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# HISTORY INTO MEMORIES, MEMORIES INTO HISTORY... THE ROLE OF FUNERARY CULTURE IN THE CREATION OF POSTPALATIAL (LH IIIC) IDENTITIES IN THE SOUTHEAST AEGEAN AND THE CYCLADIC ISLANDS<sup>1</sup>

*Since the early years of our discipline, the Sea Peoples phenomenon has played a major role in the creation of interpretative narratives about the collapse of the Bronze Age system in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Sea Peoples have commonly been envisaged as migrating ethnic groups which wracked havoc in various parts of the Eastern Mediterranean and finally caused the downfall of the Bronze Age system around 1200 BCE. In the more recent years, the grand narratives developed within the framework of culture-historical archaeology, which favor the movements of large groups of peoples as the cause of the mentioned collapse, have been replaced by more dynamic interpretative models. Nowadays, the Sea Peoples are seen as pirate and maritime cultures consisting of individuals of different origins. It is evident that at least some of these pirate groups originated from the Aegean islands and coastal regions, while some of them actively used Aegean material culture to express their pirate identities. This paper explores the role of Mycenaean-type rock-cut chamber tombs in the creation of social identities in such maritime cultures at the transition between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE, as well as the role played by social memory in the creation of such identities.*

**Keywords:** Late Bronze Age, Aegean, burial practices, rock-cut chamber tombs, social memory

## Introduction – The Sea Peoples as maritime pirate cultures

Those studying archaeology at the University of Zagreb in the last few decades had the pleasure to attend at least one course on Classical Archaeology held by Prof. Dr. Marina Miličević Bradač, a person of broad archaeological interests, vast knowledge and admirable memory. Although the courses taught by Professor Miličević Bradač were simultaneously informative, interesting and amusing, even more enjoyable and informative were various informal

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<sup>1</sup> I am thankful to Ana Popović for revising the language of the paper. I am especially grateful to the Gerda Henkel Foundation for financing my PhD studies at the University of Heidelberg between 2017 and 2019.

conversations on different subjects we had over the years. One of such conversations, which I remember fondly, happened during the university excursion to Sardinia in 2012. Professor Milićević Bradač and I started a conversation about the Sea Peoples phenomenon. Therefore, this volume seemed as an appropriate place to contribute to the topic with a smaller case study. This paper examines the role of the funerary culture in the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian region and the Cycladic islands in the formation of the shifting social identities during the 12<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE, as well as its connection to the Sea Peoples phenomenon.

Since the early days of our discipline, the Sea Peoples played an important role in the creation of interpretative narratives about the social, political and cultural changes attested around 1200 BCE in the Aegean and West Anatolia. The term “Sea Peoples” or “peuples de la mer” was introduced in 1855 by the French Egyptologist E. de Rougé. He used it in his description of the reliefs on the second pylon at the Medinet Habu temple in Egypt, dating to the reign of Ramesses III (1187–1157 BCE) (see de Rougé 1855). Some of the Medinet Habu reliefs depict a naval battle between the Egyptians and groups identified as the “Sea Peoples”. The Medinet Habu texts mention nine groups of people, namely *Shardana*, *Lukka*, *Denyen*, *Ak(i)ōwasha*, *Taruisha*, *Shekelesh*, *Tjeker*, *Washash* and *Pelasti* (see transliteration by Redford 2018). Originally, de Rougé (1867: 39) identified some of the names with Sardinians, Lycians, Danaans, Achaeans, Etruscans, Sicilians and Dardanians, while F. Chabas (1873: 250, 289–291) identified the *Pelasti* as Pelasgians from the Aegean. De Rougé (1867: 39) argued that these groups attacked Egypt in the aftermath of the Trojan War. The term “Sea Peoples” or “peuples de la mer” was popularized by the French Egyptologist G. Maspero to the degree that he is often wrongly considered to be the creator of the term. Maspero (1873) interpreted the evidence in the framework of the cultural-historical discourse developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He believed that the large migrations of Illyrians pushed Dorian and Phrygian tribes towards the south, which subsequently led to the displacement of peoples from the coast of Greece and Asia Minor, as well as to the attack on Egypt. Such an interpretative narrative, developed in the early days of the discipline, led to two associations which are still found in works directly or indirectly addressing the Sea Peoples phenomenon. First, it identified the Sea Peoples as ethnic groups which moved around the Eastern Mediterranean in mass migrations. Second, it made a connection between some of the Sea Peoples groups and the area of the Aegean. This brings us to the question of who (or what) the Sea Peoples actually were and what was the role of the Aegean in the formation of the phenomenon.

Due to the limited nature of this paper, I will not provide a detailed overview of the history of research of the Sea Peoples phenomenon, but rather stress several points which are important for this topic. In Egyptian sources, the groups of the Sea Peoples are indeed associated with the sea (Kitchen 2012: 15). *Taruisha*, *Shardana*, *Shekelesh* and *Ak(i)ōwasha* were described as coming from “foreign countries of the sea (*ym*)” (Kitchen 2003: 7); *Pelasti* and *Taruisha* as coming “from the midst of the sea (*ym*)”; *Taruisha* and *Shardana* as coming “from the sea (*ym*)” (Kitchen 2008: 70, 80); and *Shekelesh* as “living on boats”

(Singer 2000: 24). To the majority of archaeologists, the Sea Peoples are known from the reigns of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty Egyptian pharaohs Merenptah (1213–1203 BCE) and Ramses III (1187–1157 BCE). Consequently, they are commonly perceived as a phenomenon of the late 13<sup>th</sup> and early 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE. However, some of the Sea Peoples groups appear in Egyptian written sources already since the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE, when they are mentioned as mercenaries employed by various rulers of the ancient Near East (see an overview in Matić & Franković 2020: 158–159). Therefore, their appearance on the scene of the LBA Eastern Mediterranean significantly predates the collapse of the LBA system. The Sea Peoples gradually disappeared from the historical sources after the collapse of the LBA system in the Eastern Mediterranean, which prompted Voskos and Knapp (2008: 659) to argue that they were probably the product and not the cause of the collapse.

Recently, groups of Sea Peoples have been identified as smaller multi-ethnic pirate groups rather than large groups of migrants (e.g. Hitchcock & Maeir 2014; 2016a; 2016b; 2017). Such pirate groups could have occasionally served as mercenaries in the armies of different rulers. Indeed, the Great Libyan War inscription from Karnak from the reign of Merenptah lists some of the Sea Peoples groups, which were employed as mercenaries on the Libyan side. The numbers listed suggest that these were smaller groups of warriors (see Maticić & Franković 2020: 161). In a series of their articles, Hitchcock and Maeir (2014; 2016a; 2016b; 2017) explain the mechanisms which led to the formation of such groups. One of the most intriguing features of these pirate groups is the integration of some Mycenaean material culture elements in their new and distinct group identities, such as the Mycenaean feasting and drinking ware (Hitchcock & Maeir 2016b: 150). However, this does not mean that such groups of Sea Peoples should be simply seen as “Mycenaean” immigrants from the Aegean. Rather, the elements of the Mycenaean material culture were re-interpreted in new ways by these newly-emerged social groups to express their common pirate identity (Hitchcock & Maeir 2016a: 251). In the context of this interpretation, especially intriguing is the appearance of LH IIIC pictorial pottery decorated by representations of warriors at various sites on the Greek Mainland, the Cycladic islands, the East Aegean islands and in the coastal parts of West Anatolia (e.g. Dakoronia 1990; 2006; Mountjoy 2005: 424–425, Pls. XCVI-XCVIIc; 2011; Vlachopoulos 2008: 528–529, Fig. 43.21; Aykurt 2018). Hitchcock and Maeir (2016a: 251–252) argue that the pictorial vessels with representations of warriors on ships actually represent pirates. Such groups of warriors, created around the time of the fall of the palatial system on the Greek Mainland in the transition between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE (LH IIIB–LH IIIC transition), expressed their identity through the use of similar identity markers. However, the distinction between individual warrior groups was not based on the use of a specific identity marker, but rather on their combination (Hitchcock & Maeir 2016a; Franković 2022: 138).

A possible employment of Aegean warriors as mercenaries at the very end of the LBA is suggested by Hittite written sources. The “Letter from Suppiluliuma II, the king of Hatti, to Ammurapi, the king of Ugarit” (AhT 27A) and the

“Letter from Penti-Sharruma, a Hittite official, to Ammurapi, king of Ugarit” (AhT 27B), also from the reign of Suppiluliuma II (see Beckman *et al.* 2011: 253–262), mention a delivery of metal ingots to men from (Ah)hiyawa who were stationed in the Lukka Land(s) in Southwest Anatolia. Ahhiyawa was a territorial entity most probably located on the Greek Mainland, but definitely located in the Aegean (e.g. Mountjoy 1998: 50; Niemeier 1998; Beckman *et al.* 2011). It is worth noting that both the territories in Central Anatolia (i.e. Hatti) and West Anatolia (i.e. Arzawa) were listed among the territories affected by the raids of the Sea Peoples groups. Some authors (Bryce 2010; Beckman *et al.* 2011: 262) interpret the (Ah)hiyawa men as mercenaries from the Greek Mainland. As noted above, the Aḳ(i)ōwasha mercenaries, whose name reminds of Ahhiyawa, are mentioned on the Great Karnak inscription together with the Lukka mercenaries among the Libyan forces in the Libyan War of Merenptah. The possible presence of Aegean mercenaries is probably attested already on the papyrus from Amarna in Egypt (Parkinson & Schofield 1994: 157–170), dating to the reign of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty pharaoh Amenhotep III in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

Therefore, there is a number of direct and indirect evidence which connects some of the Sea Peoples groups with the Aegean, because of which various authors argue that the place of origin of the Sea Peoples phenomenon should be sought in the Aegean and West Anatolia (e.g. Singer 1988: 243–244; Bryce 2005: 338–339; Tartaron 2013: 20, 65–66; for the problem of associating the Sea Peoples with the Aegean see Sherratt 1998: 293). The question is to what extent this can be traced in the archaeological record in the Aegean and Anatolia. Some authors (Jung 2009; Hitchcock & Maeir 2016a: 258) identified pirates and their place of origin in the burial record of the LH IIIB–LH IIIC Southeast Aegean on the basis of finds. I remain rather skeptical about the identification of individual pirates in the funerary record, at least in the current state of research, but I do believe that graves have a lot to tell us about the role of funerary culture in the formation of these maritime pirate cultures.

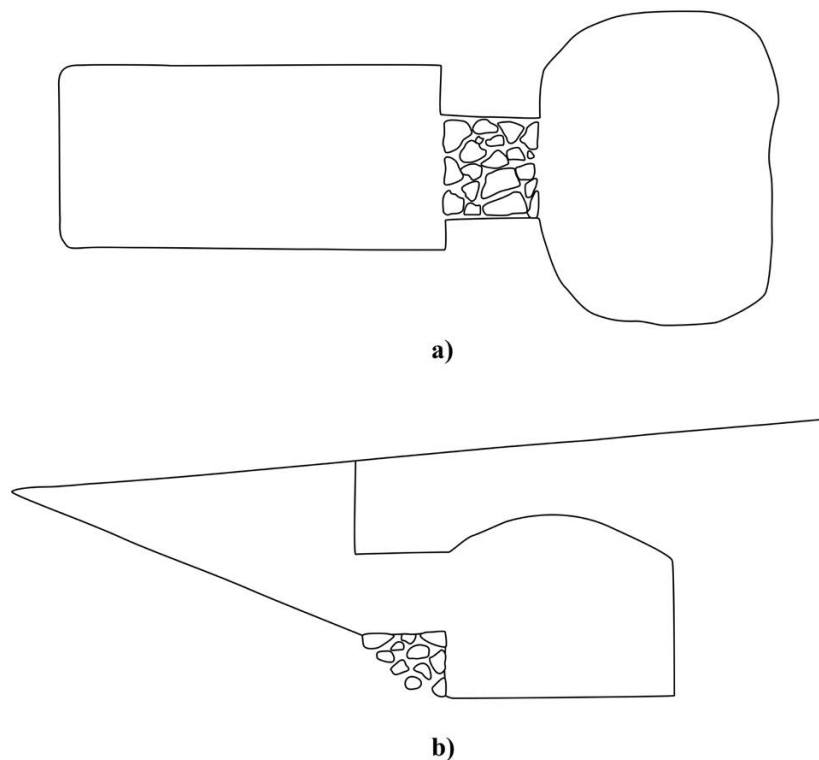
### **History into memories... changes in the settlement and cemetery patterns between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE**

Funerary data sets have always played an important role in the formation of interpretative narratives about the social, political and cultural changes in the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian region, as well as the Cycladic islands. At some point during the late 15<sup>th</sup> century BCE, or the LH IIB–LH IIIA1 period according to the Aegean relative chronology, the Southeast Aegean islands and parts of the Southwest Anatolian coast witnessed the introduction of “Mycenaean” rock-cut chamber tombs (see Fig. 1), as well as the accompanying “Mycenaean” objects which were deposited in tombs as graves goods.<sup>2</sup> Vari-

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<sup>2</sup> In this paper I use the term rock-cut chamber tomb as a typological term to define all subterranean chamber tombs which were cut into rock and soils of different types, hardness and compactness.

Fig. 1. Plan (a) and profile (b) of a Mycenaean-type rock-cut chamber tomb from Müskebi in Southwest Anatolia (redrawn by: F. Franković after Boysal 1967, Fig. V).



ous authors (e.g. Furumark 1950: 180–181, 262–263; Mee 1982: 82; 1988a: 301; Benzi 1988: 62; 1992: 212; 1996: 948; Niemeier 1999: 149; Karantzali 2001: 78) interpreted the appearance of “Mycenaean” funerary forms as evidence of colonization, migration, conquest and/or socio-cultural unity of the Greek Mainland and the East Aegean-West Anatolian region. Following the same premise, further changes in cemetery patterns in the region have been explained as a result of similar processes. More precisely, the wider distribution and obvious increase in the number of rock-cut chamber tomb cemeteries during the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE (LH IIIA2 period) were interpreted as a sign of the second wave of migrants from the Greek Mainland (e.g. Mee 1982: 84; 1988a: 304; Benzi 1988: 62; Niemeier 2002: 295). The decrease in the number of tombs during the LH IIIB period was understood as a sign of depopulation (e.g. Mee 1982: 88; Benzi 1988: 66), while the renewed rise in the LH IIIC period was interpreted as a sign of the migration of individuals from the Greek Mainland after the destruction of the palatial system (e.g. Mee 1982: 2, 88; 1988b: 57).

There is a number of methodological problems in equating the changes in funerary data sets with population changes, but the limits of this paper do not allow me to go into detail. However, it is important to note that our understanding of the burial practices attested in the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian rock-chamber tomb cemeteries is largely based on the incompletely published contexts with only a handful of anthropologically examined skeletal remains, as well as on complete ceramic vessels without a specific tomb context. Therefore, in the current state of research it is difficult to argue with certainty whether the changes in the distribution of cemeteries in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE suggest changes in population numbers or a re-structuring

of the socio-political organization. In my opinion, the latter seems more probable. Georgiadis (2004: 69; 2012: 98; also Angelopoulou 2019: 37) correctly argues that there is simply no evidence to support a larger migration of populations from the Greek Mainland to the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian region in any of the periods, including LH IIIC. Small-scale migrations and mobility must have happened (Georgiadis 2004: 69), but so far they have not been successfully traced in the archaeological record. The idea that the migrations changed LBA funerary cultures in the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian region is based on the use of migration and cultural diffusion interpretative models developed within the framework of culture-historical archaeology, rather than grounded on the available data sets.

I will review only the funerary data sets from the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian region dating immediately before and after the proposed collapse of the LBA system around 1200 BCE, namely the LH IIIB and LH IIIC periods according to the Aegean relative chronology. LH IIIA2 is the period of the largest amount of used and widely distributed rock-cut chamber tomb cemeteries in the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian region, as suggested by a cemetery on Samos, six cemeteries on Kos, two cemeteries on Astypalaia, numerous cemeteries Rhodes, six cemeteries on Karpathos and two (or three) cemeteries on the southwest Anatolian coast (see overview in Georgiadis 2003: 35–43; Eerbeek 2014: 114–162) (see Map 1). The situation radically changed in the LH IIIB period, which witnessed a significant decrease in funerary activity throughout the region dominated by rock-cut chamber tomb cemeteries. Unfortunately, various methodological difficulties make a proper attestation difficult. The LH IIIB period covers the entire 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE and should consist of two phases, namely LH IIIB1 and LH IIIB2. However, it is often difficult to differentiate between the two phases, especially outside of the Argolid (see Sherratt 1980 with bibliography). Therefore, LH IIIB is a 100-year-long period in which significant changes in the funerary sphere must have happened. The analysis of the entire LH IIIB period does not allow a more detailed attestation of the gradual changes in cemetery patterns, while the wide dating of the available LH IIIB ceramic assemblages from the tombs potentially blurs the difference in the intensity of use of specific cemeteries. However, certain conclusion can be drawn from the available data sets.

In comparison to the earlier LH IIIA2 period there are a variety of changes. On Samos, there is no evidence of LH IIIB rock-cut chamber tombs. Although cemeteries of the earlier periods were not discovered on Kalymnos, the cemetery at Perakastro (Pothia) seems to have been used in the LH IIIB–LH IIIC period (Hope Simpson & Lazenby 1962: 172; Mountjoy 1999: 1127–1138). Seven rock-cut chamber tomb cemeteries on Kos were in use during the LH IIIB period. The tombs at Ayia Paraskevi, Iraklis and Mesaria show continuous use since LH IIIA2 period (Skerlou 1998: 553; Georgiadis 2003: 41, 209, 235; Benzi 2005), while the tomb contexts at Eleona near Kardamaina have not been preserved (Hope Simpson & Lazenby 1962: 171). New tombs were probably built only at Antimacheia (Georgiadis 2003: 41, 235) and Kastello (Papazoglou 1981: 68–74; Georgiadis 2003: 209), as well as the largest cemetery on the island at

Map 1. Spatial distribution of rock-cut chamber tombs in the East Aegean-West Anatolian region (map by: P. Demján, adapted by F. Franković).



Eleona-Langada (see Vitale *et al.* 2017a: 244, Tab. IX). The evidence from the cemetery at Eleona-Langada suggests a slight increase in funerary activity in the LH III B period (Vitale *et al.* 2017a: 247–248).

The development of the cemetery patterns on Rhodes requires a more detailed discussion. A decrease in building and depositional activities happened during the LH III B period at the largest cemetery at Ialysos, located in the northern part of the island. Mee (1982: 88–89; 1988b: 57; *contra* Benzi 1988: 68) argues that the cemetery was abandoned at some point during the LH III B period, but re-used in LH III C Early, which is correct in my opinion, too. However, I disagree with his conclusion (Mee 1982: 88, 90; also Voutsaki 1993: 148) that the abandonment, or at least a decrease in funerary activity, did not happen at the cemeteries on the southern part of Rhodes. Although a significant number of complete LH III B ceramic vessels originate from the cemeteries in southern Rhodes (Georgiadis 2003: 90–92; Eerbeek 2014: 115–124), the exact tomb contexts in which these vessels were discovered were not preserved. Most of these cemeteries were established already in the LH III A2 period and did not produce any clear evidence that new tombs were built in the LH III B period. Therefore, it is impossible to argue whether LH III B ceramic vessels originated from newly built LH III B tombs or from tombs which were continuously used since the previous LH III A2 period. In my opinion, the general absence of tombs constructed in LH III B on Rhodes might be indicative. With the exception of some tombs at Ialysos, only two additional tombs discovered on the entire Rhodes might have been constructed in LH III B. These are pos-

sibly Tomb 2 at Apollona-Kariones (Benzi 1992: 421–422) and side-chamber 2B at Aspropilia (Karantzali 2001: 21–22). The Aspropilia cemetery, located on the southern Rhodes, is especially important for the discussion, as it suggests a development similar to the Ialysos cemetery in the northern part of the island. The LH IIIB material from the cemetery mostly originated from tombs which were continuously used since the earlier LH IIIA2 period (Karantzali 2001: 21–22). Moreover, most of such tombs date into the LH IIIB1 period. Even the mentioned side-chamber 2B, which was possibly constructed in the LH IIIB period, represents an LH IIIB1 addition to the already existing LH IIIA2 tomb (Karantzali 2001: 21–22). Therefore, even at Aspropilia there seems to be a gradual abandonment of the cemetery in the early phases of the LH IIIB period. In the context of the evidence from entire Rhodes, a gradual decrease in funerary activity on the island and the abandonment of some of the cemeteries must have happened during the course of the LH IIIB period (see also Benzi 1988: 64–65). Nevertheless, I do not believe that there is any evidence that such a pattern is the result of depopulation (*contra* Benzi 1988: 64–65).

On Karpathos, there is no evidence that new rock-cut chamber tombs were built in LH IIIB. The cemeteries at Arkasa: Vonies, Avlona and Pigadia: Anemomiloi-Makeli on Karpathos were probably used in LH IIIB (Melas 1985: 28, 39–40, 70–75; Mountjoy 1999: 971–979; Platon & Karantzali 2003: 189), but most of the cemeteries went out of use by or in LH IIIB. The abandonment of the cemeteries is probably supported by the low number of complete LH IIIB ceramic vessels of an uncertain tomb context. Their number is significantly lower than the number of LH IIIA2 vessels. It is improbable that this lower quantity represents only a change in depositional practices. Because many of the LH IIIB vessels seem to date to LH IIIB1, the absence of the later LH IIIB2 vessels might suggest the abandonment of the cemeteries by this period. Moreover, there is a complete absence of LH IIIC tombs on the island, which seems to further support such a development. On Astypalaia, Tomb 2 at Syngairos (Georgiadis 2003: 212, 239; Eerbeek 2014: 139–141) probably went out of use in the early LH IIIB period, while the tombs at Armenochori seem to have stayed in use in LH IIIB and LH IIIC (see Mountjoy 1999: 1138–1144; Georgiadis 2003: 214–216; Eerbeek 2014: 138–139). However, no new tombs were built on Astypalaia in the LH IIIB period.

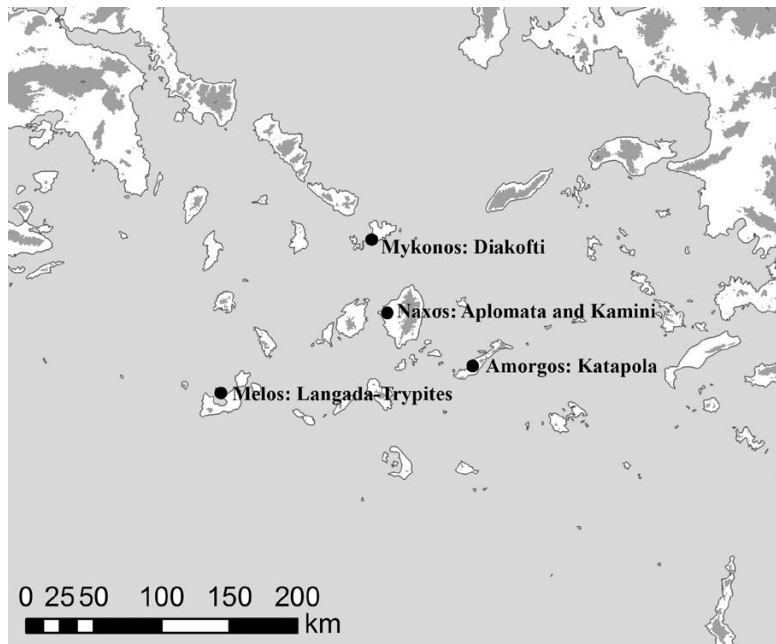
In Southwest Anatolia, the use of the cemetery at Değirmentepe (Miletus) in the LH IIIB and LH IIIC periods has been confirmed (Mountjoy 1998: 53; Niemeier 2005: 13), but recent discoveries in the area might suggest that the cemetery was used already in LH IIIA (Akat Islam & Aslan 2016: 107). The rock-cut chamber tomb discovered at Pilavtepe was built in LH IIIA2 and later used during the LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early periods (Benter 2009; Eerbeek 2014: 148–149). The cemetery at Müskebi was created and extensively used in the LH IIIA2 period, while the decrease in building and depositional activities at the cemetery in the LH IIIB period (Eerbeek 2014: 222) possibly suggests a gradual abandonment of the cemetery. A few of the earlier tombs seem to have been re-used in the LH IIIC period (see Eerbeek 2014: 445–450). Therefore, the presented evidence suggests that LH IIIB was a period of decline in

funerary activity in the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian region, with a few notable exceptions at Değirmentepe (Miletus), Perakastro (Pothia) on Kalymnos and Eleona-Langada on Kos.

In the 12<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE or the LH IIIC period, a limited number of cemeteries were used. However, interesting patterns emerge from the evaluation of individual cemeteries. At Eleona-Langada on Kos, around 15.1% of all tombs at the cemetery were built in LH IIIC Early, while 13.6% of the tombs were built in LH IIIC Middle (see Vitale *et al.* 2017a: 244, Tab. IX; 2017b: 232, Tabs. IV-V). Similarly, 8.1% of tombs at Ialysos on Rhodes were built in LH IIIC Early, while 9.2% of tombs were constructed in LH IIIC Middle (see Benzi 1992: 233–403). Other rock-cut chamber tomb cemeteries in the region did not produce clear evidence of building activities in the LH IIIC period, with the exception of Aspropilia (Karantzali 2001: 14) and Kalavarda: Aniforo (Benzi 1992: 416–417; Georgiadis 2003: 37) on Rhodes. However, even the evidence of construction at the largest cemeteries should be taken with caution. The LH IIIC rock-cut chamber tombs at Ialysos on Rhodes are commonly dispersed among the earlier LH IIIA–LH IIIB tombs (Mee 1982: 29), which is why Mee (1982: 29; also Voutsaki 1993: 135) argues that many of the LH IIIC tombs were actually constructed in the previous period and then completely emptied of their original content prior to their re-use. Indeed, numerous LH IIIA–LH IIIB tombs at Ialysos were re-used in LH IIIC period. Around 23.1% of tombs at the cemetery were used in the LH IIIC Early period, while 33.0% of tombs were used in LH IIIC Middle (see Benzi 1992: 233–403). Therefore, three times more tombs were used than were built during the LH IIIC period at Ialysos. The re-use of earlier tombs in the LH IIIC period was also noted at other sites on Rhodes, such as Kalavarda: Aniforo, Apollona: Lelos, Passia, Pylona: Ambelia, Aspropilia, Archangelos: Mala and Vigli (see Benzi 1992; Karantzali 2001). The LH IIIC period on the entire Rhodes should most probably be observed as a period of extensive re-use of the earlier LH IIIA–LH IIIB tombs (Cavanagh & Mee 1978: 36–40; Mee 1982: 28–29, 89–90; 1988b: 57–58, n. 36; Voutsaki 1993: 140). As noted above, the practice of re-using earlier rock-cut chamber tombs was noted at other sites in the region too, such as Pilavtepe, Müskebi and Armenochori on Astypalaia. Most of the cemeteries were abandoned by the end of LH IIIC Middle.

Due to the relatively limited number of the discovered graves, developments on the Cycladic islands remain rather uncertain. LBA rock-cut chamber tombs of uncertain date were discovered on Mykonos (Diakofti) (von Prott 1898: 362), Amorgos (Katapola) (Hood 1961: 22; Schallin 1993: 12) and Melos (Langada: Trypites) (Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979: 317; Schallin 1993: 17) (see Map 2). However, rock-cut chamber tombs were built at Aplomata (e.g. Kardara 1977; Vlachopoulos 2006: 451–456) and Kamini (see Vlachopoulos 2006: 351–450) on Naxos in LH IIIC Middle (see Map 2).

The settlement patterns in the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian region and the Cycladic islands also point to a change. New fortified and/or naturally protected settlements were built on various Cycladic islands in the later phases of LH IIIB and in LH IIIC, such as Ayios Andreas (Mountjoy 1999:



Map 2. Spatial distribution of rock-cut chamber tombs on the Cycladic islands (map by: P. Demján, adapted by F. Franković).

887–888; Televantou 2001) and “tis Barona to Froudi” (Papadopoulou 2009) on Syphnos, Ayios Spyridon on Melos (e.g. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979: 317; Schallin 1993: 17, 119), Koukounaries on Paros (e.g. Schilardi 1979; 1984; 1992) and possibly Exombourgo on Tenos (Kourou 2001). The fortification walls at Phylakopi on Melos were extended in LH IIIB1 (Renfrew 1985: 81; Schallin 1993: 68), a new settlement was possibly founded at Monolithos on Thera in LH IIIB–LH IIIC (Doulas & Warren 1979; Vlachopoulos 2008: 519–520), while the settlement at Grotta on Naxos was repopulated in LH IIIC after its abandonment around the end of LH IIIB1 period (e.g. Vlachopoulos 2008: 521–522; Vlachopoulos & Georgiadis 2015: 343–344). As correctly noted by Vlachopoulos (2008: 529–530), the types of sites and their chronology do not suggest that they are a result of a single episode in which fortified and refugee settlements were built. Rather than representing a simultaneous short-term event, these changes represent a continuous re-structuring process.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of the development of settlement patterns in the transition between LH IIIB and LH IIIC in the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian region is still insufficient. Various authors (Macdonald 1986: 149; Benzi 1988: 70; 1992: 224–225; Georgiadis 2003: 11, 49; 2012: 98; Vlachopoulos & Georgiadis 2015: 352–354, 357; Vitale *et al.* 2017b: 239) argue that the nucleation of settlements and internal movements of people towards larger centers took place on Rhodes and Kos in the transition between LH IIIB and LH IIIC, but it remains uncertain whether the conclusions can be proposed for entire islands or only some of their parts (see discussion about Rhodes in Macdonald 1986: 132; Benzi 1992: 224–225; 1996: 974; Georgiadis 2012). However, it should be noted that the LH IIIC period on Rhodes is known mostly from the cemeteries (Vlachopoulos & Georgiadis 2015: 354). The presence of a cemetery suggests the presence of some kind of a settlement, but the absence of a cemetery does not necessarily suggest the absence of a settlement. Therefore,

some of the conclusions have to be taken with caution. Nevertheless, nothing suggests a sudden and violent change in the transition between LH IIIB and LH IIIC.

### **Conclusions – memories into history... rock-cut chamber tombs and social memory in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE**

Some authors (e.g. Renfrew 1972: 262–264; Schallin 1993: 40; Georgiadis 2003: 114; Angelopoulou 2019: 49) suggest that nucleation in coastal areas, changes in settlement patterns and creation of fortified settlements could be seen as a sign of insecurity and a strategy against an increase in pirate activity. The nucleation might have been caused by a variety of different social processes (e.g. Vlachopoulos & Georgiadis 2015: 357) and does not have to be exclusively connected to the general insecurity in the region. However, the construction of new settlements on naturally fortified positions, construction of fortification walls and simultaneous emergence of pictorial pottery with representations of warriors on ships suggest that warlike activities had a strong impact on the LH IIIC social reality in the regions under discussion (Vlachopoulos & Georgiadis 2015: 355). The LH IIIC evidence from the coastal settlements does not suggest that the populations abandoned such settlements to settle further away and avoid pirate attacks (Tartaron 2013: 70). Large coastal centers created through the process of nucleation might have equally been a source of activities of some pirate groups, as well as provide protection against other pirate groups. As the changes in settlement patterns were not caused by a single event, it is possible that warlike activities were a part of the daily routine for a couple of centuries and reflected the creation of maritime and pirate culture in the LH IIIC Aegean.

The social memory of the past must have played an important role in the formation of such new social realities. Maritime and pirate communities of the LH IIIC period probably based their subsistence on the maritime networks established already in the LH IIIA–LH IIIB period. More precisely, the communication networks and maritime routes must have been known to social groups involved in trade during the LH IIIA–LH IIIB period and continued to be used in the LH IIIC period as well. Both the Southeast Aegean–Southwest Anatolian and Cycladic communities of the LH IIIC period continued to participate in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean exchange networks established already in the preceding periods (Vlachopoulos & Georgiadis 2015: 358). Individuals involved in various palatial affairs (warriors, merchants, palace officials) in the LH IIIA–LH IIIB period probably used their knowledge in the newly emerged LH IIIC social reality and acquired new social roles (pirates and/or mercenaries) (see also discussion in Tartaron 2013: 69, 124, 131–132). Therefore, the relationship to the past played an important role in the formation of LH IIIC social realities. Past landscapes can be differently interpreted by different generations, shape their perception of the present and create a connection to the past through a mutual relationship between memory, location and power (Georgiadis 2003: 27–29, 33). For example, the LH IIIC

Building T at Tiryns was erected over the Great Megaron of the Palatial period and used to legitimize the rule of new elites through a connection of the existing social reality to the palatial past and its powerful individuals (Maran 2015: 283–286).

I believe that rock-cut chamber tombs might have played a similar role for some of the LH IIIC maritime and pirate communities in the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian region and the Cycladic islands. More precisely, burial practices must have played an active role in the construction of the new social reality through a (fictional) relationship to the past. Such a relationship must have developed gradually during the late LH IIIB and LH IIIC periods. Therefore, I believe that Cavanagh and Mee (1998: 95–97; *contra* Vlachopoulos & Georgiadis 2015: 351) are correct in arguing that rock-cut chamber tombs must have been significantly reinterpreted during the LH IIIC period. LH IIIC Early witnessed an increase in the number of rock-cut chamber tombs in the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian region, after the general decline in funerary activity during the later stages of the LH IIIB period. The LH IIIC increase is largely connected to the practice of re-using earlier rock-cut chamber tombs (e.g. Cavanagh & Mee 1978: 36–40; Mee 1982: 28–29, 89–90; 1988b: 57–58, n. 36; Voutsaki 1993: 140), although new tombs were also built. More precisely, the renewed rise in the popularity of rock-cut chamber tombs came after a few decades of decline or even complete abandonment at some of the cemeteries. Nevertheless, rock-cut chamber tomb cemeteries must have remained spaces with a strong connection to the memory of the past. Their re-use suggests that the identities of the people buried there in the LH IIIC period were constructed through a relationship to the past and possibly (fictional) ancestry.

The described developments can be well explained through the concept of *habitus* (pl. *habitus*), developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1977: 72–95; 1990: 52–65). According to Bourdieu (1977: 72; 1990: 53–54), *habitus* is a system of durable dispositions (structured structures) which also act as principles (structuring structures) according to which human practices and experiences are shaped. These dispositions are unconsciously internalized by individuals and regulate their actions, but without the individuals' direct and conscious obedience. In the context of this paper, I would like to address the relationship of *habitus* to the past and the present. New experiences in the present are structured on the basis of the structures of past experiences (Bourdieu 1977: 83; 1990: 60). Therefore, *habitus* works in the present, but is determined by past experiences and simultaneously produces more history (Bourdieu 1977: 72–73, 82–83; 1990: 54). In such a process, history gets internalized and it is forgotten that it ever was history (Bourdieu 1977: 78–79; 1990: 55–56).

Through their initial introduction to the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Anatolian region and the Cycladic islands in the LH IIB–LH IIIA2 period, rock-cut chamber tombs became the structured structure of the local *habitus* and started acting as their structuring structures. Although the decrease in the popularity of rock-cut chamber tombs happened during the later stages of the LH IIIB period, their dual role as structured structures and structuring structures of the local *habitus* enabled the renewed rise in their popularity during the LH

IIC period. In the LH IIC period, their connection to both past and present experiences lead to the emergence of new social identities of maritime (pirate) communities, created through a relationship to the re-interpreted and partially fictional past.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AhT

*The Ahhiyawa Texts*

LH

*Late Helladic*

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