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NEITHER MINOANISED NOR MYCENAEANISED: KARPATOS IN THE BRONZE AGE

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ABSTRACT

Karpathos forms one of the islands of the Dodecanese, situated in the southeast Aegean along the string of islands between Rhodes and Crete. It is argued in this paper that Karpathos can provide useful insights into the processes conventionally termed as 'Minoanisation' and 'Mycenaeanisation'. In the first part of the paper, we outline recent approaches to Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation, followed in the second part by a presentation of the available data that indicate external cultural influence. In the concluding section, it is proposed that the terms Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation cannot fully account for the processes unfolding in Bronze Age Karpathos. Our investigation of the available evidence shows that Minoan cultural influence on the island did not obliterate local traditions, nor was it fully replaced by the adoption of Mycenaean cultural practices in the final phase of the Late Bronze Age. It is proposed that the amalgamation of local, Minoan and Mycenaean cultural traits that characterised Karpathos in Late Minoan/Late Helladic III, can best be explained as a phenomenon of hybridisation, which underpinned a distinct cultural identity.

KEYWORDS: Minoanisation, Mycenaeanisation, Crete, southeast Aegean, colonisation, acculturation, hybridisation

1. INTRODUCTION

The terms Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation have been widely employed to describe and explain the cultural affinities attested at a number of sites with material forms and practices originating on Crete and the southern mainland. In recent years, models that have been put forward for the explanation of Minoanisation, such as Davis' 'Western String' (Davis, 1979; Cherry and Davis, 1982), Wiener's 'Versailles effect' (Wiener, 1990; 2007; 2013), and Branigan's colony classifications (Branigan 1981; 1984) have come under scrutiny by a number of scholars. It is not within the scope of this paper to present a detailed account of past perspectives; rather, in the first part of the paper, we aim to outline recent approaches to the concepts of Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation, which we consider relevant for the discussion of the available evidence from Bronze Age Karpathos.

Despite recent nuanced approaches to Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation, as discussed later on, both terms in effect refer to forms of acculturation, whereby communities changed as a result of the external cultural influences exerted on them. Such a radical transformation should in fact mean a change of material culture and practices in their totality as they were being replaced by newly introduced ones. Unless we are referring to an intrusive foreign colony or community, then we would have difficulty pinning down cases of complete cultural reforms in the Bronze Age Aegean. Considering the axiomatic inferences of both terms with regard to acculturation, one wonders whether we should seek the use of more neutral definitions when discussing phenomena traditionally recognised as cases of Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation; introducing terms, such as 'Minoan-influenced' or 'Crete-influenced' and 'Mycenaean-influenced' or 'mainland-influenced' respectively, may describe more accurately phenomena that do not conform to the criteria of an invasive colony.

Recent developments in theoretical archaeology have placed Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation under scrutiny. In the last decades, the term 'acculturation', that has been traditionally employed in archaeology as a top-down approach to explain cultural transformation, has been criticised for its colonialist roots and its oversimplified explanation of cultural contact (Knapp, 2008: 54). In line with the critical review of the term acculturation, recent discourse in Aegean archaeology has deconstructed the concept of Minoanisation by exposing its imperialist origins and the central place it holds in the construc-

tion of European, national and regional identities (Hamilakis, 2002; 2006). It is now widely accepted that the term presents limitations and pitfalls both at the level of identification and interpretation. Even the associated term 'Minoan thalassocracy' is considered problematic because of its heavy imperialist load, which inhibits us from considering less than idyllic aspects of Minoanisation, including the exploitation of local communities by Cretan emigrants, their own urgency to escape maltreatment on Crete, or the emulation of Cretan customs aimed at undermining established social inequalities at a local level (Broodbank, 2004: 50-51). Tempting as it may be to do away altogether with the term Minoanisation, Broodbank (2004) warns us against it as it may generate more problems than the flaws we seek to remedy; alternatively, it is proposed by the same author that a heuristic use of the term, to refer to material culture and practices originating on Crete, creates a common ground for understanding, while avoiding generalisations of the past.

How then can we identify Minoanisation in the archaeological record? A useful definition of the phenomenon has been proposed by Broodbank, who describes it as "a modern term of sometimes deceptive convenience for a heterogeneous range of ancient material cultural traits and practices that indicate the adoption in places beyond Crete, through whatever means, of ways of doing things that originated directly or indirectly within that island" (Broodbank, 2004: 46). Practices originating on Crete may be manifested in a variety of ways, including artefact styles, production and consumption modes of material culture, cooking habits, writing and weight systems, weaving, wall-painting, architecture and use of space, funerary and ritual practices (Broodbank, 2004: 46). On this premise, it is acknowledged that there are indeed distinct cultural traits that can be tied to Crete, but in no way should we assume cultural homogeneity across the island, or an associated ethnically unified group of people (Broodbank, 2004: 51). For the purposes of this paper, therefore, the term Minoan refers to material forms and practices that derive from Crete, while acknowledging the cultural heterogeneity that characterised the island in the Bronze Age.

Intersection of two cultures is now understood as dynamic and unpredictable, involving power relations and resistance between communities (Knapp, 2008: 54-55). With reference to Minoanisation, acknowledging the active role played by agents implies that communities outside Crete were equally involved in the adoption and transmission of Minoan material forms and practices, which goes some

way towards explaining the diversity of the phenomenon in question. Recently, Berg and Knappett have stressed the complexity that characterised the process of Minoanisation and the active role that sites outside Crete played in the development of the phenomenon across the Aegean (Berg, 2007: 169; Knappett, 2016: 203). Moreover, it has been proposed that the evident differential levels of Cretan influence were the result of the negotiation of various social segments of communities regarding the type and the degree to which they incorporated Minoan cultural traits (Berg, 2007: 170).

Recent approaches have also shifted the emphasis from the criteria that constitute Minoanisation, to the processes it entailed. Nikolakopoulou and Knappett, in an attempt to bridge the 'colonisation' and 'acculturation' models proposed in the past, have argued that we can benefit from both, as the first one acknowledges human mobility, while the other allows for the continuation of local traditions at Minoanised sites at a different pace and to varying degrees (Nikolakopoulou and Knappett, 2016: 104). For Nikolakopoulou and Knappett (2016: 104), mobility needs to be acknowledged as a factor behind the adoption of Minoan traits. Going beyond the presence of Minoanised artefacts, it is argued that production techniques are fundamental to detecting population mobility as the transmission of technical skills presupposes interaction among the arriving craftspeople and local communities (Broodbank, 2004: 60-62; Nikolakopoulou and Knappett, 2016: 105). Migration of craftspeople and intimate interaction with the local population are vital in the process of acquiring new skills and actually prove more effective in the transmission of technical knowledge than other modes of technology transfer (Frankel, 2000: 168). Wear pattern analysis can also be particularly telling about the adoption of innovative production practices, as demonstrated in the case of Bronze Age Cyprus where, further to the use of Anatolian type of spindle-whorls on the island, traces of wear point to similar motor habits to those performed in western Anatolia (Frankel, 2000: 172).

An alternative avenue for exploring population mobility in prehistory is the study of human physical remains of southern Aegean groups, which could encompass existing burial evidence, analyses of known skeletal material in the region, and hopefully new data recovered from burials in the future (Broodbank, 2004: 68-69). In addition, palaeodemography can allow us to assess patterns of possible population inflow, as for example in the case of the increase of farmsteads exhibiting Minoanising traits attested on Kythera and Karpathos, which contrasts to evidence known from islands further removed from Crete (Broodbank, 2004: 69; Melas, 1985; 1988a).

Finally, the extent of consumption of Minoan material forms and related practices, as well as the association of Minoanising traits and the operation of trade networks, can provide insights into the degree and ways in which cultural transmission took place (Broodbank, 2004: 60-62).

Regarding Mycenaeanisation, Knappett has recently suggested that, similar to Minoanisation, it should also be considered as a series of processes that was manifested at varying degrees (Knappett, 2016: 203). As for Minoanisation, Knappett has argued that agents and their mobility played a central role in the spread of technical knowledge and skills across the Aegean (Knappett, 2016: 203-204), as illustrated by the study of J. Cutler (2016) on female textile workers producing fine fabrics intended for elite groups. On a scale that supersedes that of individuals, religious institutions must have also been involved in the process of Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation, although artefacts and practices are likely to have taken on a distinct local character (Knappett, 2016: 204). We can conclude, therefore, that recent approaches to Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation stress the distinct and variable combinations of adopted traits locally, which is accounted for by the dynamic choices made by the communities involved (Knappett, 2016: 204).

Concepts that are particularly useful for understanding direct or indirect cultural contact, that Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation refer to, include transformation, assimilation and hybridisation. In the case where the initial material forms and practices developed into new widespread types, then we can argue for a process of acculturation and transformation, a process which is not symmetrical in the transmission of traits between cultures (Frankel, 2000: 182-183), whereas the loss of identity of the newcomers is recognised as an indication of assimilation. The term 'hybridisation' has been defined in archaeology as referring "(1) to the practices in which cultural differences are either naturalised or neutralised when distinct cultures meet and mix, (2) to the visible manifestation of difference, in terms of both material culture and identity, as a consequence of incorporating foreign elements" (Knapp, 2013: 268). The concept of hybridisation, pertaining to social, material or cultural mixing, which does not imply the imposition of a superior or 'pure' culture, can prove particularly useful for explaining cultural interaction, while acknowledging the active role played by social agents (Knapp, 2008: 59-60). This way we are in a better place to understand innovations in a variety of contexts, that were adopted or adapted to established practices, and how their mixing generated new forms and meanings of the objects involved (Knapp, 2008: 61). The argument for

hybridisation has been put forward with reference to the migration of Anatolian migrants to Cyprus in the Bronze Age that, in the process of maintaining or adapting to the indigenous culture, generated new and distinct material culture forms (Knapp, 2008: 106). However, as a point of caution, we need to bear in mind that although bi-directional negotiation in the contact between cultures needs to be recognised, we should not assume that all areas of social or economic life were drawn into hybridisation processes, nor should we attribute apparent developments to both cultural traditions indiscriminately (Mina, 2014: 230).

2. THE EVIDENCE FROM BRONZE AGE KARPATOS

In the present paper, we discuss together the processes of Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation in order to explore cultural dynamics in the later Middle Bronze Age (hereafter MBA) and Late Bronze Age (hereafter LBA) in the southeast Aegean. We are aware, however, of the diverse historical circumstances at play during the Minoan and Mycenaean floruit, and of the varying degrees to which political, economic and institutional forces shaped the networks of cultural connectivity in the southeast Aegean. The discussion that follows, therefore, is intentionally Karpatho-centric in addressing specifically the ways in which local communities entered a dialectic relationship with off-island cultures, which resulted in a distinct identity.



Figure 1: View of Saria from the sea (Photograph by S. Phillips).

What picture then does the available evidence from Bronze Age Karpathos afford us regarding the processes of Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation in the southeast Aegean? The earliest Minoan evidence on Karpathos dates as early as Middle Minoan (hereafter MM) II. In particular, by the later Middle Bronze Age, Karpathos and Saria (Figure 1), the

small island to its north, exhibit traits of Minoan influence (Davis, 2001: 70) and are conventionally quoted in the bibliography as cases of Minoanisation along with Trianda on Rhodes and Kythera in the western Aegean, among others. In the paragraphs that follow, the available evidence is organised according to broad categories that have traditionally been defined as criteria for Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation: occupation pattern and architecture, material culture and consumption practices, technological production, ideological norms and practices, and trade network connectivity.

2.1. Occupation pattern and architecture

In the MBA, the available evidence suggests a shift from the earlier settlement pattern of the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age (hereafter EBA) in the form of short-lived open-air sites, hamlets or farmsteads, which were situated on promontories inland or near the coast (Melas, 1985: 156, 158). In the early MBA, a new settlement pattern emerged which reveals an abrupt increase of sites, a preference for new locations, coupled with the presence of Minoan pottery (wheelmade, conical cups, rounded bowls and basins, goblets and kylikes, craters and amphoroid craters, jugs and ewers, hole-mouthed jars, tripod cooking pots), predominantly locally made, with some imports, as diagnosed on the grounds of typology and the visual examination of clay (Melas, 1985: 91-136, 159). The case is illustrated by the fact that of the 25 settlement sites of MBA-LBA 1 date, 21 appear to be new, whereas the remaining four may have continued from the earlier period, thus presenting some maintenance of local tradition (Melas, 1985: 159). The newly founded settlements of isolated farmhouses or small communities, made up of dispersed farmhouses, conform to the pattern typical of that of Crete at the time, exhibiting a preference for elevated and well sheltered locations near the coast with a beach (for example Vonies [Figure 2], Melas, 2009; Melas, 1985: 159; Zervaki, 2006: 18-19). Moreover, of the 41 sites securely or possibly dated to MBA-LBA 1, 39 have produced definite or probable Minoan pottery on typological grounds (Melas, 1985: 159). The foundation of new sites, the change of preferred location, together with the presence of Minoan material culture forms, have led Melas to argue for a case of gradual Minoanisation, instigated by the arrival of Cretan population on the island. In fact, the abandonment of earlier promontory or high-hill inland sites is consistent, according to Melas, with the needs of Cretan merchants who used Kasos, Karpathos and Saria as necessary stopovers for their ventures to the east (Melas, 1985: 160).

Melas' argument for Minoanisation is further bolstered by evidence from Pigadia (Figure 2) in the

south, which has been interpreted as a harbour town of considerable size, enjoying some level of prosperity resulting from its involvement in maritime trade. The prominent place held by Pigadia, in a landscape dotted by hamlets and farmsteads, has been recognised as an indication for proto-urbanism which developed with the impetus of trade and industrial activities, such as ceramic and textile production, partly attributed to the arrival of Cretan settlers (Melas, 1985: 161, 162). Evidence of architectural remains at Manolakakis' Land in Pigadia also exhibits Crete-derived traits, such as the presence of red-wall plaster, which is further associated with a deposit of household debris containing Minoan pottery, such as conical cups and fragments of tripod vessels and hole-mouthed jars (Melas, 1985: 29; Davis, 2001: 71; Zervaki, 2003: 60).



Figure 2. Satellite map of Karpathos and Saria with sites mentioned in the text (Source: Google Earth, Image Landsat/Copernicus, Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA GEBCO).

Evidence dating to the later part of the LBA, indicates a shift from Minoan to a more prevalent Mycenaean cultural influence on Karpathos, although it needs to be stressed that the mainland-derived tradition formed part of the island's material culture along with Minoan and local material culture traits. The shift to predominant Mycenaean cultural influence is illustrated by six sites dating to Late Minoan (hereafter LM)/Late Helladic (hereafter LH) III which have produced Mycenaean rather than Minoan finds. They also present a drastic contrast to the earlier pattern of occupation as they are now situated on rugged promontory sites, two of which (Pigadia Acropolis, Arkasa Paliokastro; Figure 2) preserve an acropolis and remains of 'Cyclopean' walls (Hope Simpson and Lazenby, 1962: 161; Melas, 1985: 162-163). Pigadia continues to be occupied, as suggested by evidence of Mycenaean LH IIIA and IIIB date recovered from the site of Xenona (Figure 2), and a fortified citadel may have been situated at the site of the Classical acropolis of Poseidion (Hope Simpson and Lazenby, 1970: 68-69; Melas 1985: 30). A second centre of the same period must have operated at Arkasa in the south, along with sites that must have been occupied by communities using the tombs known from Vonies, Tou Stavrou to Kefali at Afiartis, and Diafani, Avlona and Makello at Pilai in the north (Figure 2; Zervaki, 2006: 25).

Habitation evidence for the later part of the LBA suggests a shift from a dispersed settlement pattern to nucleation, most probably associated with a new need for security, but it may also be linked to a population increase (Melas, 1985: 163). The trend for urbanisation of the earlier period also intensified and the decrease of the number of settlements may be symptomatic of political centralisation (Melas, 1985: 163) at a time when the cultural homogeneity of the southeast Aegean may be attributed to political unity under the control of Rhodes (Melas, 1988a: 118).

2.2. Material culture and consumption practices

Evidence from Karpathos indicates novel material culture forms already in the MBA, along the continuation of indigenous ceramic production of utilitarian forms in plain ware. Among the newly introduced material culture we need to include imported objects from Crete diagnosed on grounds of their typology and visual inspection of the clay, such as one crater, a number of stirrup jars and ritual vessels most likely to have come from Palaikastro (LM/LH IIIA1, IIIA2), and a piriform jar from Farmakokefalo (LM/LH IIIA2) (Melas 1985: 176-177,

Table 1). Furthermore, technical innovations are apparent in ceramic production resulting from the introduction of the wheel, and the improvement of manufacture methods with carefully made and adequately baked vessels through the particular choice of clay and the attainment of appropriate firing conditions (Melas 1985: 91). Other ceramic types suggest local production with parallels from east Crete, namely jugs, goblets and kylikes (LM/LH IIIA1), cups, bowls, craters, amphoroid craters, and jugs (LM/LH IIIA2) (Melas, 1985: 176-177, Table 1). The new ceramic varieties (imported and imitated) imply a change in the consumption practices relating to cooking and serving, as well as the adoption of new ritual norms employing particular vessels, modes of dress and adornment through the use of textiles, metal jewellery or weapons, also associated with particular types of social performance, as discussed later in the text.

Pottery, particularly emblematic of Minoan culture, has been recovered from Karpathos, such as conical cups, which were predominantly locally made in the periods LM/LH IIIA2 and IIIA2/IIIB, with a few imported examples diagnosed on a typological basis (cups, craters, piriform jars, stirrup jars) dated to phases IIIA1/2 and IIIA2 (Melas, 1985: 176-177, Table 1). The wheelmade vessels intended for domestic use (mainly conical cups of various types) in fact account for the greatest part of the pottery found on the island (Melas, 1985: 92, 176-177, fig. 45, Table 1). Excavations at the settlement Fournoi, in the Afiartis area, brought to light a dwelling occupied during the MM II-LM I period, which produced utilitarian pottery, but also a considerable proportion of imported Protopalatial ceramic types identified on typological grounds (MM IIB-III A jars, cups, cooking vessels), including two Kamares ware sherds (Melas, 2009: 61-63, 68-70; for shapes and decoration see Zachariadou, 1984: 276-277, 279-281, figs. 11-15). Other evidence comes from a number of MM-LM I pottery deposits that were unearthed in Pigadia at the Tsekou, Manolakaki and Sevdali plots in the form of red plaster fragments, a deposit of domestic debris containing Minoan pottery and a rounded cup (Melas, 1985: 29-30; Zervaki, 2003: 59 with references). In particular, the Tsekou plot yielded imports, including kylikes and kyathoi that on typological grounds could have come from Rhodes or Palaikastro, and locally made vessels exhibiting influences of LM and LH ceramic tradition of major centres (Zervaki, 2003: 64, 65).

In 1999, test pits cut by the 4th Ephoreia in the north edge of the bay of Pigadia also produced pottery that parallels varieties from Crete of MMIII/LM I date, as well as numerous conical cups (Davis, 2001: 71; Zervaki, 2003: 60). Furthermore, excavations of the

MM II-LM I dwelling at Kontokephalo, termed "Minoan villa" by Melas, has revealed a considerable quantity of Minoanising local pottery of mainly LM IA date, including a great number of cups (shallow straight-sided, deep incurving, shallow rounded) (Melas and Karantzali, 2000: 287-288). Specifically, the Minoanising local pottery varieties include utilitarian vessels with light buff self-slip and rare decoration, such as cups, a hole-mouthed jar, an oval-mouthed vessel, tripod cooking vessels, shallow cooking trays and deep basins (Melas and Karantzali, 2000: 288). Vessels believed to represent imports on the basis of their typology, comprised cups or deep bowls decorated with spirals or semi-circular motifs pendant from the rim (Melas and Karantzali, 2000: 287). The distribution of Minoan-type pottery is not restricted to the south, as sites in the north of Karpathos and on the island of Saria have also yielded sherds of Minoan cups, alongside plain ware (Melas, 1985: 45). Other forms of material culture that point to the influence of Crete-derived traditions include Minoan variety loomweights recovered from sites near the coast (Davis, 2001: 71). Pigadia has also provided evidence for Minoan practices, such as wall-painting (Manolakakis' plot) and the processing of murex shells for the production of dye (Tsekou plot) (Melas, 1985: 161; Zervaki, 2003: 60).

In the final phase of the LBA, pottery recovered especially from Rhodes, Kos, as well as Karpathos, indicates the introduction of Mycenaean types, which suggests cultural influence originating from the mainland in the southeast Aegean. In particular, the LM/LH III A1 phase marks the period of Mycenaean infiltration of the south Aegean islands, corroborated by Mycenaean pottery from Rhodes (Trianda settlement), Kos (Eleona and Langada cemeteries) and Karpathos (Anemomiloi Makeli chamber tomb), indicating the importation of vessels from the mainland (Argolid) and the co-presence of Minoan and Mycenaean traditions (Mountjoy, 1993: 169). In the LM/LH III A2 phase, there was a marked Mycenaean expansion in the Aegean islands which is attested by an increase of imported and locally made Mycenaean pottery, illustrated on Karpathos by the abundant presence of Mycenaean pottery in the Anemomiloi Makeli chamber tomb (Mountjoy, 1993: 171). Evidence dating to the LM/LH III A2-B1 period reveals the coexistence of Minoan and Mycenaean imports (Melas, 1985: 162), at the same time that production of locally made varieties continued. Among the possible imports, diagnosed on typological grounds, we can include bowls from Palaikastro, piriform jars from Palaikastro and the Argolid, goblets and kylikes from the Argolid, whereas local ceramic production is represented by cups, craters or stirrup jars (Melas 1985: 176-177, Table 1). A house

floor exposed at the Tsekou plot in Pigadia produced a large quantity of pottery of LM/LH III date, some of which may have been imported from either Crete or the mainland, exhibiting affinities both with vessels from Rhodes and Palaikastro on Crete (Zervaki, 2003: 64). The assemblage also includes locally made utilitarian pottery which suggests that, although the local household maintained contact with major centres of the time and imported and imitated fine ware, they nevertheless chose to cook in their own local vessels (Zervaki, 2003: 65). Mycenaean sherds are also attested in the north of the island at the site of Vrykous (Figure 3) (Hope Simpson and Lazenby, 1962: 161). Evidence dating to the LM/LH IIIB phase, shows a decrease in the distribution and numbers of Mycenaean pottery on islands of the southeast Aegean, suggesting a continuing but decreased Mycenaean presence in the region (Mountjoy, 1993: 173).



Figure 3: View of Vrykous (Photograph by S. Phillips).

Mycenaean pottery, co-occurring with the Minoan and local varieties on Karpathos, also comes from tombs. The pottery contained in a chamber tomb at the site Makeli near Pigadia, dated to the LBA IIIA phases 1 and the transitional 1/2, presents an intriguing pattern of shifting cultural influence; vessels of the III A1 phase, some of which were intended for domestic use, bear indisputable Minoan traits (Charitonidis, 1963: no. 1, Table 12β, 13α; no. 31, Table 19ε left; nos. 88, 89, Table 26ζ; no. 95, Table 26ς), whereas those dated to the III A1/2 phase (Charitonidis, 1963: no. 21, Table 17α, γ, ε; no. 29, Table 19δ; no. 30, Table 19β, ε left; no. 31, Table 19ε, 26η) exhibit close affinities to pottery from Rhodes, suggesting they may have been imported from there (Figure 4; Charitonidis, 1963: 33-36, 43-46, 49-51, 66, 67, 75). In the north, in the fertile plateau of Avlona (Figure 5), fragmentary vases and sherds, dating to LM/LH III A2 and LH III B1, were recovered from a chamber tomb during road works (Platon and Karantzali,

2003: 189). The typological traits of the pottery found at Avlona suggest that products of Minoan and Hellenic workshops arrived in equal amounts on Karpathos during the later part of fourteenth and the early part of the thirteenth centuries BC, owing to the key position the island held at the intersection of sea routes of the eastern Mediterranean (Platon and Karantzali, 2003: 200).



Figure 4: LH III A 1 beaked jug decorated with bucranium (drawn by M. Mina, after Charitonidis, 1963: no. 22, fig. 5).



Figure 5: View of the Avlona plateau (Photograph by S. Phillips).

LBA metal objects known from Karpathos also demonstrate close cultural affinities to their counterparts from Crete, which replaced the prevalent Anatolian and Levantine traditions of the earlier metal implements (Melas, 1985: 148-153). The assemblage of metal finds includes four swords (nos. 39, C102, C101, 1273), five spearheads (nos. 25, 37, 38, C105), a knife (no. 40) and a razor (no. C103) (Melas, 1985: 148-153). The swords parallel MM II-III examples from Mallia, Kakovatos Tholos B, Arkalokhori, Knossos, Farmakokephalo in Siteia, the spearheads parallel counterparts from Knossos and Mochlos, and the knife resembles examples from east Crete and Mallia (Melas, 1985: 151-153 with references).

The presence of weaponry (spearheads, a sword and a knife) in the chamber tomb at Anemomiloi Makeli would suggest the existence of local armed groups that may have resisted or negotiated the imposition of Mycenaean power (Charitonidis, 1963: nos. 98-105, 68-70, 75). Alternatively, the presence of weapons has been interpreted as an indication of a newcomers class of warriors, or as evidence for an associated palatial context (Zervaki, 2006: 32).

2.3. Technological production

It has been convincingly argued that Minoanisation entailed the adoption of technical skills that formed an integral part of Cretan cultural traditions (Nikolakopoulou and Knappett, 2016: 103). Interestingly, communities in the Dodecanese appear to have continued their local pottery traditions in the Bronze Age alongside the adoption of new, Crete-derived traits (Nikolakopoulou and Knappett, 2016: 109). This pattern is especially apparent during the Neopalatial period, which saw (1) an increase in the number of imports from Crete and imitation of pottery on a local scale, (2) the adoption of Minoan consumption practices, and (3) the use of Minoan traits and skills in pottery production (Nikolakopoulou and Knappett, 2016: 109). We should envisage that in the initial phase of ceramic technology transfer in the MBA, close contact among craftspeople was necessary (Nikolakopoulou and Knappett, 2016: 109). Such a scenario would imply that we need to recognise the geographical mobility of people across the south Aegean, but also the operation of social mobility that enabled the successful integration of craftspeople in local communities, essential for the transfer of skills (Nikolakopoulou and Knappett, 2016: 111). Technical identity, therefore, has been suggested as playing a vital role in the process of Minoanisation during the Neopalatial period in the wider southern Aegean (Nikolakopoulou and Knappett, 2016: 114-115).

Apart from the imitation of Cretan ceramic varieties and the adoption of the associated technical skills in local production, another phenomenon developed which underpinned the distinct cultural signature of Karpathos. This was achieved through the assimilation of both Minoan and subsequent Mycenaean cultural influences in ceramic production in phases III A2 (Charitonidis, 1963: no. 25, Table 17β, 46-47) and III A2/III B (six kylikes on high foot; Charitonidis, 1963: no. 35, Table 20α, no. 37, Table 20γ, 52, 53) (Charitonidis, 1963: 75; Davis, 2001: 70). This assimilation was manifested in two ways: (a) through the introduction of Minoan or Mycenaean formal and technical elements in locally made pottery, and (b) as a fusion of Minoan, Mycenaean and local traits evident in pottery production. Although

it is not possible to date to detect local workshops operating on the island, the ceramic products themselves suggest that local potters assimilated both Minoan and Mycenaean stylistic innovations (Platon and Karantzali, 2003: 200). The assimilation of external cultural influence in local pottery production is betrayed by the crude composition of the clay and style of decoration on otherwise Minoan-type vessels included in the Vonies chamber tomb (Zachariadou, 1984: 294). Other ceramic finds of the same tomb exhibit Minoan influence (Figure 6; Zachariadou, 1984: LBA III A1 utilitarian vessel no. 22, fig. 4 and miniature stirrup jar no. 9, fig. 1), followed by a tradition in LBA III A1/2 and 2 phases that combined both Minoan and Mycenaean elements, the latter showing a close affinity to counterparts known from nearby Rhodes (Figure 7; Zachariadou, 1984: kylix no. 33, fig. 3; no. 46, fig. 3; miniature stirrup jars no. 12, figs. 5, 11; no. 32, figs. 5, 13; pithoid amphora with three handles no. 45, fig. 10; crater no. 24, fig. 8; 251, 253, 256, 257, 263-265, 267-268, 273-275, 276, 279, 282, 286, 293). The Mycenaean cultural influence exerted on Karpathos is evident in the stylistic traits that characterise local pottery which conforms to the classification for mainland ceramic tradition devised by Furumark (Charitonidis, 1963: 32-33, 75; Zachariadou, 1984: 250; Mountjoy, 1993: 169, 171, 173). Nevertheless, the introduction of mainland-derived cultural influence did not replace wholly earlier ceramic traditions; the existence of vessels combining Minoan and Mycenaean traditions would imply that a form of local Mycenaean-style pottery developed in the later part of the LBA that had assimilated traits of both varieties (Zachariadou, 1984: 293). Pottery from the chamber tomb at Anemomiloi Makeli also preserves traits typically associated with LM and LH potters (cup no. 70), suggesting that we are witnessing the development of a distinct local type of pottery in the LBA IIIA 1/2 and 2 phases (Charitonidis, 1963: 75; characteristic examples mentioned above; Zachariadou, 1984: 284).



Figure 6: LM III A1 two-handle amphora with spout (drawn by M. Mina, after Zachariadou, 1984: 256, no. 22 [Π6867], fig. 4).

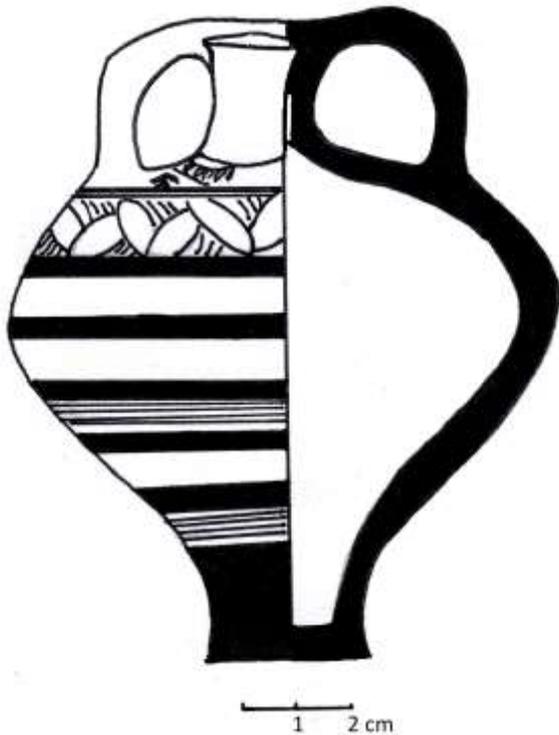


Figure 7: LM/LH III A1/2 miniature stirrup jar (drawn by M. Mina, after Zachariadou, 1984: 257, no. 32 [Π6877], fig. 5).

Textile production also suggests the influence of Crete-derived cultural tradition (at the production and possibly consumption level), as indicated by Minoan-type loomweights recovered from sites near the coast (Davis, 2001: 71). The use of Cretan-style discoid loomweights with a flattened or grooved top on LBA Karpathos suggests that the associated technical knowledge may have in fact been acquired through contact with communities already familiar with the use of the Cretan type loomweight, although direct contact should not be dismissed, at least in the earliest period (Cutler, 2016: 175). Once the necessary skills were acquired, they could then be passed on through vertical transmission from one generation to the next, eventually forming part of the local technological tradition (Cutler, 2016: 175).

2.4. Ideological norms and practices

Evidence for ritual practices from Karpathos that attest to a cultural influence from Crete or the mainland takes three forms: (a) artefacts associated with symbolic behaviour, (b) funerary architecture, and (c) mortuary rites.

Artefacts found on Karpathos that are associated with ritual behaviour include the Kamares ware sherds (Melas 2009: 68, fig. 11), the rhyta (nos. 1268,

1269), composite vessels (nos. C97, 48) and a bird vase (no. 36), the use of which must be associated with domestic and religious activities (Melas, 1985: 131-134). The imported Kamares ware sherds recovered from Fournoi settlement have led Melas to argue that perhaps they indicate the practice of Minoan worship activities which would also be consistent with the presence of rock-shelters in the surrounding area, on the west side of the small plateau (Melas, 2009: 64). The LBA rhyta, the composite vessels and the bird-vase from Karpathos, find close parallels to specimens known from Crete (Melas, 1985: 131-134). The above mentioned artefacts do conform to the general picture of Minoan cultural influence exerted on Karpathos in the LBA, although more light could be shed on the associated practices if more contextual evidence for use and deposition was available. To date, we have secure evidence only for part of the composite vessel (no. 48) and the fragment belonging to a bird-vase (no. 36) that were recovered from the Anemomiloi Makeli cemetery (Melas, 1985: 28, 52). The other composite vessel (no. C97) was unearthed from a rubbish pit of domestic type, and the two rhyta possibly came from a tomb at Kambi in the Diafani area (Melas, 1985: 29, 43, 52). The available evidence, therefore, is not sufficient to support an argument for the adoption of ritual activities performed in a way similar to that on Crete.

A new element that was introduced in the second half of the LBA is the use of chamber tombs, which first appeared during the LH II B–LH III A1 period, and continued until the LH IIIB period (Georgiadis, 2003: 47; 2015: 88). These tombs featured one chamber with a dromos and they housed multiple burials. They present, therefore, architectural features and burial customs that are consistent with the Mycenaean funerary tradition (Georgiadis, 2015: 88). Chamber tombs are known to date from seven sites across the island (Afiartis area Stavrou to Kefali, Pigadia area Diakonisi' Hotel plot, Vonies, Anemomiloi Makeli area, south of the Acropolis hill at the Tsaousopoulos house, Diafani area at Kambi, further north at Avlona) (Paton, 1889: 333; Charitonidis, 1963; Zachariadou, 1984; Georgiadis, 2003: 47; Zervaki, 2006: 25). The array of grave goods contained in the burials include imported (diagnosed on typological grounds) and locally made pottery, as well as metal implements, all of which reveal a Minoan and Mycenaean influence in terms not only of consumption practices, but also of funerary norms (Paton, 1887: 449; Dawkins, 1902-03: 201; Hope Simpson and Lazenby, 1962: 161; Melas, 1985: 43-44).

The funerary practices carried out in these chamber tombs show familiarity with the Mycenaean traditions as exemplified by the use of communal burials and the dispersal of the bones inside the tomb.

Such practices may also be indicative of a form of social organisation that conforms to Mycenaean patterns that promoted the importance of family or kin connections (Zachariadou, 1984: 249), and suggest that Karpathos formed an integral part of the changes that characterised the southeast Aegean at that time (Georgiadis, 2003: 48; Georgiadis, 2015: 88). Regarding social reproduction, the wealth contained in the chamber tombs and the presence of pouring vessels and weaponry suggest social differentiation and the emergence of a ruling class of landowners that came to power through the control of trade and industrial production, consistent with Mycenaean norms (Melas, 1985: 163).

Evidence also reveals the fusion of Mycenaean, Minoan and Anatolian elements of mortuary behaviour within the same context. An eloquent example is presented by the chamber tomb at Vonies in the south, dating to the transitional LM/LH III A1/2–III B, which was accidentally found in 1978 during road works (Zachariadou, 1984: 249; Melas 1985: 39; for a conjectural ground plan and section see Melas 1985: 207, fig. 16). The tomb was roughly elliptical in plan with incurving walls, and the chamber, which was facing north, measured an area of around 4,5 square metres and a height of 1,5 metres (Melas 1985: 39). The chamber tomb included an interment with its offerings in a larnax (variation of type FS 1; dating to EM-LM III; common on Crete; parallels known from Pyrgos, Sphoungaras, Pachyammos), indicating the adoption of funerary customs from Crete (Zachariadou, 1984: 280, 249) in an otherwise Mycenaean context. If the ash layer containing bones and sherds in the same chamber tomb belonged to a cremation, we would then have evidence for a funeral rite of central Anatolian origin, coexisting with differential customs in the same tomb (Georgiadis, 2003: 48).

2.5. Trade network connectivity

Can Minoan and Mycenaean cultural influence evident on Karpathos be accounted for as a result of the island's involvement in trade networks of the eastern Mediterranean? We believe that we need to acknowledge the position of Kasos, Karpathos and Saria as significant nodes in the trade network that linked Crete and the mainland through the Dodecanese to Anatolia, and ultimately to Cyprus and the Levant in the MBA and LBA periods (Charitonidis, 1963; Melas, 1985: 164; Platon and Karantzali, 2003: 202; Niemeier, 2009: 17). The position of coastal settlements on Karpathos, combined with evidence for material culture forms and practices deriving from Crete or the mainland, indicate an outward-looking orientation (albeit partial) of the island from the MBA. The architectural remains of Minoan type, together with imported pottery from Crete, that were

revealed in the north edge of the bay of Pigadia, led Zervaki to argue that, further to the settlement identified by Hope Simpson and Lazenby south of Eparcheio, a second coastal settlement existed during LM I at Vrontis that maintained close contact with Crete and its palatial centres (Platon and Karantzali, 2003: 201; Zervaki, 2003: 59; 2006: 20–21). A port (or ports) in the south would have operated as an intermediary stop along the eastern trade route (Zervaki, 2003: 59; 2006: 20–21). It has further been supported that the Dodecanese, with the possible inclusion of Karpathos and Kasos, was an area that was under the control of Ahhiyawa (i.e. Mycenae), either as possessions or with some sort of colonial status (Hope Simpson, 2003: 236; Niemeier, 2009: 17). The participation of Karpathos in maritime networks would have entailed direct or indirect contact with Crete and the mainland. This interaction would have partly been supported through bilateral population movement, most likely on a modest scale, and would have included seafarers, merchants, but also craftspeople.

The lack of important centres on Crete during the LH IIIC may explain the decline of Karpathos in that period, as the limited interaction between Crete and the eastern Mediterranean meant that it ceased being an important node on the eastern trade network (Zervaki, 2006: 33; Georgiadis, 2015: 88). The association between declining maritime activities in nearby areas and the subsequent marginalisation of Karpathos suggests that seafaring may have contributed considerably to the island's connectivity with the rest of the Aegean in terms of traded or exchanged goods, population mobility and the transfer of skills.

3. CONCLUSION: CULTURAL INTERFACE AND HYBRIDISATION

An inherent element in the terms Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation is the notion that an action emanates from Minoan or Mycenaean culture proper, which impacts drastically on other communities. Linguistically the use of the suffix *-ise* (*-isation* for the noun) in fact denotes the meaning 'to become, to make or to cause' something to happen, which in our case would refer to the cultural transformation of communities outside Crete and the mainland through the process of acculturation. It may be argued, therefore, that the terms in themselves are already flawed in presupposing a one-way process of cultural interaction. As already discussed in recent discourse, we now need to acknowledge that negotiation between communities, or their individual segments, played a vital role in the integration or rejection of novel material forms and social practices. Considering a series of questions can elucidate further the processes of cultural contact between com-

munities: (a) who was involved in the contact?, (b) how was the contact played out?, and (c) what were the consequences of the contact? The answer to the last question can illuminate whether the available evidence is consistent with acculturation and transformation (as implied by the terms Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation), assimilation of newcomers (whereby the arriving population became fully integrated), or hybridisation, which resulted in the formation of new identities through the amalgamation of foreign (Minoan and/or Mycenaean) and local elements.

Let us now turn our attention to Bronze Age Karpathos and address the issue of who might have participated in the cultural contact between local and off-island communities. Was the contact direct or indirect? Should we envisage population mobility from Crete or the mainland? If so, who might these immigrants be and why did they move to Karpathos? Did all local communities, or all their segments, interact with the newcomers? For Melas, the phenomenon of urbanism, as well as a series of technological advances, are signs of cultural transformation (i.e. Minoanisation), which resulted from the 'Minoan penetration of static and inferior cultures' that served the Cretans' economic interests through the establishment of exchange networks (Melas, 1988a: 118). It has been postulated that the 'proto-urban' settlement of Pigadia, which exhibits Minoan traits, was the effect of acculturation of local communities by the newcomers, at the same time that Cretan immigrants maintained their cultural identity through the continuous influx of population from Crete, and locals reproduced Minoan culture through the 'Versailles effect' (Melas, 1988b: 54). Despite the idea of cultural superiority, which in fact contradicts his own critique of the colonial package associated with the concepts of Minoan colonialism and thalassocracy, Melas does acknowledge the active role played by segments of the local communities in imitating or manipulating the "culturally superior" Minoan culture in their attempts to undermine local established elites (Melas, 2009: 71). Melas and Karantzali do accept, therefore, the presence of Cretan population on Karpathos, although they attribute Minoanising material culture predominantly to aggrandising behaviour of the locals through imitation of Minoan practices (Melas and Karantzali, 2000: 290).

Recent ancient DNA research has provided evidence for genetic admixture in the prehistoric Aegean that would have been fostered by population mobility. The study carried out by Lazaridis and colleagues (Lazaridis et al., 2017) has revealed that the genetic fingerprint of prehistoric Aegean population resulted from migration episodes and genetic admix-

ture. Analysis of 19 ancient individuals, including Minoans from Crete and Mycenaean from mainland Greece, has shown that the 'northern' and 'eastern' ancestry detected in Aegean prehistoric population is absent from Neolithic samples of the same region, suggesting that genetic admixture took place in the period between the fourth to second millennium BC, that is sometime in the second half of the Final Neolithic and the LBA (Lazaridis et al., 2017).

In order to shed light on the cultural identity of communities or individuals, however, we need to turn to archaeological evidence which can elucidate the extent to which the physical contact between population groups may or may have not resulted in cultural 'admixtures'. With reference to evidence from Bronze Age Karpathos, we would argue that the archaeological record does indicate cultural influence deriving from Crete and the mainland at different times, to varying degrees and in different domains. This is particularly apparent in the shift of occupation pattern which may be partly accounted for by off-island population mobility, but also by local communities' initiative to join the maritime network. The initial introduction of Minoan and Mycenaean elements may have resulted from small-scale population movement mainly from Crete, and later from the mainland, but also from indirect exposure to Mycenaean culture through islands, such as Crete and Rhodes. The impetus behind population mobility may have been related to seafaring activities, as Karpathos could have provided supplies and safety along the maritime route to Anatolia, Cyprus and the Levant. At the same time, the locals' involvement in the same maritime network must have also been responsible for the transfer of new material culture forms and practices. It is important to remember, however, that not all communities (or all their members) were equally affected by cultural interaction, as some population continued to live in small farming inland settlements that may have in fact changed little from the earlier Neolithic or EBA predecessors whose economic survival did not rely on maritime connections.

Returning to the earliest phase of systematic direct contact, the newly arriving population most likely did not include whole dislocated communities; rather it must have been composed of individuals and single families, among which were included seafarers, possibly as distinct from tradespeople, but also craftspeople, such as potters. These first groups may have been responsible for the systematic exposure of local communities to novel material forms, consumption practices and technological skills. It is in this context of interaction that technical identity, as suggested by Nikolakopoulou and Knappett (2016: 111, 114-115), would have emerged as a key factor

underpinning cultural, social and economic roles in local communities, and the transfer of new skills. Nevertheless, the newly acquired technical knowledge and tastes for objects did not obliterate the indigenous tradition for the production of local shapes and wares that pertained to the mundane aspects of life associated with culinary practices. The perseverance of local traditions would suggest that we are not seeing the foundation of organised colonies on Karpathos, as newly arrived communities would have introduced a wholesale transfer of material culture and practices.

After the initial impact of direct cultural interaction, the continuing involvement of Karpathos in maritime trade, supported by foreign groups and local communities, may account for the maintenance and renewed introduction of Cretan and mainland-derived traits. The participation of Karpathos in the Mycenaean network of palatial centres is supported by evidence for people's mobility. The Pylos Linear B tablets include a mention to a priestess, known as *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*, i.e. the *Keybearer*, in connection with her personal name, *ka-pa-ti-ja*, which denotes ethnic designation, meaning from Karpathos (Melas, 1985: 180; Palaima, 2007: 199; Boloti, 2014: 245). Such evidence is consistent with the Mycenaean material culture and practices present on Karpathos and Rhodes (Palaima, 2007: 199), but also indicates that peoples' mobility was bidirectional and was not restricted to the domains of seafaring or technological production, nor was it gender exclusive. The establishment of a particularly distinct combination of off-island and local traits apparent in material culture forms and funerary practices in the later part of the LBA, would suggest that people arriving on Karpathos became fully assimilated and integrated by local communities.

How was the contact between communities played out? In the initial phase we should envisage the coexistence of newcomers and local population in the same settlements, or at least the maintenance of regular interaction between members of different communities. The transmission of technological skills and knowledge evident in pottery production would require the intimate contact between the craftsperson and an apprentice which may have taken place locally or even elsewhere as the operation of a maritime network would have entailed a bidirectional population mobility, albeit to varying degrees. It has been suggested that the use of the potter's wheel for the production of the iconic conical cups, amply present on Karpathos, would have required a close and long-term contact between Cretan and off-island communities (Knappett and Hilditch, 2015: 107). A direct or indirect cultural contact between communities is also implied by the adoption of simi-

lar consumption practices, such as pouring and the serving of liquids and foodstuffs, the use of weaponry, modes of attire in life and/or death (as suggested by metal implements and jewellery deposited in tombs), or mortuary rituals. With reference to the conical cups in particular, it has been proposed that their adoption marks not only the introduction of wheel-turned pottery, but also of culturally Minoan consumption practices (Knappett and Hilditch, 2015: 101, 107). Furthermore, the performance of activities associated with combat or hunting, or even styles of dress, may signify the emergence of distinct social identities at a local level that embraced, at least symbolically, a Mycenaean way of life. It is important to remind ourselves, however, that not all individuals or social groups would have adopted, in a secular or ritual context, the newly introduced material culture and practices.

Karpathos, however, does not exhibit a straightforward adoption of Mycenaean culture in the final part of the LBA. Although mainland-derived influence became prevalent, it did not obliterate the earlier Minoan or local traditions. The eclecticism evident in funerary norms, as exemplified by the chamber tomb at Vonies which combined practices derived from Crete, and possibly Anatolia, in an otherwise mainland context of funerary practice (Zachariadou, 1984: 294; Georgiadis, 2003: 48), suggests that a new distinct local identity was generated. The metaphorical cherry-picking exercised by local communities suggests that they were active in choosing to adopt, resist or adjust foreign elements to their indigenous traditions. The same point is supported by the survival of older material culture forms alongside new ones, especially evident in pottery production. We cannot be certain what the criteria for adopting new elements were, or for what reason, but the construction of social identities and performance of social roles in a public context may have held a central place in the process. This would be consistent, for example, with the use of imported fine vessels for pouring and serving, whereas local varieties were used for food-processing and cooking (Zervaki, 2003: 65). The production of textiles and the employment of metal weapons and jewellery also created a conspicuous appearance witnessed publicly in life (although this still waits to be proven), and no doubt in death. More importantly, the integration of foreign material vocabulary and novel ways of doing things within local traditions did not simply imitate Minoan or Mycenaean identities; instead it underpinned a distinct local identity founded on the amalgamation of foreign and local cultural traits.

Crucially, what were the consequences of the cultural dynamics described above? The eclectic adoption of traits and their fusion with continuing local

traditions resulted in the unique cultural signature of Bronze Age Karpathos. The development of a local identity, through the selective adoption or rejection of material culture forms and practices deriving from Crete or the mainland, suggests that local communities were not passive receivers of foreign elements. Karpathos, therefore, beyond certain traits shared with their counterpart communities on Crete or the mainland, defies strict classification as either Minoanised or Mycenaeanised. We are justified in arguing, therefore, that Bronze Age Karpathos can be identified as an example of cultural hybridisation which exhibited an idiosyncratic cultural identity through the incorporation of intrusive elements that

was dynamic in the sense that the intensity of its cultural components (local, Minoan, Mycenaean) shifted diachronically. In a situation of acculturation (i.e. Minoanisation or Mycenaeanisation in a strict sense of the terms), we should be able to detect a widespread adoption of new material culture forms and practices replacing older ones, which is clearly not the case. The survival of new and old, and the fusion of foreign and local, would suggest that Karpathos constituted a locus of cultural interface. The distinct local identity, that was shaped through cultural interaction, differs from those attested on various parts of Crete or the mainland and is, therefore, neither 'Minoan' nor 'Mycenaean', but other.

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