermore, the Early Geometric well K 12:2 contained a fragment of a scapula of a fin whale (BI 115) that was possibly used as a cutting surface in the working of leather (Papadopoulos and Ruscillo 2002).

### *'Submycenaean' pottery*

An important shift that can be observed in Attica at the beginning of the eleventh century is the slow abandonment of the often rich chamber tombs and the simultaneous introduction of much simpler and 'poorer' cist tombs, characterised by single burials accompanied by often few and relatively low quality 'Submycenaean' pots and other grave goods at Athens and on Salamis.<sup>73</sup> It is these ceramics that are of particular interest here. Pottery classified as 'Submycenaean' is often dubbed "bad" (Whitley 2001: 79), "unambitious in range and poorly executed" (Osborne 1996: 24) and "utterly derivative" (Snodgrass 1971: 34) and has as such often been regarded as a degenerative form of Mycenaean pottery. This automatically provides this type of pottery with negative connotations, which are further reinforced by the fact that it is followed by Protogeometric pottery, which Desborough (1964: 363) has argued to be a sign of the arrival of a new creative (Greek) spirit. 'Submycenaean' pottery has as such become a style 'in between' that is neither fully Mycenaean nor part of the 'new spirit'. Certainly, 'Submycenaean' pottery is frequently fired unevenly, the decoration carelessly applied in paint that is often streaky or matt, and even the shaping of the pots can be poor (Dickinson 2006: 124), but the reasons for these are more complex than the rather meaningless notion of 'cultural decay' or 'isolation' would suggest. For one thing, Jeremy Rutter (1978) has already pointed out many years ago that 'Submycenaean' pottery is predominantly found in cemeteries. This picture has not really changed over the years. In fact, even though there are many settlement sites on the central and southern Greek mainland with uninterrupted sequences from the Bronze into the Iron Age, a well-defined and stratified 'Submycenaean' phase has still not been convincingly identified (Lis 2009b: 213-216; Papadopoulos et al. 2011: 191-194). This point makes the very claim for a distinctive 'Submycenaean' phase problematic (for a discussion whether 'Submycenaean' represents a real chronological

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<sup>73</sup> Cist tombs were, however, not completely new at the beginning of the Early Iron Age. Some Late Bronze Age examples with single interments going back to the fourteenth century have been found in the area of the Classical Agora at Athens (Immerwahr 1971: 98, 103-104).

phase, see Papadopoulos 1993; Papadopoulos et al. 2011; Eder 2001; Lemos 2002; Rutter 1978; Ruppenstein 2003; 2007; 2009; Styrenius 1967). Nevertheless, the presence of complete cemeteries with ‘Submycenaean’ pottery cannot be ignored. What might have stimulated their appearance?

A useful starting point for this investigation is a small belly-handled amphora (P30305) from Grave I 5:3 excavated beneath the floors of the Royal Stoa in the Athenian Agora (**fig. 5.1**) (Shear 1975: 373, n. 103, pl. 85:I; Papadopoulos et al. 1998: 516, fig. 6). In many respects this pot is a ‘typical’ ‘Submycenaean’ pot. Its central decoration in particular looks a bit sloppy, the individual sets of concentric semi-circles are drawn by hand rather than with a pivoted multiple-brush and the number of semi-circles in each set differs. Moreover, there are blobs of paint marking the beginning of each individual line. Also, the lines of dots above are not straight and the individual dots are placed at irregular distances. At the same time, the main body decoration generally shows well painted straight lines, which could indicate the use of the wheel. The central decoration is intriguing as it suggests that in decorating this pot it was either not deemed necessary to put much effort into the central decoration or that multiple individuals with different levels of skill were involved and that this area was filled in by an individual with still limited experience and skill. This latter suggestion is further strengthened when observing that in painting the sets of semi-circles the painter seems to have drawn over or followed what appear to be pre-formed designs. Ethnographic studies have shown such a technique often to be applied in teaching children how to paint pottery (Kamp 2001: 428). When taking this vessel as representative for ‘Submycenaean’ pottery, it could be suggested that many ceramics, now classified as ‘Submycenaean’, were actually (partly) produced mainly for burial practices by people (children?) who were still in the process of acquiring the necessary skills and knowledge to produce high quality pots.

The suggestion that learner potters are involved in the production of pottery is, of course, not too surprising, but it is intriguing that Irene Lemos (2006: 511; see also Broneer 1939; Mountjoy 1995: 56; 1999: 497-498) points out that LH IIIC pottery, especially of the middle phase, is of good quality, although the paint on very few Mycenaean pots ever achieves the good lustrous black of the best Protogeometric and Geometric pottery (Papadopoulos 2003: 8 n. 29), and that potters were aware of

developments taking place in other centres during these periods. The combination of these two points indicates that the role of unskilled potters/painters was limited or at least that their impact on the visual appearance of pots was better regulated or controlled. At the same time, the high quality of the pots may also suggest that during the Late Bronze Age ceramic production was probably centred at one or more (sub)regional production centres. To what extent production might have taken place around the Athenian Acropolis during the Late Bronze Age is difficult to say, but it is noteworthy that recent research is suggesting that much LH IIIB-LH IIIC Early pottery at Athens was imported from Alimos, a production site located just south of Athens along the Saronic Gulf (pers. comm. W. Gillstrap). Furthermore, the potters' quarter in the area of the Classical Agora only seems to have been established by the end of the twelfth or beginning of the eleventh century (Papadopoulos 2003).

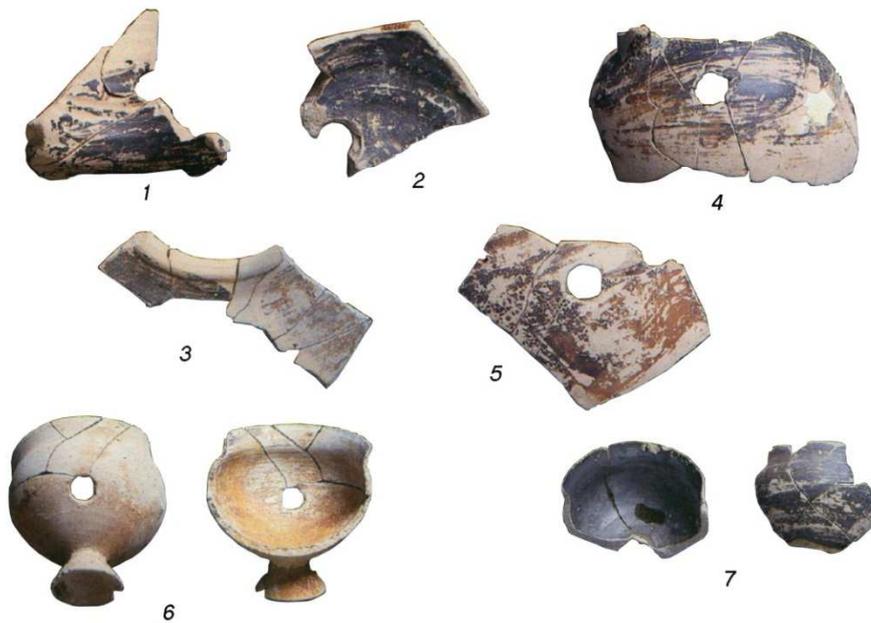


**Figure 5.1. Belly-handled amphora (P30305) from Grave I 5:3 (photo: author; with permission from J.K Papadopoulos and ASCSA).**

Although it is dangerous to say anything with any certainty based on the current evidence (or lack thereof) available for the middle and late twelfth century, it is interesting that Papadopoulos (1998: 115 n.38) suggests that Early Iron Age potters at Athens may have found it difficult to meet market demand, particularly if Athenian Early Iron Age pottery production is viewed against the backdrop of Peacock's 'workshop industries' or his model of the 'manufactory' (Peacock 1982: 35-46). As such, if indeed much pottery was imported from elsewhere in Attica and if for whatever reason these regular flows changed or disappeared towards the end of the twelfth century, local Athenian potters would have been faced with a major problem. In this light, it is potentially important that 'Submycenaean' pots are found predominantly in burial rather than settlement contexts, because if these pots were indeed (partly) produced by learner potters, they would not only have been ideal for one-time use in burial rites, but the very making of these rather unpretentious pots also allowed learner potters to grow into knowledge. Finally, by replacing good quality ceramics in burial rites, these pots helped to maintain the availability and the quality of the overall ceramics used in other everyday practices.

#### *The introduction of test-pieces*

Certainly, much more research needs to be done in respect to the organisation and location of ceramic production in the twelfth century, but the general idea that towards the end of the twelfth century potters were increasingly unable to meet the demand for everyday ceramics is an interesting point when looking at a number of other ceramic innovations at the dawn of the Early Iron Age. One of them is that, whereas Mycenaean as well as many 'Submycenaean' pots show no uniform attempt to achieve a good glossy black – red, brown and black colours can often be found on one and the same pot –, Athenian pottery from the second half of the eleventh century onwards increasingly comes to be defined by the application of a consistent glossy black paint that provided the pots, and particularly the inside of open vessels such as cups and deep bowls, with a metallic look that might very well have imitated (oxidised) silver. Despite this innovation, the paint used on Mycenaean, 'Submycenaean' and Protogeometric pottery is essentially the same. What seems to have made the difference is a better control over the three-stage firing process (oxidation-reduction-oxidation) by means of test pieces (**fig. 5.2**) (Papadopoulos 2003).



**Figure 5.2. Test-pieces from Athens (after Papadopoulos 2003: pls. 2,6,9,7,18,19; 1.42,63) (reproduced with premission from J.K. Papadopoulos and ASCSA).**

Basically, test-pieces were cut from pots that had been damaged before firing. Before placing them in the kiln these pieces were smeared with samples of the actual paint that was to be fired, although some were canonically decorated or partly decorated. During a firing session these pieces were removed with a hook or rod at certain intervals through a small spy-hole or opening in the kiln. By doing this the potter could check the temperature and atmospheric conditions generally and learn whether the paint had fired the required black without having to open the kiln and disturb the firing process (Papadopoulos 2003: 210-214). This technical innovation simultaneously enhanced the quality of the ceramics (and their aesthetic attractiveness) and increased the efficiency of the production process as it helped to reduce the risks of the firing process, which was one of the most costly, lengthy and risky aspects of the pottery production process due to the fact that once sealed and heated the kiln could not be re-opened, nor could pots be removed without damage until the firing was completed.

From this perspective, the introduction of test pieces is one of the most important innovations potters came up with in their attempts to produce a sufficient number of pots that were also both functionally and aesthetically attractive. An important

question, however, is where the idea of using test pieces might have come from. For this, it is of interest to note that potters generally do not operate in isolation, but work together with other craftspeople. For instance, Doonan and Mazarakis Ainian (2007: 371; see also Sofaer 2006) have pointed out that ceramic production, like metalworking, relies on pyro-technical knowledge, whilst metalworking, like ceramic production, uses ceramics for hearth constructions, crucibles, moulds and tuyères. Moreover, potters and metallurgists both need water and a good knowledge of minerals. As such they would have drawn on similar materials and to some extent similar techniques. Doonan and Mazarakis Ainian (2007: 371) also note that petrographic analysis of furnaces and kilns found at Oropos on the Attic coast show that identical clay resources were used for the construction of furnaces and kilns. At Athens, interaction between metalworkers and potters can be inferred from the few metalworking moulds found in the wells.

A major difference, however, between the working of bronze, gold and silver and pottery making is that in the former cases heat is only used to melt the metal before solidifying into a certain form inside a mould; the metal as such does not alter its character during the heating. In pottery making, the firing process is not just used to allow the clay to take a more or less solid and stable form, but also to reach a visual effect. This demands a much closer control over the fire itself and the atmospheric conditions inside the kiln than is the case with most metalworking, for which it is essentially enough to reach a high enough temperature in order to melt the metal. There is, however, one exception to this: iron. As Gosden (2012: 15) points out, a key contrast between bronze, gold, silver and glass on the one hand and iron on the other is that the former substances could be taken from a solid to a liquid state with the help of heat before solidifying. Iron, on the other hand, is essentially worked in a solid state, although it can be made malleable by the effects of heat. In this process, there is a direct relationship between the fire, the metal and the metallurgist's response to the behaviour of the iron in the fire. A similar relationship between the potter, the fire, the atmospheric conditions inside the kiln, and the behaviour of the clay, paint and slip (or other surface treatment) can also be postulated for the firing process of ceramics. Yet, whereas the iron metallurgist has the advantage of being able to directly monitor the behaviour of the metal throughout the heating process, the pottery kiln forms a

closed environment that essentially locks out the potter. The use of test pieces, however, seems to have helped to overcome this situation.

Iron objects are already found in the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age and regularly produced, albeit in small quantities, in Anatolia in the Old Assyrian period (2000-1600 BCE) and Hittite period (1600-1200 BCE) (Muhly et al. 1985; Yalçın 1999; 2005). Iron did, however, not start to gain momentum in the Aegean until the very end of the second millennium, although in the early stages iron was probably either imported or produced by itinerant craftspeople, possibly from Cyprus where the production of ‘utilitarian’ iron goes back to the twelfth century (Sherratt 1994) – though, see the possible eleventh century iron workshop at Phokaia.<sup>74</sup> Is it a coincidence that the growing importance of iron during the eleventh and tenth centuries, as is for instance witnessed by the sharp increase of iron objects in ‘Submycenaean’ and Early Protogeometric burials at Athens (Morris 2000: 214, tab. 6.4), coincides with the introduction of test pieces? This is an intriguing yet speculative question. “Masses of unformed bronze and of iron slag” (Shear 1936: 191) dating to the Archaic period have been found in the area around the temple of Hephaistos (cf. Mattusch 1977), but so far no earlier evidence for ironworking is encountered. On the other hand, if indeed early iron objects were produced by itinerant craftspeople, such evidence may perhaps not be expected. Although there clearly is no evidence to suggest any direct link between the use of test pieces and the growing importance of iron, it is interesting that metalworkers and potters worked side-by-side for centuries (if not millennia) in the Aegean, but that this never seems to have stimulated potters to experiment with or use test-pieces. A potential link with ironworking is, therefore, perhaps intriguing though highly speculative.

#### *Metal and decorative motifs on ceramics*

Be that as it may, there is little doubt that the use of test-pieces helped to enhance, if not stimulate, the metallic appearance of Early Iron Age Athenian pottery. This metallic character was further reinforced by the use of metal motifs, such as dog-tooth motifs and zigzag patterns on the rims of cups and skyphoi (for an overview, see

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<sup>74</sup> For the role of itinerant metallurgists in the Eastern Mediterranean, see also the case of the Cape Gelidonya wreck which dates to around 1200 BCE and probably belonged to a bronze smith (Bass 1967; 2005: 303-307).

Lemos 2002). Both these points, however, immediately bring into question the hallmark of Protogeometric pottery: the sets of mechanically drawn concentric (semi) circles. To understand the appearance of these circles, it is useful to start with an oinochoe found in a tomb (Tomb 126) uncovered during recent excavations as a result of the construction of the metro station Syntagma (**fig. 5.3**) (Parlama and Stampolidis 2003: 162-163). The oinochoe, which in terms of shape is very close to the LH IIIC type, features two motifs hanging from the neck-shoulder transition. One is a hand-drawn spiral, while the other consists of a set of four concentric circles executed with the help of a pair of compasses. In addition to this example, it is also interesting to refer to an Early Protogeometric skyphos found in the Athenian Kerameikos showing two tangentially joined hand-drawn running spirals (**fig. 5.4.1**) (Kraiker and Kübler 1939: pl. 30.525) and another example of an Early Protogeometric skyphos from Athens on which the sets of concentric circles are linked together by crossed lines, as if they were two tangentially joined running spirals (**fig. 5.4.2**) (Kraiker and Kübler 1939: pl. 48.518).

**Figure 5.3.** Cup and oinochoe from Tomb 126, Syntagma Station, Athens (after Parlama and Stampolidis 2003: 163).



**Figure 5.4. Early Protogeometric skyphoi from the Kerameikos with tangentially joined running spirals (1) and sets of concentric circles linked by crossed lines (2) (photo: D-DAI-ATH-Kerameikos 2519 and 3179. All rights reserved).**

These examples show a clear chronological link between running spirals and the sets of concentric circles. There are two possible explanations for this chronological transformation. For the first one, it is interesting that the tangentially joined running spiral motif closely resembles a bronze finger ring with a bezel in the form of a double spiral found in one of the tombs in the early twelfth through early eleventh

**Figure 5.5. Finger-ring with double spiralled bezel from Perati (after Iakovides 1980: 83, fig. 97).**

century BCE cemetery at Perati, situated on the coast of East Attica (**fig. 5.5**) (Iakovides 1980: 83, fig. 97). In this case, it is possible that the concentric circle motif was originally derived from metalwork. In this light, experimental research by Papadopoulos, Vedder and Schreiber (1998) has shown that the sets of concentric circles were drawn with the help of a pivoted multiple-brush, a rather simple tool which could be fairly simply produced from a few basic materials. Essentially, what this tool does is allow a quick and pleasing alternative for the rather difficult to draw running spiral motif. This could suggest that the transformation of the running spiral motif into the concentric circle motif was an attempt to speed up the decoration process. Alternatively, and perhaps more plausibly, it is also possible that the concentric (semi) circle motifs echoed those of incised metalwork and that the pivoted

**Figure 5.6. Fragment of a silver skyphos with fan decoration from Marsigliana d'Albergna (Italy) (after Vickers and Gill 1994: 114, fig. 5.7).**

multiple-brush was 'invented' to transform this metallic motif into a ceramic one that could be quickly applied. An example of such a motif on metalwork can be seen on a seventh century BCE skyphos from Marsigliana d'Albergna (Italy) (**fig. 5.6**) (Vickers and Gill 1994: 114, fig. 5.7). In either case, however, the sets of concentric circles would have enhanced both the metallic appearance of Protogeometric ceramics and the efficiency of the production process. In fact, it could even be suggested that it is perhaps this combined aesthetic and functional attraction that made the multiple-brush and, by extension, the Protogeometric style so successful at Athens.

So far, essentially localised issues and practices have been discussed in relation to the emergence of the Protogeometric style, but it should not be glossed over that Athens was either directly or indirectly involved in metal trade. Indications for this can, first of all, be found at Torone where a few eleventh century Attic imports have been identified (Papadopoulos 2005). Moreover, Sourvinou-Inwood (1975) has suggested that the Attic 'Submycenaean' handmade pyxides and amphoriskoi, as well as incised beads and spindle whorls, show influences from Macedonia. As will be discussed further below, Central Macedonia and the Chalkidiki hold important metal resources that were possibly already exploited since at least the early stages of the Late Bronze Age. In addition to these links with Macedonia, it is intriguing that the rich chamber

tomb cemetery at Perati is abandoned during the eleventh century (Iakovides 1980), while at the same time new cist grave cemeteries are founded at Athens and Salamis. The many Near Eastern imports in the burials from Perati suggest that during the twelfth century people from nearby Nisos Raptis, who might have used the cemetery, profited directly from their geographical position as well as from their access to the silver, lead, and possibly copper sources from Thorikos and Laurion (Stos-Gale and MacDonald 1991: 267, 280), which they may have exchanged with Cypriot traders (Crielaard 1998). A possible reason for the abandonment of the cemetery is that during the eleventh century Cypriot traders started to use a more direct route towards Sardinia and the Italian peninsula via Crete that by-passed most of the Aegean (Matthäus 1998; 2001; Niemeyer 2003).<sup>75</sup> This route also passed the western Peloponnese where there appear to be Cypriot influences on Protogeometric kylikes from Ithaca, Olympia, Nichoria and possibly also Amyklai (Eder 2006: 568-570).

In the light of this shift, it is important that the eleventh century sees early activities at Isthmia (Morgan 1999) and that there are common traits linking Protogeometric pottery in Achaia, Aitolia and Phokis (Eder 2006: 562; Morgan 1990: 248-249). So far, no imported Protogeometric pottery has been identified in Italy and Epirus; in fact, it is only from the Geometric period onwards that there is increasing evidence for Corinthian involvement in interregional trade networks (Papadopoulos 2001: 383-407). Nevertheless, the evidence is suggestive of the presence of regional trade networks that linked up with the Cretan route to the Central Mediterranean. The advantage of Athens as well as other sites in the Saronic Gulf region, at least for a short period of time during the eleventh and early tenth century, was that their strategic position in relation to the Saronic Gulf and the Corinthian isthmus may have allowed them to profit from Cypro-Phoenician traders using the isthmus route by channelling flows of metals from a variety of regions, including the northern Aegean and Attica, to the Saronic Gulf. Such a scenario would not only help to explain the sharp increase of iron objects in the graves, as noted above, and perhaps even the introduction of iron technology, but the involvement in metal (perhaps most

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<sup>75</sup> Note, however, some eleventh century Cypriot imports on Thasos (Sherratt 1994). Also, some of the ores on the island might have attracted Cypro-Phoenician attention (Morris 1992: 143-149).

importantly silver) trade might also have stimulated further the metallic character of the ceramics.

In any case, the point to be emphasized is that, based on the observations presented so far, the conclusion can be drawn that both practical (in terms of both production and use) and aesthetic considerations stimulated the emergence of what archaeologists now classify as the Protogeometric style at Athens. If this is accepted, Desborough's original argument that the introduction of the Protogeometric style signalled the beginning of a new era becomes difficult to sustain. This suggestion, in turn, must have consequences for the way the appearance of Protogeometric-style pottery on the west coast of Asia Minor is viewed, but before moving there it will first be necessary to have a critical look at a second traditional assumption, which maintains that the Protogeometric style invented and diffused from a single point of origin. For this, attention will be shifted to Central Macedonia.

### **5.3. Protogeometric pottery in Central Macedonia**

An important reason for moving to Central Macedonia (**fig. 5.7, tab. 5.1**) is that this region has, just like the west coast of Asia Minor, often been perceived as the 'Other' of southern Greece (Kotsakis 1998: 47). In archaeological terms this 'otherness' was partly constructed as a result of a presumed silence of the past, since it was believed that there was no Helladic culture, no Bronze Age culture equal to the Mycenaean, nor even proper Geometric and Archaic phases. As John Papadopoulos (2005: 347) notes, the northernmost extent of tholos and chamber tombs, in Thessaly, has often been regarded as forming the traditional limit of Mycenaean culture. To the north of this border a distinctive 'non-Mycenaean' or 'Barbarian' culture prevailed that formed the 'Other' of the 'core provinces' further south (cf. Fotiadis 2001). The consequence of this north-south divide has been that the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Chalkidiki and much of coastal Macedonia and Thrace have long been viewed as rather backward regions that formed veritable new worlds, there for the taking by enterprising southerners (Papadopoulos 2005: 347). In recent years, however, excavation and in some cases extensive publication of a number of sites, such as the tell settlements at Kastanas, Toumba Thessaloniki, Olynthos/Aghios Mamas, Assiros, and the Early Iron Age cemetery at Torone, have brought to light a wealth of new information, including much Protogeometric-style pottery.

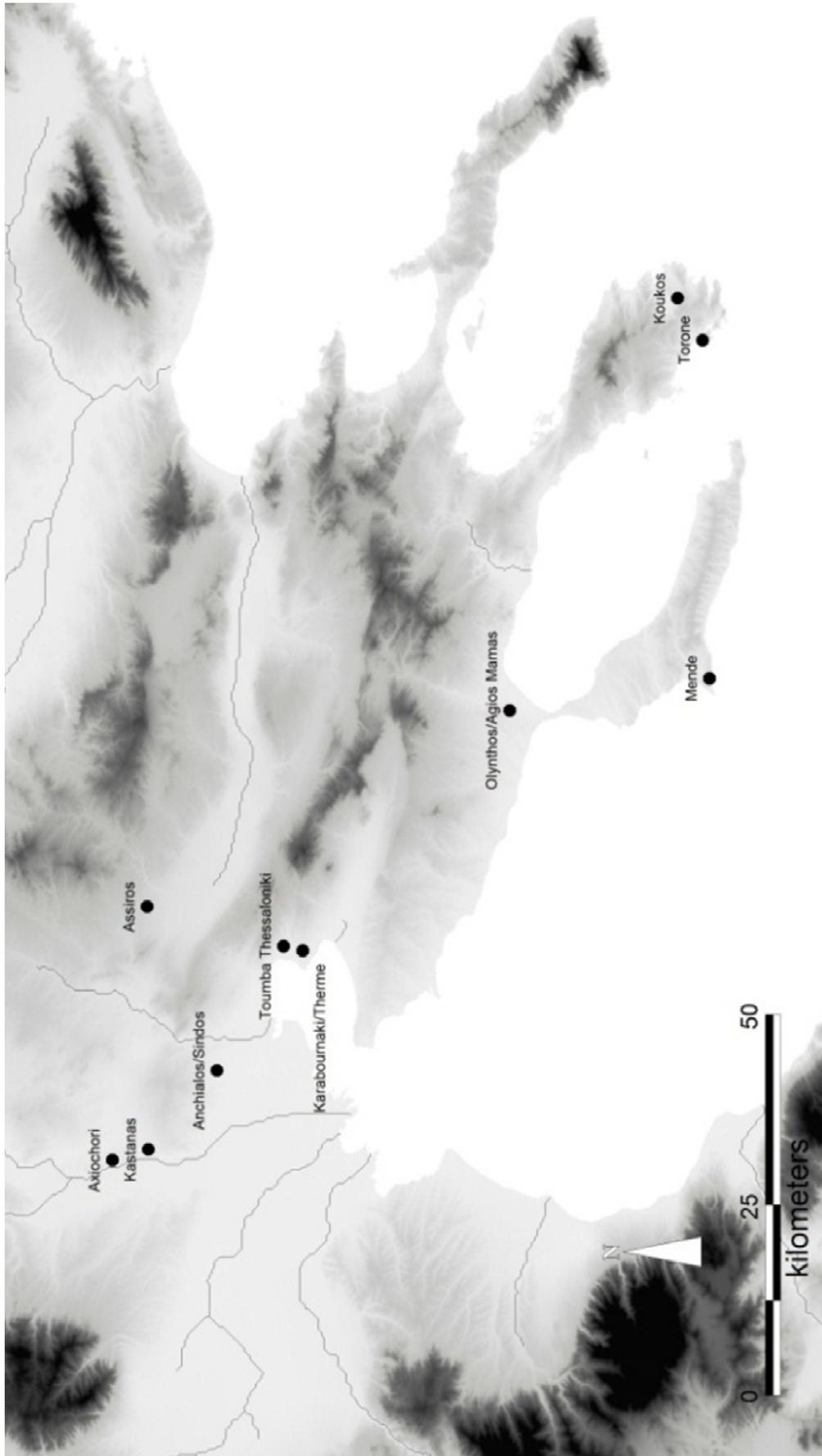


Figure 5.7. Map of Central Macedonia with the most important Late Bronze and Early Iron Age sites.

Dates BCE (conventional)	Dates BCE (high chronology)	Pottery Phase	Thessaloniki Toumba	Kastanas	Assiros	Olynthos
1200/1190	1270	LH IIIC Early	4D-B	14b	7	3
1150/1140	1220	LH IIIC Developed	4A	14a		
				3	13	6
		LH IIIC Advanced				
1100/1090	1170	LH IIIC Late/SubM	2B	12	5	1+0
1050/1025 1000	1110	EPG	2A		4	

**Table 5.1. Chronology of Central Macedonian sites (after Andreou 2009; Wardle and Wardle 2007; Hänsel and Aslanis 2010).**

In a recent survey of Early Iron Age Macedonia, Michalis Tiverios starts with the following words:

“There can be no doubt that one area of Classical Archaeology which has been enriched with fresh knowledge during the latter half of the last century is that concerned with ancient Greek colonisation. Among other things, the leading rôle of the Euboeans in it has been confirmed, a rôle attested by ancient written sources, but, for various reasons, disputed by certain scholars. One of the main grounds for doubt had been the absence from the areas occupied by the Greeks in the first three centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. of excavational data relating to Euboea. But since the mid-20th century, numerous excavations in many parts of the Mediterranean, as also on Euboea itself, have not only confirmed the Euboeans’ important rôle in the early historical period, but also given us a great deal of direct or indirect additional information about their activities” (Tiverios 2008: 1).

The arguments for a Euboian colonisation in the northern Aegean, which Tiverios refers to, are mostly based on references to textual sources, mostly Strabo, in combination with the presence of Protogeometric pottery which is supposed to have a direct or indirect connection with Euboia (cf. Papadopoulos 1999). For instance, Mervyn Popham (1994: 31-33) refers to a number of finds from Torone for which he argued Euboian links to be certain and unexpectedly early (i.e. eleventh century). In reply to these arguments, John Papadopoulos argues, however, that “Of the seven pots from Torone chosen by Popham to establish Euboian connexions, one is Euboian, one Attic, and the remainder local, though more Attic in style than Euboian” (Papadopoulos 1996: 157). Even more so, when looked at as a whole, the local pottery from the cemetery, both wheelmade and handmade, displays few, if any, stylistic idiosyncrasies that point to Euboia as a source of inspiration. In fact, Papadopoulos (1996: 157) points out that the earliest cemetery pottery, if anything, displays stylistic links closest to Athens, whereas in the later part of the period in which the cemetery was in use the local potters produce vessels of a strong local character, quite distinct from Attic, Euboian and other central and southern Greek wares. Moreover, not only is the quantity of Euboian imports to Torone about the same as the quantity of the likely Toronean, or Chalkidic, imports to Lefkandi, but the imports to Lefkandi also tend to be earlier than the imports to Torone (Papadopoulos 1996: 158). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that, even though pendant semi-circles on skyphoi and plates have often been regarded as the hallmark of Euboian enterprise overseas (Kearsley 1989; Popham 1994), they appear at the same time or even earlier in Macedonia and were there also particularly popular (Gimatidis 2011b: 959-960; Papadopoulos 1996: 152). Unfortunate for the reputation of Macedonian wares, as Gimatidis (2011b: 960) sighs, is the point that “they belonged to farmers and not to merchants, as the Euboian ones did, or they lay remote from Phoenician trade routes”. Overall, there seems little reason to assume any Euboian primacy in the development of Protogeometric-style pottery in Macedonia and it would, therefore, be of interest to start looking from the Late Bronze Age.

In the past few decades numerous excavations in Macedonia have brought to light a wealth of new information. What particularly stands out is the high level of stability during the twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE. For instance, the site of Kastanas is

generally characterised by a rather unstable sequence of habitation structures that often ended in destruction and an alternation between mud-brick architecture and wattle and daub houses during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, but Level 12 represents a rather long period of about 120-130 years from LH IIIC Advanced to Early Protogeometric for which it is not possible to separate by means of stratigraphy the various chronological phases that are normally supposed to make up this period (Jung 2003: 136-138; Weninger and Jung 2009: 416, fig. 14). This stability is even clearer at Toumba Thessaloniki where the destructions seen at Kastanas never occurred. Also the outline of the settlement and the layout of the mud-brick buildings show a remarkable continuity (Andreou 2009; Andreou and Psaraki 2007). On the other hand, during the time-span of Kastanas Level 12 people at Thessaloniki-Toumba (Phases 3, 2B and 2A) rebuilt their homes several times, but Andreou (2009: 19) stresses that there is little doubt that the plan of the settlement remained unchanged. It is, therefore, very possible that the rebuilding of the houses was a form of maintenance (or the failure thereof).

From a ceramic perspective some interesting developments can be noted. The local production of (painted) wheelmade pottery comprised only a few percent of the total ceramic assemblage until the beginning of the twelfth century when a first boost can be observed at sites like Kastanas (Jung 2002; 2003), Toumba Thessaloniki (Andreou 2009; Andreou and Psaraki 2007) and Assiros (Wardle 1980; 1996; Wardle and Wardle 2007). This increase was followed by an even more substantial one towards the end of the twelfth century. In Kastanas Level 12 painted pottery increases from just over ten percent to just over 40 percent of the total ceramic assemblage (Hochstetter 1984: 12, fig. 1). A similar pattern can be observed at Toumba-Thessaloniki Phase 2B and 2A, but the evidence from this site suggests that this steep increase only really kicked in at the beginning of the eleventh century during Phase 2A. This increase is exaggerated to some extent by the fact that Phases 2B and 2A comprise substantial street deposits, as opposed to other phases, which include only room fill and floor deposits (Andreou 2009: 19, fig. 4), but Andreou (2009: 19) notes that it is reasonable to believe that the amount of wheelmade pottery used at the site increases at the very beginning of the Early Iron Age. For Olynthos/Aghios Mamas Jung (2003: 138) notes that ceramics seem to show similar developments to Kastanas and Toumba Thessaloniki in the twelfth century, but it should be noted that there is no

clear evidence that the site continued to be settled during the Early Iron Age. The latest level (Level 2) with clear architectural remains and closed find complexes ends towards the end of the twelfth century (Hänsel and Aslanis 2010). Furthermore, in terms of ceramics only the handmade pottery has recently been published for this site (Horejs 2007); the publication of the wheelmade pottery is forthcoming. At Torone, another site located in the Chalkidiki, little is known about the Late Bronze Age (Cambitoglou et al. 2001; Morris 2010), but in the burials from the Early Iron Age cemetery, founded probably some time during the first half of the eleventh century<sup>76</sup>, painted wheelmade pottery makes up 55 percent of the total ceramic assemblage (Papadopoulos 2005: 421, graph 5.1).

In contrast to these sites stand settlements like Sindos and Assiros. At Sindos, in ancient times located on the shores of the Thermaic Gulf, painted wheelmade pottery is limited (Gimatidis 2011a: 100), whereas Assiros, another important Bronze and Iron Age tell settlement situated somewhat further inland in the Langadas Basin, witnesses a sharp decrease in wheelmade pottery at the beginning of the Iron Age. For this site, Wardle and Wardle (2007: 454) note that all linear decorated wheelmade fragments of pottery in the first Iron Age level (Phase 4) are small and presumably residual. The only painted wheelmade Iron Age sherds found are from a Group 1 amphora (R.W.V. Catling 1998) associated with a Phase 3 destruction floor (Early/Middle Protogeometric) (Wardle and Wardle 2007: 454; Newton et al. 2005: fig. 2). The reason for the decrease in painted pottery at Assiros may perhaps be related to its somewhat inland position. The situation at Sindos is less easy to explain, but may perhaps have to do with the fact that, as noted, the latest level (Level 2) with clear architectural remains and closed find complexes ends towards the end of the twelfth century and that the earliest Iron Age levels may have largely eroded. Because the increase in painted pottery seems to kick in towards the end of the twelfth century, the evidence for this at Sindos may have disappeared. Whatever the case may be, the increases in painted wheelmade pottery during the twelfth century at many central Macedonian sites require further investigation.

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<sup>76</sup> For AMS 14C dates of the earliest tombs, see Papadopoulos et al. 2011.

*Ceramic developments in Central Macedonia: a view from Kastanas*

To understand this general increase in painted pottery, it is useful to turn to a specific site that has been well published: Kastanas, a small tell-settlement situated on what used to be an island on the Axios River (Hänsel 1989; Jung 2002). The site was continuously occupied from the end of the Early Bronze Age to the beginning of the Early Iron Age. The most interesting layers for the present purposes are Levels 13-11 which correspond roughly to LH IIIC Middle-Middle Protogeometric. These levels show a number of intriguing developments in relation to food, food preparation and food consumption practices that could possibly be linked to the developments in the ceramic repertoire. These developments can be observed, in the first place, in the archaeozoological record, which suggests that, although domesticated animals make up most of the faunal assemblage in the earliest phases of the settlement (72-79%), they (cattle and sheep/goat in particular) decline during the latest stages of the Late Bronze Age and reach their lowest level in Levels 13-11 (43-50%) (Becker 1986: 249-253). In Levels 13-11 fallow deer and red deer provided most of the meat consumed (23.3 and 23.8%, respectively); the cow, domesticated pig and smaller ruminants move to the background (Becker 1986: Tab. X). The fallow deer also becomes smaller, most likely as a result of intensive hunting (Becker 1986: 123, 259). Next to the fallow deer and red deer, this period sees roe deer, wild boar, bear, lion, lynx, wolf, and turtle appear in greater numbers (Becker 1986: 261, figs. 83-84). This shift towards the consumption of wild animals is also associated with a gradual increase in Levels 13-11 in the share of domesticated animals slaughtered at an adult age (Becker 1986: 263, fig. 91)<sup>77</sup> and the greater importance of wild fruits in Levels 13-11 (Kroll 1983). The combination of these observations suggests, according to Becker (1986: 261), that domesticated animals were used only in limited fashion as suppliers of meat and raw materials in Levels 13-11.

An important stimulant for this development may have been that during the Late Bronze Age (Levels 17-14a) people were increasingly confronted with a lack of fodder as a result of deterioration of crops due to bad soil management, and this

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<sup>77</sup> The ratio between domesticated and wild animals might be somewhat exaggerated as it would not have been possible to keep large flocks of animals on the relatively small island on which Kastanas was located in ancient times (Becker 1986: 253), but the shift taking place in Levels 13-11 is significant enough to be a good indication of the growing importance of wild animals in everyday food preparation and consumption practices.

eventually led to a decreasing quality of the livestock (Becker 1986: 261; cf. Kroll 1983). In response to this development, evidence from floral remains indicates that barley regains its importance as a primary cereal, a position it had lost during the Late Bronze Age (Kroll 1983: 157). Both barley and millet grains also increase in size, which suggests a renewed intensification of agricultural activities (Kroll 1983: 52). The advantage of barley is that it can be used for a wide range of foodstuffs, including fodder, and is more tolerant of soil salinity than wheat and has the potential to improve nutrition and support sustainable land care and could as such have played an important role in the attempts to fix the outcomes of bad soil management in previous times. This development also probably supported a refreshment of the stock, as is indicated by the increasing height of the cow, sheep and goat (Becker 1986: 259). Yet, to build up a full stock that is able to meet the meat consumption of a community takes time and it may therefore not be surprising that with developments in agricultural activities, which seem to have mainly been to facilitate the refreshment and growth of the livestock, wild animals and fruits came to form a more substantial part of the daily menu.

In addition to this development, it is intriguing that scorch marks on bones of both domesticated and wild animals are rare in Levels 14a and 13<sup>78</sup>, which implies that meat was more often boiled than fried (Becker 1986: 264, Tab. 117). This development is accompanied with a peak in Level 13 in the number of portable hearths (*pyranoi*; 6.6% of the handmade repertoire) and *töpfe* (10.6% of the handmade repertoire)<sup>79</sup> (Hochstetter 1984: 114, 158) and an initial increase in the number of deep bowls (Jung 2002: figs. 10, 17, 26). Particularly, in combination with the increasing importance of wild fruits and barley, which can be used for preparation of stews, soups, bread, barley water, barley beer, and barley wine, it could be suggested that during consumption practices meat, stews and soups were prepared and kept warm with the help *pyranoi* and *töpfe* and consumed with help of (larger) deep bowls (*skyphoi*). Yet, scorch marks increase again on domesticated animals (from 4.7 to 13.0 to 18.3%), and (at first slightly) on bones from wild animals (from 7.1 to 9.8 to 23.3%) in Levels 12 and 11, suggesting that the frying or roasting of meat

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<sup>78</sup> Level 14a – domesticated animals and wild animals: 6.3% and 12.3% (total 8.6%); Level 13 – domesticated animals and wild animals: 4.7% and 7.1% (total: 6.1%).

<sup>79</sup> Note that these vessels were probably used for both storage and cooking.

increased in popularity again (Becker 1986: 264, fig. 117). This shift in preparation and consumption practices is also accompanied by a slight decrease in the number of *pyrannoi* and an increase in the numbers of wheelmade jugs, amphoras and deep bowls (tab. 5.2-3).

Shape	Level 13	%	Level 12	%	Level 11	%
High footed skyphos	3	4%	5	1%	0	0%
Skyphos A	14	21%	17	5%	1	1%
Skyphos B	13	19%	125	37%	44	24%
Monochrome skyphos	0	0%	21	6%	7	4%
Krater	7	10%	28	8%	28	15%
Dish (Schale)	9	13%	39	12%	20	11%
Bowl (FT 294)	7	10%	7	2%	5	3%
Kylix (FT 274-275)	4	6%	1	0%	1	1%
Cup (FT 215/216)	4	6%	12	4%	1	1%
Cup (FT 240)	0	0%	1	0%	6	3%
Tankard/mug (FT 225-226)	1	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Dipper (FT 236)	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%
Stirrup jar	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%
Alabastron	2	3%	0	0%	0	0%
Jug	2	3%	29	9%	18	10%
Belly-handled amphora	1	1%	47	14%	51	28%
Neck-handled amphora	0	0%	3	1%	1	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>337</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 5.2. Painted wheelmade pottery from Kastanas (counts based on the catalogue in Jung 2002).

Shape	Level 13	%	Level 12	%	Level 11	%
Dish	169	15%	166	17%	92	18%
Bowl	132	11%	99	10%	41	8%
Cup	45	4%	57	6%	37	7%
Jug	20	2%	24	2%	14	3%
Kantharos	17	1%	14	1%	7	1%
Amphora	38	3%	33	3%	13	3%
Cooking/Coarse Ware (Töpfe)	658	57%	556	56%	265	53%
Pithos	10	1%	7	1%	9	2%
Pyrannos	58	5%	33	3%	15	3%
Baking pans	7	1%	3	0%	5	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1154</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>992</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>498</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 5.3. Handmade pottery from Kastanas (counts based on Hochstetter 1984: 39 fig. 8; 49, fig. 11; 59, fig. 14; 67, fig. 16; 79, fig. 19; 102, fig. 26; 114, fig. 30; 114, fig. 38; 158, fig. 42; 165, fig. 44).

The developments in the ceramic as well as the floral and faunal records strongly suggest a greater importance of communal feasting. Such a suggestion would also fit the architectural evidence for Level 12, which sees for the first time in the history of the settlement the construction of a multiple-roomed building with a roof-terrace (Hänsel 1989: 173-182). This type of construction was unknown in previous periods and it therefore seems to have fulfilled a special function. Its central room (Room 1) has an open hearth construction and a platform that is thought to resemble the well-known megarons of the Mycenaean palace (Hänsel 1989: 176-177).<sup>80</sup> The central rooms seems to have been cleared out before destruction, but large quantities of handmade and wheelmade eating and drinking vessels were found in the associated rooms and immediately south of the building (Hänsel 1989: 179, fig. 70). Furthermore, north of this building there was an open court where a number of ovens/hearths were found. These were probably used for the preparation of relative large quantities of food (Hänsel 1989: 182-183, fig. 72). In addition to the ovens/hearths, the concentration of pithos sherds, as well as a number of loom weights and grinding stones, suggests that, next to food preparation, part of the court might have been used for storage purposes. Finally, the court also included a combination of an oven and closed hearth. All the characteristics of the building are consistent with the preparation and consumption of large quantities of food.

The increasing consumption of stews, soups and drinks during the twelfth century would have demanded not only a larger number of open vessels, such as deep bowls, to be available, but also required these vessels to be resistant against the working of these liquids on the fabric and to be nice to eat or drink from. Because wheelmade pottery can be produced more quickly than handmade pottery, it would seem logical that indeed the number of wheelmade open bowls increased rather than their handmade counterparts. Furthermore, a slip and a solid coating of paint on the inside of open vessels could have served to protect the fabric and made them nicer to eat and drink from. In some cases it might perhaps have provided the vessels with a somewhat metallic look, although the paint is never lustrous. In this light, it can hardly be a surprise that the number of so-called Type B skyphos (deep bowls with a

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<sup>80</sup> However, feasting halls with central hearths can also be found in the Carpathian region (Kacsó et al. 2012: 455-456).

solidly painted interior)<sup>81</sup> increase significantly in Levels 13-11 (Jung 2002: 86-97).<sup>82</sup> A characteristic of these vessels, however, is that the painted coating is often very thin, so that coated areas can easily be confused with reserved areas (Jung 2003: 138).<sup>83</sup> Although this is perhaps understandable given the large quantities of vessels that needed to be produced, the consequence probably was that the paint wore off these vessels relatively quickly as a result of intensive use and washing up and as such they had to be replaced regularly.<sup>84</sup> This, in turn, would have contributed to a further increase in the number of painted pots in the archaeological record.

From this perspective, it is important that it is generally assumed, although it is not always easy to document, that most of the painted wheelmade pottery was locally produced in several small-scale, dispersed, sub-regional production sites (Andreou 2003: 196). This view is strengthened by the observation that at Kastanas chemical analysis revealed twelve groups consistent with regional but perhaps not local production (Jung 2002: 50-56; Mommsen et al. 1989), including one group (G1) to which some sherds from Mesimeri and Thessaloniki belong (Mommsen and Maran 2000-2001: 104). Moreover, the circulation of painted wheelmade pottery was more or less confined within the limits of each sub-region of the area and by the occasional existence of local morphological features (Jung 2003: 140). Nevertheless, the trends, in terms of regional technological and stylistic preferences and their development and in terms of patterns of use of this class of pottery were more or less uniform in the area (Buxeda I Garrigós et al. 2003: 279-281; Andreou and Psaraki 2007: 416-417). Of course, Kastanas was only a small site and it is, therefore not very likely that its local developments stimulated ceramic developments throughout the region. However, in respect to Toumba Thessaloniki, Andreou and Psaraki (2007: 416) note that painted wheelmade bowls and cups had almost totally replaced the matt painted handmade bowls in Phase 4 and only the matt painted handmade jars and probably

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<sup>81</sup> This is a term originally coined for an Argolid LH IIIB2 type that features a monochrome interior and a very deep band of paint on the outside (French 1969: 87).

<sup>82</sup> A similar development can also be observed at Toumba Thessaloniki Phases 4-2 (Andreou 2009: 23, fig. 6; cf. Jung et al. 2009: 188-189) and Olynthos Levels 2-1 (Hänsel and Aslanis 2010: 329-331). Similarly, for Torone Papadopoulos (2005: 442) notes that all (earlier) skyphoi have a solidly painted interior, although on many examples the paint at the centre of the floor and on the lower wall is not preserved on account of use and cleaning (e.g. T23-1, T98-1, T106-1, T108-1: Papadopoulos 2005: figs. 79, 154, 162a, 164a).

<sup>83</sup> A similar situation also existed at Toumba Thessaloniki (Andreou 2009: 22-23).

<sup>84</sup> It is not impossible that some vessels were produced for single-use. On the other hand, there is no evidence for obvious differences in quality between vessels that would clearly suggest this.

some jugs were still being used. They suggest that this replacement was triggered by a rapid intensification of the feasting occasions, which is indicated by the sudden rise of the Mycenaean style pottery, the early growth of local production of this type of pottery, and the indications of winemaking in Phase 4 (Andreou 2003). Consequently, the developments at Kastanas do no stand in isolation, but fit in with wider patterns in the region.

### *Concentric circles in Central Macedonia*

The relevance of the discussion in the previous section in understanding the appearance of a Protogeometric style in Central Macedonia is that coatings of paint on the interior of open vessels form one of the key features of the Protogeometric style. The suggestion that this feature developed locally and in close association with changing patterns of consumption forms a first indication that the Protogeometric style was not introduced to the region as a preformed package. But how does this relate to the introduction of mechanically drawn sets of concentric circles on ceramic vessels? Sets of concentric circles appear for the first time in Toumba Thessaloniki Level 2A (**fig. 5.8**) (Andreou 2009: 24; Jung et al. 2009: 190-191) and Kastanas Level 12 (**fig. 5.9**) (Jung 2002: 185-191; 2003: 139-140; Jung et al. 2009: 190-191)<sup>85</sup>. They are also found on early vessels from the Early Iron Age cemetery at Torone (**fig. 5.10**) (Papadopoulos 2005), although the material from both Kastanas and Toumba Thessaloniki is stylistically quite different from the pottery found at Torone (Jung 2003: 139; Andreou 2009: 24 n. 21).



**Figure 5.8.** Sets of concentric circles on pottery from Toumba Thessaloniki (after Andreou 2009: fig. 15, reproduced with permission from S. Andreou).

<sup>85</sup> Sets of concentric *semi*-circles, mostly on deep bowls, do not appear before Kastanas Level 11 (Jung 2002: 188).

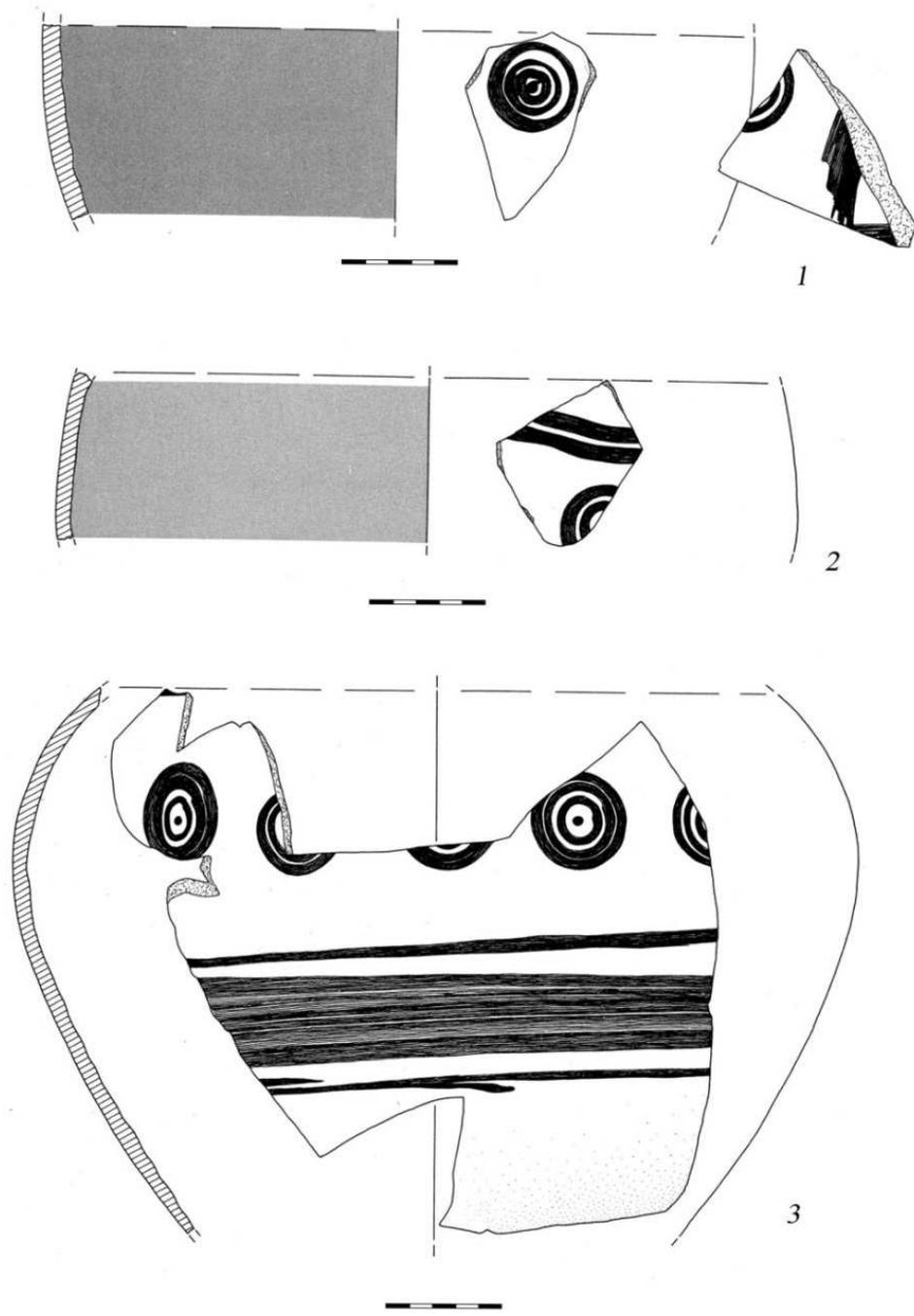


Figure 5.9: Examples of sets of concentric circles from Kastanas Level 12 (after Jung 2002: pls. 28.292-293, 41.388; reproduced with permission from R. Jung).



Figure 5.10. Vessels with sets of concentric circles from Torone (after Papadopoulos 2005: 1084, pl. 261; 1081, pl. 260a; 1156, pl. 327; reproduced with permission from J.K. Papadopoulos).

At all three sites sets of concentric circles figure almost exclusively on amphoras and some large open vessels (i.e. kraters). Only one deep bowl from Toumba Thessaloniki has, as yet, been published showing sets of concentric circles (**fig. 5.8.1**) (Andreou 2009: 24, fig. 15.5). In respect to Torone and other sites in the Chalkidiki, Papadopoulos (2005: 493-497, 575) argues that the material from these sites appear to follow trends from the south more or less closely. He notes, for instance, that at Torone already from an early stage sets of concentric (semi) circles can already comprise up to seven (or even more) circles. One example is an amphora with sets of seven circles (**fig. 5.11**) (T104-1; Papadopoulos 2005: fig. 160a-b, pl. 266) that has stylistically been assigned to very early Protogeometric (Papadopoulos 2005: 431). These apparent stylistic links are supposedly also further reinforced by a number of very early Attic imports at Torone (Papadopoulos 2005). At Kastanas and Toumba

Thessaloniki, on the other hand, vessels usually show no more than two to five circles, three being the most common (Jung 2002: 188). It is particularly this observation that would make one wonder whether it is possible that the differences in the number of circles applied on ceramics between Torone and the Macedonian sites might have arisen from differences in local developments rather than Torone being linked more firmly to the south.

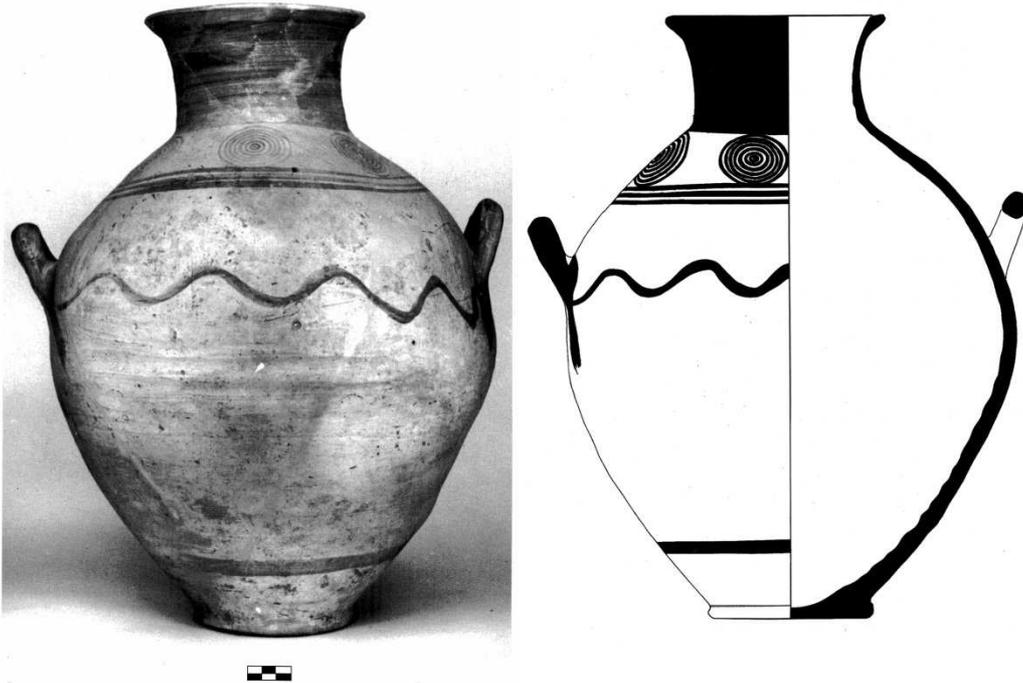


Figure 5.11. Amphora with sets of seven circles from Torone (after Papadopoulos 2005: fig. 160a-b, pl. 266; reproduced with permission from J.K. Papadopoulos).

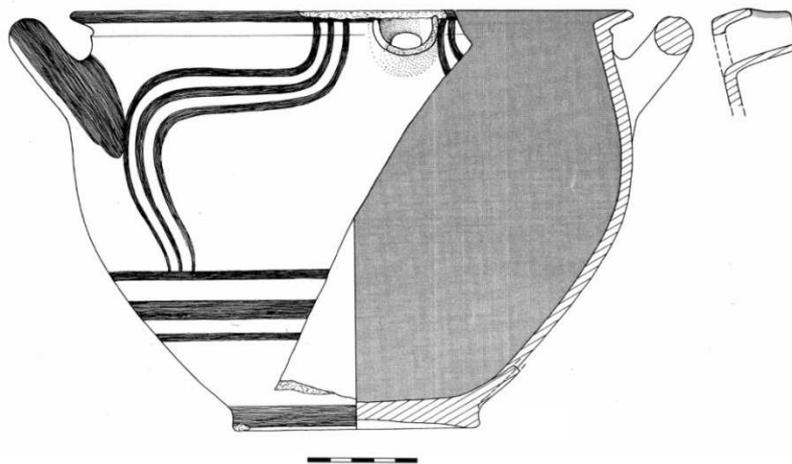


Figure 5.12. Krater from Kastanas Level 12 with a horn motif consisting of three lines linking the rim with a thin line on the lower part of the wall (after Jung 2002: pl. 25.282; reproduced with permission from R. Jung).

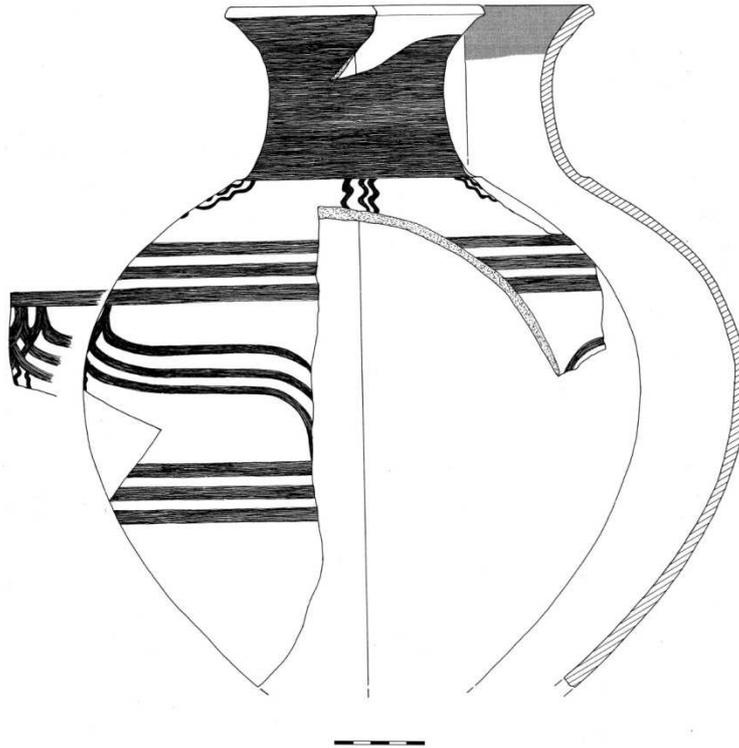


Figure 5.13. Possible use of a multiple brush on an amphora from Kastanas Level 12 (after Jung 2002: pl. 33.342; reproduced with permission from R. Jung).

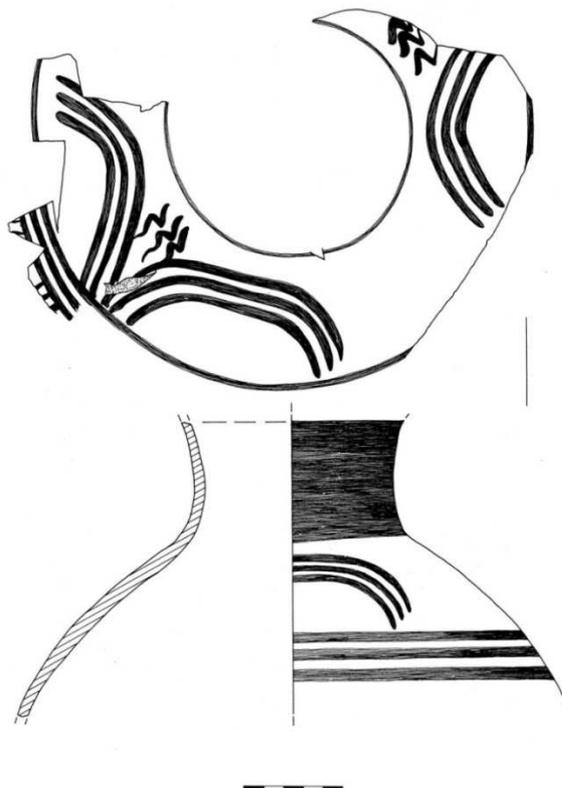
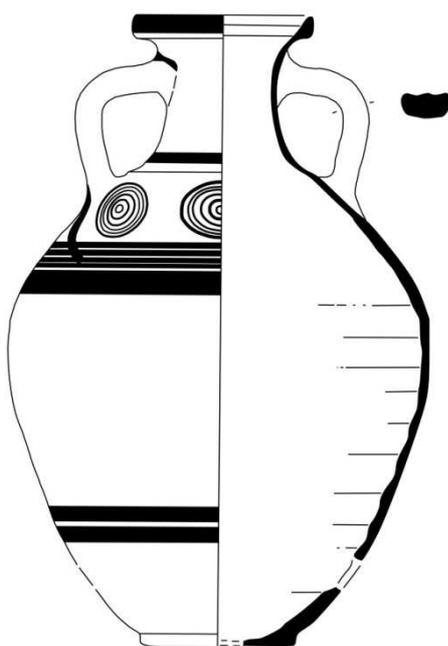


Figure 5.14. Shoulder of a large closed vessel from Kastanas Level 12 showing sets of 'handdrawn' arcs which might have been drawn with the help of a multiple-brush (after Jung 2002: pl. 40.385; reproduced with permission from R. Jung).

When looking more closely at the ceramics, it can be observed that there are a few instances from Kastanas Level 12 where a multiple-brush might have been used for applying decorative motifs other than the concentric circle. The first one is a krater with a horn motif consisting of three lines linking the rim with a thin line on the lower part of the wall (**fig. 5.12**; Jung 2002: pl. 25.282). The space between the lines and thickness of the individual lines appears to be so well painted and consistent that the painter either had to be extremely skilled or used a multiple-brush to paint the motif (compare also Jung 2002, pl. 26.283). A similar example can be found on an amphora with a similar horn motif (**fig. 5.13**; Jung 2002: pl. 33.342). On this vessel not only are the lines of the motif extremely regular, but also the vertical wavy lines running down from the junction of the neck and shoulder to the upper one of three bands on the shoulder appear to be quite regular and seem to show the same distances between the wavy lines as between the lines of the horn motif (compare also Jung 2002, pl. 39.375). A third example where a multiple-brush might have been used comes from the shoulder of a large closed vessel showing sets of 'handdrawn' arcs (**fig. 5.14**; Jung 2002: pl. 40.385). Based on the drawing, it appears that the three lines that form each of the three arcs start and end at the same time and also the space between the individual lines seems remarkably consistent. Of course, for all examples one would need a good photograph rather than a drawing or, even better, the actual sherd to be sure, but if these examples indeed show the use of a type of multiple-brush it is not unimportant that the horn motif was a very popular motif during the twelfth century and continued to be so at the beginning of the Iron Age. At Torone, this motif is not found (see Papadopoulos 2005: 460-461). It could, therefore, perhaps be speculated that at Kastanas and Thessaloniki the multiple-brush was developed in such ways that not only sets of concentric circles could be drawn but that multiple tasks could be carried out with it or, alternatively, that an already existing multiple-brush compass that could not effectively be used for drawing sets of concentric circles with more than three circles was used to draw the concentric circles that could not be effectively used for drawing sets of concentric circles with more than three circles (cf. Eiteljorg 1980; Papadopoulos et al. 1998).

Be that as it may, the more important question is whether there is any direct relationship between the mechanically drawn circles from Kastanas and Toumba

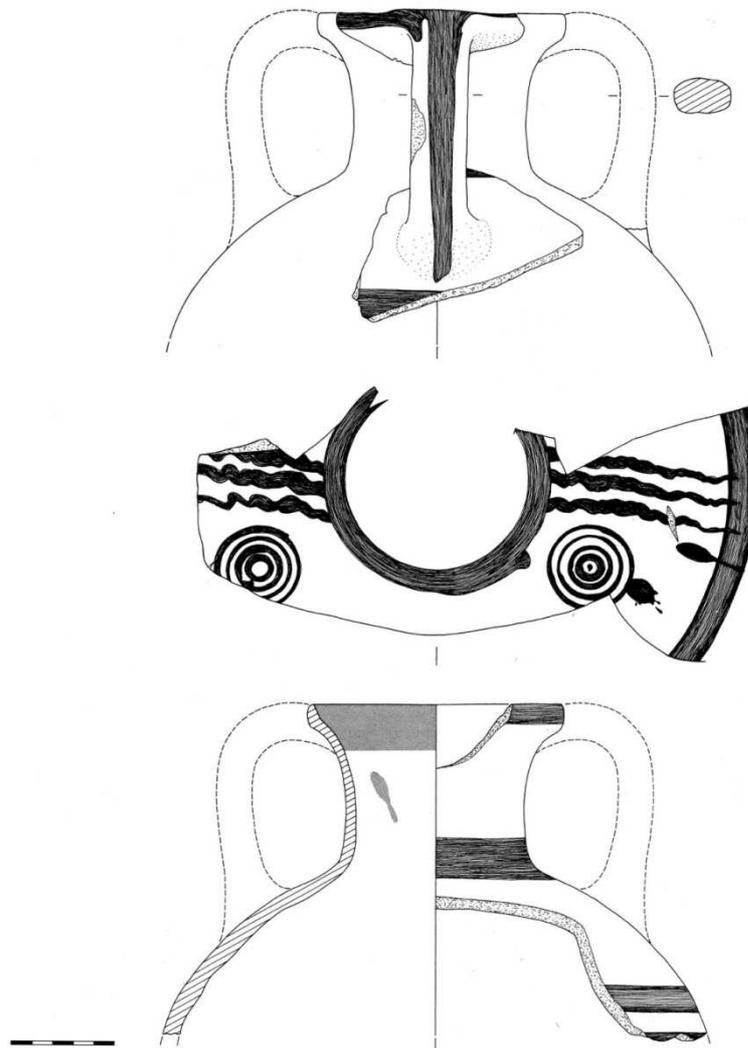
Thessaloniki (and possibly Torone) and those from Athens or Lefkandi. Jung (2002: 191) argues that it is unlikely that Macedonia can be seen as the birthplace of the concentric circles, an argument made long ago by Skeat (1934) in support of his overall thesis concerning the presence of northern Danubian invaders in the south, and notes some similarities with the concentric circles found on ceramics from Kalapodi (Jung 2002: 189). Intriguingly, Jacob-Felsch (1988) has made the argument that the origins of the concentric circles are to be found in Thessaly. One of the reasons for this is that finds from Kalapodi belong to the transition or very beginning of the Protogeometric period (Jacob-Felsch 1996: 57-59, 90). But so do those from Kastanas and other Macedonian sites. This is, therefore, not a convincing reason to argue for concentric circles being introduced to Central Macedonia from Thessaly. Furthermore, as for regions further south, it is important to point out that in Central Macedonia sets of concentric circles appear almost exclusively on amphoras and (some) large open vessels. In combination with the observation that spiral motifs appear rarely to be found on locally produced painted pottery, this preference could perhaps indicate that the possible link between popular wire spirals and concentric circles, as suggested above for Athens, did not exist in Central Macedonia and as such did not become popular on fine table wares, at least not until the middle to late tenth century when they appear on pendant semi-circle skyphoi.



**Figure 5.15. Group 1 amphora from Lefkandi (not to scale; redrawn after Catling 1996: fig. 1).**

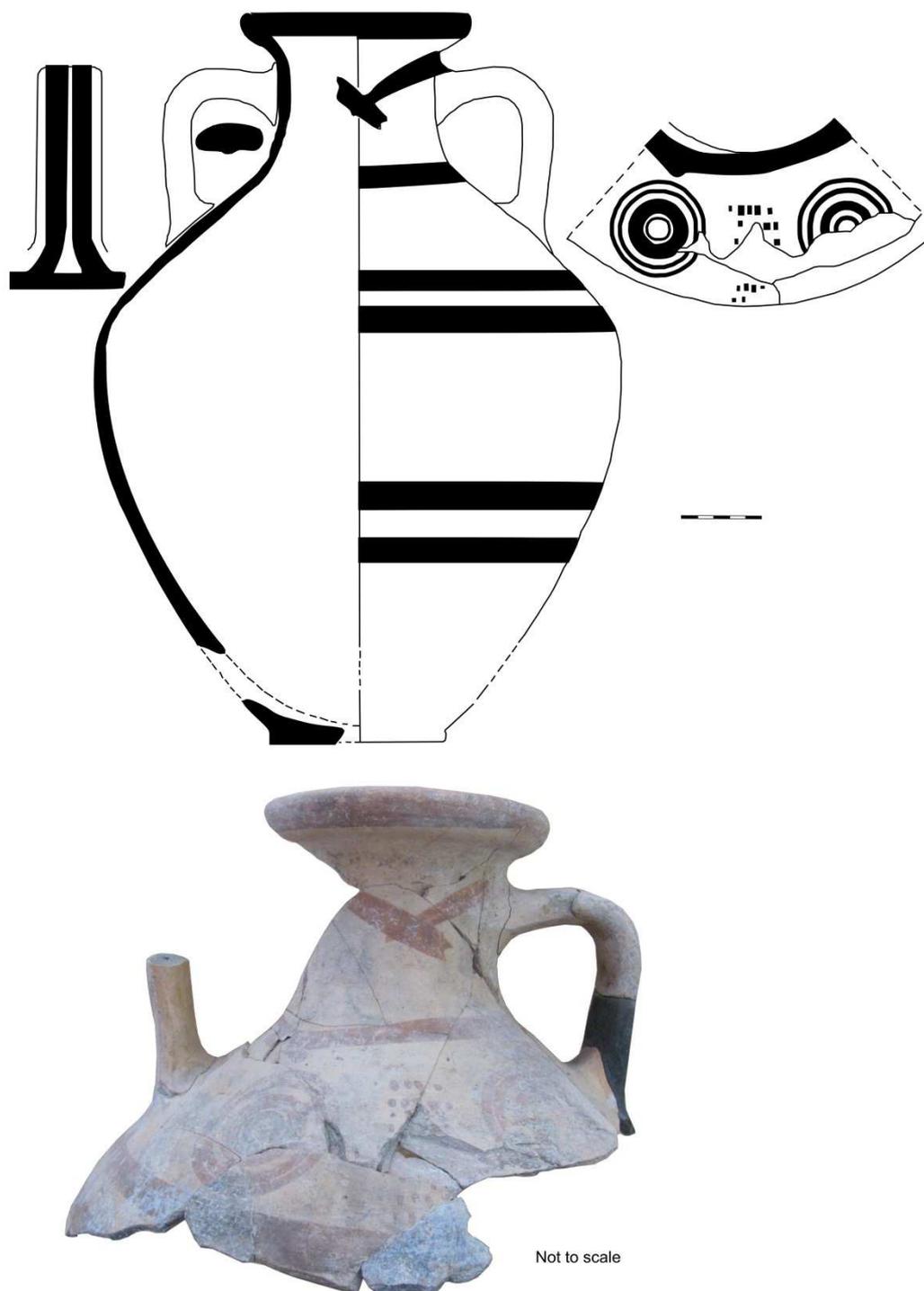
Because of the strong links between the concentric circles and large open and closed vessels, it is of interest to explore this relationship a bit further and focus attention on a group of neck-handled amphoras with sets of concentric circles on their shoulders, which were originally recognised by Richard Catling (1998) at Troy and referred to as ‘Group 1’ amphoras, at the very beginning of the eleventh century. In the northern Aegean

such amphoras have been found at Lefkandi (**fig. 5.15**), Agnandi, Elateia, Kalapodi, Iolkos, Mende, Sane, Toumba-Thessaloniki, Kastanas (**fig. 5.16**) (Jung 2002: pl. 34.343, 46.419), Assiros, and Torone. To this list at least Lemnos (Danile 2013: 80, 83 figs. 4-5) and Klazomenai (**fig. 5.17**) (Aytaçlar 2004: 20-24) can now be added as well. Furthermore, by the late tenth century, if a sign on a north-Aegean amphora from Lefkandi is indeed of Cypriot or Phoenician origin (R.W.V. Catling 1996)<sup>86</sup>, and certainly by the ninth century when they are found in Syria (Courbin 1993), the amphoras and their contents were also transported to the Eastern Mediterranean.



**Figure 5.16. Group 1 amphora from Kastanas (after Jung 2002: pl. 46.419; reproduced with permission from R. Jung).**

<sup>86</sup> Post-firing pot marks have also been found on a Trojan amphora (Catling 1998: 164-166). These marks are different from potters' marks that were made on the pot before firing. Such potters' mark can be found widely in the Early Iron Age Aegean (Papadopoulos 1994). In Macedonia they can be found on amphoras from Torone (Papadopoulos 2005: 541-551) and Koukos (Carington-Smith 2003: 247, fig. 15).



**Figure 5.17.** Group 1 amphora from Limantepe/Klazomenai (redrawn after Aytaçlar 2004: 21, fig. 4.1; photo: author, with permission from Y.E. Ersoy).

In particular the example from Assiros has come to play a significant role in an intense debate concerning a potential re-dating of the beginning of the Protogeometric period. According to Catling (1998), the earliest examples of the Group 1 amphoras,

which consist of a group of neck-handled amphoras with sets of concentric circles on their shoulders, can be assigned to the very beginning of the Early Protogeometric period. At Assiros, the sherds of one of these amphoras were found broken but securely stratified on a Phase 3 destruction floor (Newton et al. 2005). Based on dendrochronological and radiocarbon ‘wobble match’ dating of trees used for the construction of structures belonging to Phase 3 and 2, it has been suggested that Protogeometric starts around 1100/1070 instead of ca. 1050 and that LH IIIB ended before 1270/1250 instead of 1200/1190 (Newton et al. 2005; Strobel 2008; Wardle et al. 2007; Wardle and Wardle 2007). Several recent studies have, however, pointed out a number of significant weaknesses, including the so-called ‘old wood’ effect, that severely weaken the early dates suggested by the excavators of Assiros (Jung et al. 2009; Fantalkin et al. 2011; Jung and Weninger 2004; Maeir et al. 2009; Papadopoulos et al. 2011; Weninger and Jung 2009).

Based on the fabrics of the Troy amphoras, Catling (1998: 159, 162, 176) originally suggested an origin for these amphoras in the Phokis/Lokris region or southern Thessaly. John Papadopoulos (2005: 576, Appendix E) has noted, however, that chemical analysis has shown that at least one of the amphoras found at Torone was produced locally and is different in both fabric and details of shape and decoration from many of the examples found at the other sites. Based on stylistic elements, Jung (2002: 176-179) argues that at Kastanas, too, it could be suspected that the Group 1 amphoras were locally produced. This notion is further strengthened by the fact that macroscopic analysis indicates that at least one of the vessels (Kat. Nr. 419) belongs to the local/regional fabric group M1a. Furthermore, at Klazomenai there are some examples of amphoras which, although sharing common morphological features in shape with the Group I amphoras, are undecorated and handmade. As these have, as yet, no parallels in the Aegean, it is suggested that they were produced locally (Aytaçlar 2004: 24, 28-29). Based on the wide dispersal of apparently locally produced Group 1 (and 2) amphoras, Papadopoulos (2005: 576) suggests that rather than a single production centre there might very well have been a (loose) *koine* of north Aegean Early Iron Age amphoras produced at a number of sites.<sup>87</sup> Such a situation would be very much like the Classical period when wine transport amphoras

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<sup>87</sup> This *koine* seems to largely overlap with Irene Lemos’ ‘Euboian koine’ (Lemos 1998; 2002: 212-217).

of similar typology but of different fabrics were produced and exported by a number of north Aegean sites from central Macedonia and the Chalkidiki to Thasos and beyond (Papadopoulos and Paspalas 1999). Papadopoulos' suggestion is now further strengthened by analyses of the fabric and morphological details of the Group 2 amphoras, which suggest that the vessels were produced at a range of different production sites (cf. Lemos 2012).

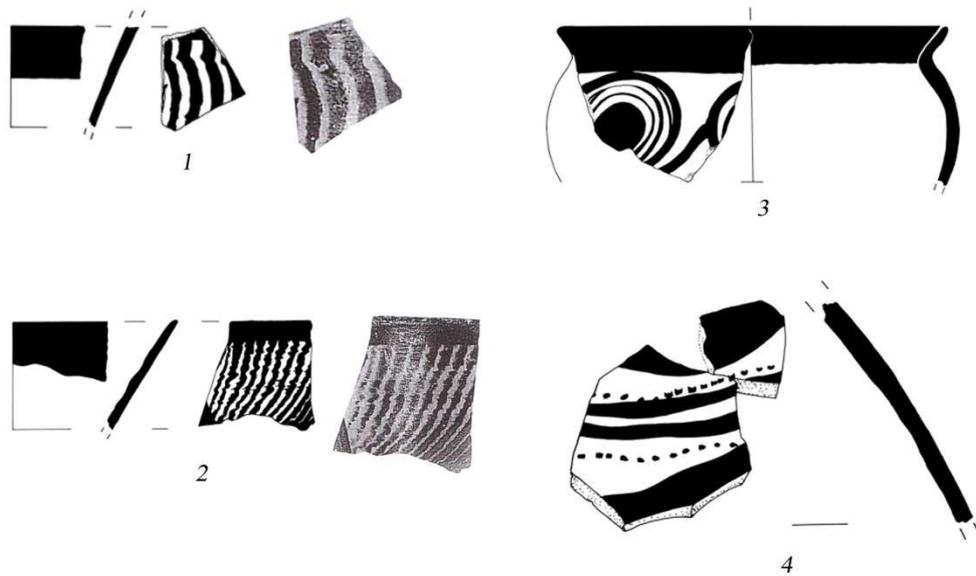
The appearance of the Group 1 amphoras throughout the northern Aegean probably signals the continuation and perhaps intensification of a Late Bronze Age trading route (R.W.V. Catling 1998; Lemos 2002: 211-212; Mommsen et al. 2001: 194, 196, 203).<sup>88</sup> The question, however, is what flows might have stimulated this route to continue and perhaps even to intensify. The key probably is metals. One of the advantages of sites around the Thermaic Gulf is the ready availability of important metal resources. Gale (1979: 15), for instance, lists various districts in Macedonia and Thrace as one of the four main centres of lead and silver attested by ancient authors; the others are Laurion in Attica, and the islands of Siphnos and Thasos, which is also located in the northern Aegean. Gold is also found (Vavelidis and Andreou 2008). Although direct evidence for the exploitation of these resources during any period of the Bronze or Iron Age is lacking, there is clear archaeological evidence for Late Bronze and/or Early Iron Age metalworking at Assiros (Wardle and Wardle 1999), Koukos (Carington-Smith and Vokotopoulou 1990: 447; 1992: 497-499, 502, pl. 6), Kastanas (Hochstetter 1987), Troy (Dörpfeld 1902: 405, fig. 406; Schliemann 1880: 432-435, nos. 599-600; 1884: 169) and Toumba Thessaloniki (Andreou and Kotsakis 1996; Mavroidi et al. 2004; Vavelidis and Andreou 2008). Moreover, at Anchialos/Sindos remnants of a bronze smith's workshop from the ninth century have been reported (Tiverios 1996).

In this light, it is also noteworthy that the mining and export of silver might at least go back to the earlier stages of the Late Bronze Age as it has been suggested that the silver of six of the fourteen silver objects from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae might actually have come from the Chalkidiki (Stos-Gale and MacDonald 1991: 285-287; Pernicka et al. 1983: Tab. 1, fig. 2). The evidence is far from conclusive, but

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<sup>88</sup> Brian Rose (2008: 411) also adds to this that the distribution of Handmade Burnished Ware/Knobbed Ware might very well have been a by-product of this trading route.

Papadopoulos (2005: 589) argues that if the evidence presented is correct, there is reason to believe that part of the Chalkidiki was exploited for metals, with southern involvement, as early as the period of transition from the Middle to Late Bronze Age. The early Mycenaean pottery (LH I-II) found at Torone (**fig. 5.18**) (Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1993; Morris 2010: 57-59; Cambitoglou et al. 2001: 280-281), Assiros (Wardle and Wardle 2007: 457), Karabournaki/Therme (**fig 5.19**) (Tiverios 2004: 296, fig. 2) and Olynthos (Hänsel and Aslanis 2010: 312-313) may well be direct evidence of this early contact.



**Figure 5.18.** Early Mycenaean pottery from Torone (after Cambitoglou et al. 2001: pl. 49,3.26-3.27; Morris 2010: 57, fig. 45: 75.746, 78.1315, 86.305; 58, fig. 46: 86.39A, B).



**Figure 5.19.** Early Mycenaean sherd from Karabournaki/Therme (after Tiverios 2004: 296, fig. 2; reproduced with permission by M. Tiverios).

In addition to the metals, transport amphoras would have been the most frequently used ceramic containers for the transport of a potentially wide variety of commodities and, in this sense, acted as packaging – perhaps with an element of ‘branding’ of a particular commodity.<sup>89</sup> As such, it is not really a surprise that these were the first to show some level of regional standardisation in terms of both shape and decoration. With this regional standardisation, however, also the sets of concentric circles were introduced as a motif in the northern Aegean, although they appear to have had only little impact on the overall repertoire of decorative schemes, maybe because they were related to amphoras and as such did not have any specific (aesthetic) connotations or because it was simply not deemed necessary by both potters and consumers to replace traditional motifs with sets of concentric circles. It may have been because of this that potters did not bother to modify the multiple-brush they had in such ways that it would be possible to draw sets of concentric circles with more than four or five circles.

In any case, the limited impact of the concentric circle motif in Central Macedonia does not necessarily suggest a southern origin for this motif. It is quite possible that the idea of using sets of concentric circles to decorate the shoulders of Group 1 amphoras was part of the standardisation process of transport amphoras in the northern Aegean. In that sense, to track down a specific point of origin for the appearance of sets of concentric circles in the northern Aegean based on archaeological evidence would potentially be misleading and probably a waste of time, not the least because the chronological time frames with which archaeologists have to deal will never be fine-grained enough to distinguish chronologically between developments that take place nearly simultaneously at different places without running the risk of over-classifying material threads that are anyway unstable and in a constant state of change.

#### **5.4. Protogeometric pottery in Ionia**

Having discussed Athens and Central Macedonia, it is now time to turn to Ionia. Unfortunately, the relative richness of data available for Athens and Central

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<sup>89</sup> I thank Sue Sherratt for pointing out to me this possibility.

Macedonia is not matched on the west coast of Asia Minor. Indeed, until very recently, very little Protogeometric pottery was known from the west coast of Asia Minor and it is, therefore, understandable that Irene Lemos (2007) argues that the low numbers of ‘Submycenaean’ and Protogeometric ceramics found are very difficult to associate with the large-scale Ionian migration of the texts. However, in the addendum to her paper, she notes already a number of new, mostly preliminary publications (e.g. Kerschner 2003, 2006, 2011; Aytacılar 2004; Ersoy 2004, 2007; Krumme 2003). Over the past few years the information has slowly been growing, but no final publications for the sites in question have appeared as yet. It is, therefore, very difficult to document, for instance, regional differences in Protogeometric pottery in terms of shapes and varieties of shapes used, the variations in decorative motifs and schemes, and how painted Protogeometric pottery relates to or interplays with other ceramic wares in terms of production, shapes, decoration and use. Furthermore, systematic petrographic and chemical analyses have not yet been carried out and it is, as a result, not possible to obtain a good picture of how Protogeometric-style pottery relates to other ceramics in terms of clay recipes and production techniques or how many or what proportions of Protogeometric-style pots on the Turkish west coast are imports from elsewhere and from where they might come. Still, some things are becoming increasingly clear.

#### *General observations on Ionian Protogeometric pottery*

A first point is that ceramics that are classified as being of Protogeometric style are found only along the coast, although it should be noted that already in the tenth century a form of local Protogeometric style can be found at Sardis (Kerschner 2010: 248).<sup>90</sup> For instance, a site like Çine-Tepecik, which is located in the province of Aydın on the edge of the Çine valley that forms the southern branch of the Maeander River system, has shown evidence for continuous occupation from the Bronze into the Iron Age (Günel 2010b), but does not (as yet) have any Protogeometric-style pottery. Instead, a local Karian Geometric style is developed. A second point is that recently scholars have pointed out that especially in north Ionia stylistic links appear to be

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<sup>90</sup> There are some 250 Mycenaean, ‘Submycenaean’ and Protogeometric sherds from Sardis, some of which are claimed to be imported, whereas others were locally produced, but except for some pendant semi-circle skyphoi none have been illustrated (Hanfmann 1983: 22-25, fig. 28). There are also some ‘Submycenaean’ or very early Protogeometric examples from Stratonikeia, one of which is a stirrup jar and the other a local bowl with wavy-line decoration (Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1968: 51-53, pl. 25).

much stronger with the central Greek mainland and Euboia than with Athens (Aytaçlar 2004; Ersoy 2004; 2007; Lemos 2007). This has brought some of them to suggest different origins for the supposed colonisers and a different direction from which they arrived in (the northern part of) Ionia – that is, as part of the (earlier) Aiolian colonisation (cf. Huxley 1966: 30-34).<sup>91</sup> At the same time, it needs to be stressed that, despite the emphasis that has often been placed by scholars on links with Athens and Euboia, the local pottery does not slavishly follow Attic or Euboian trends. Irene Lemos (2002: 212; 2007: 718-718; cf. Krumme 2003; Krumme in press; Weickert 1959/1960: pl. 55.3-4 and 6), for instance, points out that besides the usual Protoegeometric characteristics, such as circle decoration on most pots, there are a few idiosyncrasies in subsidiary decoration, also seen in the Dodecanese. There are the tiny languettes on the shoulders of closed vessels, and the horizontal wavy (tremulous) lines which link circles on both closed and open shapes.

But perhaps most important is that it is becoming increasingly clear that Protoegeometric-style pottery develops organically from the local LH IIIC style rather than being a direct imitation of ‘Greek’ Protoegeometric pottery. This is particularly clear at Limantepe/Klazomenai where recently, in addition to a direct stratigraphic and architectural sequence (Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011; in press), some ceramic examples have been found that close the previously existing gap between the later LH IIIC and the Protoegeometric styles. Aytaçlar (2004: 35, figs. 17.1-2) has published two examples of deep bowls that display characteristics of the LH IIIC Late/Submycenaean style (**fig. 5.20**). These two examples are further accompanied by a number of sherds belonging to an amphora from the same site decorated with various hand-drawn semi-circles (**fig. 5.21**) (Bakır et al. 2004: fig. 4). In addition to the examples from Limantepe/Klazomenai, there is a high conical cup from Klaros which shows ‘Submycenaean’ features (**fig. 5.22**) (Şahin 2011: pl. 6, fig. 5) and a number of LH IIIC/‘Submycenaean’-Early Protoegeometric sherds from Miletos (**fig. 5.23**) (Weickert 1959/1960: 53-54, pls. 51-52). Finally, further south in Karia there are ‘Submycenaean’ tombs at Çömlekçi from which an oinochoe with two sets of

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<sup>91</sup> The very historicity of the Aiolian migration has been convincingly rejected by Rose (2008) and Parker (2008).

mechanically drawn concentric semi-circles (one set upright, the other pendant) is of particular interest (**fig. 5.24**) (Boysal 1969: 29, pl. 34.3).<sup>92</sup>

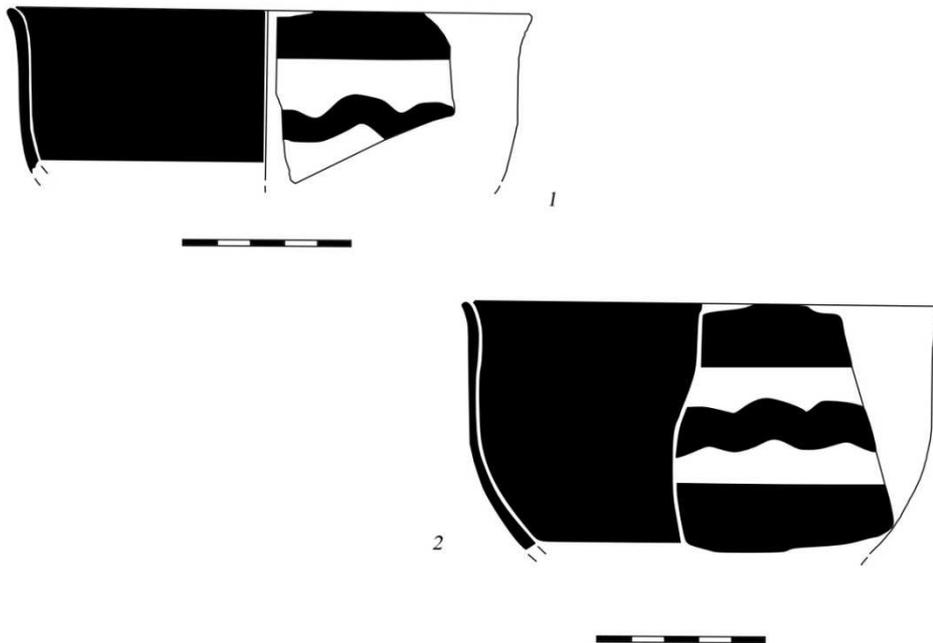


Figure 5.20. 'Submycenaean' deep bowls from Limantepe/Klazomenai (redrawn after Aytaçlar 2004: 35, fig. 17.1-2).



Figure 5.21. Amphora from Limantepe/Klazomenai with sets of handdrawn semi-circles (photo: author, with permission from Y.E. Ersoy).

<sup>92</sup> This example is made of micaceous clay. Because the rest of the ceramics have no mica, it might be speculated that this oinochoe is an import, perhaps from elsewhere in the East Aegean.

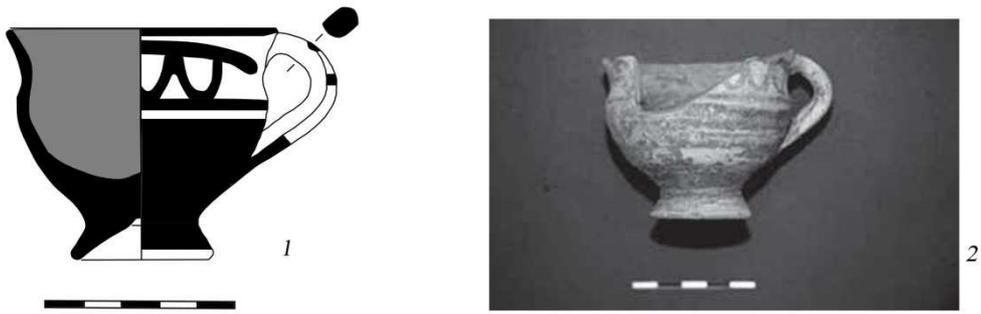


Figure 5.22. 'Submycenaean' cup from Klaros (1: redrawn after Şahin 2011: fig. 5; 2: after Şahin 2011: pl. 6).



Figure 5.23. 'Submycenaean' and Early Protogeometric sherds from Miletos (after Weickert 1959/1960: pls. 51.2-4, 52.1-4; photos: courtesy of the Milet Archiv, Bochum; all rights reserved).

**Figure 5.24. Oinochoe with upright and pendant semi-circles from the ‘Submycenaean’ cemetery at Çömlekçi (after Boysal 1969: pl. 34.3).**

From a more technological perspective, it is noteworthy that during the Late Bronze Age most ‘Anatolian’ plain ceramics feature a reddish-buff clay colour and are self-slipped, red-slipped, or cream-slipped (**Fig. 5.25**). There are also grey wares which are self-slipped or have a combination of burnished and polished treatment (**Fig. 5.26**; pers. comm. P. Pavúk; cf. Bayne 2000). In some cases, pots feature a micaceous gold or silver wash (i.e. ‘goldwash’ or ‘silverwash’) (**Fig. 5.27**) (Akdeniz 2006: 7-8; Erkanal-Öktü 2008: 78-81, fig. 10a-b-c, 11a; Çımerdalı-Karaaslan 2008: 64-65, fig. 8; Kerschner 2006: 381, fig. 5; see also Mellaart and Murray 1995: 103, map 3). The Late Bronze Age painted ceramics, on the other hand, are cream-slipped and have polished surfaces (Mountjoy 1998: 37). The Protogeometric ceramics in Ionia, with the exception of Miletos (see descriptions in Weickert 1959/1960: 52-55; Krumme 2003: 244) and probably other sites in Karia (e.g. Çömlekçi [Boysal 1969])<sup>93</sup>, do not usually feature a slip and their surfaces, though smoothed, are rarely as carefully treated as the Late Bronze Age ceramics. Occasionally, the Early Iron Age pots may have a wash and the interior of open vessels (as well as most of the exterior) is most of the time coated with a solid dark-brown to black or orange-red paint.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> At Teichiussa, Protogeometric pottery may or may not feature a slip (Voigtländer 2004), although it is not always clear to what extent some of the pots were imported from other sites, such as Miletos.

<sup>94</sup> This feature can already be observed during the twelfth century when, for instance, most of the patterned deep bowls from Bademgediği Tepe have a monochrome interior (Meriç and Mountjoy 2002: 84), but it should be pointed out that at this time the paint is still applied on top of a slip.

**Figure 5.25. Reddish wares from Panaztepe-Menemen (after Günel 1999a: 156.1-2, 158.1).**

**Figure 5.26. Grey Wares from Panaztepe-Menemen (after Günel 1999a: pls. 154.2, 166.1, 169.1, 158.2).**

**Figure 5.27. Gold-wash wares from Panaztepe-Menemen (after Erkanal-Öktü 2008: 79, figs. 10a1, 10b1, 10c1; 81, fig. 11a1; Çınerdalı-Karaaslan 2008: 65, fig. 8).**

A final point that needs to be made is that, although Ionia is often viewed as a cultural entity, the ceramics are far less homogenous than one would expect. For instance, whereas at Limantepe/Klazomenai, Ephesos and Miletos Protogeometric style seems to dominate, Protogeometric pottery from at least Smyrna-Bayraklı and possibly also Panaztepe is, at least in the earlier stages of the Early Iron Age, found together with and, at least at Smyrna, even outnumbered by Grey wares (Akurgal 1983).<sup>95</sup> It should be remarked, however, that extremely little of these Grey Wares and other plain wares is currently published and clear conclusions can therefore not yet be drawn. Still, it is

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<sup>95</sup> At Klazomenai a plain and burnished neck-handled amphora in buff clay (Aytaçlar 2004: 21, fig. 5.3) and a monochrome and burnished (handmade?) hydria made from a dark reddish brown clay and displaying Iron Age affinities in its shape and a Bronze Age pottery tradition in its fabric, surface treatment and method of production (Aytaçlar 2004: 21, fig. 5.1) have been found in deposits from a Protogeometric curvilinear building. Note, however, that the idea of an 'indigenous' Bronze Age tradition versus an Iron Age tradition is based on the idea that the appearance of Protogeometric pottery signals the arrival of the Ionians at the site. In addition to these wares, a number of handmade burnished pots have been found at Limantepe used as urns in child burials (Aytaçlar 2004: 30; Erkanal 1999: 327, figs. 3-4; Bakır et al. 2004: 103-104). These might very well be part of the West Anatolian Handmade Pottery as defined by Lis (2009a: 155-156). Erkanal (1999: 327) refers to handmade burnished wares from Troy VII and argues that people of Thracian origins had integrated in the local community.

interesting to note a potential contrast with Ephesos where Michael Kerschner (2006: 371) remarks that typical ‘Anatolian’ wheelmade wares disappear and are replaced by Protogeometric-style pottery. North of the Izmir region, on the other hand, Protogeometric pottery is hardly found (Iren 2008) and the ceramic repertoire is dominated by Grey Wares (Bayne 2000; Hertel 2007). The same is true for the northeast Aegean islands (Lemos 2002: 211-212; 2007: 716; Bayne 2000; Cultraro 2004; Danile 2009; 2011; in press). The Izmir region, therefore, seems to have formed some sort of bridge between the northeast and southeast Aegean. In the following, north and south Ionia will therefore be discussed separately.

#### *Protogeometric pottery in north Ionia*

In north Ionia there are basically two sites from which at least some information is available about the Early Iron Age: Limantepe/Klazomenai and Smyrna-Bayraklı. Interestingly, both sites show very different ceramic developments. For Limantepe/Klazomenai it has already been noted that during the Late Bronze Age the ceramic assemblage consisted, as elsewhere in Ionia, primarily of reddish buff and grey wares. In addition, there were a relatively small number of painted ceramics as well as some gold- and silver-wash wares. At the beginning of the Early Iron Age, however, reddish buff wares seem to have completely disappeared and painted wares (**fig. 5.28a-b**) dominate. As already pointed out, these ceramics appear to show particularly strong stylistic links with Euboia and the northern Aegean more generally (Aytaçlar 2004; Ersoy 2007; Lemos 2007). These links are particularly clear in the popularity of Late/Sub-Protogeometric period pendant semi-circle skyphoi (Ersoy 2004; 2007). Other links with the northern Aegean are obvious in the presence of Group 1 amphoras discussed above. In addition to the painted wares, small numbers of grey wares continue to be used (Ersoy 2007: 152 n. 4), although it is as yet unclear whether these are locally produced or imported from elsewhere. Finally, a particularly intriguing group of ceramics is a range of handmade (burnished) pots. A few examples were already known from LH IIIC contexts (Erkanal 1999: 327, pls. 3-4), but recently further examples have been found in Early Iron Age burials (**fig. 5.29**).<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> The precise relationship between the various wares in terms of production, technology and use will be investigated as part of a new research project that will start in the summer of 2014 (see further Chapter 6).



Figure 5.28a. Protogeometric pottery from Limantepe/Klazomenai (courtesy of Klazomenai Excavations; all rights reserved).



Figure 5.28b. Protogeometric pottery from Limantepe/Klazomenai (courtesy of Klazomenai Excavations; all rights reserved).



Figure 5.29. Handmade pots from Klazomenai Graves 26 and 38 (photos: courtesy of Klazomenai Excavations; all rights reserved).

At Smyrna-Bayraklı, a site situated only 30 kilometres away, the ceramic situation is very different. In Chapter 1 it was noted that the site was probably first occupied around 3000 BCE and remained so at least until the first half of the second millennium (Akurgal 1950: 54-58; 1983: 13). This date is largely based on the absence of Mycenaean pottery and the parallels of the Grey and Red Buff wares with those found at Troy VI and Middle-Late Bronze Thermi on Lesbos. However, Mellaart (1968: 188) notes that a handful of Mycenaean sherds came from the excavations at Old Smyrna, but these were not found in the Late Bronze Age layers, which only produced local West Anatolian ware. Proper strata bearing Mycenaean ceramics in stratified contexts were not encountered. Because studies have tended to focus on the much better known Mycenaean pottery (Greaves 2010b), very little typological research has been carried out on the ‘Anatolian wares’, particularly at the time that the site was excavated. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to date the local ‘Anatolian’ wares and it is not unlikely, and perhaps even feasible, that habitation continued through the Late Bronze Age. In any case, it is intriguing and very puzzling that in the earliest Early Iron Age strata the ceramic assemblage almost completely

consists of grey wares (**fig. 5.30**) (Akurgal 1983: 15-16, 20, pl. 6). No reddish wares and only a few painted sherds are noted. In addition, Ersoy (2007: 152 n. 4) notes that the painted material from Smyrna (**fig. 5.31**) does not show comparable direct Euboian/north Aegean affinities. As such, from a purely ceramic perspective it seems that the site was completely drawn into the dynamics of northwest Anatolia (cf. Iren 2008).

**Figure 5.30. Early Iron Age Grey wares from Smyrna-Bayraklı (after Akurgal 1983: pl. 6).**

**Figure 5.31. Early Iron Age painted pottery from Smyrna-Bayraklı (after Akurgal 1983: pls. 7a,d, 9c and 8a).**

To explain the local developments at both sites, it would be useful to start with the observation that the combination of burnishing, polishing and slipping on Anatolian plain wares served to seal the surface of the pot and protect the fabric from disintegrating as a result of everyday wear and tear, while it also provided the ceramics with a shine that makes especially the Grey Wares reminiscent of metals. A similar function can also be attributed to the slipped and/or solidly coated painted open vessels during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age.<sup>97</sup> It is, however, important to note that the preparation of a slip takes more time than the preparations for burnishing, which makes slipping more suitable for large-scale production. For a potter who only makes a few vessels at a time it may seem easier to leave as many as possible unslipped and to burnish those which must hold liquid for some time, such as domestic vessels (Walberg 1976: 187). To this, it should be added that burnishing, polishing and slipping the surface of a pot are, when compared to painting, extremely time-consuming exercises as one has to cover the whole of the surface of a pot rather

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<sup>97</sup> Sue Sherratt (1980) makes a similar suggestion in arguing that the increased use of monochrome coating during the later stages of the thirteenth and twelfth century on the Greek mainland was perhaps partly to compensate for deficiencies in fabric.

than just parts of it. Furthermore, when done well burnishing and polishing requires quite a level of skill. As a result, the major advantage of only painting pots (without a slip and/or burnish) was that, in terms of production, painted pottery could be produced more quickly and as such saved some and possibly a lot of time when compared to the burnished and slipped plain ceramics. Finally, a painted coating would have made it possible to effectively cover up traces of the shaping process without having to extensively smooth or otherwise treat the interior surface, which in turn would have increased the efficiency of the production process even further.<sup>98</sup>

The fact that at Klazomenai the slip is usually replaced by a thorough coating of paint on the interior (of open vessels) as well of on most of the exterior by the beginning of the Early Iron Age could indicate that potters managed to increase the firing standards in such ways that the application of a (additional) slip was redundant.<sup>99</sup> Alternatively, it is possible that potters simply tried to save time by not applying a slip anymore.<sup>100</sup> In either case, however, painted pottery could be produced much faster and in more substantial quantities than the slipped and burnished plain wares. This, in turn, may have contributed to a seemingly quick replacement of ‘Anatolian’ plain wares by painted pottery at Klazomenai. At the same time, it is important to note that Klazomenai occupies a strategic position in relation to the Gediz valley and the Aegean. Moreover, the strait between Chios and Çesme was probably a tricky stretch of water with all the little islands. This would have made the isthmus route between Klazomenai and Teos an interesting alternative. As a result, the site was drawn into the long-distance north-south sea routes, arguably already since the Early Bronze Age (Şahoğlu 2005; 2008). In this light, then, the strong links with the northern Aegean and in particular the seemingly local production of Group 1 amphoras may suggest

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<sup>98</sup> Indeed, a preliminary study of Protogeometric pottery from Klazomenai has made clear that in many cases one can feel irregularities on the interior surface of many open vessels. This could suggest that the surface was not smoothed or otherwise treated before it was painted.

<sup>99</sup> It is interesting to note that at Limantepe/Klazomenai essentially all Bronze Age pottery has silver/gold mica. At the beginning of the Early Iron Age, a significant number of sherds, especially those with a pinkish fabric, do not seem to have any visible mica. This fabric colour is already present during the Bronze Age, but at that time still with mica (Mangaloğlu-Votruba pers. comm.). In this light, it is, however, intriguing that mica may change its character and can even disappear, at least macroscopically, at firing temperatures over circa 800 degrees Celcius (Smyrnaio pers. comm.). Petrographic analysis will have to be carried out, but if this were to show the presence of mica, it is certainly possible that potters at Limantepe/Klazomenai managed to increase the firing standards at the beginning of the Early Iron Age.

<sup>100</sup> Although the application of the slip itself is usually not time-consuming if the vessel is dipped in the paste, the composition of the clay paste and the drying process before the slipped surface can be painted take quite a bit of time.

that, if indeed the introduction of the concentric circle motif in Macedonia was closely related to the formation of a *koine* of sites producing these vessels, the introduction of the concentric circle motif, the hallmark of Protogeometric pottery, in Ionia was not so much introduced as a package from mainland Greece, but developed gradually through involvement in the north-Aegean networks and the local production of north-Aegean neck-handled amphoras. In this respect, the amphora with several sets of hand-drawn concentric semi-circles (**fig. 5.22**) mentioned earlier may be an early sign of this development.

Such a scenario, in which ceramic developments take shape as part of a combination of local practices and the position of the site in relation to important maritime and overland routes, would not only provide an alternative and more localised model for the generally held idea that the sudden increase in painted pottery can be associated with the Ionian migration, but also may help to explain the ceramic developments at Smyrna-Bayraklı, which is located at the head of the gulf away from the main routes.<sup>101</sup> Even so, this alternative scenario requires further elaboration. Questions that need to be addressed are: are there any significant shifts in the way ceramic production was organised associated with the increase in the production of painted pottery? Where did the potters go who used to be involved in the production of ‘Anatolian’ wheelmade plain wares? Are the workshops they worked in replaced by different traditions or did they shift their attention to the production of painted pottery? And if so, how was this shift achieved in practice? Do the shifts in the composition of the overall ceramic repertoire also stimulate (or are they stimulated by) changes in consumption practices? These are just a few of the many questions that can be asked. Some of them will be dealt with in a new research project at Klazomenai that will start in the summer of 2014 (see also Chapter 6).

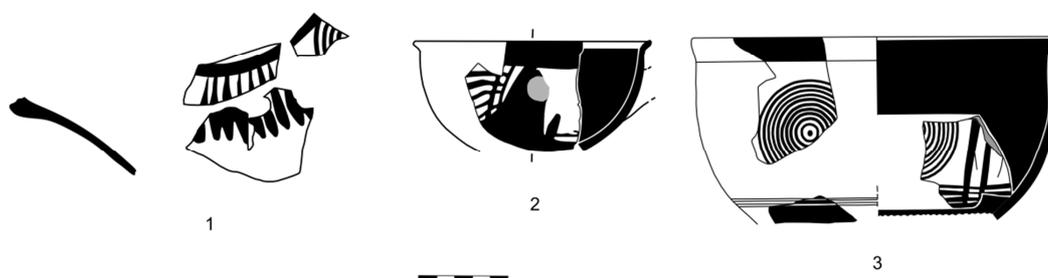
#### *Protogeometric pottery in south Ionia*

As in the northern part of Ionia, there are only two sites in southern Ionia where some information, albeit extremely limited, is available for the Early Iron Age: Ephesos and Miletos. During the Late Bronze Age, Ephesos was called Apaša and the capital of

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<sup>101</sup> Nicoletta Momogliano (2012: 169) makes a similar suggestion for Iasos by noting that the site is situated close to the head of the Gulf of Mandalya, and reaching it involves a detour from what can be considered the arterial route from Crete to central Anatolia.

Arzawa (Büyükkolancı 2007; 2008b). In ceramic terms, the site seems to have followed similar patterns to those elsewhere along the west coast of Asia Minor, with a dominance of ‘Anatolian’ wheelmade wares and only a limited number of either locally produced or imported Mycenaean pottery (Büyükkolancı 2000; 2007: 24; Kerschner 2006: 368, 381 figs. 5-6). At the beginning of the Early Iron Age, however, Protogeometric-style painted pottery (**fig. 5.32-5.33**) makes up nearly the entire repertoire found in the Early Iron Age deposit excavated underneath the later temple at the Artemision (Kerschner 2003; 2006; 2011; Forstenpointer et al. 2008).<sup>102</sup> Very little information is available about the technological features of the ceramics – the few pictures suggest, however, that the pottery was mostly unslipped –, but it is noted that cups and deep bowls make up over half of the ceramic repertoire. In addition, chemical analysis has identified the presence of imported pottery from Attica and Euboia (Kerschner 2006: 370; Forstenpointer et al. 2008; Lemos pers. comm.). Unfortunately, the precise data have not yet been published and except for them being classified as ‘Protogeometric’ a more precise date is not provided, but it is mentioned that the imports are dominated by amphoras and deep bowls. For Kerschner (2003; 2006; 2011), the combination of these imports and supposedly strong stylistic links are enough to argue for the existence of strong links between Athens and Ephesos and the arrival of the Ionians. However, Irene Lemos (2007) notes that, to her mind, Attic influences on the west coast of Asia Minor, including Miletos and Ephesos, are not so prominent as to support the claim that the Protogeometric style was introduced from Athens with the arrival of new settlers.



**Figure 5.32. Protogeometric pottery from Ephesos (redrawn after Kerschner 2003: pl. 40.1,7 and 4).**

<sup>102</sup> Protogeometric pottery has also been found in mixed contexts on the Ayasuluk hill (Büyükkolancı 2007: 24, pl. 5; 2008: 51, figs 17, 28).

**Figure 5.33. Protogeometric pottery from Ephesos (after Büyükkolancı 2008: 50, fig. 28c,a and Forstenpointer et al. 2008: 44, fig. 15).**

At Miletos, the situation is quite a bit different. As pointed out in the description of Miletos in Chapter 1, already during the Bronze Age the material culture at the site appears to show a strong Aegean character. Whether this also means that first Minoans and then Mycenaeans colonised the site is a matter for discussion. During the Early Iron Age this situation does not seem to change significantly. Krumme (2003: 244) notes that, “Material der Protogeometrischer Epoche ist in die Grabungen gut vertreten”, although it should be noted that no substantial publication of the ceramics has yet appeared. It is hoped that a forthcoming publication by Michael Krumme (in press) will change this. In the meantime, it is useful to refer again to the observation, already mentioned, that the pottery shows stylistic similarities to Euboian

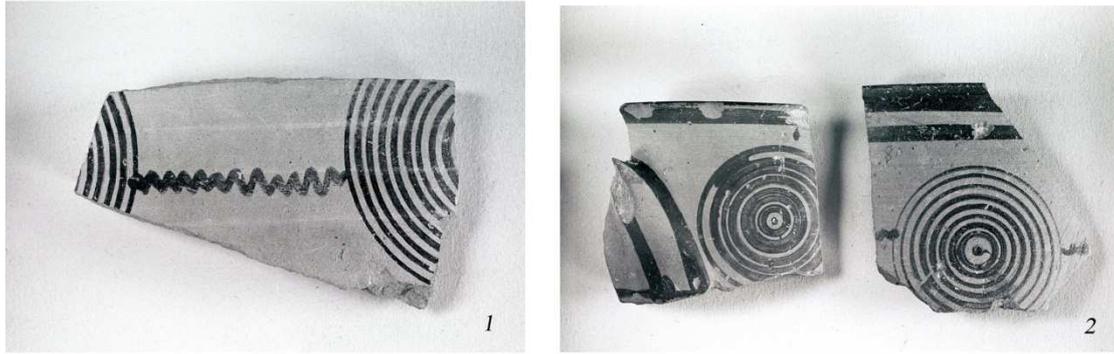


Figure 5.34. Horizontal wavy (tremulous) lines between sets of concentric circles on ceramics from Miletos (after Weickert 1959/1960: pl. 55.3,5-6; photos: courtesy of the Milet Archiv, Bochum; all rights reserved).

and Athenian pottery, although there are a few idiosyncrasies in subsidiary decoration, also seen in the Dodecanese. There are, for instance, the tiny languettes on the shoulders of closed vessels, and the horizontal wavy (tremulous) lines which link circles on both closed and open shapes (**fig. 5.34**). Moreover, some of the ‘Submycenaean’ sherds from Miletos show arcs or handdrawn semi-circles (**fig. 5.23.1-2,4**). This motif is also frequently found in the Dodecanese in LH IIIC (Mountjoy 1999; 2013: 571 fig. 7.3, 572 fig. 8). In a very short preliminary report, Krumme (2003: 244) also remarks that the repertoire is dominated by deep bowls and cups, that most pottery features a thin cream slip and that the paint is usually matt and ranges from black to red.

Because so little is known about the Early Iron Age ceramics from both Ephesos and Miletos, any interpretation has to remain pure speculation. Nevertheless, for north Ionia it has been suggested that involvement in maritime trade networks formed an important stimulant in the development of a local Protogeometric style. Unfortunately, it is not easy to model Early Iron Age maritime movements in the southern Aegean due to a limited knowledge of eleventh and early tenth century occupation on the south and southeast Aegean islands. The few sites for which more or less compelling evidence for continuing occupation from the twelfth to the eleventh century has been found are Grotta on Naxos, Siphnos, Xombourgo on Tenos, and perhaps Koukounaries on Paros (Lemos 2002: 147; Vlachopoulos 2008; Vlachopoulos and Georgiadis in press). There is also evidence for Protogeometric occupation on Amorgos, but this dates to the later tenth or early ninth century (Lemos 2002: 147). In the Dodecanese evidence for Protogeometric activity comes from burials on Kos and Rhodes, but it is only on Kos that these activities might perhaps go

back to the eleventh century (Lemos 2002: 180-182). At the same time, early Protogeometric imports in the Near East (Lemos 2002: 226-227; Coldstream 2008; Maeir et al. 2009) and Near Eastern imports in the Aegean (Lemos 2002: 228-229) suggest the (continuing) use of a southern Aegean trade route. But perhaps the most direct evidence for southern Aegean mobility and the involvement of south Ionian communities can, of course, be found in the Attic and Euboian imports from Ephesos. It needs, however, to be emphasised that there is absolutely no reason to assume that the imports necessarily moved straight from their place of production to their place of deposition or that they were brought by Athenians. In the case of the amphoras it is likely that the contents counted far more than the pots themselves. Furthermore, amphoras in their function as (transport) containers could very well have had a relatively long history of use before they were deposited at the sanctuary at Ephesos.<sup>103</sup> Consequently, the imports at Ephesos only prove that at some point they were picked up in Athens and some point later deposited at Ephesos.

In any case, it is important that Ephesos holds a particularly strong strategic position in relation to the Aegean, the Maeander River valley, the Kaystros River valley and even the Hermos River valley. Although Miletos is often considered to be the outlet of the Maeander River (e.g. Greaves 2007; Thompson 2007), coast line reconstructions suggest that during the Bronze and Iron Age the site was located at a considerable distance from the mouth of the river (**fig. 5.35**) (Brückner 2003; Brückner et al. 2006; Müllenhoff et al. 2009). In addition, it is useful to quote from a study of the Maeander valley by Peter Thonemann:

“People today, as in antiquity, choose to live on the right bank of the Maeander. The reason for this is that on the south flank of the river, the granite mass of the Karian massif rises sheer out of the Maeander floodplain. Crucially, the Karian uplands do not drain into the Maeander valley, but into the three major southern tributaries of the Maeander: the Dandalas, Akçay and Çine çay (the ancient Morsynos, Harpasos and Marsyas rivers respectively). As a result, there is very little alluvial deposition along the north face of the Carian massif itself, rendering the south flank of the Maeander valley unattractive for all but the smallest of village settlements. By contrast, on the north side of the

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<sup>103</sup> A good example of such a long life-history is an amphora found at Lefkandi which was produced somewhere in the Aegean, but at some point was incised with what is possibly a Cypriot sign (R.W.V. Catling 1996). One possible explanation is that before being deposited in a grave at Lefkandi the amphora had moved from the Aegean to the eastern Mediterranean and back. Another is that a Cypriot or other literate person from the East Mediterranean had been in the Aegean and carried the amphora around it.

Maeander floodplain, the heights of the Messogis mountain range drain directly into the Maeander, with no major perennial tributaries. The long-term drainage activity has fringed the whole lower part of the Messogis mountain front from Kuyucak in the east to Germancik in the west with a deep apron of alluvial fans, reddish clays and dense gravel. [...] Perhaps as a consequence of this disparity in drainage, the Maeander floodplain is slightly tilted in the north. As a result, the winter flooding of the Maeander is much more serious on the south side of the valley, where as late as April or May the floodplain is still covered with water right up to the foothills of the Carian mountains. By contrast, the slight elevation of the northern part of the floodplain causes it to drain considerably earlier in spring; some winters it does not flood at all. It is no coincidence that the main Roman road across Asia Minor, the Southern Highway, ran along the north bank of the Maeander, not the south" (Thonemann 2011: 12-14).

**Figure 5.35. Probable location of ancient coastline in the Maeander valley (after Brückner 2003: 123, fig. 1 ).**

Thonemann's observations are supported by the distribution of Bronze Age sites in the Maeander river system, as established by Akdeniz (2002; see also Thompson 2007), which shows that on the south side of the river sites tend to be located along the tributaries, whereas along the north flank they are situated either in the valley or on the slopes along the valley. All this suggests that not Miletos but Ephesos was the probably the main outlet for most overland movement along the Maeander valley.<sup>104</sup> Indeed, in terms of land communication Miletos was, as Alan Greaves (2002: 12) notes, effectively an island separated from the interior by high mountains.

At the same time, it should be pointed out that its geographical position in combination with its natural harbours and timber resources for shipbuilding (Greaves 2000; 2002: 13-15) would have allowed Miletos to control or influence maritime movements up and down the Turkish coast as well as to add its own (semi-) finished goods, such as Mycenaean-style ceramics and perhaps even purple dye products (Greaves 1999: 130-134), to the maritime networks in the Aegean. From this perspective, the position of Miletos would be not too dissimilar to that of the Mycenaean palaces on the Greek mainland for which Sue Sherratt (2001) has made the persuasive argument that these palaces owed their existence to their geographical positions as nodal points on longer-distance route networks that allowed them to add to the flows of goods and materials their own specialised manufactures, such as textiles, processed oils and possibly pottery. The argument could therefore be made that the Aegean character of Milesian material culture is partly a reflection of Miletos' geographical position which directed its view mainly to the Aegean rather than Anatolia and partly a result of the need to maintain and enhance its position on the maritime networks on which it depended by producing those goods that could easily be exported in an Aegean and Mediterranean environment.

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<sup>104</sup> In this light, it is also useful to note a large prehistoric site found in 2004 near the southeastern corner of the Mykale range at Yenidoğan, a few kilometres southwest of Söke (Lohmann 2006: 242). Here masses of Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery sherds were found mixed with shells of *cerastoderma edule*, a species of edible mollusc, which seems to indicate that during the second half of the second millennium BCE the shoreline was still not far away. The flanks of the terrace are so steep in the otherwise unstable terrain that it appears safe to assume some very large walls hidden within the slope. No Mycenaean pottery was found, but the sheer size and the strategic location of the site suggest in relation to both the ancient coastline and the corner of the Mykale range makes it likely that it guarded passage to Kuşadası and Ephesos.

As for Ephesos, it is difficult to determine what commodities may have travelled towards the Aegean, but gold from the Uşak region is certainly an important possibility. This may be reflected in the wide distribution of gold wash wares in both the Maeander and the Hermos river valleys (Mellaart and Murray 1995: 103, Map 3). Gold wash wares have also been found at Ephesos (Kerschner 2006: 381, fig. 5). Although Early Iron Age Western Anatolia is virtually a blank spot that is only gradually being filled in (Roosevelt 2009; Mac Sweeney 2011), the potential movement of gold as well as other metals and commodities to Ephesos and from there on to the southeast Aegean would have (directly or indirectly) tied Ephesos into a wider web of maritime trade routes. Such a scenario would help to explain the Attic and Euboian imports at Ephesos. On the other hand, this does not yet explain how a Protogeometric-style was developed and why it rapidly replaced the ‘Anatolian’ plain wares. If indeed Ephesian Protogeometric pottery shows similar technological innovations as the ceramics from Klazomenai (i.e. the replacement of a slip by painted coatings), the point that painted pots could be produced more quickly than the plain wares would almost certainly have contributed to the replacement of plain wares. At the same time, it is potentially significant that, with the application of good quality coatings of paint on especially open ceramics in Ionia, painted pots, arguably, achieved a somewhat metallic character. In this light, it is significant to refer again to Athens for which the case has been made that sets of concentric circles enhanced the metallic appearance of Athenian pottery. If this is indeed the case, the concentric circle motif would not only have been attractive to the potter in terms of production, but may also have enhanced further the metallic character of the pots, which in turn made them particularly attractive to consumers.

With this in mind, there is one last point that needs to be addressed at the end of this chapter. Scholars have always highlighted the stylistic links with Athens or Euboia, but to what extent were the local pots actually modelled on Attic or Euboian prototypes? If indeed the pots have a strong metallic character, might it not be possible that they echoed actual metal objects? In this light, it is noteworthy that the popularity of the metallic-looking pendant semi-circle skyphos throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean (including central Macedonia and north Ionia) during the later tenth and ninth centuries is because they may have echoed metal prototypes or were at least closely related to the metal trade (Sherratt 1999: 181). The suggestion

is intriguing, because if indeed Protogeometric pots echoed metal objects moving around and if Ionian sites were involved in metal trade – which is likely given their strategic position both within larger webs of movement in the Aegean and in relation to flows of metals – this may help to explain not only the stylistic similarities between pottery from Ionia, Athens and Euboia, but also how a similar style of pottery was developed simultaneously in different regions. However, more information will be required to unravel the ceramic dynamics in Ionia and substantiate this suggestion further.

### **5.5. Final remarks**

In the conclusions of her study of the Protogeometric Aegean, Irene Lemos states that,

“The exchange of ideas and goods was certainly one of the most influential factors in the formation of the Aegean communities during the eleventh and tenth centuries BC. The present archaeological record, though still incomplete, reveals that these communities enjoyed settled living conditions which encouraged contact and communication not only within the Aegean, but also with the eastern Mediterranean. As a result, further developments were accelerating, bringing with them changes in the socio-political structures and lifestyle in early Greece” (Lemos 2002: 224).

The suggestions made in this chapter do not greatly contradict Lemos’ observations. Of course, the possible scenarios for the introduction of Protogeometric pottery in Ionia remain speculative as long as no substantial publications have appeared, but if there is only a little truth in the suggestions made, it could be concluded that, even though grouped under a single banner, it is potentially misleading to look at the Greek mainland (or indeed any other region) for the origins of the local Protogeometric style (or styles?). In fact, the picture that is beginning to take shape as a result of the discussions in this chapter seems to suggest that Protogeometric pottery found at different sites in the Aegean, including Athens and Central Macedonia, emerges from a particular combination of local practices and the specific location of individual sites in relation to maritime routes. Both aspects, however, require further investigation, particularly in Ionia, in order to substantiate, modify or indeed reject the suggestions made in this chapter and to unravel further the local and regional dynamics of not just the ceramics, but also life in general.



## Chapter 6

### Conclusions

#### 6.1. Introduction

The aim of this thesis has been to provide a counterbalance to recent trends in the archaeological investigation of Western Anatolia at the end of the Bronze and beginning of the Early Iron Age. These trends have focused either on textual accounts, mostly of the Classical period and later, or on currently popular theoretical concepts, such as 'hybridity', to explain or describe material developments. However, neither of these approaches offers a satisfactory explanation for the material changes that occur in the region. First of all, the textual sources are now widely accepted as more revealing of the time *in which* they were written than of the time *about which* they are assumed to have been written, and therefore have relatively little to tell us about the Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Moreover, while recent popular theoretical concepts such as hybridity can be useful, they often tend to be treated as though they were complete and sufficient explanations in themselves. Consequently, they are all too often used as fashionable explanatory concepts to describe what might be regarded as their own consequences (e.g. hybrid material culture and social practices), rather than being the outcome of an intensive study of the complex causes and processes which stimulated these consequences. This study, therefore, attempted to take the first steps in exploring the complex causes and processes that simulated material (ceramic) change in Ionia at the end of the second millennium. First, however, a review of shifts in academic perceptions of the region from the eighteenth century up until the present day and their socio-political and academic contexts was presented (chapter 2).

#### 6.2. The background

At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ionians were regarded by scholars like F.A. Wolf as the basis of Greek civilisation. Wolf ascribed almost all important inventions and introductions, such as the introduction of the alphabetic script, to the Ionians. However, in the first two decades of the nineteenth century things changed. Under the influence of growing anti-Semitic

feelings and the work of Johann Herder, Philhellenes started to question the racial purity of the contemporary Greeks. In their view Slavs had entirely replaced the true Hellenes and they could therefore not be regarded as true 'Hellenes'. Within this context, people started to look for the pure essence of Greece before it was tainted by Oriental or Slav corruption. K.O. Müller found this pure essence in the Dorians, whom he saw as having a 'nordic character', speaking the purest dialect and forming polar opposites to the Ionians in all aspects. This opposition was further developed by Ernst Curtius (1868) who argued that, of the two groups, only the Dorians could be regarded as true Greeks. About thirty years later, Bury (1900) implicitly made a similar argument by arguing that the luxurious Ionian civilisation of the historical period must have developed out of the Aegean civilisation, a civilisation that was ended by the final invasion of Boiotians, Thessalians and Dorians in the twelfth century.

The start of a range of large-scale excavations at a range of sites, such as Ephesos, Miletos, Pergamon and Knidos, during the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century stimulated a significant turnaround in the reception of Ionia. Essentially, these excavations were geared at unearthing and bringing back Ionian sculpture to Western European museums (Greaves 2007), but they were so successful at it that in 1909 David Hogarth, in one of his lectures delivered to the University of London, stated that, "the Greeks of western Asia Minor produced the first full bloom of what we call pure Hellenism" (Hogarth 1909: 7). The downside of this rediscovery of ancient Ionia is that most excavations were carried out by Classical archaeologists, who generally showed little interest in anything before the Archaic, if not the Classical, period, despite the fact that the first Bronze Age levels at Miletos were encountered as early as 1907 (Greaves 2007: 5, with references). This focus resulted in the situation that, for instance, the historicity of the Ionian migration remained largely unchallenged. The only change was that the discovery of the Mycenaean civilisation by Heinrich Schliemann made some scholars suggest an alternative Late Bronze Age date for the Ionian migration. The first half of the twentieth century, however, saw an important innovation in ceramic studies that has come to dominate the Ionian migration debate until today: the establishment of a Protogeometric style.

The term 'Protogeometric' was introduced, first by Wide in 1910 in his attempt to describe what it is now referred to as the Submycenaean pottery from the Arsenal Cemetery on Salamis (Wide 1910), and then in 1917 by Schweitzer who used it to define a style of pottery which was set apart both from the previous Submycenaean and from the succeeding Geometric (Schweitzer 1917). But it was Vincent Desborough (1948, 1952) who assigned special connotations to the style by arguing that the introduction of the Protogeometric style at Athens was a sign of the free spirit of the Athenian potter and that its shapes and decorations embodied the Greek ideals of harmony and proportion that eventually came to characterise the Classical world. As such, the Protogeometric style came to signal the end of the Mycenaean 'high' culture and the beginning of a new one, with the result that a clear dividing line in history was drawn.

Initially, this did not have a major impact on the Ionian migration debate, particularly as Desborough (1952) was very cautious about associating a supposedly major event like the Ionian migration with the very little evidence available at that time. Moreover, scholars like Jongkees (1948) and Hanfmann (1948, 1953) had strongly argued that a migration cannot be recognised by pottery alone, but should be accompanied by a study of the architecture. However, in 1959 John Boardman published an article in *Anatolian Studies* (Boardman 1959) in which he, for the first time, argued that a small group of cups found at Al Mina at the mouth of the Orontes must have been produced not just by Greek settlers but specifically by Euboian potters who had migrated with other Euboian colonists to the site. In combination with Desborough's conviction that the Protogeometric style illustrated the start of a new era, Boardman's argument provided a powerful framework to detect the Ionian migration archaeologically. For this, it was, of course, important that during the 1950s increasing numbers of 'Greek' Protogeometric pottery with stylistic links to Attica started to turn up at sites like Miletos (Weickert 1957: 121-125, pl. 36; 1959/1960: 52-53, pls. 51-52). It was the combination of these three initially unrelated developments that eventually seems to have made Desborough (1964) feel safe to argue that the appearance of Protogeometric pottery in Ionia could be associated with the arrival of the Ionians.

Desborough's association between the appearance of Protogeometric pottery and the arrival of the Ionians quickly became the *communis opinio* that remained unchallenged until very recently. The first to challenge this conviction was Irene Lemos (2007) who questioned the eleventh century date for the Ionian migration by making the important argument that, at least from an Athenian perspective, the eleventh and tenth centuries do not provide a likely context in which a large-scale migration could have taken place. As an alternative, she suggested that it is the twelfth century that shows a context of social unrest that might have forced people to move to safer places. A second challenge has recently been launched by scholars who argue that the textual sources are more revealing of the time *in which* they were written than of the time *about which* they are assumed to have been written, and therefore have relatively little to tell us about the Bronze and Early Iron Ages (Cobet 2007; Crielaard 2009; Hall 1997; Mac Sweeney 2013). In combination with recent postcolonial trends in Mediterranean archaeology, which emphasise the role of local agency in the formation of cultural and material traits, this realisation has paved the way for the development of very different material and theoretical perspectives that lead to new interpretative frameworks.<sup>105</sup>

### 6.3. Discussion

The research agenda for archaeological investigation of the Aegean Early Iron Age has long been set by ancient historians. Such a text-based approach is, of course, flawed on many levels, but solely to blame historians for an unbalanced understanding of pre- and protohistoric Ionia is perhaps somewhat unfair as it ignores the methods archaeologists apply in writing their accounts of the past. As an example one may take a persistent reliance on ceramic studies with a broadly (and often implicit) art-historical perspective on ceramic developments, inherited from traditional culture-history concerns combined with the particular preoccupations of classical archaeology, which is inclined to regard (particularly painted) pottery as of paramount ethnic, cultural and historical significance. As a result, Late Bronze Age

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<sup>105</sup> This became particularly clear at a recent workshop in Istanbul on May 24-25, 2013 that I co-organised with D. Sıla Mangaloğlu-Votruba. This workshop aimed to present recent research and discuss the directions in which future research might be headed. Kostas Georgakopoulos, Alan Greaves, Naoise Mac Sweeney, Jana Mokrišová, Olivier Mariaud, Carolyn Aslan, Çigdem Maner, Jacob Eerbeek, Yaşar Ersoy, Sıla Mangaloğlu-Votruba and myself all presented papers on various aspects of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Western Anatolia, whereas Sue Sherratt (our discussant), Geoff Summers and Michele Massa provided invaluable comments during the many discussions.

painted pottery in Ionia is often described as of 'Mycenaean' type, whereas the contemporary plain grey, red-buff and gold- and silver-wash wares are usually lumped under the heading 'Anatolian' pottery. There is little doubt that the painted pottery shows affiliations with Mycenaean pottery, but to use stylistic labels with latent ethno-cultural connotations to describe different ceramic wares has the danger of obscuring the fact that they were all produced locally and in most cases probably at one and the same production centre (except of course for the imports). Moreover, the various ceramics were probably used interchangeably in everyday practices. Indeed, in general, there is no evidence to suggest that in the past the ceramics were perceived or classified along the same ethno-cultural lines as archaeologists classify them today.

But even more important is that the use of specific ethno-cultural labels to classify and describe the ceramics arguably reinforces a projected or assumed passivity on the part of Ionia, in the sense that these labels stimulate scholars to seek for the causes of ceramic change and innovation not in the region itself but in the supposed 'cultural heartlands' of the respective ceramic wares. Painted Early Iron Age pottery from Ionia may serve as a good example. Much, if not all, of the painted Early Iron Age pottery in this region is defined in relation to Athenian and Euboian pottery, mainly because these form the best known series due to extensive publication and meticulous stylistic studies by many people. Certainly, in many cases Protogeometric pottery in Ionia is found in mixed or unstratified contexts, which makes it problematic to set up a local typology. In essence there is, therefore, little wrong with using Attic and Euboian pottery in both describing local ceramics and anchoring them chronologically, but in the search for the 'origins' of a 'Greek' style of pottery in Ionia import or influence from Athens and Euboea have been seen as the only explanation. Influenced partly by the text-led nature of archaeological enquiry on the west coast of Asia Minor and partly by the historical and ethno-cultural connotations that Desborough had assigned to the Protogeometric style, the observations of stylistic similarities with Attic and Euboian pottery have been used to argue that Athens and Euboea/central Greece formed the primordial homelands of the Ionians who then introduced the Protogeometric style to Ionia.

To be able to offer a more dynamic understanding of how and why ceramic styles developed on the west coast of Asia Minor, this study has advocated a fundamental

shift in the way materials (ceramics) are approached: away from material remains as self-contained and inert objects that can be described in minute detail and fitted into typo-chronological classification systems, and towards a particular understanding of the concept of ‘entanglement’, which was defined as the way in which people bring together and combine flows of materials and information from a potentially wide range of sources to create or maintain the right material conditions for everyday social practices, and by extension life, to be sustained. To study this dynamic entanglement and gain insights into how it stimulated material change, a practice-led approach was suggested that tackles the interplay between, on the one hand, essentially localised practices of production and consumption and, on the other, wider patterns of exchange and interaction. This has often been a frustrating exercise, due to the inadequate state of publication, a bias towards (the typological classification of) ceramics, and in particular the painted ‘Greek’ ceramics, the lack of targeted science-based studies, and the lack of access to primary materials. For these reasons, many of the suggestions made in this thesis should be treated as hypothetical. On the other hand, to my mind, whether or not the ideas expressed will hold up in the future is of somewhat lesser importance than the attempt to explore different lines of thinking that may open up new opportunities to bypass the current polarisation in the Ionian migration debate and to think in a different way about material change and innovation in regions that have long been considered as either contested peripheries or merely passive regions in between two or more larger cultural spheres.

#### *Ceramic developments at the beginning of the twelfth century*

Perhaps the most notable ceramic development on the west coast of Asia Minor at the end of the thirteenth century is the disappearance of imported Mycenaean pottery, and it was with this observation that Chapter 4 started. During the late fourteenth and thirteenth century, imported Mycenaean and locally produced painted pottery together comprised approximately five to ten percent of the total ceramic assemblage at most sites (Günel 1999a: 183, GR. 1 and 9; 1999b; 2010b: 28; Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011; in press; Erkanal 2008; Kerschner 2006: 367-368; see also for Troy, Mountjoy 2006). Despite the disappearance of the imports, this percentage does not appear to change significantly in the twelfth century (Günel 2010b: 28; Meriç and Mountjoy 2002: 83; Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011; in press), which implies that local production was increased. Whether this increase in production was stimulated by the ending of the

imports or whether it actually helped to cause it is a difficult matter. Perhaps the most likely scenario is that the two processes tied in together and stimulated each other without there necessarily being a clear cause. In either case, however, potters would have had to make more pots to maintain the availability of painted pottery.

Given that imported Mycenaean only make up a very small portion of the overall ceramic assemblage, although clear numbers are rarely provided, the increase in production might not seem too substantial, at least from an archaeological perspective, but it is intriguing to bear in mind that it was suggested in Chapter 4 that, based on differences in shapes between the various wares, particularly between painted and plain wares, and on the likelihood that the different wares required different firing traditions and hence different forms of knowledge, pottery production was probably organised around a number of different workshops, each specialising in the production of certain wares and perhaps even specific shapes. This suggestion needs to be tested by future (petrographic) research, but given the relatively small quantities of locally produced painted pottery, it seems not unlikely that at each production centre only a few workshops were producing painted pottery. Certainly, it is probable that the increase in production took place not instantaneously but over a number of years during the final stages of the thirteenth and the beginning of the twelfth centuries. Nevertheless, it is telling that the painted ceramics show a tendency towards a worsening quality of the ceramics, particularly in terms of surface treatment – surfaces become less well polished, the slip thicker and more unevenly applied, and matt paint seems to take over from lustrous paint around the turn of the thirteenth to twelfth century. This suggests that potters were probably struggling to meet the demand for painted pottery and as such had to compromise in terms of at least surface treatment.

A second and much more controversial issue, however, is the recent recognition of ‘Mycenaean’ or ‘Aegean’-type wheelmade cooking pots at Limantepe/Klazomenai, Emporio on Chios and probably also Çine-Tepecik. Particularly in the Eastern Mediterranean, the appearance of these cooking pots has traditionally been associated with the arrival of Mycenaean refugees who fled the Aegean after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces. On the west coast of Asia Minor, this explanation has not yet been so clearly articulated, but has been hinted at (e.g. Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011:

47). The reason for postulating a link between the appearance of these cooking pots and the arrival of Mycenaean refugees is primarily based on the assumptions that these pots represent a different cooking tradition and had little economic or commercial value in their own right. Chapter 4, however, criticised the notion that the cooking pots can be regarded as direct evidence for the arrival of refugees from Mycenaean Greece, although the possibility of migration was never fully rejected, and then offered two alternative interpretative frameworks for the appearance of small numbers of 'Aegean'-style cooking pots at a few sites on the west coast of Asia Minor.

The first point of objection was that the new type of cooking pot was inserted into an already existing range of cooking vessels and as such is unlikely to have had a major impact on overall cooking practices. Of course, it is possible that the pots were used only by a small group of newcomers, but if this is the case it is difficult to explain why they insisted on a wheelmade cooking pot. Unlike handmade pots, which were in use on the Greek mainland and could potentially be produced relatively easily on a household level and used for similar practices, wheelmade cooking pots probably needed to be made in a specialised (workshop) environment, mainly because it is quite difficult to throw a paste that is coarse enough to withstand thermal expansion on a fast wheel. Unless they brought their own specialised potters with them – which is possible, but not very likely given the small numbers in which the cooking pots appear –, this would mean that the newcomers were dependent on local potters for their cooking pots. Unfortunately, it is not known who produced the pots, but it was suggested that the most likely scenario, at least for the moment, is that they were made by potters also involved in the production of painted pottery. Yet, if these potters were already struggling to meet market demand, as suggested, one wonders why they would have made things even more difficult for themselves by adding yet another type of pot to their repertoire that required specific knowledge in terms of clay paste, surface treatment and firing. Besides, there is the question of whether there was really no local cooking pot that could serve the same purposes as the 'Aegean'-type cooking pot – that is, boiling or keeping (semi-) liquids warm by the fire. Even if the putative newcomers maintained their own cooking practices, there is no reason why they could not have used local pots, albeit perhaps in a different context or in

different ways. After all, pots, even cooking pots, do not equal people; they merely help to substantiate practices.

Certainly, it is not possible to fully reject the migration-hypothesis, but it was thought worth considering alternative explanations for the appearance of a new type of cooking pot at Limantepe/Klazomenai and possibly Çine-Tepecik on the west coast of Asia Minor. One suggested alternative interpretation was that the shaping of the cooking pots helped children to master the skills needed to shape medium to large closed vessels. In making this suggestion it was observed that in terms of overall body shape there is often little to differentiate the cooking pots from fine ware jugs and amphoras, which might suggest that the cooking pots were built up in a similar fashion and perhaps even modelled on these fine wares. Of course, cooking pots have to withstand different stresses than, for instance, fine ware jugs which are used to pour wine or water, and as such require different mechanical properties and hence specialist knowledge, skill and experience in terms of clay-paste composition, surface treatment and firing techniques. However, they may have offered advantages in terms of shaping.

Closed vessels generally require a higher level of skill than open vessels due to their complexity. As the form grows in height and width, any error made will become exaggerated and even small mistakes may compromise a successful outcome. Inexperienced handling of the clay may cause slumping, warping and thus cracking as the pot starts to dry out or in the firing process. In a context in which potters are already pressed to meet market demand, it is certainly a possibility that they considered it too great a risk to include the work of children or learner potters in a kiln load. This could mean that in learning how to make fineware vessels children did make such pots, but that these pots, perhaps with a few exceptions, never made it to a finished state. On the other hand, however, it was suggested that, if indeed the cooking pots were shaped following a similar technique as the fine ware vessels, it could also have been possible that, instead of actually shaping fine wares, children acquired the basic skills to shape medium to large closed vessels through the shaping of the 'Aegean'-style cooking pots. In this case, because workshops producing different types of pottery probably worked closely together, the cooking pots could, whenever there was space in a kiln, have been fired along with other (coarse ware)

‘Anatolian’ vessels that required similar firing conditions. The advantages of such an organisation would have been that the work of children did not affect the production of finewares and that successful pots could actually be sold.

Granted, this explanatory model is speculative at best. Besides, it could be objected that training is essentially a localised issue and might not be relevant for every production site. Therefore, a second alternative explanatory model for the appearance of ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots on the west coast of Asia Minor was offered. This model was built around the notion of human and material mobility. It was noted that when flying over the East Aegean it is amazing how inextricably tangled up sea, islands, peninsulas, river valleys and coasts all appear. Without doubt this must have facilitated a high level of especially seaborne human and material mobility in the region. Unfortunately, this mobility has not yet been studied systematically, but it was suggested that harbours probably played an important role in that these were the places where different pathways tied in and probably also functioned as markets for the sale and purchase of commodities as well as for the docking of ships. In this light, it is important that in ancient (as well as modern) times potters sometimes set out to travel to other places to sell pots ready made or to make pottery to commission. With reference to the northern Levant, for which the case was made that the very small numbers of ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots at Tell Kazel might have been introduced and produced by Cypriot potters who possibly produced the ‘local Mycenaean’ pottery at the site, it was suggested that one possible option for explaining the appearance of small numbers of ‘Aegean’-type cooking pots at, for instance, Limantepe/Klazomenai is that these cooking pots were produced on the spot by itinerant potters and commissioned by local consumers to replace similar pots (in terms of use) that had broken but were (temporarily) unavailable at that time. Another possible option, it was suggested, was that traders had picked up these pots along the way at a production centre and sold them to local customers.

Petrographic and perhaps chemical analyses will be necessary to determine the provenance of the cooking pots and to investigate to what extent the pots might show a particular level of standardisation in terms of clay paste preparation, shaping and firing that might support the idea of itinerant potters or, conversely, production at one or two particular centres. Consequently, this mobility model, too, needs to be regarded

as hypothetical. Nevertheless, it was deemed worthwhile to speculate a bit on the possible origins of either the itinerant potters or the pots. One possibility suggested was Chios, where handmade and wheelmade ‘Aegean’-style cooking pots have been found together in twelfth century contexts at Emporio and where a handmade version of the wheelmade cooking pot appears to have been in use already in the Early Bronze Age. A second option is Miletos, which was the most important production centre of Mycenaean-type pottery in the East Aegean during the Late Bronze Age and at which Minoan and Mycenaean-type kitchen wares (including (tripod) cooking pots) have been mentioned, although they are rarely illustrated or discussed at any length. On the other hand, it was pointed out that whatever the exact origins of either pots or potters might have been this is perhaps of less relevance than that the role of small-scale mobility in the formation of regional material traits has long been neglected in favour of long-distance trade and communication networks and the establishment of contacts with the Bronze Age centres of civilisation in the Eastern Mediterranean. Of course, this is important and definitely interesting, but it is equally vital not to lose sight of much more frequent short-distance movements and interactions.

#### *Protogeometric pottery in Ionia*

Chapter 5 engaged with the current debate concerning the causes of the appearance of a Protogeometric style of pottery that is often said to follow Attic and Euboian trends. Note, however, that what exactly the stylistic links with Athens and Euboea consist of is rarely if ever made explicit. To add to this vagueness, neither is it made clear what exactly constitutes the Ionian Protogeometric style; essentially all painted pottery dating to the late eleventh through mid-eight centuries is simply called (Sub-) Protogeometric.<sup>106</sup> An important reason for this long period is that, as for instance at Lefkandi, the local pottery remains very ‘Protogeometric-looking’ – that is, continues to use sets of concentric (semi-) circles as a decorative motif – during the ninth and early eighth centuries. Because of the reliance on the Attic and Euboian series in defining the local pottery, there has been a tendency also to incorporate traditional interpretations of the historical and ethno-cultural significance of the Protogeometric

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<sup>106</sup> Here one can see the conflation of the Protogeometric *style*, as identified and defined by scholars like Wide, Schweitzer, Kraiker and Desborough, and the Protogeometric *period*, which is a chronological phase dated between ca. 1050/1025 and 900 that derived its name from the style. Desborough himself, however, explicitly states, that “Protogeometric must be the name given to a style of pottery, and not to a period: naturally, a style of pottery covers a certain period, but that is not for the moment relevant” (Desborough 1948: 260).

style. These essentially go back to the early work of Vincent Desborough who believed that the introduction of the style represents a break with the past and that the style was developed in Greece and transferred from there to other Aegean regions. The intent of Chapter 5 was first to challenge each of these assumptions by taking a closer look at Athens and Central Macedonia and then to develop an alternative perspective on ceramic developments in Ionia at the dawn of the Early Iron Age.

In respect to Athens and the assumption that the Protogeometric style represents a break with the past and the start of a new era, investigation started with a discussion of the so-called 'Submycenaean' pottery. Traditionally, pottery classified as of 'Submycenaean' character is firmly separated in chronological terms from Early Protogeometric ceramics, mainly because 'Submycenaean' pottery is often regarded as a final and degenerative form of Mycenaean pottery. Granted, the pottery is frequently fired unevenly, the decoration seemingly carelessly applied in paint that is often streaky or matt, and even the shaping of the pots may be poor, but instead of associating these characteristics with a form of cultural decay, the suggestion was made that many 'Submycenaean' pots were (partly) produced by children and, because they are found predominantly in burials, possibly served for one-time use in burial rites. In this light, it was suggested that by replacing good quality ceramics in burial rites, these pots may have increased the availability and the quality of the ceramics used in other everyday practices.

How to characterise 'good quality pots' in reference to current stylistic labels is, admittedly, a difficult issue not only because this is a rather subjective matter, but also because of a continuing insistence on the use of rather unhelpful chronological divides between LH IIIC Late, 'Submycenaean' and Early Protogeometric which mask the facts that 'Submycenaean' pots are often found mixed in with pots assigned to one or the other category and that a well-defined and stratified 'Submycenaean' phase has still not been convincingly identified. In any case, if there is some truth to the suggestion that many 'Submycenaean' pots were the work of children or learner potters, this might imply that potters were struggling to meet market demand. Whether this was caused by shifts in the location of ceramic production during the twelfth century – recent research seems to suggest that much LH IIIB and IIIC Early pottery at Athens was imported from elsewhere in Attica – or that Early Iron Age

potters at Athens generally may have found it difficult to meet market demand, as for instance John Papadopoulos (1994: 1998: 155 n.28) suggests, is difficult to determine with any certainty. Nevertheless, the idea that potters might have been struggling to meet market demand provides an interesting context for a number of other technological developments at Athens.

First there is the introduction of test-pieces around the middle of the eleventh century. These test-pieces allowed potters to check the temperature and atmospheric conditions inside the kiln during a firing session and learn whether the paint had fired the required colour without actually having to open the kiln and disturb the firing process. Perhaps the most important advantage of this innovation is that it increased the efficiency of the production process as it helped to reduce the risks of the firing process. However, at the same time, it also made it possible for pots to achieve a consistent black glossiness that provided them with an attractive metallic look, which is often recognised as one of the defining features of Attic Protogeometric pottery. Some speculation was made about where potters might have got the idea of using test-pieces. Metallurgy, maybe iron metallurgy, was suggested to be a possible candidate, but clear evidence is lacking. In any case, of more interest is that both the metallic appearance of the pots as a result of their consistently black glossy paint and issues of efficiency in terms of production may have played an important role in another important innovation: the introduction of the pivoted multiple-brush and the appearance of mechanically drawn sets of concentric (semi-) circles, the hallmark of the Protogeometric style.

In making this suggestion, attention was directed to a number of eleventh century pots from Athens that show a close chronological relationship between (tangentially joined) hand-drawn running spirals and sets of concentric circles (**figs. 5.3-4**). It was suggested that there are two possible explanations for this chronological transformation. First, a possible relationship was noted between tangentially joined running spirals on pottery and a bronze ring with a bezel in the form of a double spiral from Perati (**fig. 5.5**). Because hand-drawn running spirals are relatively difficult to draw, it was proposed that the concentric circle motif drawn with the help of a pivoted multiple-brush was a pleasing and quickly drawn alternative. Alternatively, and perhaps more plausibly, it was suggested that the concentric (semi) circle motifs

echoed those of incised metalwork found later, for instance, on a seventh century skyphos from Marsigliana d'Alberga (Italy) (**fig. 5.6**) and that the pivoted multiple-brush was 'invented' to transform this metallic motif into a ceramic one that could be quickly applied. In either case, however, the sets of concentric circles would have enhanced both the metallic appearance of Protogeometric ceramics and the efficiency of the production process. In combination with other observations, this suggestion implies, however, that the emergence of what archaeologists now classify as the Protogeometric style at Athens is, at least to a large extent – the influence of the position of Athens within a larger web of entangling routes and pathways was discussed only briefly –, to be attributed to a combination of both practical (in terms of both production and use) and aesthetic considerations. Consequently Desborough's original argument that the introduction of the Protogeometric style signalled the beginning of a new era in the ethnic 'spirit' of its manufacturers and users becomes difficult to sustain.

Without doubt, this argument must have consequences for the way the appearance of Protogeometric-style pottery on the west coast of Asia Minor is viewed, but first it was deemed important to have a critical look at yet another traditional assumption, which maintains that the Protogeometric style was invented and diffused from a single point of origin. For this, attention was turned to Central Macedonia. As on the west coast of Asia Minor, the local painted pottery in this region is essentially assigned a 'Protogeometric' label. Yet, it is intriguing that, unlike regions further south, sets of concentric circle and semi-circles almost exclusively feature on large closed and open vessels, i.e. (neck-handled) amphoras and some kraters; they are only sporadically seen on smaller shapes before the mid-tenth century when they start to appear on local pendant semi-circle skyphoi. In an attempt to explain this pattern, a group of highly standardised neck-handled transport amphoras with sets of concentric circles on their shoulders (Group 1 amphoras) was discussed. Although it was originally thought that these amphoras were produced in the Lokris/Phokis region (Catling 1998), it now seems apparent that there was a koine of north Aegean Early Iron Age amphoras produced at a number of sites. Transport amphoras generally were the most frequently used ceramic containers for the transport of a potentially wide variety of commodities and, in this sense, acted as packaging – perhaps even with an element of 'branding'.

Consequently, it is no surprise that these came to show a high level of regional standardisation.

With this standardisation the concentric circle motif was introduced to Central Macedonia, but clearly it had only a limited impact on the overall repertoire of decorative motifs and schemes. Possibly, this had to do with the motif being primarily associated with amphoras and, as a result, the potential link with metal ornaments or decorative motifs was not made. Alternatively, it is possible that both potters and consumers did simply not see any reason to substitute traditional decorative motifs for a new one on any substantial scale. A third option is that the local multiple-brush in some cases was used for drawing other decorative motifs, such as horn and tassel motifs as well, and as such might not, at least initially, have been suitable for drawing sets of concentric circles on smaller vessels (cf. Eiteljorg 1980; Papadopoulos et al. 1998). Whatever the case may have been, the point is that Macedonian potters did not slavishly follow southern trends. In fact, it could perhaps even be argued that the concentric circle motif in Central Macedonia does not necessarily have a southern origin, but was developed as part of the standardisation process of the Group 1 amphoras in the northern Aegean. Such a suggestion means, however, that the 'Protogeometric style' was not introduced to Macedonia as a predefined stylistic package developed in Athens (or indeed anywhere else). Consequently, to track down a specific point of origin for the appearance of sets of concentric circles in the northern Aegean based on archaeological evidence would potentially be misleading and probably a waste of time, not least because the chronological time frames within which archaeologists have to deal will never be fine-grained enough to distinguish chronologically between developments that take place nearly simultaneously at different places without running the risk of over-classifying material trends that are in any case unstable and in a constant state of change.

With this conclusion in mind, the chapter turned to Ionia to explore the dynamics that stimulated a Protogeometric style to develop in this region at the dawn of the Early Iron Age. First, however, it needs to be emphasised that the more published information there is for Ionia, the less reason there is to suppose that there was any (cultural) break at the beginning of the Early Iron Age. In terms of ceramics, for instance, there is increasing evidence that Ionian painted pottery develops organically

from the local LH IIIC style. On the other hand, the relative amount of painted pottery appears to increase significantly at the beginning of the Iron Age and largely or even completely replaces red buff, grey and gold- and silver-wash wares at, for instance, Limantepe/Klazomenai and Ephesos. To explain this remarkable shift, it was suggested that it was probably important that, unlike the Late Bronze Age pottery (both painted and plain), Early Iron Age painted pottery in Ionia usually does not feature a slip and, although smoothed, is not polished/burnished. Instead, most open vessels feature a (good quality) coating of paint on their interior surfaces. The major advantage of only painting pots (without a slip and polish/burnish) was that, in terms of production, painted pottery could be produced more quickly and as such saved time by comparison with the 'Anatolian' red buff and grey ware ceramics. Moreover, a painted coating would have made it possible to effectively cover up traces of the shaping process without having to extensively smooth or otherwise treat the interior surface, which in turn would have increased the efficiency of the production process even further.

At the same time, it is significant that sites, such as Limantepe/Klazomenai and Ephesos, held strategic positions within a wider web of material and human movement in the Aegean. At Limantepe/Klazomenai, the presence and, because of the fabric, probably local production of north Aegean Group 1 amphoras suggest that the site was directly tied in with north Aegean trade and communication networks and probably even connected them with maritime movements in the southeast Aegean through the isthmus route between the site and Teos. Ephesos, on the other hand, probably linked up overland routes from the various river valleys, in particular the Maeander valley, with trade and communication networks around and across the Aegean. This involvement is clearly witnessed by the identification of Attic (and probably also Euboian) imports at the site. These strategic positions would have exposed the local communities to a variety of information and drawn them into developments elsewhere in the Aegean. In this light, it is not unimportant that, when compared to the Macedonian pottery, the Ionian pottery, and in particular its coating, are, at least at Klazomenai and probably also Ephesos, usually of good quality, which, although being rarely lustrous, arguably provided the pot with a somewhat metallic character. If, as was suggested in relation to Athens, the concentric circle motif was either based on or derived from metal objects or decorative motifs on metal objects, it

was speculated that the concentric circle motif would not only have been attractive to the potter in terms of increasing the efficiency of production, but may also have enhanced further the skeuomorphic character of the pots, which in turn made them particularly attractive to consumers.

#### **6.4. Looking ahead**

The Aegean Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages form a dynamic period. Unfortunately, as has become clear, archaeological narratives have long tended to be written from a particular Hellenocentric perspective that portrays ‘peripheral’ regions, such as the west coast of Asia Minor, as rather backward and veritable new worlds, there for the taking of enterprising and migrating Greeks. This portrayal is to a large extent influenced by an over-privileging of Greek literary sources at the expense of other forms of evidence (Greaves 2010a; 2013). But perhaps even more important is that the current state of publication, or actually the lack thereof, makes it difficult to effectively develop alternative explanatory frameworks. This thesis has made a first attempt to offer new lines of thinking, but further information is required. It is, therefore, of interest to briefly introduce an important new research project at Klazomenai that aims, for the first time, to systematically analyse and prepare for publication all the Early Iron Age remains from the site, which include domestic quarters, burials and a large pottery kiln, and associated finds.

The main focus of the project will be on the investigation of the nature of human occupation and movement at Klazomenai and in its direct environs as well as the site’s (changing) relations to the wider trade and communication networks in Anatolia and the Aegean. In addition, the project aims to make an important contribution to our limited understanding of Early Iron Age pottery in Western Anatolia in terms of both its physical and typological-chronological characterisations. For this the project explicitly pursues an interdisciplinary approach in which specialists work closely together in studying the architectural remains, floral and faunal material, ceramics, and small finds on a context-by-context basis. Although multi-disciplinary approaches are applied elsewhere in the region, particularly at Miletos where much palaeographical research has been carried out recently (e.g. Brückner 2003; Müllenhoff *et al.* 2009), it is often difficult to build up a coherent picture of the past and the relations between individual finds and find categories based on the many (preliminary) research reports

written. The interdisciplinary methodology applied at Klazomenai, however, makes it possible to effectively map out relations between finds, which in turn helps to gain a more complete picture of the complex patterns of human and material movement and interaction both at the site and in its immediate surrounding environs.

In addition to this overall interdisciplinary approach, the project also aims to make an important contribution to our limited understanding of Early Iron Age pottery on the west coast of Asia Minor in terms of both its physical and typological-chronological characterisations. As noted at an earlier stage in this paper, Early Iron Age pottery in coastal Western Anatolia is usually defined in relation to pottery sequences developed elsewhere in the Aegean, most importantly Athens and Lefkandi. However, it is not always easy to relate the chronology of painted pottery styles of mainland Greek centers to coastal Anatolia where styles often show local features and developments (Greaves 2010a: 7-9). It has, for instance, only recently been possible to properly trace the chronological development of the local Archaic pottery typologies and their relation to Athenian and Corinthian sequences, because of new stratigraphic excavations at the major production center of Miletos (e.g. Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005; 2007; Schlotzhauer 2007). Unfortunately, for the Early Iron Age such typologies do not yet exist. Consequently, the contextual information available at Klazomenai offers a good opportunity to develop for the first time a local pottery typology based on stratified evidence.

This typo-chronological characterisation of the ceramics forms, however, only one part of a much wider investigation of the ceramics which aims, in line with the overall goals of the research project, aims to map patterns in the formation processes and movements of the pots, and with that those of the people associated with them. From a theoretical perspective, this study finds its roots in a recent paper by Tim Ingold (2007b) in which he expresses some concerns in relation to what he diagnoses as susceptibility of abstraction in material culture studies that threatens to alienate thing theorists from the things actually studied. As noted in Chapter 3, one of Ingold's main concerns is that material culture studies (including archaeology) tend to treat material things as inert objects. Ingold argues, however, that material things are formed from materials that do not remain fully stable once a certain recognisable shape is reached but continue to change. Although Ingold's paper is often cited by archaeological

theorists, the idea of continuous material growth has not yet been recognised as a potentially useful theoretical and empirical approach to trace the life histories of objects and materials and, through that, map patterns in the formation processes and movements of those specific items, and with that those of the people associated with them.

To be able to systematically follow these life trajectories the project adopts a contextual approach and starts by grouping ceramics according to a combination of macroscopic observations and petrographic thin section analysis of their fabrics rather than based on their surface treatment. Based on this grouping, other variations in terms of morphology, surface treatment, firing, techniques of forming and finishing, use, fragmentation and taphonomy are recorded. As Tomkins (in press) notes, the advantage of this approach is that fabrics represent a more sensitive indicator of technological variation and allow us to identify discrete traditions of production without distortion arising from the cultural connotations often inherent in stylistic labels. Moreover, it explicitly draws attention to production as well as other practices in which people and pottery were entangled, such as cooking, storing, serving, giving, receiving, fragmenting, discarding etc. and makes it possible to study effectively how micro-variation at any one stage of the overall formation process relates to another. Finally, the approach is cost-effective as various methods are all employed strategically, with the high-resolution techniques the last to be used (if at all) rather than the first.

A fabric-led investigation of ceramics is nothing new in many parts of the Aegean where it has been applied often with much success, but on the west coast of Asia Minor only one project carried out by Peter Day and colleagues used a combination of stylistic study and physico-chemical characterisation to investigate the technology of production and provenance of so-called “Kastri Group” pottery (second half of the third millennium BCE) from Limantepe, Bakla Tepe and the Cyclades (Day et al. 2009). The final report of this study has not yet been published. Because of the dearth of similar analytical studies in the region, the projected study at Klazomenai has the potential to make an important contribution to Early Iron Age scholarship. First, it provides the first integrated, contextual and interdisciplinary analysis of all the material categories excavated. Second, it makes an important contribution to the

establishment of local pottery typologies based on stratigraphic evidence. Third, the project pilots a new theoretical and empirical approach that exploits the potential of ceramics, and potentially other material categories as well, to a greater extent than more traditional methodologies, such as typo-chronological classification, can offer. With the information obtained, it is aimed to shed more light on Klazomenai and provide a new perspective on the cultural dynamics in coastal Western Anatolia and the Aegean during a dynamic period in Aegean history.

### **6.5. Final remarks**

Perhaps the most important contribution of this thesis is that it has shown that the processes and causes of material change on the west coast of Asia Minor at the end of the second millennium BCE are much more complex than is often assumed and that traditional methodologies that create an Aegeo-Anatolian divide and tend to overprivilege Greek literary sources at the expense of other forms of evidence fail to explore these dynamics effectively. What consequences does this have for the issue of the Ionian migration which has long dominated archaeological narratives? The original research proposal for this thesis stated that it intended to answer the question whether there ever was an Ionian migration. In many ways, the arguments made throughout this work would speak against its historical existence, but it has also been noted that to take this question, at least in the way it is currently posited, as the main point of discussion holds back rather than stimulates progress in our understanding of Bronze and Iron Age Ionia. Consequently, if we are to move ahead, it may perhaps be best to put the whole question to rest or at least sideline it for the time being, and shift our efforts more prominently to the identification of common grounds and the formulation of methods and perspectives that allow the integration of the much good, but often isolated and dispersed, work currently being carried out in the region into the writing of a more or less coherent history of the region in pre-Classical times and its position within the wider Mediterranean world. It is hoped that this thesis has made an important contribution to this by offering a synthesis of the evidence currently available and developing new lines of thinking that future research could pick up on and develop further.

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