

Asarlık Paton Tomb O: Some Observations on Funerary Practices of Lelegian Peninsula in 12th century BC and the Arrival of Newcomers¹



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Keywords: Asarlık, Pedasa, Late Helladic III C, Cremation, Fibula

Excavations undertaken by W. R. Paton at Asarlık in 1886 revealed a burial platform which contained a pithos urn. A small number of burial gifts were found including a stirrup jar and a fibula. Reassessment of the finds under the light of current evidence confirmed that they actually belong to the second half of 12th century BC. New evidence from the excavations of Asarlık and Pedasa proved that burial platforms and cremation form of burials started to become common in Lelegian peninsula by the first half of the 12th century BC. The termination of use of the Müsgebi chamber tombs coincides with the introduction of new burial practices and new tomb structures indicating the arrival of newcomers to the peninsula. New inhabitants shaping the Early Iron Age culture of the peninsula must be Lelegians or Carians as attested by all elements of related material culture.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Asarlık, Pedasa, Geç Hellas III C, Kremasyon, Fibula

1886 yılında Asarlık'ta Paton tarafından kazısı gerçekleştirilmiş olan Mezar Platformu O içerisinde ortaya çıkarılmış olan urne pithosun buluntuları arasında yer alan fibula ve üzengi kulplu kabın güncel verilerle tekrar değerlendirilmesi, bunların MÖ 12. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına ait olduklarını göstermektedir. Asarlık ve Pedasa mezar platformlarından elde edilen yeni bulgular, bu mezar yapısının ve yaygın gömü şekli olarak kremasyonun MÖ 12. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Leleg Yarımadası'nda görülmeye başladığını kanıtlamıştır. Söz konusu zaman sürecinde Müsgebi oda mezarlarının kullanımlarının sona ermesi, yeni ölü gömme geleniği ve mezar yapılarının yeni yerleşimcilerle ilişkili olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Yarımada'nın Erken Demir Çağı kültürünü şekillendiren yeni sakinlerinin, Lelegler veya Kariyalılar olduklarını, materyal kültürünün tüm bileşenleri ortaya koymaktadır.

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Introduction

Excavations and archaeological research starting in 1990s provided evidence emphasizing the significance of coastal Southwestern Anatolia concerning the burial customs, funerary architecture and material culture of the region in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Tomb structures and related finds unearthed in the course of the excavations undertaken at Lelegian peninsula attest that a completely new form of burial custom arrived to the peninsula along somehow meagre but continuing Late Bronze Age cultural elements and enlighten the general picture of the beginning of Early Iron Age in the region. The accumulated evidence regarding the archaeology and material culture of the region requires a fresh look at the findings and reassessment of previous excavations and research. This paper aims to reevaluate Asarlık Tomb O and its finds within the current evidence in regard to the movement of people related to Aegean Migrations, and try to answer the questions about where and when these movements took place in Southwestern Anatolia. Current excavations at Pedasa, surveys in the region and reinterpretation of finds from Asarlık Tomb O require a new suggestion for the dating of the tomb. Reassessment of the evidence bring new discussions concerning the archaeology of Lelegian Peninsula in 12th century BC.

Brief Research History

A number of excavations at Asarlık (Fig. 1) located on the southwestern part of Lelegian peninsula have been undertaken by Newton (1862-1863), Paton (1887), Paton and Myres (1896) and by Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology under the supervision of Prof. Dr. A. Diler in 2012 (Diler 2015; Diler 2017) respectively. Additionally, Asarlık has also held an important place in other investigations related to the region (Bean – Cook 1955: 116-118; Radt 1970: 226-233).

In the course of the excavations conducted by Paton and Myres, several tombs located on the southern slopes of Asarlık acropolis have been unearthed. Tumuli, few circular structures and a large number of other structures described as *rectangular inclosures* (Fig. 2) by Paton have been defined as main types of funerary structures. The descriptions by Paton and Myres (Paton 1887: 68-69, 73; Paton – Myres 1896: 243-245) are related to the structures which were later defined as *platforms/platform burial grounds/platform tombs* by Diler (Diler 2009: 111, not 11, Res. 2; Diler 2015: 4, Fig. 10; Diler 2016: 464-465, Figs. 29-31; Diler 2017).

Excavations undertaken by A. Diler and his team at Pedasa since 2007 and surveys conducted at Lelegian peninsula attested several tombs similar to Asarlık platforms (Özer 2009: 276-278, Res. 12-14; Özer 2011: 331-332, Res. 11-12; Özer 2014: 536-538, Res. 8-9; Özer 2015: 352-353, Res. 11-12; Özer 2017). Pedasa examples repeat the same general pattern as Asarlık platforms in terms of being constructed on the slopes, containing



Fig. 1. Map showing the location of the Southeastern Aegean sites mentioned in the text.

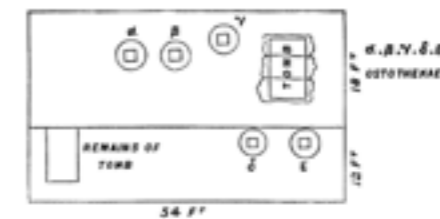
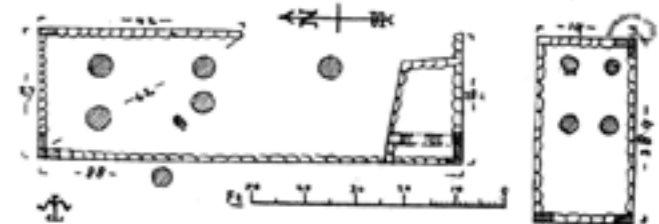


Fig. 2. Asarlık platforms: After Paton 1887, Fig. 16; Paton – Myres 1896, Figs. 17-18.



rectangular burial cists embedded in rubble within stone enclosures and having clusters of burned remains deposited at the bottom of the cist.

Asarlık Tomb O and Its Finds: (Fig. 4)

Tomb O repeats the common features of a platform in terms of being rectangular in form and containing burial cists. Apart from small burial cists embedded in rubble, it contained five other larger tombs (Paton 1887: 74). Paton and Myres have described these as *full-length cist graves* (tombe a fossa) (Paton – Myres 1896: 244-245). One of them contained a pithos as Tomb N (Paton 1887: 73-74), a fibula was placed in the pithos and a stirrup jar, a three-legged vase and portions of a large amphora without handle accompanied the pithos inside the tomb (Fig. 4).

It seems clear from the archaeological evidence of Asarlık and Pedasa that these tomb chambers (large size cists) placed in the platforms have been designed to contain pithoi and these pithoi were to serve as cremation urns (Diler 2016: Fig. 31; Özer 2011: Res. 11; Özer 2017). Some of them provided no evidence in terms of the type of the burial they contained and no related finds have been unearthed (Paton – Myres 1896: 244). Paton and Myres assumed that these tombs were also used for inhumation burials. Excavations taken place in 2012 revealed scattered fragments of pithoi in similar tombs without any indication for inhumation burials. Some of them contained finds, however showed no traces of burial. The tomb chambers may have been designed for multiple burials. Those without finds might well have been symbolic graves.

Pedasa excavations attested that tomb chambers containing urn pithoi have central configurations in the platforms (Özer 2017). Asarlık platforms seem to contain far more large size cists (tomb chambers) in comparison to Pedasa platforms (Fig. 3).

The stirrup jar from Tomb O (Paton 1887: Fig. 18; Fordyke 1925: Fig. 205, A1101; Carstens 2008: Fig. 26) has been defined as the earliest find of Asarlık excavations and been the subject of many related discussions: “It has a high almost vertical foot, a globular body, high neck and handles and a prominent knob on disk; the handles are barred, the shoulder has hand-drawn semicircles with half-moon filling and the body is a succession of groups of thin bands divided by thick ones; the foot is painted” (Desborough 1952: 219). Desborough has linked Tomb O stirrup jar to the transitional stage between Sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods based on its resemblance to stirrup jars from Kerameikos Grave 13 (Kraiker – Kübler 1939: Taf. 7; Mountjoy 1999: 631, Fig. 242, no. 641) and Kerameikos Grave 19 jar (Kraiker – Kübler 1939: Taf. 9; Mountjoy 1999: 619, Fig. 235, no. 572) and argued that Tomb O finds were indeed the earliest at Asarlık. He has also suggested that Asarlık settlers might have migrated from Attica during the transitional stage to Protogeometric Period and related the Athenian trends on the stylistic features of later finds to continuing relations with the mother country basing his claim on the affinities of

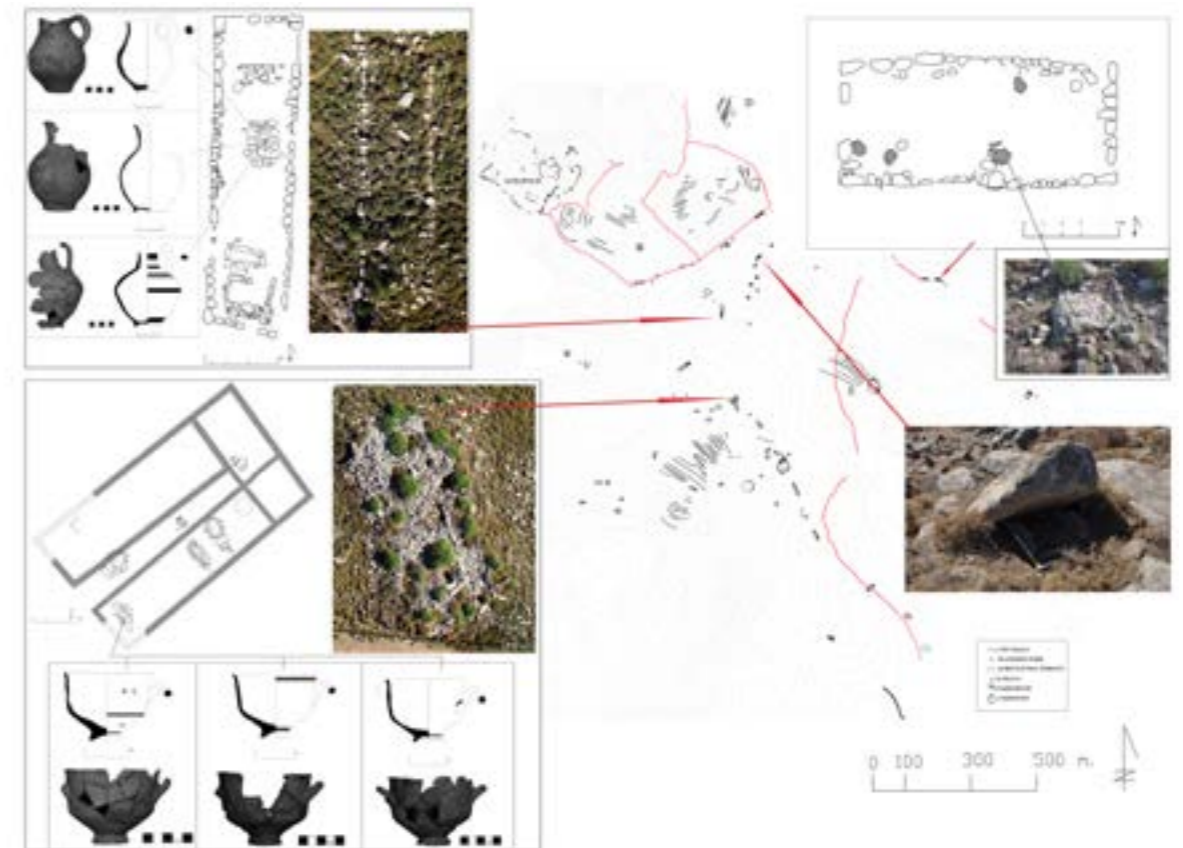


Fig. 3. Asarlık platforms: After Diler 2015, Fig. 10.



Fig. 4. Asarlık, Contents of Urn Pithos in Tomb O: After Carstens 2008, Fig. 22, no. 3, Fig. 26.

the stirrup jar with finds from Kerameikos (Desborough 1952: 219-221; 1972: 83). In his later publications, he has continued to evaluate Asarlık finds as evidence for Aegean migrations and dated Tomb O stirrup jar to Sub-Mycenaean period (Desborough 1964: 21; 1972: 83, 180).

As Desborough, Snodgrass has also dated the related finds of Tomb O to the transitional stage between Sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods and argued that all Asarlık finds including the ones from Tomb O showed close affinities to Attic (2000: 66-67).

Accumulated information regarding Mycenaean pottery and latest evaluations on tombs from Kerameikos cemetery in relation to the period they belong required a reassessment of the dating of Asarlık Tomb O stirrup jar. Kerameikos tombs from 11th century BC have been classified in four phases in regard to stratigraphic evidence and grave finds (Ruppenstein 2007: Tab. 40a). Grave 19 with a stirrup jar similar to the one of Asarlık Tomb O has been related to Phase 1 (Styrenius 1967: 25-26; Ruppenstein 2007: Tab. 40a, Stufe 1) and grave 13 has been linked to Phase 2 (Ruppenstein 2007: Tab. 40a, Stufe II). Since Phase 1 tombs of Kerameikos necropolis contain similar finds with the Phase 3 tombs of Perati, it can be concluded that last phase of Perati is contemporary with the first phase of Kerameikos and all these phases can be related to Late Helladic III C late period (Ruppenstein 2007: 240-242). Similarly, in Mountjoy's Mycenaean pottery classification, Grave 19 finds are placed within Late Helladic III C period whereas Grave 13 finds are classified within Sub-Mycenaean period (Mountjoy 1999: 619, 631).

Asarlık stirrup jar and related finds generally seem to be frequent in the middle and late phases of Late Helladic III C period (Mountjoy 1999: Figs. 54-55, 235-237; Thomatos 2006: 22-46). The ornaments in form of semi-circles with solid centre placed between the handles and the spout on the shoulder are typical decorative elements of the period commonly applied on stirrup jars, lekythoi, amphorae and narrow-necked jugs (Iakovides 1970: Figs. 40, 44, 51, 57-60; Furumark 1972: Fig. 58, FM 43; Mountjoy 1999: Fig. 383, no. 7, Fig. 389, no. 44, Fig. 426, no. 178, Fig. 430, no. 196, Fig. 431, no. 203; Vlachopoulos 2006: Fig. 87, no. 924, 1750, 1857, Pl. 12, no. 2065, Pl. 108, no. 945). Asarlık stirrup jar must belong to the second half of 12th century BC in terms of its shape, band arrangements, decorative features such as semi-circles with solid centre. The chronology of a fibula from Pylona Tomb 4 showing close affinities with Asarlık Tomb O fibula from the same grave context as the stirrup jar supports this dating.

Tomb O fibula (Paton 1887: Fig. 17; Blinkenberg 1926: 67, tip II 10a, Fig. 43; Snodgrass 2000: 236-237; Caner 1983: Taf. 1, no. 3; Carstens 2008: Fig. 22, no. 3) has been evaluated within the group type IIa along with another fibula from Çömlekçi by Caner. The hexagonal section of the bow is defined by plastic knots. The bow section expands in the middle. A large loop spiral and a long fore arm describe the characteristic features of the form. The suggested dating for the stirrup jar coming from the same grave to the period of transition to Protogeometric has been accepted for the fibula as well (Caner

1983: 28-29). Caner has suggested Caria as the place of origin for the fibulae that he has classified within type IIa.

Bow fibulae in different variations appearing in the Aegean World by 12th century BC and becoming more common by the beginning of Early Iron Age seem to be well represented in several centres (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978: 41-54; Harding 1984: 138-140, Fig. 38; Bouzek 1985: 159, Fig. 81; Lemos 2002: 109-112; Pare 2008: Fig. 5.10A-B). However, it is striking that fibulae similar to Asarlık one are quite rare in terms of quantity and provenance (Teržan 2007: Fig. XXXVIb). The closest example similar to Asarlık fibula with its large size, large spiral and hexagonal bow has been unearthed in Rhodos Pylona No. 4 Mycenaean/Aegean type chamber tomb excavated in 1994 (Karantzali 2001: 70-71, Fig. 42, no. 1352, Pl. 47a; Thomatos 2006: 238, Fig. 5.15; Pare 2008: Fig. 5.10.A3). These two examples are identical in every aspect.

The closest example bearing resemblance to Asarlık and Pylona fibulae is a find from Tholos Tomb A at Moulia/Crete (Blinkenberg 1926: 67, Fig. 44; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978: 52, Taf. 8, no. 222). This fibula differs from Asarlık and Pylona fibulae in terms of its incised decoration appearing on every section except the bow and the spiral. More examples of fibulae similar in terms of form, yet having incised decoration all over come from Vergina (Radt 1974: 124-125, Taf. 38, no. 14-15; Harding 1984: Fig. 38, no. 12). The most characteristic and distinguishing feature defining the form of Pylona and Asarlık fibulae is the large loop spiral apparently being wider than the related ones. Another fibula from Perati Tomb 36 can be included in the list regarding the general features of its form (Iakovides 1970: 276, M83, Fig. 122, Pl. 80; Harding 1984: Fig. 38, no. 15; Thomatos 2006: Fig. 5.9, no. M83; Teržan 2007: 161, Fig. XXXVIb).

Ruppenstein suggested that fibulae bearing resemblances to Pylona example might belong to Late Helladic III C and due to their rarity in the Aegean, their origins should be sought in Northeastern Adriatic rather than Greece (Ruppenstein 2007: 220-221). He included the finds from Eleiteia chamber tomb 12 (Pare 2008: Fig. 5.10.A2), Naxos Kamini chamber tomb A (Vlachopoulos 2006: Fig. 38, no. 3573, Pl. 23), an urn amphora found in Argos Tripolis St. tumulus (Piteros 2001: Fig. 19; Thomatos 2006: 234, Fig. 5.1) and Elis Kladaeos-Trypes chamber tomb 7 (Ruppenstein 2007: 230, not 955) into his list.

The finds including Pylona fibula from Tomb 4 are related to all phases of Late Helladic III C period (Karantzali 2001: 18-19; Thomatos 2006: 165). The possible dating of the Asarlık stirrup jar to Late Helladic III C late period as discussed above and Asarlık fibula belonging to the same tomb form a solid base for dating the Asarlık fibula to the same period. The tomb of the Moulia fibula which shares close affinities with these two fibulae has been dated to Late Minoan III C period (Davaras 1973: 163). Vergina fibulae are the latest ones belonging to 10th century BC among the fibula group sharing close affinities with Asarlık and Pylona fibulae.

As will be discussed below, the tombs of Asarlık and Pylona fibulae have been constructed and used in Late Helladic III C period. However, apart from their fibulae, they

are different in terms of tomb architecture and burial customs. Asarlık fibula is related to an urn pithos whereas Pylona tomb (Karantzali 2001: 89-90) contains only inhumation burials.

The tombs which were described as chronologically and typologically in relation with Pylona fibula by Karantzali, Ruppenstein and Teržan seem to have some common features. The fibula from Argos Tripolis St. tumulus has been excavated in an urn amphora just as Asarlık fibula has been found in a pithos urn. Moulania tomb contains both cremation and inhumation burials. Tomb 36 where Perati fibula comes contains a cremation burial as well. As the examples listed here point out, it is quiet striking that the majority of the fibulae sharing typological and chronological common features are related to cremation burials and have been found in tombs constructed in Late Helladic III C period. The connection intended to be formed here between cremation and Asarlık type fibula has been previously applied both to cremation and Naue II type swords (Ruppenstein 2013: 188, not 14) and to cremation and tools and weapons (Melas 1984: 32-33).

The data from the grave contexts of Asarlık and Pylona fibulae indicate that they belong to late Helladic III C period. Jung has suggested that bow fibulae dated to 12th century BC have been evolved from violine type fibulae and are related to Italian examples (Pare 2008: 87-88, not 59-60). Related fibula types are well represented in central Balkans (Vasić 1999: 45-46, Taf. 24, no. 274-279, Taf. 25, no. 280-281, Taf. 63, 70) and Croatian shores (Glogović 2003: 8-11, Taf. 1-5, no. 7-29a, Taf. 60B, 71) especially in 11th and 10th centuries BC. These fibulae that show common form features are the members of a general type related to Asarlık and Pylona fibulae. Asarlık and Pylona fibulae are similar in terms of being identical among the whole series, coming from Southeastern Aegean and having been found in tombs constructed in 12th century BC. Benzi (2013: 525) suggests an European origin for the Pylona fibula.

The scarcity of finds similar to Asarlık and Pylona fibulae and the lack of identical examples in chronologically following contexts bring to mind that they either might have been brought by the migrants following the mobility that took place in 12th century BC or some form of relations between relatively distant regions were in existence.

Tomb Structures and Cremation

Archaeological research and excavations undertaken at Lelegian peninsula revealed information regarding the time frame when platforms were in use. Tomb O is a burial platform which was in use in late Helladic III C period the latest as discussed above. Platforms excavated in Asarlık 2012 campaign revealed new finds belonging to 12th and 11th centuries BC (Fig. 3). Considering the published finds of new excavations, the number of tombs that were in use by the end of 12th century BC are actually not very few. Pedasa excavations revealed that the use of platforms has started by the beginning of 12th century BC and continued into the Archaic period. The facts that three out of six platforms investigated in detail at Pedasa contain 12th century finds (Özer 2014: Res. 8B, 9B-C; Özer 2015: 353, Res. 12) and the existence of finds coming from some illicitly dug platforms

belonging to same time frame indicate that an important number of ca. 85 platforms have been constructed by the 12th century BC and were in use for a long period of time. Same can be said about ca. 50 documented Asarlık platforms (Diler 2015: 4).

Very few of the small burial cists belonging to excavated platforms of Pedasa constructed in 12th century BC actually contain burial offerings. They were either placed in burial cists, on the stone lids or in the stone fill near the tomb (Özer 2014: Res. 8B, 9B). Stone fills of the platforms also contained finds either placed during the construction or possibly offered during later visits (Özer 2014: Res. 9C; Özer 2015: Res. 12). The evidence suggests that burial cists containing only bones and ashes might well be the earliest tombs. Despite the scarcity of number and variety of finds, it seems clear that there has been an increase in leaving burial offerings in the tombs such as fibulae, loom weights, weapons and ceramics in the 11th century BC.

In terms of quantity of finds, Asarlık tombs, specifically large size cist graves (chamber tombs) seem to be more prolific. In one of the published tombs, only closed vessels including a hand made one (Fig. 3, upper left), and deep cups in the other one (Fig. 3, lower left) form the burial assemblage. They belong to the end of 12th and the first half of 11th centuries BC. Considering the fact that at least some of the large size cists (chamber tombs) have been designed to contain pithoi, it seems understandable why these tombs had more burial offerings. Urn pithoi unearthed from Pedasa and Asarlık platforms differ from the other tombs in terms of containing more burial offerings. Each tomb follow a similar pattern by having a fibula in the pithos and other burial offerings along the side (Asarlık Tomb N contained a fibula, however in Paton's report there is no other find mentioned: 1887: 73). Pedasa pithoi each had a cup dedicated as a burial offering on the side (Özer 2017).

The urn pithoi of Pedasa, Asarlık tombs O and N are the first documented urns related to the transitional period between Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in the region. The facts that burial cists of the platforms contain burial offerings such as fibulae, loom weights or no burial offerings at all and urn pithoi always containing fibulae, cups and personal belongings might be relevant to the importance paid to the deceased buried in the urn pithoi (Özer 2017).

In accordance with current evidence, the practice of using burial urns in Pedasa and Asarlık platforms seems to be limited only to pithoi in 12th and 11th centuries BC. Starting from the 10th century BC, there has been an increase in the practice of using urns in tumuli and platforms in Lelegian peninsula (Diler 2006: 113, Res. 8; Carstens 2008: 75-76; Diler 2009: Fig. 24; Mohr 2015: 56-58, 114; Diler 2016: Fig. 16). There are relatively more urns used in the stone fills and chamber tombs of tumuli in comparison to the platforms (Diler 2016: Fig. 46; Gümüş 2012: 180-185). Only one out of the ten cists belonging to Pedasa platforms which was in use by 10th century BC contained a cremation urn.

Several scholars (Iakovides 1970: 31-57; Davaras 1973; Melas 1984; Cavanagh – Mee 1998: 93-94; Lewartowski 1998; Snodgrass 2000; Lemos 2002: 186-187; Thomatos

2006: 170-177; Jung 2007; Perna 2009: 42-43; Ruppenstein 2013) have argued that there has been a rapid increase in cremation burials by 12th century BC in the Aegean World and it replaced inhumation in some regions in the Early Iron Age. There are some publications discussing the topic in detail (Stampolidis 2001; Lochner – Ruppenstein 2013). Pedasa and Asarlık platforms point to the fact that cremation was the sole form of burial practice in these settlements. Although Paton and Myres (1896: 244-245) have argued that full length cist graves/tomb chambers in the platforms would also have been used for inhumation, no evidence has been obtained confirming this information from 2012 excavations. In fact, some of the full length cist graves/tomb chambers contain urn pithoi as discussed above.

Current evidence does not support the existence of platforms in Lelegian peninsula before 12th century BC. Could all the facts reconsidered including the spatial organization/arrangement, planning and construction techniques of the platforms, their continual use and cremation being the only form of burial lead us to the conclusion that the people using these tombs were actually newcomers to the region?

Before coming up with possible answers to this question, we need to take a look at the relevant evidence in the region just before the period when the platforms were in use:

The exact answer to the question about where in Western Anatolia the most number of Mycenaean/Aegean type chamber tombs were excavated would definitely be Müsgebi (Boysal 1964; Boysal 1965; Boysal 1967; Boysal 1969; Mee 1978: 137-142; Mountjoy 1998; Hope Simpson 2003; Georgiadis 2003; Carstens 2008; Mariaud 2012; Benzi 2013: 538-539; Özgünel 2013; Diler 2016: 460-461). The excavated chamber tombs containing imported and local Mycenaean pottery have been used in Late Helladic II B and Late Helladic III C's early phases (Özgünel 2013: 28-30, 109-121). According to Özgünel, eleven and to Mountjoy certainly 2 and possibly 2 others of these chamber tombs had finds related to Late Helladic III C period (Mountjoy 1998: 53). Benzi suggests 6 chamber tombs are related to the same period (2013: 539). The finds related to Late Helladic III C period come from the tombs that were in continual use. Thus, it is clear that the only known funerary structures in the region in the Late Bronze Age are chamber tombs.

The situation is similar in nearby centres as attested by local and imported Mycenaean ceramic finds firstly at Miletos Değirmen Tepe (Mee 1978: 133; Hope Simpson 2003: 215-216; Niemeier 2007: 15, Taf. 5, 5; Niemeier 2009: 18; Akat-İslam – Aslan 2015) and Milas Pilavtepe (Benter 2009; Kalaitzoglou 2013: 307-308). It appears that the main burial practice in the chamber tombs of Southeastern Aegean mainland is inhumation. Three chamber tombs, from Müsgebi including one containing an urn (Boysal 1964: 81; Boysal 1965: 121; Boysal 1967: 8; Mee 1978: 137; Melas 1984: 28-30; Carstens 2008: 61; Jung 2007: 220; Ruppenstein 2013: 186) had cremation burials.

Based on Müsgebi evidence, studies related to the origin of cremation burials in the Aegean World have argued that Anatolia was an important centre of influence (Ikavides 1970: 56-57; Melas 1984: 33; Jung 2007). Recently, the cultural influence of Italy and

the Balkans have been gaining some ground on discussions regarding the mobility (Jung 2007; Ruppenstein 2013; Palaiologou 2013). In the Late Bronze Age, cremated remains have been deposited either inside urns or pits or directly on the ground of the chamber tombs in Mainland Greece, Aegean islands or Anatolia (Davaras 1973; Özkan – Erkanal 1999: 14-16; Jung 2007; Erkanal-Öktü 2008; Georgiadis 2009: 95; Ruppenstein 2013).

Our current evidence indicate that cremation practice at Müsgebi does not differ from other contemporary examples. Cremations discovered in chamber tombs have been interpreted as personal choices of people integrated into Mycenaean society or for especially Late Helladic III C Elatai examples (Deger-Jalkotzi 2013) as evidence for the existence of foreigners in the society (Jung 2007; Ruppenstein 2013).

Archaeological evidence from Lelegian peninsula attest that there is quite a difference between the society that has chamber tomb tradition in the Late Bronze Age and the people using platforms in the following 12th century BC in terms of tomb architecture, burial customs and practices. Platform architecture and practice of cremation burials point out a sharp difference between the inhabitants of 12th century BC Pedasa and Asarlık and 13th century BC Müsgebi. One of the differences between these two burial traditions is the visibility of platforms provided by their construction at ground level. Another major change noticeable between 13th century BC and 12th century BC burial customs is the shift from multiple burials observed in Late Bronze Age chamber tombs towards single, individual burials evident in platforms despite being in one single structure. In this respect, platforms of Lelegian Peninsula and Argos tumuli (Cavanagh – Mee 1998: 91-92; Piteros 2001; Thomatos 2006: 151-152) provide earlier evidence than well known examples from Athens Kerameikos cemetery and Lefkandi (Themelis 1980: 209-216; Lemos 2002: 186-187; Ruppenstein 2007; Ruppenstein 2013) for individual burials that appeared and gained popularity in the beginning of Early Iron Age. The main feature common between the first platforms and Late Bronze Age chamber tombs is that both contained finds mostly with regional/local Mycenaean character.

It seems that multiple burials observed in Late Bronze Age has continued into the Early Iron Age burial practices of Caria (Mariaud 2012). Along with this continuing tradition both cremation and inhumation have been practiced in Lelegian peninsula tumuli and also in the chamber tombs of Milas and environs (Diler 2006; Diler 2009; Mariaud 2012; Gümüş 2012; Mohr 2015: 70-72; Diler 2016). Evidence regarding inhumation practice in Lelegian peninsula by 12th and 11th centuries BC are limited to Müsgebi chamber tombs which were still in use by the beginning of 12th century BC and Çömlekçi tombs (Boysal 1967: 13-14; Carstens 2008: 71) which were started to be used by the second half of 12th century BC. Starting from the end of the 11th century BC, numbers of stone tumuli increase and evidence related to inhumation practice become more frequent in Pedasa and Asarlık. It could be possible that there are certain parallels between the frequency of inhumation practice and the construction of stone tumuli.

People using 12th century BC platforms appear to have chosen well protected and

secluded hills yet still in contact with the sea to settle. Necropoleis and other tombs belonging to this society are spread out in a fairly large area over the hills and slopes in the vicinity. However, Late Bronze Age Müsgebi necropolis is on the slopes behind a fertile plain located near the sea. The hill close to the necropolis must be the related settlement (Diler 2016: 460-461).

The location of Asarlık and Pedasa platforms spreading out around the settlement must be related to defining the limits of the living quarters of the communities. The way that early examples of Pedasa platforms positioned could either be related to a strategy to define the property rights or it could also illustrate the division of separate *genē* (descent) groups in the territory. One of the platforms belonging to the end of 12th century BC is located 930 m. away from the Acropolis to the southeast (Özer 2015: 352-353). The last platform dated to 11th century BC on the lower part of the south-western necropolis is 1.800 m. away from the Acropolis. The distance between the two farthest documented platforms of Pedasa territorium is 3.300 m.

Origin

The origins of platform tombs and cremation practice in Lelegian peninsula is yet to be answered. Prior to 12th century BC, in Crete Olous (Kanta 2001) and in Troia, Beşiktepe (Blegen *et al.* 1953: 370-379, Pl. 258-273; Basedow 2000; Basedow 2002; Jung 2007) cremation seems to be quite common and Panaztepe (Akyurt 1998: 20-24; Erkanal-Öktü 2008) and Baklatepe (Özkan – Erkanal 1999: 14-16) excavations enrich the related data concerning cremation practice around that time in the Aegean World. The urns dated to Late Bronze Age in Troia reveal the common practice of cremation and the burials with cremated remains placed in pithoi remind Pedasa and Asarlık urn-pithoi. Cemeteries consisted of urns from second millennium BC Anatolia are also well known from Osmanakayası, İlica, Aribaş necropoleis (Akyurt 1998: 124; Lewartowski 1998: 138-139; Snodgrass 2000: 189; Ekmen 2012).

Pithoi used as urns are also observed in Crete Olous necropolis in Late Minoan III A and B periods (Kanta 2001). Olous, where cremation was quite common has been considered as an extraordinary and distinctive centre aside from the general standart form of inhumation burials practiced in Crete and South Aegean World. Besides pithoi, three tub shaped sarcophagi have also been used as urns here.

Although several sites with cremation burials have been documented related to Late Helladic/Late Minoan III C period, sole preference for cremation in a necropolis or tomb structure is rather limited as in the case of Argos tumuli and Crete Atsipadhes tombs (Davaras 1973; Melas 1984; Agelarakis *et al.* 2001; Jung 2007; Ruppenstein 2013). Lelegian peninsula platforms are distinctive in terms of their architecture and cremation being the sole form of burial, the closest example is Chania tumulus (Thomatos 2006: 151-152; Jung 2007; Ruppenstein 2013; Palaiologou 2013) dated back to 12th and 11th centuries BC.

In the case of Chania tumulus, urns are placed in a stone fill enclosed by a circular stone wall. In Lelegian peninsula, cremated remains consisted of bones and ashes are directly placed into cists within the rectangular platforms encircled by stone walls constructed at ground level where in first platforms, urns were consisted of only pithoi. Asarlık has circular tomb structures with cists similar to Argos Chania tumulus (Paton 1887: 73; Diler 2017). Platforms of Lelegian peninsula and Chania tumulus are similar in terms of cremation being the main form of burial and ceramic finds being of Mycenaean style. It has been suggested that the reason for the frequency of cremation burials at Chania tumulus and other contemporary Argos tumuli (Piteros 2001; Thomatos 2006: 151-152) is the existence of a foreign group of people who want to distinguish themselves from the Mycenaean society using Mycenaean/Aegean type tombs (Jung 2007: 229; Ruppenstein 2013: 187, 189; Palaiologou 2013). In these studies, cremation burials are linked to Italy and/or the Balkans.

Argos tumuli with cremation burials have been introduced as tomb structures used only in 12th and 11th centuries BC without any known contemporary parallels in South-eastern Aegean cultures. Platforms of Lelegian peninsula are contemporary with Argos tumuli, yet with continuing usage into the Archaic period along with cremation practice.

Synchronous practice of inhumation and cremation in tumuli are well known from Leukas belonging to Early Helladic period (Hammond 1974; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005; Müller Celka 2011) and inhumation burials in pithoi and cists embedded in stone fills of tumuli are known from Middle Helladic period (Dickinson 1994: 222, Fig. 6.6; Cavanagh – Mee 1998: 26, 30, 44, Fig. 4.18-21). Cists containing cremation urns embedded in rubble within circular enclosures belonging to Early Helladic period are known from Chalkidike Kriaritsi (Asouhidou 2001).

Balkans provide rich evidence concerning cremation burials in tumuli (Jung 2007; Ruppenstein 2013; Gavranović 2013). Generally, cremated remains were placed in urns, however, in some cases bones and ashes were placed directly in pits (Ruppenstein 2013: 190). Cremated remains placed in cists and pithoi are also known from Chalkidike Sykia, Koukos tombs contemporary with Lelegian peninsula platforms (Carington-Smith 2003). However, Koukos graves differ from Lelegian peninsula tombs; they are not placed in a defined tomb structure despite forming clusters in a certain part of the necropolis. Tomb arrangements resembling Lelegian platforms in terms of architectural organization have been unearthed in Pigi Artemidos in Pieria, Thessaly (Koulidou 2014; Koulidou 2015). Tumuli with circular pits/units to position urns have been found in Pailio Gynaikokastro in Central Macedonia (Savvopoulou 2001; Jung 2007: 225-226). There are several tomb arrangements resembling Pedasa and Asarlık examples related to Early Iron Age and Archaic period in the vicinity of Teichiussa and Didyma (Voigtländer 2004: 272-282, Taf. 58-59). Other tombs and structures in relation with Lelegian peninsula have also been documented here.

Conclusion

Balkan peninsula seems to be the possible provenance concerning the origins of platforms and increasing number of cremation burials in Lelegian peninsula by the first half of 12th century BC. The facts such as tumuli of Bronze Age cultures of mainland Greece and Balkans containing multiple burials, prevalence of tumuli containing cremation burials in the Balkans (Jung 2007; Ruppenstein 2013; Gavranović 2013), fibula of Asarlık Tomb O argued for having a Balkan origin give hints concerning the origins of people migrated to Lelegian peninsula by the beginning of 12th century BC. The connection and concordance among the tomb structures and the cremation practice observed at Lelegian peninsula, Argos, Thessaly, Macedonia and Balkans suggest links related to the overall picture of distribution and movement of people practicing cremation by the 12th century BC. The resemblance concerning the common practice of cremation and spatial arrangement in Crete and Lelegian peninsula also suggest a relation between Crete and people of the peninsula. Affinities between Asarlık and Crete in relation with archaeological evidence has been taken as evidence that inhabitants of Asarlık actually came from Crete (Long 1958: 303).

In 12th century BC, continuing tradition of Late Bronze Age tomb chambers and use of Mycenaean style ceramics can be followed in reused and newly constructed graves of Rhodos and Kos (Mee 1982: 27-29; Mountjoy 1998; Georgiadis 2003: 68-77; Thomatos 2006: 163-166; Georgiadis 2009: 95-99; Benzi 2013; Vlachopoulos – Georgiadis 2015: 352-353). The concentration of related findings around Ialysos and Lindos has been connected to the facts that the inhabitants have gathered in certain centres of the island after the fall of Mycenaean palatial system (Benzi 2013: 512-514) or the migration of people from mainland Greece (Mee 1982: 89-90, Marketou 2010: 788). However, the picture is different in Müsgebi rather than Rhodos and Kos in 12th century BC. In Müsgebi, there is no documented grave constructed in 12th century BC. Only few graves of continual use yielded ceramics dating back to the beginning of 12th century BC (Mountjoy 1998: 53; Benzi 2013: 538-539; Özgünel 2013). The decreasing evidence leads us to question whether Müsgebi has been abandoned by the beginning of Late Helladic III C period as suggested by Boysal (Boysal 1967: 25). The possible answer today is positive. The regarding evidence may be coincidental, however, other 12th century BC evidence from the peninsula give hints about the sequence of events resulting in the abandonment of Müsgebi. Boysal, cautiously related the abandonment of Müsgebi to the invasions of Sea People. Perhaps, the increase in evidence related to Late Helladic III C Early and Middle periods in Rhodos and Kos can be related to the migration of inhabitants of Müsgebi. Despite a short temporal gap between the abandonment of Müsgebi and the beginning of Çömlekçi evidence (Boysal 1967: 10-16; Boysal 1969: 29-31; Özgünel 2013: 109-113, 118-119, 135-138), it can be suggested that Çömlekçi could be another possible area where people of Müsgebi with continuing Bronze Age tradition might have been attracted to.

Evidence from Asarlık and Pedasa suggest that there is a considerable increase in the number of platform graves with solely cremation burials starting from Late Helladic III C middle period. Another important settlement we come across with platform graves in the region is Madnasa (Diler 2017). So far, there is no evidence concerning the use of Madnasa platforms in 12th century BC. However, it is reasonably possible that Madnasa platforms have been constructed and used starting from 12th century BC as Pedasa and Asarlık examples. All related evidence suggests that in 12th century BC, a new group of people using a different type of tomb structure foreign to the region and South Aegean have chosen Lelegian peninsula to settle. The main connection with contemporary Aegean cultures is the ceramic assemblage mainly consisted of locally produced Mycenaean style pottery also being used in platforms.

The locations of Asarlık, Pedasa and Madnasa (Fig. 1) in the peninsula indicate that this new group of people possessed the whole peninsula since the beginning of their migration. It can be suggested that new settlers invaded the Lelegian peninsula and they are also the reason for the abandonment of Müsgebi. Building platforms is a serious architectural task that require labor force and collective work. Bronze Age tradition seems to have continued possibly in Çömlekçi in the second half of Late Helladic III C period. Despite the existence of cremation (Boysal 1967: 12-13; Carstens 2008: 71), Çömlekçi seems to be the centre that continued Bronze Age tradition where multiple burials and inhumation were preferred (Mariaud 2012). The fact that Mycenaean Style pottery was still significantly and commonly used in the region by the 12th and the first half of of 11th centuries BC is evident from Miletos (Voigtländer 1986a: Niemeier 2009: 21-22, Abb. 4-6), Teichussa (Voigtländer 1986b: 622-624; Voigtländer 1988: 605), Çine Tepecik (Günel 2008; Günel 2010), Iasos (Benzi 2013: 535-538, Fig. 10) and Stratonikeia (Hanfmann – Waldbaum 1968; Özgünel 2013: 135-136, 138), (Fig. 1).

By the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of Early Iron Age, Southeastern Aegean formed an important crossroads for mobility and became a centre of attraction for migrants. A Carian or Lelegian identity is the strongest possibility for today for the origin of the newcomers to Lelegian peninsula in 12th century BC as mentioned by ancient sources. Pedasa and Asarlık/Termera are important Lelegian settlements where elements reflecting the local identity such as fortification walls, grave structures and farm houses are seen together (Paton – Myres 1896; Bean – Cook 1955; Radt 1970; Flensted-Jensen – Carstens 2004; Diler 2015, 2016, 2017). The facts such as Pedasa (Strabo XIII. 611; Pliny NH V.29.107) and Asarlık (Bean – Cook 1955: 144) historically and literally being among the Lelegian settlements, continual use of platforms into the Archaic period confirmed by Pedasa evidence, continuity of tumuli which were constructed in the beginning of Early Iron Age into the Archaic and Classical periods attest that 12th century BC inhabitants of the peninsula were in fact the people who created Lelegian culture. Necropoleis and hill settlements (Diler 2017) arranged in the beginning of Early Iron Age suggest that a new culture has been established immediately following the migration. The

accumulated data related to the archaeology of the region and specifically the evidence related to the transitional period between Bronze Age and Early Iron Age require reassessment of the identity of Lelegians or the people of the peninsula (Paraskevaïdou 2003: 58; Flensted-Jensen – Carstens 2004; Rumscheid 2009) and their time frame.

Carian period for Miletos dated by Herda (2009) to the period between 1200 and 1050 BC overlaps with the transitional and transformational period confirmed by archaeological evidence of Lelegian peninsula. Lelegian identity suggested by Paton and Myres (Paton 1887: 82; Paton – Myres 1896: 267-271) and recent publications by Diler (Diler 2015, 2016, 2017) contribute significantly for the formation of ethnic identity of the peninsula in relation with the material culture.

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