

NOSTOI

INDIGENOUS CULTURE, MIGRATION +
INTEGRATION IN THE AEGEAN ISLANDS + WESTERN
ANATOLIA DURING THE LATE BRONZE + EARLY IRON
AGES

NOSTOI: INDIGENOUS CULTURE, MIGRATION + INTEGRATION IN THE AEGEAN ISLANDS +
WESTERN ANATOLIA DURING THE LATE BRONZE + EARLY IRON AGES

Edited by Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis, Çiğdem Maner, Konstantinos Kopanias

Project editor: Defne Karakaya

Proofreader: Kate Mottolla

Page design: Sinan Kılıç

Cover design: Gökçen Ergüven

Inside cover and section illustrations: Suzan Aral

Printed by  printcenter (certificate no: 13779)

Sanayi Mah. Libadiye Sok. No: 3 4. Levent İstanbul, Turkey • P: +90 212 371 0300

© Koç University Press, 2011

1st print: İstanbul, May 2015

Koç University Press (certificate no: 18318)

İstiklal Caddesi No: 181 İstanbul, Turkey • P: +90 212 393 6000

kup@ku.edu.tr • www.kocuniversitypress.com • www.kocuniversitiesiyayinlari.com

Koç University Suna Kırac Library Cataloging in Publication Data

Nostoi: indigenous culture, migration + integration in the Aegean Islands + Western Anatolia during the late bronze +early iron ages / Edited by Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis, Çiğdem Maner, Konstantinos Kopanias.

1002 pages ; 16.5 x 24 cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-605-5250-49-2

1. Turkey, Western. 2. Aegean Sea Region--Antiquities. 3. Bronze age--Aegean Sea Region. 4. Historic sites--Aegean Sea Region. 5. Excavations (Archaeology)--Aegean Sea Region. 6. Aegean Sea Region--History. 7. Historic sites--Turkey. 8. Turkey--Antiquities. 9. Turkey--Civilization. I. Stampolidēs, Nikolaos Chr. II. Maner, Çiğdem. III. Kopanias, Konstantinos.

DF261.A177 N67 2015

NOSTOI

INDIGENOUS CULTURE, MIGRATION +
INTEGRATION IN THE AEGEAN ISLANDS +
WESTERN ANATOLIA DURING THE LATE BRONZE +
EARLY IRON AGES

EDITED BY

Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis – Çiğdem Maner – Konstantinos Kopanias



Contents

Introduction	11
PART 1: GENERAL	
1 The Political Geography of Arzawa (Western Anatolia) J. DAVID HAWKINS	15
2 The East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface in the 12th Century BC: Some Aspects Arising from the Mycenaean Pottery PENELOPE A. MOUNTJOY	37
3 Between the Aegeans and the Hittites: Western Anatolia in the 2nd Millennium BC PETER PAVÚK	81
4 Settlement Patterns and Socio-Political Landscape of Western Anatolian in the Middle and Late Bronze Age: A Geoarchaeological View RALF BECKS	115
5 The History of the Arzawan State during the Hittite Period METIN ALPARSLAN	131
PART 2: MIGRATION	
6 Migrations in Anatolian Narrative Traditions MARY R. BACHVAROVA	145
7 Migration and Integration at Troy from the End of the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age CAROLYN CHABOT ASLAN – PAVOL HNILA	185
8 The Mushki/Phrygian Problem from the Near Eastern Point of View KONSTANTINOS KOPANIAS	211

9	Ionian Migration: Certainties and Underlying Uncertainties FLORENTIA FRAGKOPOULOU	227
10	Violence and the Ionian Migration: Representation and Reality NAOÍSE MAC SWEENEY	239
PART 3A: FIELDWORK: AEGEAN		
11	Bridging North and South: The Dodecanese Islands and the "Eastern Insular Arc" between Crete and Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age FANI K. SEROGLU – DIMITRIS SFAKIANAKIS	263
12	The 'Mycenaeans' in the Southeast Aegean Revisited: An Inter-Regional Comparison JACOB EERBEEK	289
13	The Koan Tradition during the Mycenaean Age: A Contextual and Functional Analysis of Local Ceramics from the "Serraglio", Eleona, and Langada SALVATORE VITALE – ARIANNA TRECARCHI	311
14	The Cyclades and the Dodecanese during the Post-Palatial Period: Heterogeneous Developments of a Homogeneous Culture ANDREAS VLACHOPOULOS – MERCURIOS GEORGIADIS	337
15	Mycenaeization on Melos: A View from the Phylakopi Pantries JASON W. EARLE	369
16	Minoanisation, Acculturation, Hybridisation: The Evidence of the Minoan Presence in the North East Aegean between the Middle and Late Bronze Age LUCA GIRELLA – PETER PAVÚK	387
17	Greek Ethnics in -ηνος and the Name of Mytilene ALEXANDER DALE	421
18	Hephaestia: New Data on the Mycenaean Presence on Lemnos during the Late Bronze Age LUIGI COLUCCIA	445

19	The Indigenous Culture of Hephaestia (Lemnos) at the beginning of the Iron Age: Ancient Sources, Mythical Tradition, and Archaeological Data LAURA DANILE	461
PART 3B: FIELDWORK: ANATOLIA		
20	A Monumental Middle Bronze Age Apsidal Building at Alalakh K. ASLIHAN YENER	485
21	Kizzuwatna in the Bronze Age and in Later Periods: Continuity and/or Discontinuity? REMZİ YAĞCI	499
22	Late Bronze–Early Iron Age Painted Pottery from the Northeast Mediterranean Settlements ELİF ÜNLÜ	517
23	Notes on Cultural Interaction in Northwest Pisidia in the Iron Age BİLGE HÜRMÜZLÜ – PAUL IVERSEN	531
24	Lycia Before Lycians: The Elusive Second Millennium BC in Southwest Turkey and the Çaltılar Archaeological Project NICOLETTA MOMIGLIANO – BELGİN AKSOY	539
25	Late Bronze Age Miletus: The Anatolian Face IVONNE KAISER – JULIEN ZURBACH	557
26	Geometric Miletus MICHAEL KRUMME	581
27	Çeşme–Bağlararası: A Western Anatolian Harbour Settlement at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age VASİF ŞAHOĞLU	593
28	Bademgediği Tepe (Puranda) Near Metropolis RECEP MERİÇ – ALİ KAZIM ÖZ	609

29	Çine–Tepecik: New Contributions on Late Bronze Age Cultures in Western Anatolia SEVİNÇ GÜNEL	627
30	Liman Tepe during the Late Bronze Age SILA MANGALOĞLU–VOTRUBA	647
PART 4: TRADE		
31	Profit Oriented Traders in the Aegean and Anatolia in the 2nd Millennium BC: Inter-Cultural Concepts of Measurement and Value ANNA MICHALIDOU	671
32	Study of Imports in Late Bronze Age Anatolia: Identification, Definition, Chronological, and Spatial Analysis EKİN KOZAL	693
PART 5: CULT, SOCIAL, AND INTERCULTURAL ASPECTS		
33	Songs by Land and Sea Descending: Anatolian and Aegean Poetic Traditions ANNETTE TEFFETELLER	709
34	Arzawan Rituals and Greek Religion ALICE MOUTON – IAN RUTHERFORD	737
35	The Aegean–Type Sword Found at Hattuša and the Written Sources about the Exchange of Technology at the Late Bronze Age KONSTANTINOS GIANNAKOS	749
36	From Western to Eastern Anatolia: Reconsidering the Aegean Presence in the Peripheries of the Hittite World GIOIA ZENONI	767
37	Against the Identification of Karkiša with Carians ZSOLT SIMON	791
38	The Ionian Migration and Ceramic Dynamics in Ionia at the End of the Second Millennium BC: Some Preliminary Thoughts RIK VAESSEN	811

39	When East Meets West: The Social Identity of Western Anatolia ÇİÇDEM MANER	835
40	Cross-Cultural Interaction in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Early Iron Age: A View from Seal Engraving, with Special Reference to the Lyre-Player Group MANOLIS MIKRAKIS	849
41	At the Crossroads: Dress and Body Ornaments in the Northeastern Aegean MAGDA PIENIAŻEK	871
42	Something Old, Something New: Non-local Brides as Catalysts for Cultural Exchange at Ayia Irini, Kea? EVI GOROGIANNI – JOANNE CUTLER – RODNEY D.FITZSIMONS	889
43	Klazomenaeans of Three Continents: Emphasis on the 7th c. BC ANAGNOSTIS PAN. AGELARAKIS	923
	Editors	983
	Contributors	985
	Index	989

**Minoanisation, Acculturation, Hybridisation:
the Evidence of the Minoan Presence
in the North East Aegean
between the Middle and Late Bronze Age**

PART 3A
CHAPTER 16

LUCA GIRELLA – PETER PAVÚK

Abstract

The identification of Minoan presence in the Eastern Aegean increased in the recent years thanks to accumulation of fresh bits of archaeological information. The evidence encouraged scholars to formulate several interpretive models encompassing different frameworks often unified under the recently label of ‘Minoanisation’. More recently, it has been proposed to investigate this phenomenon in a ‘more multivariate terms’ (Broodbank 2004), as well as to evaluate the possibility that intraregional contacts would have fostered the assimilation of Minoan cultural traits with the result of building a ‘more globalized setting’ defined as ‘new environment’ (Davis – Gorogianni 2008). The paper will discuss the evidence from the NE Aegean (with special regards to the islands and Troy), less rich in Minoan cultural traits compared to the southern Aegean, but still very stimulating. Particular attention will be paid to Mikro Vouni (Samothece), thanks to an ongoing program focused on publishing the ceramic material. The evidence collected will allow us to explore the different degrees of cultural contacts with Minoan world and to investigate the validity of other interpretative models, such as the acculturation and hybridisation.

Acknowledgments:

The authors would like to thank Dimitris Matsas for inviting them to study and publish the MBA material from Mikro Vouni, and to the INSTAP for the generous support of the project over the years. A special thanks is also due to Christos Boulotis for numerous discussions on the site of Koukonisi. In addition, Peter Pavúk would like to thank the British School at Athens for granting permission to study and republish the 2nd millennium finds from Thermi and Emporio and the K’ Ephoria for facilitating the study. The text of this paper was prepared partly while holding a post-doctoral fellowship of the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation at the University of Heidelberg, and finished with the help of Slovak Grant Agency, Project VEGA 1/0331/11. The English has kindly been corrected by Emily Egan and Natalie Abell.

THE PAPER AIMS TO ADDRESS THE VARYING PERSPECTIVES UPON, AND problems related to the Minoan presence in the northeast Aegean. This work, which naturally builds upon previous scholarship, is enriched by our field and museum research on Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, and at Troy, and received further impetus through working on publication of the Middle and early LBA pottery from the site of Mikró Vouní on Samothrace.

The Debate on Minoanisation

The majority of the Southern Aegean islands, some of the Northern ones, and parts of the adjacent mainland coast on both sides of the Aegean, witnessed during the MBA and in the beginning of the LBA, a cultural process, which has come to be termed *Minoanisation*; a process, wherein many sites across Aegean started sharing a whole set of specific cultural traits, individually or in combination, within the context of a growing scale of interaction.¹ Since many of these traits originate on Crete, the island itself, and especially its palatial site of Knossos, were considered a driving force behind such a process. The debate on the Minoan presence outside Crete is an old one that started already with Arthur Evans but received a particular impulse during the 1980s, oscillating over the years between various interpretative models, ranging from forceful colonisation to a more active role of the local cultures.²

The first model tried to identify Cretan colonial activity all over Aegean: with a clear colonialist background and a top-down approach.³ When not directly speaking of colonisation, one spoke of *acculturation*, a term open to many interpretations,⁴ but one which usually assumed that less complex societies tend to lose their cultural traits once their members become acculturated to dominant society's structures. However, both concepts basically implied a rather passive role of the receiving population. On the other hand, a second group of papers, represented mainly by the analyses conducted by Jack Davis and Elizabeth Schofield on the Cyclades, has tried to go beyond the passive acculturation model and focused on the active role of local communities, and principally on the cumulative increase of Minoan traits through the time.⁵ Such perspectives have recently addressed how areas interacting with Crete in the Neopalatial period functioned as "*new*

1 Broodbank 2004.

2 Evans 1935, 283, 754-5; Furumark 1950; Rutter and Rutter 1976; Branigan 1981; 1984; Cherry 1981; Davis 1979, 1980; 1984; Schofield 1984; Wiener 1984.

3 Branigan 1981; 1984; Niemeier 1998; 2009.

4 Attoura 2002.

5 Davis 1979; 1980; 1984; Schofield 1984.

*environments,” a sort of “more globalized setting in which competition between communities or groups within communities encouraged emulation of Minoan material and non-material culture.”*⁶

New approaches to analysis of technologies, production traditions and their transmission, have explored yet other paths, especially in terms of emerging elites.⁷ The introduction of potter’s wheel at Phylakopi on Melos, for instance, is a valuable case study investigated by Ina Berg to demonstrate how it was only its introduction that permitted participation in Minoan style drinking and feasting habits by increasing the output of drinking vessels, mostly conical cups. This cultural dimension of technology has turned out to be quite useful to explore affiliation networks in the Cyclades at the very end of MBA. Carl Knappett and Irini Nikolakopoulou have noted that local production and imitation of Cretan shapes and decorations during Middle Cycladic III at Akrotiri (Thera) are very selective and fully integrated with local traditions. Therefore, they argue that Akrotiri “*is gradually culturally colonized, without postulating colonists per se.*”

A significant contribution to the study of interaction among islands came also from scientific analyses.⁸ Based mostly on petrography, these contributions have given a new direction to the study on material culture, most clearly ceramic products, moving from the stylistic analysis (not always trustable alone) to the characterisation of their substance. Finally, past and recent studies made also use of a *network analysis*, focusing mainly on the southern Aegean, to explain the growth of certain sites in terms of their interaction.⁹

The Problem of the Northeastern Aegean

The aforementioned network analysis has not been applied to the northern Aegean so far. Once it does, it will have to take into consideration not only the interaction between the individual islands, but also within them, and between the islands and the littoral mainland. Unlike the southern Aegean, with proper archipelagos such as Cyclades and Dodecanese, the northern Aegean is geographically composed of

6 Davis and Gorogianni 2008, 379. See also Vitale and Hancock Vitale (2010) for similar ideas concerning the SW Aegean.

7 Berg 2007a; 2007b; Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2005; 2008. But even this does not seem to be the final word, since the term *colonisation* is still being declined by some researchers: Niemeier 2009, 20–1.

8 Marthari 1993; Marthari et al. 1990; Kiriati 2003; Marketou et al. 2006; Broodbank and Kiriati 2007; Knappett et al. 2011.

9 Already Davis (1979) and Berg (1999), although the explanatory model does not make use of nodes and links. Knappett et al. 2008.

few big islands, most of them having several contemporary settlements (Fig. 1).¹⁰ Noteworthy is also the distance from the “miniature continent” of Crete and the relative vicinity of coastal Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thracia, as well as their Balkan background.

As for the Minoan influence on Eastern Aegean, two explanatory models have been developed, each placing the NE Aegean in a subordinate role. Within the first one, the already existing colonial model was enriched through an attempt at measuring the *grade of Minoanisation* by means of check-lists, used for the first time at Miletus by Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier.¹¹ Such an approach implies that higher scores for a given site or region indicate more complex Minoanisation, linked almost by definition to the actual presence of “Minoan people.” A similar checklist applied by Marta Guzowska to the Northern Aegean, led her to conclude that the identified “*behavioural patterns create a strong argument for at least short-lived Minoan settlement somewhere in the area.*”¹² We feel a bit uneasy about this approach, since both studies produced a rather heterogeneous picture. Only few sites showed a high score, with most showing one or two “Minoan” traits. But how do we explain such variation in the archaeological record? Can it be understood as representing a site’s hierarchical position within a given network? More importantly, such variability must be measured also in time and space, in order to take account of more complex scenarios involving movements of people and networks of power. To use an example: are we getting a true picture through the *tale of conical cups*? Why should the superabundance of this type of vessel be automatically considered “*the better evidence for the actual presence of significant numbers of Minoans or descendant of Minoans,*”¹³ or to be “*essential to the well-being of any Minoan society?*”¹⁴

The second model was suggested by Penelope Mountjoy. Using largely the occurrence of Mycenaean decorated pottery, she defined the so called *Upper* and *Lower Interface*.¹⁵ Whereas the Lower interface is characterised by a high proportion of Mycenaean pottery, the Upper Interface consists largely of local wares. This model viewed Mycenaean culture in the eastern Aegean as a peculiar entity, producing a “hybrid culture” by gradually adopting Mycenaean burial customs and pottery. Subsequent research on local cultures has shown that Mountjoy managed, in fact, to grasp a much broader phenomenon, and there was definitely a

10 On the concepts and meanings of Greek island worlds, see Kopaka 2008.

11 Niemeier 1998.

12 Guzowska 2002, 591.

13 Wiener 1984.

14 Coldstream and Huxley 1972, 285.

15 Mountjoy 1998.

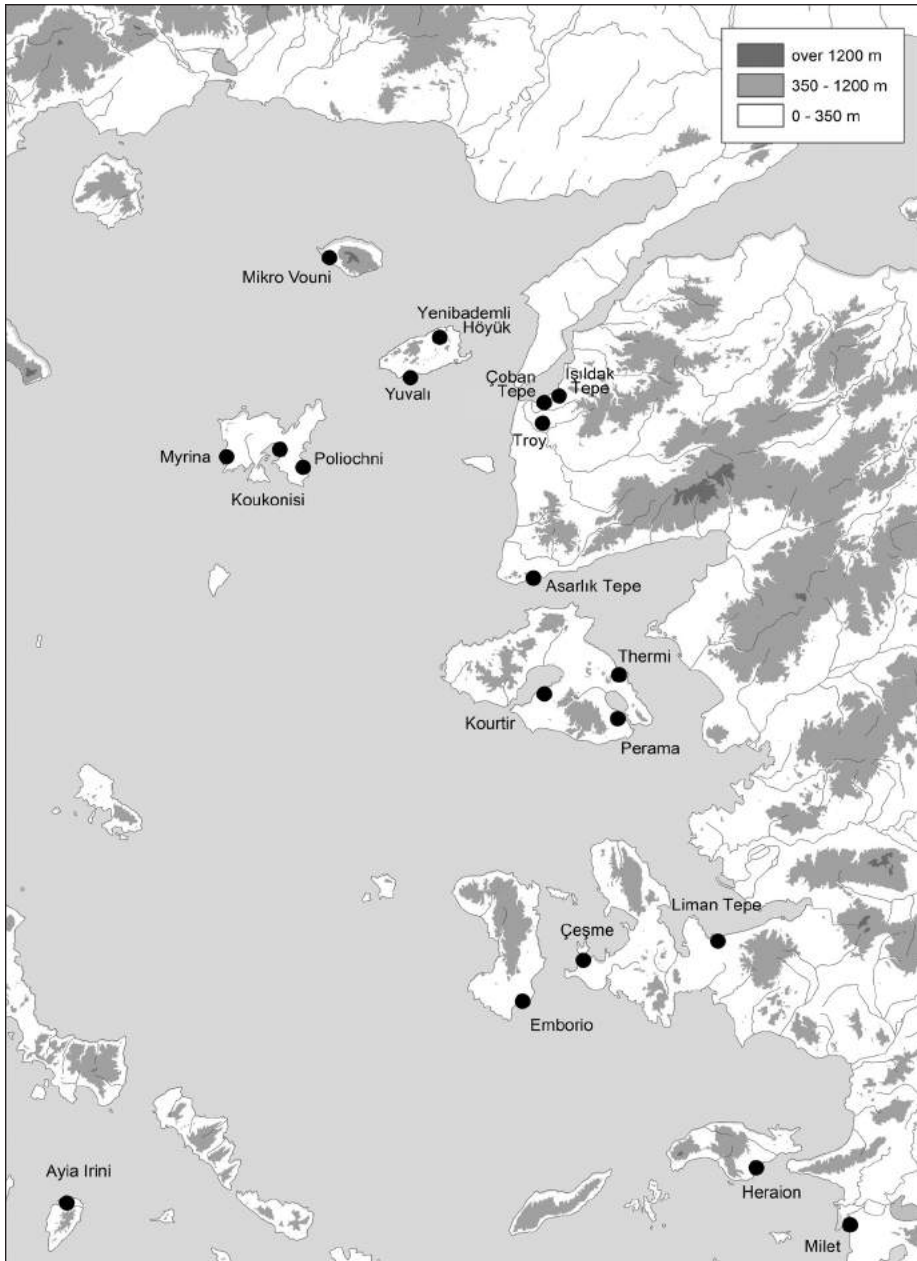


Fig. 1 Map of the NE Aegean with sites discussed in the text.

cultural border somewhere around Ephesos.¹⁶ She spoke mainly of acculturation, as opposed to direct colonisation, but also introduced the term *hybrid*, which we will discuss in a moment.

From Minoanisation to Acculturation and Hybridisation

The process of *acculturation*, however, often implies a distinct unidirectional and top-down replacement of material traits. The definition of the term acculturation is far from being uniform but the one-dimensional characterization of the interaction between dominant and less complex societies, and especially the passive role of the receiving side, seems to prevail. For this reason, it is important to register isolated voices, such as Michael Dietler, who has stressed the importance of the *consumption* context, which will play a role in our discussion.¹⁷ Regarding the role of foreign objects, in particular, Dietler shifts the attention from their “*society of origin*” to the new “*context of consumption*,” when objects from site A gain a different meaning in site B. The transformative process of this operation is the basic ingredient of a parallel branch of research, one that explores the effects of cultural and social mixture.

The need to stress the more *active* role of the receiving culture has led proponents of post-colonial theory to coin a whole range of terms such as creolisation, pidginisation or hybridisation, which have become prominent in material culture studies.¹⁸ Although *hybridisation* is basically derived from biological and evolutionary debates, it has also been applied to archaeology.¹⁹ The concept implies creation of new trans-cultural forms after the interaction of two or more cultures. As a material, cultural, or social mixture, hybridisation does not fuse colonial and indigenous cultures, but represents a transformative process whereby new creations (either material or social) gain their own coherence. As Robert Young noted, “*hybridity works in different ways at the same time, according to the cultural, economic, and political demands of specific situations. It involves processes of interaction that create new social spaces to which new meanings are given.*”²⁰ This concept, and its application to prehistoric societies, also has its limits, such as defining the relationship between the object itself and its meaning.²¹ Following this vein, the study of

16 For Ephesos see Kerschner 2006, 367–8, Büyükkolancı 2007, as well as Pavúk in this volume. For Kaystros valley in the Ephesos hinterland, see Schachner and Meriç 2000, as well as Meriç 2009.

17 Dietler 1998.

18 Hannerz 1987; Burke 2009.

19 Antonaccio 2003; Voskos and Knapp 2008; Stockhammer 2012.

20 Young 2003, 79.

21 Thomas 1991, 7–34.

Nicholas Thomas on the introduction of European material into tribal societies of Pacific is a remarkable example on how, when dealing with exchange, manipulation and transformation of objects, one should take into consideration the full range of transaction forms, instead of only those according with the Maussian stereotypes of gift economy (gift, reciprocity, gift exchange). One of the central ideas of the book by Thomas is that objects are not what they were made to be, but what they have become in their new environment. The famous “Minoan” juglet found at Troy can be very instructive in illustrating the debate over whether an object’s original cultic meaning remained the same once it had been incorporated into new space at Troy, or whether it acquired a different significance.²²

The key concept in this transformative phenomenon is the one of *appropriation*: before a foreign object can be transformed, it must be appropriated and incorporated into local culture. Studies by Hans-Peter Hahn have distinguished four stages of this process: *appropriation*, *objectivisation*, *incorporation*, and *transformation*. Whereas the first two stages work at the level of materiality (easily identifiable in the archaeological record), the others concern social practices, which is much more difficult to reconstruct.²³ Hence, the problems for archaeologists, since objects can be better detected than social practices in the material record.

The perspective we would like to adopt considers Minoanisation as a process comprised of several stages by which material culture – at least in the NE Aegean – exhibits a mixture of cultural similarities and differences with the Cretan world. This, in turn, reflects different degrees of network interactions and/or the selective use of objects and ideas.

Among the problems derived from past interpretative models, two basic ideas should be mentioned: the first is that Minoanisation reflects one-way cultural transfer from Crete to a given community, and the second is that the whole phenomenon was chronologically monolithic. Unfortunately, both of these assumptions have led to misconceptions. The first idea not only conflicts with the great diversity of Minoanised objects spread throughout the east Aegean, but also ignores the paradox that objects and their related ideas may have come not from Crete, but from some already Minoanised centres outside of it. Likewise, a more precise chronological assessment of NE Aegean cultural development is critical to our research. The data at our disposal (FIG. 2), though discontinuous, enables us to sketch a preliminary synchronisation, which, for the first time, helps to guide the research towards a more diachronic perspective. This aspect has proved crucial for understanding Minoanisation as a cumulative series of events that gradually emerged in our area as early as MM II, but continued down to LM I. It has also

22 Girella 2014.

23 Hahn 2005, 102–4.

Pefkakia	Ayia Irini	Crete	Mikro Vouni	Troy	Poliochni	Koukonisi	Chios	Çeşme	Liman Tepe	Miletus
7	VIA	LM IA	I	VI b/c	Violet	III	Stage 6	1	III:1-2	IVA
	V	MM III	II				?	2a		
6	IV	MM II	III	Vla	Brown	IV	Hiatus ?	2b	III: 3	III
			IV							
4-5	Hiatus	(MM I)	VI	V			Hiatus ?	Hiatus ?	III: 4	
1-3			VII							
EBA	III	(EM IIB)	VIII	IV	Yellow	V	Period I		IV: 2	II
			IX	Ilg-III					V: 1	

Fig. 2 Comparative chronology of the crucial sites discussed in text.

shown that influences could have come not only directly from Crete, but also from “stepping-stones” along the way.

The Evidence

The following data, although not uniform, illustrates a degree of variability that sheds light on issues of population mobility, spheres of consumption, and the transmission of technologies. Regardless of the insufficient state of the research, one can now say that the NE Aegean islands lack three specific Minoan traits: special architectural features (like ashlar masonry, polythyra, lustral basins), wall paintings, and burial customs. Our approach, therefore, will focus largely on ceramic products. Whereas the Samothracian evidence will be presented separately, we shall try to summarize the relevant information concerning the other islands, complemented by Troy on the mainland. The sites will be discussed roughly from North to South, from Samothrace down to Chios (Fig. 1).

Samothrace

The northernmost island in our group, Samothrace, offers the best and most complete picture so far. The tell settlement of Mikro Vouni on the SW coast of the island seems to have had an uninterrupted sequence from the EBA to the early LBA, possibly even later, but the upper levels are now eroded. The site is well-known for its Minoan administrative documents,²⁴ absolutely unique this far north, but also for other

24 Matsas 1991, figs. 5, 8, 15-17; 1993; 1995, pls. XXXIV, XXXV e, XXXVI-XXXVII a-c; 2004.

finds including stone vessels,²⁵ discoid loom weights,²⁶ a lead weight,²⁷ fragments of white plaster, crucibles, and a schist mould,²⁸ all of which seem to reflect a whole range of industrial activities. Minoan and other ceramic imports are also known.²⁹

The MBA period covers roughly three major phases,³⁰ which we have decided to name *pre-contact phase* of a local MBA character, followed by a dynamically developing *contact phase*, with Cretan imports and new shapes within local wares, clearly betraying a Cretan connection and called Minoanising here, which is later superseded by yet another phase, with fewer Cretan imports but a whole range of new shapes, which are not exactly like anything known from Crete, but seem to be a free creation of the local potters. It is this last one that we consider a *hybrid phase*.

Imbros and Tenedos

The nearby islands of Imbros (Gökçeada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada) remain still in a shadow. At Imbros, the Minoan connection is related to the production of pottery similar to that from Samothrace, as well as to a single, supposedly, Minoan sherd reported from a promising site of Yuvalı (Pyrgos), situated in the SW part of the island on a small promontory flanked by two harbours.³¹ Another crucial site must have been Yeni Bademliköy (Aghios Floros), originally an EBA tell controlling a deep valley in the opposite NE part of the island, but the 2nd millennium levels are almost completely eroded away.³² A Late Mycenaean deposit has been excavated on the highest (preserved) point of the tell in square F10,³³ laying directly on an EBA ramp, but scattered unpainted LBA sherds on the surface hint that there might have been a proper 2nd mill. occupation on the site.

As for Tenedos, almost nothing is known; but Ch. Boulotis has recently drawn attention to a neglected find coming reportedly from Tenedos: a Protopalatial hematite seal with a herringbone motif flanked by two quadrupeds.³⁴

25 Matsas 1995, pl. XXXV b.

26 So far unpublished, loom weights from Samothrace belong to the disc-shape type, with and without side groove, well known in southern Aegean.

27 Matsas 1995, pl. XXXVII d–e.

28 Matsas 1995, pl. XXXVIII.

29 Matsas et al. (in preparation).

30 More detailed information will be offered in Matsas et al. (in preparation).

31 Harmankaya and Erdoğan 2003, 463 fig. 1; Matsas 2006.

32 Andreou and Andreou 1991; 2001; 2002; Harmankaya and Erdoğan 2003, 463; Hürüylmaz 2008; 2014.

33 Hürüylmaz 2000, 249; 2002, 89 fig. 15.

34 Boulotis 2009, 177; Cook 1925, 663 fig. 602.

Lemnos

On Lemnos, three sites are of interest: Myrina, Poliochni, and Koukonisi. The context of the Minoan stone vase from Myrina is again not clear but would suggest a Protopalatial date.³⁵ At Poliochni, unlike with the famous EBA settlement, the 2nd mill. levels dated to periods *Bruno* and *Violet* are severely eroded by now. Whereas *Poliochni Bruno* seems to be well-rooted in the local ceramic development related with Troy V type of cultures, *Poliochni Violet* seems to show more southern influences. The relevant deposits come mainly from a well in Square 106, but also from a house east of the Square 106, from Street 105, and from new trenches (H-West) in the north of the site.³⁶ Some of these contexts yielded Minoanising shapes but none are completely secure and all need a serious re-examination.³⁷ Hole-mouthed jars, conical cups, and technical shapes, such as scuttles, all in local wares, seem to belong to the same package of Minoanised shapes already attested on Samothrace. A recent assignment of these to a newly defined second phase of *Poliochni Bruno* would possibly fit the proposed synchronisation with Troy V/VI Early,³⁸ but closer reading of the original publication reveals that the pottery from the well in square 106 assigned to this phase also includes items from deeper and higher levels, not to mention vessels of a typologically and decoratively clearly later date (Troy VI Middle/Late).³⁹

35 Bernabò Brea 1965, 304 fig. 175; Cultraro 2005, 243 pl. LXIII b.

36 Bernabò Brea 1976, 315–39. See also Cultraro 1997; 2001; 2007.

37 The crucial material recovered from the fill of the well in Square 106 is considered by Bernabò Brea (1976, 335–8) non-stratified, since pottery of mixed dates occurs along the whole depth of the well. Cultraro (2001, 215–8), on the contrary, believes in the existence of three chronologically distinctive strata within the fill: 0.00/–2.40, –2.40/–5.65, and –5.65/–6.50. This distinction of the strata is based on the published section of the well, which indeed seems to imply three different types of fill. The question however remains what taphonomical processes are behind these three types of fill. Rather than accumulation over time, they could have represented dump from three different locations thrown in at the same time, explaining thus the mixed nature of the recovered material therein.

38 Cultraro 2001, 222–9; 2007, 329–30 fig. 5.

39 That is for example the case with the Neopalatial type of scuttle coming from depth –3.85/–5 (Bernabò Brea 1976, 338 pl. CCLXXXII b), while a hole-mouthed jar with collared neck, typologically more akin to later examples from Troy VI Late, came from deeper levels –5/–7.30 (Bernabò Brea 1976, 337, fig. 178), as did also a clearly late kylix fragment from level –5.65/–6.50 (Bernabò Brea 1976, 338 pls. CCLXXXII a, CCLXXXIV i). In addition, whereas Bernabò Brea (1976, 338 pls. CCLXXXII g–i, CCLXXXIV o–p) reports conical cups similar to the MM III/LM IA ones from Crete from level –5.65/–8.25, later conical cups, likely datable to LM I (Bernabò Brea 1976, 339 pls. CCLXXXI j, CCLXXXIV n) and LH II (Bernabò Brea 1976, 339 pls. CCLXXXI k–l, CCLXXXIV m) are not represented in the well, but come from a house east of the Square 106.

In any case, from the scanty evidence it seems wise to state that the degree and character of Minoan influence on the local culture of Poliochni still needs to be verified. Its date seems rather late, assignable between MB and the beginning of LBA.⁴⁰ The possibility of hybrid shapes and a hybrid phase remains open. One such hybrid shape may be a complete *tea-pot* published from “the area of Square 106.”⁴¹ Of possible interest are also the non-Cretan and non-Mycenaean matt-painted imports assigned by Bernabò Brea to his *Violet* period.⁴²

What MBA and LBA Poliochni and Myrina might have looked like is perhaps best illustrated by Koukonisi, situated on a small island in the Moudros bay and standing so far as the most promising Lemnian settlement with stratified deposits of this period.⁴³ Most of MBA falls with the period IV, destroyed by a massive earthquake, whose material resembles that one of Poliochni Bruno (at least as published by Bernabò Brea), with typical Red Slipped Burnished wares.⁴⁴ Foreign contacts have been postulated with Ayia Irini on Kea, as well as with Central Greece and coastal Thessaly.⁴⁵ From Koukonisi period III, which covers mostly the end of the MB and the beginning of the LBA,⁴⁶ a wide spectrum of artefacts betray generally Aegean, but in several cases explicitly Minoan, connections.⁴⁷ Household and industrial activities are evidenced by stone vessels and tools, clay loom weights, and a stone mould for casting axes. These objects together with pieces of hearths, crucibles, slags, and *tuyères* attest the presence of a metal workshop in the settlement that was active at the very beginning of the LBA.⁴⁸ Minoanising pottery is represented by several shapes (conical cups, semiglobular cups, lamps, scuttles), complemented by a fair number of imported decorated wares, for which Boulotis has pointed out connections with Crete, the Southern Aegean, and the Greek Mainland. Hybrid shapes are represented as well, but are not published so far.⁴⁹

40 Van de Moortel 2010, 779–80.

41 Mendoni 1997, 152 fig. 1.

42 Bernabò Brea 1976, 338 pls. CCLXXXIII d–i, k–l; Cultraro 2005, 240 pl. LXIIIa. Note, however, that the matt-painted pottery from Poliochni does not necessarily come from mainland Greece.

43 Boulotis 1997; 2009; 2010.

44 Boulotis 2009, 182–3 fig. 8; 2010.

45 Boulotis 2009, 182–3; 2010, 899 fig. 3, 5–8. The matt-painted goblet on Boulotis (2010, Fig. 6) would fit very well matt-painted Yellow Minyan goblets of roughly MH III date. See also Petrakis and Moutzouridis (2010) for imported Grey Wares.

46 Boulotis 2009, 184.

47 Boulotis 2009.

48 Boulotis 2009, 195–202 figs. 20–4.

49 Boulotis 2009, 183–95 figs. 8–19. The local pottery has not been published sufficiently yet, but thanks to the kindness of Christos Boulotis, we can say that it betrays many similarities to the finds from Samothrace, including the hybrid ones.

Special attention should be given to a distinctive ware characterised by white patterns painted on plain (burnished) ground, which imitates some Cretan MM II and III prototypes but lends itself also to new shapes.⁵⁰ Worth noting is the fact that while similar white painted ware occurs also on Mikro Vouni, at Troy and in Thermi (see below for both latter sites), the range of shapes and decorative motifs is not the same. Such a pattern can demonstrate how possible diverse drinking etiquettes lie behind different technical choices.

In short, we see a switch from a local MBA island culture, linked culturally rather to Western Anatolia (Troy V), with imports from mainland Greece, to a new phase, showing distinctly southern influences. Not enough has been published so far to tell, whether this was a gradual process, as on Samothrace, or not. Since Period IV was of a considerable length and had several architectural sub-phases, there is enough “space” for some ceramic development as well. The earthquake, and the transition to period III, might have happened already during MM III, but the majority of published Minoan imports seems to be of a LM I date.

Troad

Facing directly Poliochni, Troy on the Anatolian mainland, stands out for a rather limited character of any Minoan influence.⁵¹ Troy V, very Anatolian in character and with few external contacts, is followed by Troy VIa, showing a surprisingly strong influence from the MH III–Central Greece, an influence which however seems to have bypassed the islands discussed here, and leave them largely untouched.⁵² It is in this phase that we see first imports of Minoan pottery, which – with the notable exception of the MM IIIA Creamy-bordered Style juglet⁵³ – pertains only to semi-coarse and coarse medium sized transport vessels.⁵⁴ Minoan import does not increase or change considerably in subsequent Troy VIIb/c, but we see an interesting double development. On the one hand, the local culture becomes strongly Anatolian once again, but at the same time almost 10 percent of the pottery is now being imported partly directly from Samothrace (confirmed by NAA analysis),⁵⁵

50 Boulotis 2009, fig. 15.

51 There are two views: A more optimistic one in Guzowska (2002; 2009) and a more minimalistic one in Pavúk (2005; 2012).

52 Pavúk 2007; 2010.

53 Korfmann 1997, fig. 37; Girella 2014. For the re-dating of the juglet from Troy V to Troy VIa, see Pavúk 2007, Postscript; 2014.

54 Relevant results of the new excavations will be published in Pavúk 2014. Imports in general are being prepared in a joint publication by M. Guzowska and P. Pavúk.

55 This is especially the case with white painted semiglobular cups and tea-pots, as well as other unpainted shapes. Painted motifs are rather limited: mostly chevrons, occasionally also dots, dashes and wavy-line. See Pavúk 2005, 271–2 pl. LXVa; 2014.

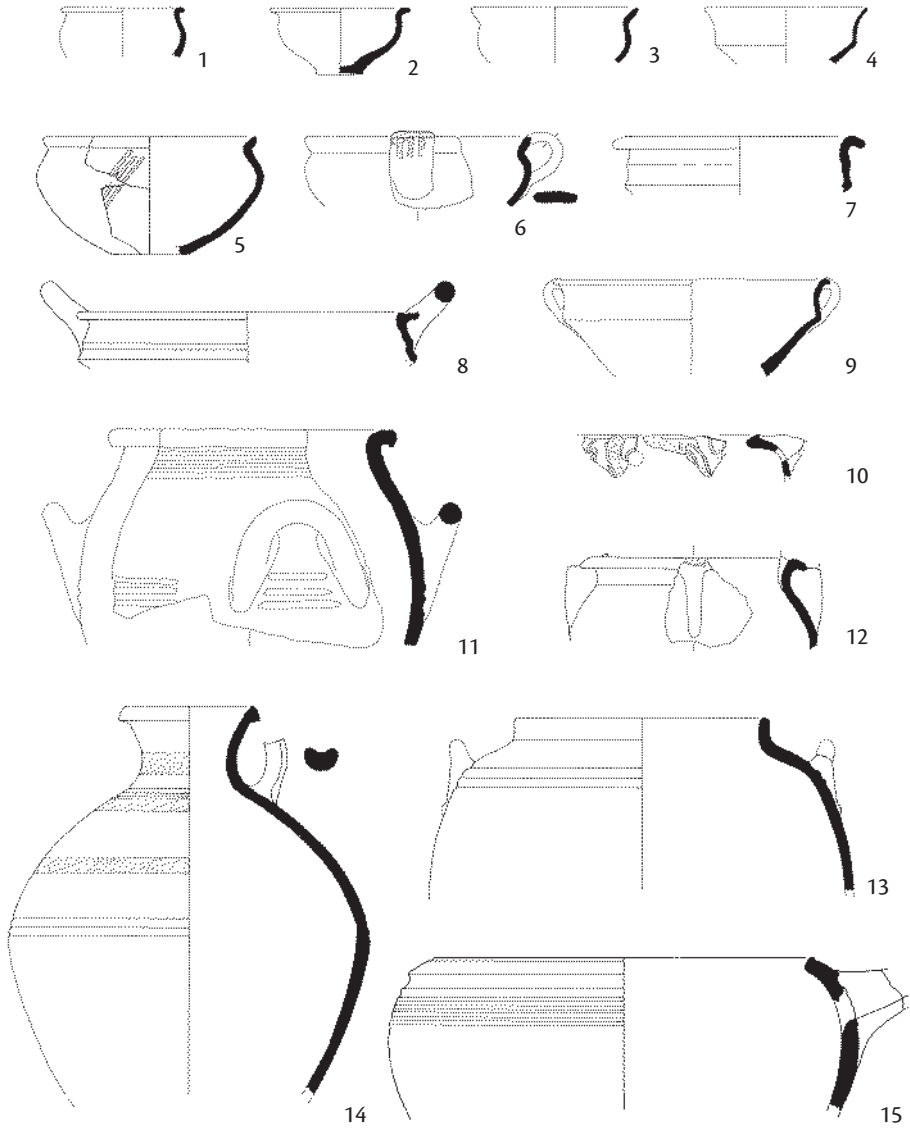


Fig. 3 Hybrid shapes of "island" wares from Troy VIb/c, after Pavúk 2014.

partly from some of the other island sites (so far unidentified, but macroscopically none of the known ones). All of these island imports show a distinctive range of shapes and production techniques, which are alien to Western Anatolia, but which (as we know now) fit very well with the hybrid shapes postulated above (FIG. 3). So interestingly, we do not have a proper contact phase at Troy, but a rather massive invasion of the hybrid one.

Concerning Troy, Minoan influence has previously also been related with the presence of flat discoid loom-weights, including the typical groove on the top.⁵⁶ Despite years of excavation, only ca. two dozens have turned up, including the Schliemann finds, with overwhelming majority of those that can be stratigraphically assigned being LH IIIA and later in date! The single earlier example is from a LH IIB context, which virtually removes the whole loom-weight issue at Troy from any kind of MM III/LM I–Minoanisation discussion, and one needs to find a different kind of explanation for the spread of this technology to Troy.⁵⁷ The periods during which one would expect the Minoan influence, namely MM III and LM I, yielded at Troy only spools, which are on the contrary related with the Greek mainland and with the horizontal, rather than the vertical, loom. Likewise problematic, in our view, is the supposed Minoan influence behind the first occurrence of crushed Murex shells used quite plausibly for textile production in earliest Troy VI, contemporary to MH III.⁵⁸ Small scale production of purple-dye is evidenced at this time also elsewhere in the northern Aegean (Toumba Thessalonikis, Agios Mamas, or even EBA Poliochni) and seems to be rather a local development, unrelated with anything Minoan.⁵⁹

In short, Troy must have been aware of Minoan presence in the NE Aegean and *vice versa*, but the “Minoan people” decided not to interact too much with it; certainly not during the early contact phases. It is only during the subsequent hybrid phase that we see seemingly quite vivid communication between Troy and the island communities, whoever that was by then. This possibly applies not only to Troy but also to some other sites in coastal Troad, which equally yielded island-style pottery. Singular but very diagnostic pieces come from Çoban Tepe and Işıldak Tepe in the north, and Asarlık Tepe in the southern Troad (FIG. 1).⁶⁰

56 Becks and Guzowska 2004; Guzowska and Becks 2005.

57 For a differing perspective on Trojan textile production, see Pavúk 2012.

58 Çakırlar and Becks 2009.

59 Full discussion of the problem, as well as further bibliographic links, can be found in Pavúk 2012.

60 Discovered in course of surveys done by the Troia Project: Aslan et al. 2003; Pavúk and Schubert 2014.

Lesbos

Going back to the islands, the evidence from Lesbos comes from at least two sites: Thermi and Perama. Thermi is the best known and has not been considered overtly Minoan so far.⁶¹ However, taking a renewed look at the local pottery, certain resemblances do occur.⁶² Problematic is their stratigraphic date, which remains rather sketchy in the publication. A re-study of the 2nd millennium material from Thermi is currently on the way and should eventually lead to a clearer picture.⁶³ For the time being, one can say that after a hiatus of almost half a millennium, the EBA tell is resettled at some point during the MBA, more likely towards its end. What follows is a stylistically unified phase, corresponding especially to Lamb's *Well Bowl Class*, but containing also some of her *Developed Red and Grey Vases*,⁶⁴ which in its character also fits very well with our hybrid phase.⁶⁵ One should stress especially the presence of *tea-pots*, some of which are decorated by white matt paint, encountered already in Mikro Vouni, Troy, and Koukonisi.⁶⁶ Here, however, we reach the limits of any old material re-study, and the exact process of any eventual Minoanisation cannot be followed step by step in Thermi. Likewise, no Minoan or other related imports were known until recently from the site. This has changed in December 2009, when one of the authors (P.P.) was able to identify two imports among the unpublished sherds kept in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge. Lamb obviously recognized them as strange, since she took them home with her, but in the end decided not to publish them. One of them is a fragment of a semicoarse transport vessel of likely central Cretan origin (or at least manufactured in such manner), with the other one being an import from elsewhere.⁶⁷

Also, Thermi yielded discoid loom-weights, unclear whether with or without a groove, but all of them seem to be of EBA date, belonging to Towns III to V.⁶⁸ One exemplar, however, kept in the sherd collection in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, University of Cambridge, does seem to have a groove and according to trench and relative depth stencilled on it; it might very well come from the hybrid phase.

61 Lamb 1936. But see remarks in Merousis (1991; 2001).

62 Lamb 1936, 146–8 pls. XVIII 635, 636, 627, 610, 614–5, pl. XIX 642.

63 P.P. would like to thank the British School at Athens for the permission to study the finds and to access the BSA archive. The results of the work will be presented in a separate article in *Annual of the BSA*.

64 Lamb 1936, 137–8.

65 The hybrid shapes are for example: Lamb 1936, fig. 40: 5, 12, 13, 15, 17, pl. XVIII: 610–15.

66 Lamb 1936, fig. 41, 6–9. The white paint has not been noticed by Lamb. See also Pavúk 2005, 271–2, n. 19.

67 These finds will be included in the planned Thermi publication.

68 Lamb 1936, 163 fig. 44: 31.31.

The site of Perama was never properly excavated and is known only from surveys by J. Cook and N. Bayne.⁶⁹ It is situated on the western coast of the gulf of Gera and was supposed to be a major mound, with thick levels attributable to the end of LBA and transitional to EIA. Today, the site is possibly already destroyed. The Minoan link consists of a few almost complete rounded and straight-sided cups published by Bayne and stored now in the Study Collection of the British School at Athens.⁷⁰ They seem to be pre-LH III but look a bit too late for MM II or III, which leaves LM I-II as the only plausible date. Some have parallels at Thermi, some rather resemble profiles known from Emporio on Chios.⁷¹ They are produced in a local reddish fabric, of a surprisingly coarse texture for being drinking cups. The surface is eroded, but must have been slipped and burnished, given the coarseness of the clay. No other information is available.

Finally, we would like to point out one more site on Lesbos: Kourtir. This site has never been properly explored either, but several small excavations, surveys, as well as personal inspection make it clear that this must have been one of the major MBA/LBA sites on the island, if not the biggest of all.⁷² It is situated on the eastern shores of the larger of the two Lesbian bays, the Gulf of Kallone, not unlike the site of Koukonisi on Lemnos, except that Kourtir is properly on the “mainland.” No Minoan or related finds are known so far from Kourtir, but with several hundred meters in diameter, the site could very likely offer a key to understanding Lesbian position in the game called Minoanisation, once excavated. But maybe also not, since Lesbos seems to have stood slightly aside the main Minoan interest and the few currently known hybrid innovations could have reached the island in a second wave, so to say, radiating maybe from Chios, rather than coming directly from the southern Aegean.

Chios

Chios, in this period, is represented largely by the poorly stratified finds from Emporio, found mainly in Area F on a rather steep northern slope of the Acropolis hill and on its lower western slopes, in Area D.⁷³ The relevant sequence has two fixed endpoints: EBA 2 levels (Troy IIg/III) at the bottom and LH IIIC levels on the top. The few and rather disturbed strata in between (Pre-Stage I in Area D and Stages 5 and 6 in Area F) yielded material, which S. Hood attempted to date mainly stylistically. In absence of proper stratigraphy, he made a brave attempt to

69 Cook 1951, 247; Bayne 1963 (2000), 104–9 fig. 30–31; Spencer 1995, 13–4.

70 Bayne 1963 (2000), fig. 30: 3, 31: 5–8.

71 Lamb 1936, pl. XVIII: 610, 627; Bayne 1963 (2000), fig. 32: 3–8; Hood 1982, 599 fig. 269.

72 The relevant bibliography is summarised in Spencer 1995, 20.

73 Hood 1981, 147–50, 158–64.

spread the available material and cover all the missing periods (Troy IV, V and VI). However, restudy of the material showed that much of it in fact belongs together and can be dated contemporary to the beginning of the LBA. This would include some of the grey wares, most of the matt-painted wares, as well as all of unpainted “pre-Mycenaean” finds.⁷⁴ Having said this, one also has to say, that the site now seems to have been deserted in the MBA and possibly also at the end of the EBA.

The presence of loom-weights, stone vessels, clay lamps and moulds hint again at similarities with Koukonisi and Samothrace, but the pottery tells a slightly different story.⁷⁵ The unpainted pottery is very fine, plain, and repetitive, consisting mainly of deep semiglobular cups, straight-sided handleless cups, shallow bowls with horizontal rim, bridge-spouted jars or *dinoi*, accompanied by Anatolian shapes such as bead-rim bowls and other carinated bowls with upright shoulder.⁷⁶ Of special importance for our discussion, however, is the charming local matt-painted bichrome style, which does not resemble that of the Middle Helladic period from Greece.⁷⁷ The Emporio matt-painted ware can be interpreted as another nice example of hybrid production, which mixes Cycladic elements (specifically the Black-and-Red style pottery from Phylakopi)⁷⁸ together with the dark-on-light production in Crete starting from MM IIIB (mostly horizontal bands, single or multiple wavy-bands, running spirals, and cross-hatchings; more rarely vegetal motifs and foliate bands). A further link, anchoring this style more in early LBA than in late MBA, are the finds from Ayios Stephanos in Laconia, a mainland site which likewise shows a strong connection with the island of Crete.⁷⁹ Further connection with the Cyclades is visible in the above mentioned plain wares. Handleless cups of at least three types (ovoid, hemispherical, and straight-sided)⁸⁰ have clear comparisons with similar cups from Periods VI and VII at Ayia Irini (Keos).⁸¹

74 Hood 1982, 571–3 fig. 255 pl. 113 (Grey Wares), 573–8 fig. 256–7 pl. 114–16 (Matt-Painted Wares), 599–600 fig. 269 pl. 123 (pre-Mycenaean). For further discussion of the issue see Pavúk 2010, 939 fig. 3.

75 For the loom-weights, see Hood 1982, 632–3 fig. 285: 28–29 pl. 132: 28–29. There is a fragment of blue-grey marble lamp of a Cretan type: Warren (1962, 52–3), Hood (1982, 646 fig. 289). The remarkable stone mould for making butterfly-shaped ornament is datable to the very beginning of LBA: Hood (1982, 654 fig. 293: 39 pl. 137: 39). Clay lamp is preserved in three fragments, possibly represent two specimens: Hood (1982, 619 pl. 123: 2969).

76 Combination of the following figures gives a good impression of what the local assemblage might have looked like: Hood 1982, fig. 254, 269–70.

77 Hood 1982, 573–8 figs. 256–7 pls. 114–6.

78 Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. xxiii.

79 Zerner 2008, 252–3 fig. 5.27 (no. 1594–1602), 5.52 (no. 2239–44).

80 Hood 1982, 600 fig. 269 (no. 2804–11).

81 Cummer and Schofield 1984, pl. 47.

Emporio thus seems to have been re-settled at the end of the Aegean MBA or early in the LBA. It shows an interesting mix of island cultures with Anatolian elements, visible also on Lesbos, but not so much on Lemnos and Samothrace. Chios does show links with the above discussed islands, but there are also differences, especially in the quite different way of preparing clay paste, which is otherwise surprisingly similar among the other NE Aegean islands. Looking at the map of Aegean, Chios can be viewed either as the southern most of the NE Aegean, or the northernmost of the SE Aegean. In terms of Mountjoy's Interface, it does belong to the Upper Interface, but the proximity of the Lower Interface might have led to other ways of, and reasons for, Minoanisation on the island. It is likely that Chios was in its own way, already part of the "new environment" as defined by Davis and Gorogianni.⁸²

Urla Peninsula

With Chios facing the Urla peninsula, we have reached the southern edge of the Upper Interface (Fig. 1). While the evidence for any Minoanisation at Limantepe is currently limited only to presence of several loom-weights,⁸³ and possibly a deep spouted bowl, with parallels on Crete in late Pre- and Protopalatial periods,⁸⁴ the finds from the recent excavations at the site of Çeşme-Bağlararası do provide us with important new data on the relations between this region and the Cretan world.⁸⁵

The Minoanising aspects from the site concentrate mostly in Phase 1 (ÇB 1), contemporary to LM IA in Crete. Proper imports from Crete are not so numerous and are represented mostly by dark-on-light fine wares.⁸⁶ The rest of the imports should rather be termed Minoanising, such as the light-on-dark jug-handles belonging possibly to the east Aegean LOD/DOL Wares,⁸⁷ or various semiglobular cups with dark-on-light (bichrome) running spirals that betray the same Cycladic spirit already observed at Emporio.⁸⁸ Some may in fact be actual imports from Emporio,⁸⁹ since the site is situated just across the strait between Chios and the Urla Peninsula. The architectural layout of Çeşme-Bağlararası in this phase is unclear, due to bad preservation from proximity to surface, but majority of local pottery seems to be

82 Davis and Gorogianni 2008, 383.

83 Erkanal and Keskin 2009, 105 fig. 15.

84 Erkanal and Keskin 2009, 105 fig. 14. Actually, Cretan specimens have always had horizontal handles, while on the vessel from Liman Tepe they are vertical.

85 See Şahoğlu (in this volume) for the most recent summary on the site.

86 Şahoğlu 2007, 317–28 figs. 10; Erkanal and Keskin 2009, 103 fig. 10.

87 Şahoğlu 2007, 317–28 figs. 11. For the LOD/DOL east Aegean Ware see Davis 1982, Vitale 2006, or Momigliano 2007.

88 Şahoğlu 2007, fig. 12; Erkanal and Keskin 2009, 103 figs. 11–2.

89 See especially Erkanal and Keskin 2009, 103 fig. 11.

in the standard West Anatolian wares, including also Anatolian Grey Ware. As for the shapes, not much has been published, but quite popular seem to be S-shaped cups with deep lower body and very good parallels from Koukonisi, but also from Kos.⁹⁰ These are certainly not Anatolian, and would fit well in the hybrid category.

The preceding phases (ÇB 2a–2b), which the excavators consider contemporary to MM III on Crete,⁹¹ are much better preserved and show an insular layout, which immediately reminds one of EBA settlements, such as Poliochni and Thermi. However, since we do not have many other excavated contemporary sites in the area, it is hard to interpret the layout so far.⁹² The local pottery, at least, fits very well the Central West Anatolian pottery spectrum, with numerous trefoil-mouthed jugs, hemispheric bowls, and large jars with human faces.⁹³ However, imports are very few in these phases and the Minoan character seems to be limited to a cylindrical ivory stamp seal, from ÇB 2a.⁹⁴ Intriguing is also the almost complete footed vessel with mottled flaking black slip and four horizontal handles on the belly found in ÇB 2b phase.⁹⁵ Fragments of other vessels with similar fabric and surface treatment came to light in the same context. Along with these, a group of perforated “lids for incense burners” was found, which if indeed of such function, would possibly also point to some Minoan influence.⁹⁶ The shape of the footed vessel is highly unusual and since no other closely datable imports belonging to phase ÇB 2 were presented so far,⁹⁷ its date contemporary with MM III is possibly based on the flaking quality of its surface.

Conclusions

The above presented outline of developments and changes in the material culture on the NE Aegean islands is not exhaustive and should be corroborated in the future by closer study of small finds, as well as the architectural remains. In terms of pottery, we would need exact numbers, context by context, stratum by stratum, in order

90 Şahoğlu 2007, 317 Fig. 9; Boulotis 2009, fig. 9: h; Morricone 1967, 37 fig. 10: inv. no. 315 (Eleona, Tomb 4). The latter seems to be later but nevertheless constitutes an interesting link.

91 Şahoğlu 2007, 310; Erkanal and Keskin 2009, 99 Table 1.

92 Contemporary Liman Tepe (Levels III–4 and III–3) seems to be, rather, about free-standing oval buildings: Günel 1999, 44–5 fig. 2–6.

93 Şahoğlu 2007, figs. 4–6.

94 Erkanal and Keskin 2009, 102 n. 10, fig. 7.

95 Şahoğlu 2007, 316 Fig. 7; Erkanal and Keskin 2009, 101 fig. 5.

96 Şahoğlu 2007, 316; Erkanal and Keskin 2009, 102 fig. 9.

97 The “dark faced incised” lid imported from the Cyclades and found in ÇB 2b context cannot be dated this closely, and rather seems to be even earlier.

to be better able to grasp the process of Minoanisation, especially since it seems to have been different at different sites. Whereas at the end of the EBA and in the beginning of the MBA, the NE Aegean islands share cultural similarities with Troy IV and V (best exemplified by *Poliochni Bruno*), all of them witness a major change somewhere during the mature and late stages of MBA (corresponding roughly to MM II and MM III on Crete), leading to emergence of a new “island culture.” This culture, which is now quite different from the Anatolian mainland, instead shows a growing influence from the Southern Aegean. This process continues also at the beginning of the LBA but it is unclear for the time being when and how it ends. Open to further research is also the question of when and how these island cultures come under the next influence, that of the Mycenaeans.⁹⁸ For the time being, let us summarise what we do know, and what we would need to know.

1. **Chronology.** The evidence is not uniform also in chronological terms. The earliest evidence so far comes from the northernmost site, Mikro Vouni on Samothrace, dating to MM II in Cretan terms. The administrative documents, the Minoan imports as well as the imitation of Minoan shapes in local ware appear to be a sudden and striking phenomenon in the island, especially when compared to the previous local character of material culture. The end of MB continues to be rich in Minoan aspects but these are now so deeply incorporated into the local culture that they lead to new creations – what we have defined as hybrid – and indicate another turn in the development of the settlement. On the other hand, the evidence from Emporio, Koukonisi, and Çeşme–Bağlararası shows a clear impact of the Minoan culture on the local one only later on, at the very end of MBA and beginning of LBA, more or less contemporary with MM IIIB and LM IA.

2. **Diversity.** The evidence of Minoan imports in the NE Aegean islands is not uniform and each of the islands tells a slightly different story (Fig. 4). Some sites have more imports, some have less. Although this may be due to limited state of the research, one cannot exclude that it can indeed reflect the reality. In addition, it seems that different Minoanisation processes have been on the way in the Cyclades,⁹⁹ in the Dodecanese,¹⁰⁰ and in the NE Aegean. As we already mentioned, there can be a geographical explanation behind it: being characterised by few big islands, the NE Aegean area may have shown different inner dynamics. A future

98 It will be interesting to compare the two processes, and especially to compare both with the parallel developments in the SW Aegean (Vitale and Trecarichi, in this volume).

99 Davis 1979; 1980; Wiener 1984; 1990.

100 Girella 2005; Marketou 2009; Vitale and Hancock Vitale 2010.

REGION	SITE	MINOAN PERIOD	POTTERY IMPORTS	MINOANISING			STONE VESSELS	LOOM WEIGHTS	WALL PAINTINGS	PLASTERS	POTTERS MARKS	SEAL/SCRIPT DOCUMENTS	METALLURGY ACTIVITY	ARCHITECTURE	BURIAL CUSTOMS	RITUALS	BIBLIOGRAPHY
				CONICAL CUPS	DRINKING/POURING	COOKING WARE											
SAMOTHRACE	Mikro Vouni	MM II, MM III, LM I?	X X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			?	Matsas 1991, 1995, 2004, 2009	
	Yuvali-Pyrgos		X	X												Harmankaya/Erdöğü 2003, 463, fig. 1 and 10; Matsas 2006	
TENEDOS	?	MM II								X						Cook 1925, vol II, 663, fig. 602; Bouloris 2009, 177; Cultraro 2009, fig. 14.4	
LEMNOS	Poliochni	LM I?		X												Bernabò Brea 1976, 338, pls. CCLXXXIIg-i, CCLXXXIVo-p; Cultraro 2001	
	Myrina	LM?					X									Cultraro 2005, 243, pl. LXIIIb	
	Koukonisi	MM III, LM I	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				?	Bouloris 1997, 2009, 2010	
LESBOS	Thermi	MM III, LM I	X	X			X?									Lamb 1936, 146 (610-615), pl. XVIII; Merousis 2001	
	Perama	LM I-II?		?	X											Bayne 1963 (2000), 104-9, fig. 31; 5-8; Spencer 1995, 13.	
CHIOS	Emporio	LM I		X	X		X									Hood 1982, 571, 573-8, 599-600, figs. 256, 269, pls. 115-6, 123 (2605, 2801, 2807); Merousis 1991	
URLA PENINSULA	Liman Tepe						X									Erkanal/Keskin 2009, 105, fig. 15	
	Çeşme-Bağlararası	MM III, LM IA	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			?	Şahoğlu 2007; Erkanal/Keskin 2009	
NW ANATOLIA	Troy	MM III, LM I	X	X			X (X)								?	Korfmann 1997, fig. 32; Guzowska 2002; Pavúk 2005, 2012, 2014; Girella 2014	

Fig. 4 Extended "checklist" chart of Minoanising features on sites in NE Aegean.

network analysis can eventually suggest which site or island – if any – had a centrality or a prominent role in the regional interaction.

Certain diversity in the area, however, goes all the way back to the EBA. While all of the mentioned islands had a similar culture, bearing mainly Anatolian and Balkan features, each of them showed also local specifics.¹⁰¹ Therefore, as much as the Minoan presence in the area might have triggered a change towards a more Southern Aegean character in the second half of the MBA, it led almost inevitably to differing results island by island, even site by site; not to mention that the process did not happen simultaneously in the whole of NE Aegean. Especially the last point makes one wonder, whether this change between Anatolian and southern Aegean character of the local island culture was not further enhanced through the interaction between the islands themselves, which brings us back to the networks and the question: which of the islands or sites might have played a leading role in this respect.

3. **Matter of choice.** A better look at the interaction of these islands, therefore, will explain in the future the mechanism through which only some traits of Minoan culture were transmitted and how only some were closely reproduced and others, in turn, were transformed. It is doubtless that the variables noted in the previous analysis can be explained at the level of ‘individual’ choices. For this reason, it is likely that, aside from the inherent attractiveness of a given Minoan cultural trait, these islands show different degrees of receptiveness. For instance, whereas there is a general uniformity – also with the southern Aegean – when one looks at functional shapes (such as scuttles, lamps, plates, loom weights, grill stands, cooking pots), it is in the tableware that major differences arise. We believe that this is the realm where key choices operated at local level, likely driven by drinking and banqueting etiquettes and possibly controlled by emerging elites. Interesting aspects of local choices can be found in other fields. Sealing practices on Samothrace have been already discussed,¹⁰² but it is worth stressing for the present purpose that at Mikro Vouni local stamp/seals are also attested, mostly from the uppermost settlement phase.¹⁰³ This point prompts the observation that the two systems (Minoan and local) co-existed at some point, but it is clear that the local people own only clay seals which belong to an Anatolian tradition but that seem to imitate hieroglyphic seals.¹⁰⁴

4. **Metals.** Evidence of rather extensive smelting and metallurgy on some of the island sites is certainly not coincidental. Although the research on this side remains

101 Kouka 2002.

102 Matsas 1995.

103 Matsas 2004, no. 334–40.

104 Matsas 2009, 261.

inadequately investigated, the establishment of relations for the procurement of raw materials is so far the most satisfying answer to the question of what the Minoans were looking for up there. The lack of copper sources on Crete must have motivated the Minoan controlling elites to start an active search. Stemming from a possible EBA memory, the notion of their relative abundance in the Troad,¹⁰⁵ southern Balkan, and Bulgaria¹⁰⁶ might have led to large scale investment into their procurement.¹⁰⁷ Of the three chains of island sites comprising, according to M. Wiener,¹⁰⁸ maritime routes sailed by Minoans in search for copper and tin, the third one, running along the west coast of Anatolia and comprising Knidos, Iasos, and Miletus, can likely be extended up to Samothrace. In this sense, the geographical position of Samothrace would have favoured its role as natural stepping stone to a 'mainland' rich in metal ores. As far as the northern coast of Greek mainland is concerned, central and eastern Macedonia, together with the island of Thasos, are rich metalliferous areas, exploited since the Middle Neolithic period.¹⁰⁹

5. **Hybridisation.** Lastly, the Minoanisation process in the NE region of the Aegean underwent relatively rapidly an unexpected transformation. We have tried to explain the phenomenon as hybridisation, meaning that in this area it implied not only the adoption and imitation of certain aspects of the Minoan material culture, but also the active selection and adaptation of such innovations and their following incorporation into the local landscape. Although the tenuous and exiguous evidence was considered a sign of less integration into the social and economic system of the southern Aegean, differences between settlements in NE Aegean can depend also on the composition of social communities. It is hard to trace social and political relations in the archaeological record, but, following Young's definition of hybridity in our introduction, it has been possible to show that varieties in Minoanisation are visible, frequently on the local level, and that they depend on negotiation between different social strata in a given community. The analysis of communities' size and social stratification, therefore, will be an essential component of the future research.

105 Stos–Gale and Gale 1984; Gale and Stos–Gale 1986; Pernicka et al. 1984; Pernicka 1987; Wagner et al. 1986; Pernicka et al. 2003; Begemann et al. 2003.

106 Černych 1978; Pernicka et al. 1997. See also Chernykh 1992.

107 On this point, see also Wiener 1990, 146–7.

108 Wiener 1990, 146–7. The first one ran north through Thera, Naxos and Kea to Laurion; the second one ran eastward to Cyprus and the Levant.

109 See, for this point, Matsas 1995, 243–4.

Postscript

The discussion concerning various aspects of acculturation and hybridisation has moved forward considerably since the submission of the original manuscript in late 2011, highlighting especially the term “entanglement.” Since none of this could be incorporated and reflected upon anymore for the present paper, the reader is referred especially to the following study:

Stockhammer, P.W. 2013: “From Hybridity to Entanglement, from Essentialism to Practice.” *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28(1):11–28.

Further aspects of the problem were the theme of a Workshop Minoanization vs. Mycenaeanization: Two Sides of the Same Coin?, held at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the American Archaeological Institute in Seattle, WA, to be published soon as an edited volume by E. Gorogianni, P. Pavúk, and L. Girella at the Oxbow Publishing House.

CITED WORKS

- Andreou, E., and I. Andreou. 1991. "Η Ίμβρος στην αρχαιότητα." *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 41:92–100.
- . 2001. "Η Ίμβρος στην πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού." *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 81:143–6.
- . 2002. "Η Ίμβρος στην πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού." *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 82:75–83.
- Antonaccio, C.M. 2003. "Hybridity and the Cultures within Greek Culture." In *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture. Contact, Conflict, Collaboration*, edited by C. Dougherty, and L. Kurke, 57–74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aslan, R., G. Bieg, P. Jablonka, and P. Krönneck. 2003. "Die mittel- bis spätbronzezeitliche Besiedlung (Troia VI und Troia VIIa) der Troas und der Gelibolu-Halbinsel. Ein Überblick." *Studia Troica* 13:165–213.
- Atkinson, T.D., R.C. Bosanquet, C.C. Edgar, A.J. Evans, D.G. Hogarth, D. Mackenzie, C. Smith, and F.B. Welch. 1904. *Excavation at Phylakopi in Melos Conducted by the British School at Athens*. Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Supplementary Paper 4. London: Macmillan.
- Attoura, H. 2002. "Aspekte der Akkulturation." In *Brückenland Anatolien?: Ursachen, Extensität und Modi des Kulturaustausches zwischen Anatolien und seinen Nachbarn*, edited by H. Blum, B. Faist, P. Pfälzner, and A.-M. Wittke, 19–33. Tübingen: Attempto Verlag.
- Bayne, N.P. 1963 (2000). *The Grey Wares of Northwest Anatolia in the Middle and Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age and their Relation to the Early Greek Settlements*. Asia Minor Studien 37. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.
- Becks, R., and M. Guzowska. 2004. "On the Aegean-Type Weaving at Troia." *Studia Troica* 14:101–15.
- Begemann, F., S. Schmitt-Strecker, and E. Pernicka. 2003. "On the Composition and Provenance of Metal Finds from Beşiktepe (Troia)." In *Troia and the Troad – Scientific Approaches*, edited by G.A. Wagner, E. Pernicka, and H.-P. Uerpmann, 173–201. Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.
- Berg, I. 1999. "The Southern Aegean System." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 5(3):475–84.
- . 2007a. "Meaning in the Making: The Potter's Wheel at Phylakopi, Melos (Greece)." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 26:234–52.
- . 2007b. *Negotiating Island Identities. The Active Use of Pottery in the Middle and Late Bronze Age Cyclades*. New York: Gorgias Press.
- Bernabò Brea, L. 1976. *Poliochni. Città preistorica dell'isola di Lemnos*, Vol. II. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Boulotis, Ch. 1997. "Κουκονήσι Λήμνου. Τέσσερα χρόνια ανασκαφικής έρευνας: θέσεις και υποθέσεις." In *Poliochni e l'antica età del Bronzo nell'Egeo settentrionale. Convegno internazionale Atene, 22–25 aprile 1996*, edited by Ch. Dumas, and V. La Rosa, 230–72. Atene: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.

- . 2009. "Koukonisi on Lemnos: Reflections on the Minoan and Minoanising Presence." In *The Minoans in the Central, Eastern and Northern Aegean. New Evidence. Acts of a Minoan Seminar 22–23 January 2005 in Collaboration with the Danish Institute at Athens and the German Archaeological Institute at Athens*, edited by C. Macdonald, E. Hallager, and W.-D. Niemeier, 175–218. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Aarhus University.
- . 2010. "Koukonisi (Lemnos), un site portuaire florissant du Bronze Moyen et du début du Bronze Récent dans le Nord de l'Égée." In *Mesohelladika. The Greek Mainland in the Middle Bronze Age. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes, 8–12 mars 2006*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 891–907. BCH Suppl. 52. Athens: École Française d'Athènes.
- Branigan, K. 1981. "Minoan Colonialism." *BSA* 76:23–33.
- . 1984. "Minoan Community Colonies in the Aegean?" In *The Minoan Thalassocracy. Myth and Reality*, edited by R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, 49–53. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen, 4^o, 32. Göteborg: Paul Åström.
- Broodbank, C. 2004. "Minoanisation." *PCPS* 50:46–91.
- Broodbank, C., and E. Kiriati. 2007. "The First "Minoans" of Kythera Revisited: Technology, Demography, and Landscape in the Prepalatial Aegean." *AJA* 111:241–74.
- Burke, P. 2009. *Cultural Hybridity*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press.
- Büyükkolancı, M. 2007. "Apaşa, das alte Ephesos und Ayasuluk." In *Frühes Ionien: eine Bestandsaufnahme. Panionion-Symposion Güzeltamlı, 26. September – 1. Oktober 1999*, edited by J. Cobet, V. Von Graeve, W.-D. Niemeier, and K. Zimmermann, 21–6. Milesische Forschungen 5. Mainz: Verlag von Zabern.
- Chernykh, E.N. 1992. *Ancient Metallurgy in the USSR: The Early Metal Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cherry, J.F. 1981. "Pattern and Process in the Earliest Colonisation of the Mediterranean Islands." *PPS* 47:41–68.
- Coldstream, J.N., and G.L. Huxley. 1972. *Kythera. Excavations and Studies*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Cook, A.B. 1925. *Zeus. A study in Ancient Religion*, Vol. II, pt. 2, *Zeus, God of the Dark Sky (Thunder and Lightning)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, J.M., 1951. "Archaeology in Greece 1949–50." *JHS* 71:233–53.
- Cultraro, M. 1997. "Sounding H/West." In *Poliochni e l'antica età del Bronzo nell'Egeo settentrionale. Convegno internazionale Atene, 22–25 aprile 1996*, edited by Ch. Doumas, and V. La Rosa, 686–87. Atene: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.
- . 2001. "Indizi della sopravvivenza di Poliochni (Lemnos) nella media e tarda età del bronzo." In *Studi di Preistoria e Protostoria in onore di Luigi Bernabò Brea*, edited by M.C. Martinelli, and U. Spigo, 213–40. Messina: Museo Archeologico Regionale Eoliano.

- . 2005. "Aegeans on Smoke-Shrouded Lemnos: A Re-assessment of the Mycenaean Evidence from Poliochni and Other Sites." In *Emporia: Aegeans in East and West Mediterranean*, edited by R. Laffineur and E. Greco, 236–46. Aegaeum 25. Liège: University of Liège.
- . 2007. "The Middle Bronze Age Pottery Sequence in the Northern Aegean Islands: The Evidence of Poliochni, Lemnos." In *Middle Helladic Pottery and Synchronisms. Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Salzburg, October 31st to November 2nd, 2004*, edited by F. Felten, W. Gauß, and R. Smetana, 323–32. Ägina-Kolonna. Forschungen und Ergebnisse 1. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Cummer, W.W., and E. Schofield. 1984. *Keos 3: Ayia Irini, House A*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Çakırlar, C., and R. Becks. 2009. "'Murex' Dye Production at Troia: an Assessment of Archaeomalacological Data from Old and New Excavations." *Studia Troica* 18:87–103.
- Černych, E.N. 1978. *Gornoe delo i metalurgija v drevnejšej Bolgarii*. Sofia: Izdatel'stvo Bolgarskoj Akademii Nauk.
- Davis, J.L. 1979. "Minos and Dexitheia: Crete and the Cyclades in the Later Bronze Age." In *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory*, edited by J.L. Davis, and J.F. Cherry, 143–57. UCLA Institute of Archaeology Monograph 14. Los Angeles: UCLA Institute of Archaeology.
- . 1980. "Minoans and Minoanization at Ayia Irini, Keos." In *Thera and the Aegean World*. Vol. II, edited by C. Doulas, 257–60. London: The Thera Foundation.
- . 1982. "The Earliest Minoans in the South-East Aegean: A Reconsideration of the Evidence." *AnatSt* 32:33–42.
- . 1984. "Cultural Innovation and the Minoan Thalassocracy at Ayia Irini, Keos." In *The Minoan Thalassocracy. Myth and Reality*, edited by R. Hägg, and N. Marinatos, 159–66. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen, 4°, 32. Göteborg: Paul Åström.
- Davis, J.L., and E. Gorogianni. 2008. "Potsherds from the Edge: the Construction of Identities and the Limits of Minoanized Areas of the Aegean." In *Horizon: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, edited by N. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas, and C. Renfrew, 379–88. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Dietler, M. 1998. "Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement: Theoretical Implications of a Mediterranean Colonial Encounter." In *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, edited by J. Cusick, 288–315. Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press.
- Erkanal, H., and L. Keskin. 2009. "Relations between the Urla Peninsula and the Minoan World." In *The Minoans in the Central, Eastern and Northern Aegean. New Evidence. Acts of a Minoan Seminar 22–23 January 2005 in Collaboration with the Danish Institute at Athens and the German Archaeological Institute at Athens*, edited by C. Macdonald, E. Hallager, and W.-D. Niemeier, 97–110. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Aarhus University.

- Evans, A. 1935. *The Palace of Minos*. Vol. 4. London: MacMillan.
- Furumark, A. 1950. "The Settlement of Ialysos and Aegean History c. 1550–1400." *OpArch* 6:150–271.
- Gale, N.H., and Z.A. Stos-Gale. 1986. "Oxhide Copper Ingots in Crete and Cyprus and the Bronze Age Metal Trade." *BSA* 81:81–100.
- Girella, L. 2005. "Ialysos: Foreign Relations in the Late Bronze Age. A funerary Perspective." In *Emporia: Aegeans in East and West Mediterranean*, edited by R. Laffineur, and E. Greco, 129–39. Aegaeum 25. Liège: University of Liège.
- . 2014. "The MM IIIA Juglet and the Cist Tomb from Square A7 of Troia VI." In P. Pavúk, *Troia VI Früh und Mitte. Keramik, Stratigraphie und Chronologie*, Studia Troica Monographien 3. Bonn: Habelt Verlag.
- Gosden, Ch. 2004. *Archaeology of Colonialism. Cultural Contact from 5000 BC to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Graham, A.J. 2002. "The Colonization of Samothrace." *Hesperia* 71:231–60.
- Guzowska, M. 2002. "Traces of Minoan Behavioural Patterns in the North-east Aegean." In *Mauerschau: Festschrift für Manfred Korfmann*, edited by R. Aslan, S. Blum, G. Kastl, F. Schweizer, and D. Thumm, 585–94. Remshalden-Grünbach: Greiner.
- . 2009. "En vogue Minoenne... On the Social Use of Minoan and Minoanising Objects in Troia." In *The Minoans in the Central, Eastern and Northern Aegean. New Evidence. Acts of a Minoan Seminar 22–23 January 2005 in Collaboration with the Danish Institute at Athens and the German Archaeological Institute at Athens*, edited by C. Macdonald, E. Hallager, and W.-D. Niemeier, 243–50. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Aarhus University.
- Guzowska, M., and R. Becks. 2005. "Who Was Weaving at Troia? On the Aegean Style Loomweights in Troia VI and VIIa." In *Emporia: Aegeans in East and West Mediterranean*, edited by R. Laffineur, and E. Greco, 279–86. Aegaeum 25. Liège: University of Liège.
- Hahn, H.-P. 2005. *Materielle Kultur. Eine Einführung*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Hannerz, U. 1987. "The World in Creolisation." *Africa* 57(4):546–59.
- Harmankaya, S., and B. Erdoğu. 2003. "The Prehistoric Sites of Gökçeada, Turkey." In *Ufuk Esin'e Armağan, Köyden Kente / From Village to Cities, Studies Presented to Ufuk Esin*. Vol. 2, edited by M. Özdoğan, H. Hauptmann, and N. Başgelen, 459–68. İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat.
- Hood, S. 1981. *Excavations in Chios 1938–1955. Prehistoric Emporio and Ayio Gala*. Vol. 1. BSA Suppl. 15. London: Thames and Hudson.
- . 1982. *Excavations in Chios 1938–1955. Prehistoric Emporio and Ayio Gala*. Vol. 2. BSA Suppl. 16. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Hüryılmaz, H. 2000. "Gökçeada-Yenibademli Höyük 1999 yılı kazıları." *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 22(1):247–58.
- . 2002. "Gökçeada arkeolojisi." In *Gökçeada*, edited by B. Öztürk, 69–92. İstanbul: Ser Ofset.

- . 2009. “Gökçeada–Yenibademli Höyük’te kent olgusu ve sosyokültürel yaşam.” In *Batı Anadolu ve Doğu Akdeniz Geç Tunç Çağı Kültürleri Üzerine Yeni Araştırmalar*, edited by A. Erkanal–Öktü, S. Günel, and U. Deniz, 141–50. Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- . 2014. “Yenibademli and Troy. Reflection of Troy I Culture under Light of Archaeological Findings and Cultural Identity of Yenibademli.” In *Early Bronze Age Troy. Chronology, Cultural Development and Interregional Contacts*. An International Conference held at the University of Tübingen, edited by E. Pernicka, S.W.E. Blum, and S. Ünlüsöy. Bonn: Habelt Verlag.
- Kerschner, M. 2006. “Die Ionische Wanderung im Lichte neuer archäologischer Forschungen in Ephesos.” In *Troianer sind wir gewesen – Migrationen in der antiken Welt: Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums 8, 2002*, edited by E. Olshausen, and H. Sonnabend, 364–82. *Geographica Historica* 21. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Kiriati, E. 2003. “Sherds, Fabrics and Clay Sources: Reconstructing the Ceramic Landscape of Prehistoric Kythera.” In *METRON. Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by K. Foster, and R. Laffineur, 123–9, *Aegaeum* 24. Liège & Austin (TX): Université de Liège & University of Texas.
- Knappett, C., and I. Nikolakopoulou. 2005. “Exchange and Affiliation Networks in MBA Southern Aegean: Crete, Akrotiri and Miletus.” In *Emporia: Aegeans in East and West Mediterranean*, edited by R. Laffineur, and E. Greco, 175–84. *Aegaeum* 25. Liège: University of Liège.
- . 2008. “Colonialism without Colonies? A Bronze Age Case Study from Akrotiri, Thera.” *Hesperia* 77: 1–42.
- Knappett, C., T. Evans and R. Rivers. 2008. “Modelling Maritime Interaction in the Aegean Bronze Age.” *Antiquity* 82: 1009–24.
- Knappett, C., D. Pirrie, M.R. Power, I. Nikolakopoulou, J. Hilditch, and G.K. Rollinson. 2011. “Mineralogical Analysis and Provenancing of Ancient Ceramics Using Automated SEM–EDS Analysis (QEMSCAN®): A Pilot Study on LB I pottery from Akrotiri, Thera.” *JAS* 38: 219–32.
- Kopaka, K. 2008. “What is an Island? Concepts, Meanings and Polysemies of Insular *Topoi* in Greek Sources.” *European Journal of Archaeology* 11: 179–97.
- Korfmann, M. 1997. “Troia – Ausgrabungen 1996.” *Studia Troica* 7: 1–71.
- Kouka, U. 2002. *Siedlungsorganisation in der Nord- und Ostägäis während der Frühbronzezeit (3. Jt. v.Chr.)*. Internationale Archäologie 58. Rahden/Westfallia: Verlag Marie Leidorf.
- Lamb, W. 1936. *Excavation at Thermi in Lesbos*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macdonald, C., E. Hallager, and W.-D. Niemeier, eds. 2009. *The Minoans in the Central, Eastern and Northern Aegean. New Evidence. Acts of a Minoan Seminar 22–23 January 2005 in Collaboration with the Danish Institute at Athens and the German*

- Archaeological Institute at Athens*. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Aarhus University.
- Marketou, T. 2009. "Ialysos and its Neighbouring Areas in the MBA and LB I Periods: A Chance for Peace." In *The Minoans in the Central, Eastern and Northern Aegean. New Evidence. Acts of a Minoan Seminar 22–23 January 2005 in Collaboration with the Danish Institute at Athens and the German Archaeological Institute at Athens*, edited by C. Macdonald, E. Hallager, and W.-D. Niemeier, 73–96. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Aarhus University.
- Marketou, T., E. Karantzali, H. Mommsen, N. Zacharias, V. Kilikoglou, and A. Schwedt. 2006. "Pottery Wares from Prehistoric Settlement at Ialysos (Trianda) in Rhodes." *BSA* 101:1–56.
- Marthari, M. 1993. "Ceramic Evidence for Contacts between Thera and the Greek Mainland." In *Wace and Blegen. Pottery as evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age, 1939–1989. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Athens, December 2–3, 1989*, edited by C. Zerner, P. Zerner, and J. Winder, 249–56. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- Marthari, M., T. Marketou, and R.E. Jones 1990. "LB I Ceramic Connections between Thera and Kos." In *Thera and the Aegean World III–1. Proceedings of the Third International Congress, Santorini, Greece, 3–9 September 1989*, edited by D. Hardy, C.G. Doumas, J.A. Sakellarakis, and P.M. Warren, 171–84. London: The Thera Foundation.
- Matsas, D. 1991. "Samothrace and the Northeastern Aegean: The Minoan Connection." *Studia Troica* 1:159–79.
- . 1993. "Samothrake. Archäologisches Museum." In *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel. Band V, Suppl. 1B. Kleinere griechische Sammlungen: Lamia-Zakynthos und weitere Länder des Ostmittellerraums*, edited by I. Pini, 303–14. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
- . 1995. "Minoan Long-Distance Trade: A View from the Northern Aegean." In *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by R. Laffineur, and W.-D. Niemeier, 235–47. Aegaeum 12. Liège – Austin: Université de Liège & University of Texas.
- . 2004. "Samothrake. Archäologische Museum." In *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel. Band V, Suppl. 3.2. Kleinere griechische Sammlungen. Neufunde aus Griechenland und der westliche Türkei*, edited by I. Pini, 497–500. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- . 2006. "Imbros." In *Aegean Islands, Archaeology*, edited by A.G. Vlachopoulos, 100–3. Athens: Melissa.
- Matsas, D., L. Girella, and P. Pavúk, in preparation. "Minoanization or Hybridization? Aspects of the Minoan presence at Mikro Vouni (Samothrace) in the Middle Bronze Age." Paper presented at *XIth Diethnes Kritologhiko Synedrio, 21–27 Oktovriou 2011, Rethymno*.

- Mendoni, L., ed. 1997. *Poliochni on Smoke-Shroud Lemnos. An Early Bronze Age Center in the North Aegean*. Athens: Ministry of Aegean.
- Meriç, R. 2009. *Das Hinterland von Ephesos: Archäologisch-topographische Forschungen im Kaystros-Tal*. ÖJh Ergänzungshefte 12. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Merousis, N. 1991. "Ενδείξεις για τις επαφές του προϊστορικού εμπορίου με την νεοανακτορική Κρήτη." *Χιακά Χρονικά* 21:3–12.
- . 2001. "Μινωική και μινωίζουσα κεραμική στα νησιά του ΒΑ Αιγαίου στη δεύτερη χιλιετία π.Χ.: Σκέψεις για την σημασία." In *Επικοινωνίας και μεταφορές στην προβιομηχανική περίοδο. ΙΑ' Συμπόσιο Ιστορίας και Τέχνης, Κάστρο Μονεμβασίας 23–26 Ιουλίου 1998*, edited by N. Merousis et al., 15–28. Athina: Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Ομίλου Πειραιώς.
- Momigliano, N. 2007. "Kamares or not Kamares? This Is [Not] the Question. South-east Aegean Light-on-Dark (LOD) and Dark-on-Light (DOL) Pottery: Synchronisms, Production Centres, and Distribution." In *Middle Helladic Pottery and Synchronisms. Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Salzburg, October 31st–November 2nd, 2004*, edited by F. Felten, W. Gauß, and R. Smetana, 257–72. Ägina-Kolonna, *Forschungen und Ergebnisse* 1, CChEM 14. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Mountjoy, P.A. 1998. "The East Aegean–West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age: Mycenaean and the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa." *AnatSt* 48:33–67.
- Morricone, L. 1967. "Eleona e Langada: Sepolcreti della tarda età del bronzo a Coò." *ASAtene* 63/64 (1965/66):5–31.
- Niemeier, W.–D. 1998. "The Minoans in the South-eastern Aegean and in Cyprus." In *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus–Dodecanese–Crete 16th–6th cent. BC*, edited by V. Karageorghis, and N. Stampolidis, 29–47. Athens: University of Crete/A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- . 2009. "Minoanisation versus Minoan Thalassocracy. An Introduction." In *The Minoans in the Central, Eastern and Northern Aegean. New Evidence. Acts of a Minoan Seminar 22–23 January 2005 in collaboration with the Danish Institute at Athens and the German Archaeological Institute at Athens*, edited by C. Macdonald, E. Hallager, and W.–D. Niemeier, 11–21. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8. Athens: Aarhus University.
- Pavúk, P. 2005. "Aegeans and Anatolians. A Trojan Perspective." In *Emporia: Aegeans in East and West Mediterranean*, edited by R. Laffineur, and E. Greco, 269–79. *Aegaeum* 25. Liège: University of Liège.
- . 2007. "What Can Troia Tell Us about the Middle Helladic Period in the Southern Aegean?" In *Middle Helladic Pottery and Synchronisms. Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Salzburg, October 31st–November 2nd, 2004*, edited by F. Felten, W. Gauß, and R. Smetana, 295–308. Ägina-Kolonna, For-

- schungen und Ergebnisse 1, CChEM 14. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- . 2010. "Minyan or Not. The Second Millennium Grey Ware in Western Anatolia and its Relation to Mainland Greece." In *Mesohelladika. The Greek Mainland in the Middle Bronze Age. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes, 8–12 mars 2006*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 931–43. BCH Suppl. 52. Athens: École Française d'Athènes.
- . 2012. "Of Spools and Discoid Loom-Weights: Aegean-Type Weaving at Troy Revisited." In *KOSMOS. Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age. 13th International Aegean Conference held at the University of Copenhagen, 19–23 April 2010*, edited by M.-L. Nosch, and R. Laffineur, 121–130. Leuven - Liège, Peeters.
- . 2014. *Troia VI Früh und Mitte. Keramik, Stratigraphie und Chronologie*. Studia Troica Monographien 3. Bonn: Habelt Verlag.
- Pavúk, P., and C. Schubert. 2014. "Die Troas in der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit." In *Troia 1988–2008: Grabungen und Forschungen. I. Forschungsgeschichte, Methoden und Landschaft*, edited by E. Pernicka, C.B. Rose, and P. Jablonka, 864–923. Studia Troica Monographien 5. Bonn: Habelt Verlag.
- Pernicka, E. 1987. "Erzlagerstätten in der Ägäis und ihre Ausbeutung im Altertum. Geochemische Untersuchungen zur Herkunftsbestimmung archäologischer Metallobjekte." *JRGZM* 34:607–714.
- Pernicka, E., T.C. Seeliger, G.A. Wagner, F. Begemann, S. Schmitt-Strecker, C. Eibner, Ö. Öztunali, and I. Baranyi. 1984. "Archäometallurgische Untersuchungen in Nordwestanatolien." *JRGZM* 31:533–99.
- Pernicka, E., F. Begemann, S. Schmitt-Strecker, H. Todorova, and I. Kuleff. 1997. "Prehistoric Copper in Bulgaria: Its Composition and Provenance." *Eurasia Antiqua* 3:41–180.
- Pernicka, E., C. Eibner, Ö. Öztunali, and G.A. Wagner. 2003. "Early Bronze Age Metallurgy in North East Aegean." In *Troia and the Troad – Scientific Approaches*, edited by G.A. Wagner, E. Pernicka, and H.-P. Uerpmann, 173–201. Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.
- Petrakis, V.P., and P. Moutzouridis. 2010. "Grey Ware(s) from the Bronze Age Settlement of Koukonisi on Lemnos: First Presentation." In *Mesohelladika. The Greek Mainland in the Middle Bronze Age. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes, 8–12 mars 2006*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 909–17. BCH Suppl. 52. Athens: École Française d'Athènes.
- Renfrew, C., 1964. "Crete and the Cyclades before Rhadamanthus." *CretChron* 18:134–41.
- Rutter, J.B., and S.H. Rutter. 1976. *The Transition to Mycenaean: A Stratified Middle Helladic II to Late Helladic IIA Pottery Sequence from Ayios Stephanos in Laconia*.

- Monumenta Archaeologica 3. Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California.
- Schachner, A., and R. Meriç. 2000. "Ein Stempelsiegel des späten 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. aus Metropolis in Ionien." *SMEA* 42(1):85–102.
- Schofield, E. 1984. "Coming to the Terms with Minoan Colonists." In *The Minoan Thalassocracy. Myth and Reality*, edited by R. Hägg, and N. Marinatos, 45–8. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen, 4^o, 32. Göteborg: Paul Åström.
- Spencer, N. 1995. *A Gazetteer of Archaeological Sites in Lesbos*. BAR-IS 623. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum.
- Stockhammer, P.W. 2012. "Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization in Archaeology." In *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach. Papers of the Conference, Heidelberg, 21.–22. September 2009*, edited by P.W. Stockhammer, 43–58. Transcultural Research – Heidelberg Studies on Asia and Europe in a Global Context 2. Berlin und Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.
- Stos-Gale, Z.A., and N.H. Gale. 1984. "The Minoan Thalassocracy and the Aegean Metal Trade." In *The Minoan Thalassocracy. Myth and Reality*, edited by R. Hägg, and N. Marinatos, 59–63. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen, 4^o, 32. Göteborg: Paul Åström.
- Şahoğlu, V. 2007. "Çeşme-Bağlararası: A New Excavation in Western Anatolia." In *Middle Helladic Pottery and synchronisms. Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Salzburg, October 31st to November 2nd, 2004*, edited by F. Felten, W. Gauß, and R. Smetana, 309–22. Ägina – Kolonna. Forschungen und Ergebnisse 1, Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Thomas, N. 1991. *Entangled Objects. Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Van de Moortel, A. 2010. "Interconnections between the Western Mesara and the Aegean in the Middle Bronze Age." In *Mesohelladika. The Greek Mainland in the Middle Bronze Age. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes, 8–12 mars 2006*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 875–84. BCH Suppl. 52. Athens: École Française d'Athènes.
- van Dommelen, P. 2006. "The Orientalizing Phenomenon: Hybridity and Material Culture in the Western Mediterranean." In *Debating Orientalization. Multidisciplinary Approaches to Processes of Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by C. Riva, and N.C. Vella, 135–52. Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 10. London: Equinox.
- Vitale, S. 2006. "L'insediamento di "Serraglio" durante il tardo bronzo. Riesame dei principali contesti portati alla luce da Luigi Morricone tra il 1935 ed il 1946." *ASAtene* 83 (2005):71–94.

- Vitale, S., and T. Hancock Vitale. 2010. "The Minoan and Mycenaean Expansion in the Dodecanese. The Evidence from the "Serraglio" on Kos and Its Theoretical Implications." In *Migration in Bronze and Early Iron Age Europe*, edited by K. Dzięgielewski, M.S. Przybyła, and A. Gawlik, 63–86. *Prace Archeologiczne 63 – Studies*. Krakow: Księgarnia Akademicka.
- Voskos, I., and A.B. Knapp. 2008. "Cyprus at the End of the Late Bronze Age: Crisis and Colonization or Continuity and Hybridization?" *AJA* 112:659–84.
- Wagner, G.A., E. Pernicka, T. Seeliger, I.B. Lorentz, F. Begemann, S.F. Schmitt–Strecker, C. Eibner, and Ö. Öztunalı. 1986. "Geochemische und isotopische Charakteristika früher Rohstoffquellen für Kupfer, Blei, Silber und Gold in der Türkei." *JRGZM* 33:723–52.
- Wiener, M.H. 1984. "Crete and the Cyclades in LM I: The Tale of the Conical Cups." In *The Minoan Thalassocracy. Myth and Reality*, edited by R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, 17–26. *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen*, 4^o, 32. Göteborg: Paul Åström.
- Wiener, M.H. 1990. "The Isles of Crete? The Minoan Thalassocracy Revisited." In *Thera and the Aegean World III*, Vol. 1, *Archaeology. Proceedings of the Third International Congress, Santorini, Greece, 3–9 September 1989*, edited by C.G. Dourmas, J.A. Sakellarakis, and P.M. Warren, 128–61. London: The Thera Foundation.
- Young, R.J.C. 2003. *Postcolonialism. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zerner, C. 2008. "The Middle Helladic Pottery and the Middle Helladic Wares from the Late Helladic Deposits and the Potters' Marks." In *Ayios Stephanos: Excavations at a Bronze Age and Medieval Settlement in Southern Laconia*, edited by W. D. Taylour and R. Janko, 177–98. *BSA Supplement 44*. London: British School at Athens.