

## NOTES

### PROLOGUE

1. Vogeikoff, Davis, and Florou, *Carl W. Blegen*, provides the fullest biography of Blegen and his contributions to archaeology, which were fully recognized in 1965 when he was awarded the first gold medal for Distinguished Achievement in Archaeology from the Archaeological Institute of America.
2. Blegen and Rawson, *Palace of Nestor I*; Lang, *Palace of Nestor II*; Blegen et al., *Palace of Nestor III*. Blegen's student Emmett Bennett was assigned the fourth volume, which still awaits publication.
3. New buildings at the university include creations by "starchitects" Michael Graves, Peter Eisenman, and Frank Gehry.
4. Caskey began investigating Ayia Irini in 1960, and he continued there until his death in 1981. Twelve volumes (*Keos I–XII*) and dozens of journal articles (including Caskey, "Investigations in Keos," Part I and Part II) report his results.
5. Blegen, *Korakou*. He believed it to be the location of Homeric Ephyrae.
6. Panhellenic games were open to competitors from any Greek city. Wright and Dabney's Nemea Valley Archaeological Project sponsored fieldwork from 1983 to 1989, including excavation, intensive surface survey, and cultural anthropological and geological investigations. Three volumes (Nemea Valley Archaeological Project I–III) and dozens of journal articles have thus far reported its results.
7. Later, in the 1980s and 1990s, the New Archaeology was challenged by postmodern approaches that emphasize reflexivity and subjectivity and consider the biases that archaeologists themselves bring to their interpretations of the past.
8. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*; Bahn, *Bluff Your Way* (the lightest introduction); and Renfrew and Bahn, *Archaeology*, all discuss the evolution of archaeological thinking over the past fifty years.

9. Heracles was believed to have defeated the many-headed Hydra at a nearby spring, the second of his twelve labors.

10. Wiencke, “Lerna.”

11. Binford’s prose is famously impenetrable, but in 1983, Cherry and Torrence transcribed his lectures in Sheffield, Southampton, and London, thus providing a very readable introduction to his ideas (Binford, *In Pursuit of the Past*).

12. The *Emergence of Civilisation* was based on Renfrew’s Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Cambridge, titled “Neolithic and Bronze Age Cultures of the Cyclades.” He is now retired from his post as Disney Professor of Archaeology and director of the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research at Cambridge.

13. The results of Cherry’s survey on Melos were reported in Renfrew’s first book about Melos, *An Island Polity*, edited with the geographer Malcolm Wagstaff. *An Island Polity* had a profound impact on the development of Aegean prehistory by providing a social scientific framework for the study of regions of Greece.

14. Cherry and I studied settlement patterns and land use on Kea in collaboration with Mantzourani (*Landscape Archaeology*).

15. In the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, I had as co-directors John Bennet, Cynthia Shelmerdine, Yanos Lolos, Susan Alcock, and Eberhard Zangger. Sharon Stocker oversaw the reorganization of Blegen’s finds, represented Cincinnati in the roof excavations, a collaboration with the Greek Ministry of Culture, and now co-directs excavations at Pylos with me.

16. I use the term *state* in this book to refer to the complex political entities that came into existence in Late Bronze Age southern Greece. By the thirteenth century B.C., palaces supported literate bureaucracies, as well as armies, navies, specialized craftsmen, and dependent labor forces, all controlled by elite families who must have inherited their rank. This book is not concerned with the operation of the later Mycenaean states; it instead examines the foundations for these states established in preceding centuries—thus the term *origins* in the title.

17. See <https://classics.berkeley.edu/people/sather-professor/jack-davis>. Many who heard my lectures imagined that the University of California had asked me to speak about the grave of the Griffin Warrior and the finds that Sharon Stocker and I discovered in 2015. Berkeley had not. The invitation had been extended in 2014. Still, much of what I had to say in my 2019 lectures did concern the Griffin Warrior and his Early Mycenaean milieu.

18. The term *Mycenaean*, as I will discuss in chapter 1, has long referred to the culture characteristic of the Late Bronze Age on the southern Greek mainland, not exclusively to the site of Mycenae. The Early Mycenaean period, as the term is used in this book, refers to the initial stages of the Late Bronze Age. Wright, “Early Mycenaean Greece.”

19. Mee, “Death and Burial,” 284.

20. Dickinson, *Origins of Mycenaean Civilisation*, 107.

21. Renfrew and Cherry, *Peer Polity Interaction*, developed the concept of peer polity interaction in the 1980s to model how more or less equal societies became more politically and socially complex through interaction with each other over time.

22. On the origins of the state in Mycenaean Greece, and at Pylos more specifically, see Cosmopoulos, “State Formation in Greece”; Wright, “From Chief to King”; and Wright, “The Emergence of Leadership.”

23. Bennet and Davis, "Making Mycenaean," 107.
24. Chapin, "Mycenaean Mythologies," 465, believes that the representations are drawn from the mythological past of Pylos: "They offer a lens through which Mycenaean cultural beliefs could be understood, with the tales of war and heroism serving as paradigms for lives well lived. In sum, these frescoes offer the example of a mythologized past as an ideal model for the LH IIIB present." On ethnicity and language, see also Dickinson, "What Conclusions Might be Drawn?"
25. William McDonald, *Progress into the Past*, is a fine introduction to the excavations of the Mycenae shaft graves uncovered by Heinrich and Sophia Schliemann in 1876 and of the Vapheio Tholos investigated by Christos Tsountas in 1889.
26. Wace and Blegen, "The Pre-Mycenaean Pottery," 188.

#### ABOUT THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE

1. Renfrew, *Emergence of Civilisation*, 34, 451.
2. Pullen, "The Early Bronze Age."
3. Watrous, *Minoan Crete*.
4. Wiener, "Minding the Gap," discusses disruptions at the end of the third millennium B.C.
5. Wright, "From Chief to King"; Wright, "The Emergence of Leadership."
6. Schliemann, *Mycenae*; Gere, *The Tomb of Agamemnon*.
7. Alden, *The Prehistoric Cemetery*.

#### ABOUT THE PALACE OF NESTOR

1. Blegen and Rawson, *Guide to the Palace*; Davis, "Pylos."
2. Bendall, *Economics of Religion*; Lupack, "The Northeast Building."
3. Shelmerdine, *The Perfume Industry*.
4. Zangger et al., "Landscape Evolution and Site Preservation."
5. Cline, 1177 B.C.
6. A recent study (Finné et al., "Late Bronze Age Climate Change") points to vacillations in climate in the later part of the thirteenth century that may have destabilized the palatial system.

#### 1. MYCENAEAN ORIGINS AND THE GREEK NATION-STATE

1. Anthropological literature concerning the origins of the state is deep. Fundamental texts include Fried, *Evolution of Political Society*; Service, *Origins of the State and Civilization*; Earle, *How Chiefs Come to Power*; Feinman and Marcus, *Archaic States*; and Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State*.
2. For so-called secondary states, see Parkinson and Galaty, *Secondary States in Perspective*.
3. The foreign schools in Athens, now numbering more than twenty chartered by the Greek Ministry of Culture, are a mix of private and governmental institutions that coordinate and facilitate research in Greece by foreign archaeologists. See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_Foreign\\_Archaeological\\_Institutes\\_in\\_Greece](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Foreign_Archaeological_Institutes_in_Greece).

4. Handbooks summarize much of this information, including Cline, *Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*; Lemos and Kotsonas, *Archaeology of Early Greece*; and Shelmerdine, *Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*.

5. Anne Duray's Stanford dissertation, "The Idea of Greek (Pre)history," addresses some of the same questions.

6. Cherniss's scholarship continues today to shape discourse in the field of ancient philosophy, although he is perhaps better known for the role he played in defending Robert Oppenheimer's standing in the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and in supporting Berkeley colleagues who refused to sign the loyalty oath demanded by the University of California Board of Regents. Beazley would take up his post later, in 1949, publishing his lectures as *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* (Sather Classical Lectures 24).

7. Blegen was also available to travel, with teaching assignments in Cincinnati only in autumn term; soon he would join the war effort as an OSS officer, recruited to run the Greek Section of the Foreign Nationalities Branch in Washington, D.C.

8. For the quote, see Fotiadēs, "Factual Claims," 22; see also "Aegean Prehistory without Schliemann."

9. Blegen, "Preclassical Greece: A Survey."

10. Blegen, "Preclassical Greece: A Survey." By "the Dorian flux," Blegen was referring to the so-called Return of the Sons of Herakles, known from ancient Greek legends, and once believed responsible for the establishment of the Dorian dialect spoken by the Spartans and others in the Peloponnese in historical times.

11. The ASCSA was founded as a private research consortium of American universities in 1887, its mission to educate, conduct excavations, and provide research facilities to students and scholars. Today the ASCSA, located in the heart of Athens, is the largest of the foreign schools of archaeology in Greece.

12. Blegen's *Korakou* was the first account of an excavation of a prehistoric archaeological site on the Greek mainland to be published by the ASCSA.

13. Semple formed the department in 1921, with himself as head, by merging programs in Latin and Greek and adding ancient history and archaeology. He had been smitten by archaeology as a student in Germany, Greece, and Rome and praised it for its ability "to clarify and vivify" Classical literature and philosophy and as a mechanism for promoting Classical studies to a general public by unearthing "new beauty": "When one digs one is always inspired by the feeling that the next spadeful will turn up something new, something tangible, some beautiful something that without further effort or further ado will immediately and rapturously increase the sum total of the beauty of life." Quotes are from an unpublished paper titled "Archaeology in General and Troy in Particular," delivered by Semple on November 19, 1934, to the Literary Club of Cincinnati (Papers of the Literary Club 57 [1934–1935]), 101–5.

14. Louis Charles François Petit-Radel (1756–1836) served as director of the Mazarin Library, the oldest public library in France, from 1814 to 1836.

15. By employing *τις*, the ancient Greek indefinite pronoun, Blegen informed readers that his object was the "everyman" of Homeric times, what we might today call "daily life."

16. Leeb, *Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer*, 55. Fallmerayer (1790–1861), a Tyrolean politician, travel writer, and historian, first presented this theory in the foreword to the first volume of his *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea*.

17. Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, 74. Herzfeld explores this conflict in his history of folkloric studies in modern Greece.

18. Eleftherios Venizelos (1864–1936), leader of the Liberal Party of Greece, was committed to the incorporation of territories of the Byzantine Empire into the modern Greek state, including Istanbul/Constantinople. On his relationship with Blegen, see Davis, “Politics of Volunteerism.”

19. Wace and Blegen, “The Pre-Mycenaean Pottery,” 188.

20. For Cyriacus of Ancona and Venetian sources, see *Archaeological Atlas of Mycenae*; and Moore, Rowlands, and Karadimas, *In Search of Agamemnon*. For the Italian doctor, see Malliaris, *Alessandro Pini*, 45 (the translation is mine).

21. Review of *The Mycenaean Age* in *The American Journal of Theology* 2, no. 3 (July 1898), 646–48.

22. No Greek archaeologist had greater influence on the development of the field of Greek prehistory than Christos Tsountas (1857–1934). Tsountas not only excavated at Mycenae and Tiryns but contributed to an understanding of the Neolithic and Bronze Age through excavations at Dimini and Sesklo in Thessaly, Vapheio in Laconia, and in the Cycladic islands. Voutsaki, “Hellenization of Greek Prehistory.”

23. Chadwick, *The Decipherment of Linear B*; more recently, Fox, *The Riddle of the Labyrinth*, rightly crediting research by Alice Kober that was fundamental to the decipherment.

24. Paparrigopoulos, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού έθνους*.

25. Lalaki, “Social Construction of Hellenism,” for discussion; for the book itself, <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/archives/blegens-united-states-and-greece>.

26. Blegen, “The United States and Greece,” 27.

27. Blegen, “The United States and Greece,” 27.

28. Blegen to Wace, February 17, 1954, University of Cincinnati Classics Department, Carl W. Blegen Papers, folder 594i.

29. Wace, “The Arrival of the Greeks,” 217–18.

30. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, trans. John Skelton (ca. 1487), ed. Frederick M. Salter and H. L. R. Edwards, v. 371.

31. Schliemann, *Mycenae*.

32. Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, 340.

33. I retain *Mycenaean* and *Mycenaeans* to refer to the culture of the southern Greek mainland in the Bronze Age, although others have expressed a preference for the terms *Helladic* and *Helladics*.

34. Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, 10–11.

35. Gardner, “Stephani on the Tombs at Mycenae”; Helbig, “Sur la question mycénienne.” Helbig’s theory was quashed by Solomon Reinach in *Le mirage oriental*.

36. Taylour, *The Mycenaean Age*, 15.

37. Taylour, *The Mycenaean Age*, 22.

38. Gardner, “Annual Report of the Council.”

39. Lemos and Kotsonas, *Archaeology of Early Greece*.

40. Cavanagh, “Sparta and Laconia,” 649.

41. Pausanias, Book 4.36.1–3.

42. Davis and Stocker, “Messenia,” 679.

43. Bennet, “Leuktron as a Secondary Capital.”

44. *Odyssey*, Book 3.488–90.

45. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians*, 688.

46. Tyrtaios, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* fragment 266.5. trans. by the author.

47. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel I, no. 15 and no. 16.
48. Schliemann, *Mycenae*, 227.
49. Vermeule, "Priam's Castle Blazing," 88.
50. Warren, "The Miniature Fresco from the West House."
51. Sherratt, "Reading the Texts."

## 2. FARM, FIELD, AND PYLOS

1. See Bennet, "Geography of the Mycenaean Kingdoms," for a recent discussion of the human geography of the Kingdom of Nestor.
2. McDonald and Rapp, *Minnesota Messenia Expedition*, 121.
3. Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*.
4. Rapp and Aschenbrenner, *Excavations at Nichoria*.
5. Palaima, "Θέμις in the Mycenaean Lexicon."
6. Bintliff, *Mycenaean Geography*.
7. Ohio Agricultural Research and Development Center, <https://oardc.osu.edu>.
8. Midwest Dairy, "Dairy Cows," <https://www.midwestdairy.com/education/farm-life/dairy-cows/>
9. Linklater, *Measuring America*. The U.S. Congress saw an opportunity to pay down the astronomical debt accumulated in the course of the American Revolution, but land first needed to be surveyed—a dangerous and difficult proposition, although profitable for the surveyors themselves.
10. For a more detailed description of the patchwork settlement of Ohio, see George W. Knepper, *The Official Ohio Lands Book*, <http://ohioauditor.gov/publications/OhioLandsBook.pdf>. The Treaty of Greenville in 1795 had largely cleared the Ohio Country of its Native American population, following General "Mad" Anthony Wayne's decisive defeat of confederated tribes of Ohio Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in northeastern Indiana. Wayne County took its name from his. On the disgraceful deportation of most remaining Native Americans east of the Mississippi, see Saunt, *Unworthy Republic*.
11. Wagstaff, *Development of Rural Settlements*, offers an entry point to the form and evolution of modern villages in Greece.
12. Renfrew was in line with developments in American archaeology in the later 1960s, which approached the study of ancient societies by examining the interaction of their several components. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 303–12, sets systems theory in archaeology in the context of the milieu of its popularity.
13. Cherry, "Chapter 14 Revisited."
14. Renfrew asserted (*Emergence of Civilisation*, 226), "Recent systematic and intensive site surveys in different regions have made the Aegean one of the most intensively surveyed areas in the world."
15. Renfrew, *Emergence of Civilisation*, 255–57.
16. Wiener, "Minding the Gap"; Finné et al., "Late Bronze Age Climate Change"; Stocker, "Deriziotis Aloni."
17. Blegen, "Preclassical Greece," 22.
18. Caskey, "Early Helladic Period," 301–2.
19. Bennet and Shelmerdine, "Not the Palace of Nestor"; Shelmerdine, "The Evolution of Administration at Pylos."

20. Renfrew, *Emergence of Civilisation*, 262.
21. Wagstaff and Cherry, "Settlement and Resources," 259–64.
22. Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani, *Landscape Archaeology*, 5.
23. Forsén, "The Contribution of Non-Written Sources," 74.
24. Osborne, *Demos*.
25. Osborne, *Classical Landscape with Figures*, ch. 3.
26. Alcock, Cherry, and Davis, "Intensive Survey, Agricultural Practice."
27. Knodell, Fachard, and Papangeli, "2015 Mazi Archaeological Project."
28. Galaty et al., "Excavation of a Hellenistic Farmhouse."
29. Acheson, "Economic Explanation," 166.

### 3. A TRULY PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY OF GREECE

1. Balta, *Ottoman Studies and Archives*.
2. Even an interest in the Byzantine Empire was slow to take hold. Athanassopoulos, "Byzantine Monuments."
3. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*.
4. Zarinebaf, Bennet, and Davis, *Historical and Economic Geography*.
5. The Gennadius Library, built in the 1920s to house the collection of John Gennadius, Greek diplomat and bibliophile, is one of the premier research centers in Europe, <https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/research/gennadius-library>.
6. "Greece: The Bay of Navarino. Antient Pylos" (1823).
7. MacKay, "Evliya Çelebi's Account of Anavarin," 217.
8. Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani, *Landscape Archaeology*.
9. Whitelaw, "Recent Rural Settlement."
10. By "gray literature," I mean books and articles written in Greek and intended for a nonacademic readership.
11. Manthos, *Αρχαιολογία της Νήσου Κέα*.
12. Davis, "Mediterranean Rural Archaeology."
13. Davis and Davies, "Introduction."
14. The Ottomanist and student of landscape archaeology Thurstan Robinson travelled to Istanbul on behalf of our project, where he examined documents in the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives. More recent studies by Mohammad Shariat-Panahi (*Ottoman Corinthia*) and Georgios Liakopoulos (*Early Ottoman Peloponnese*) have added much to the picture.
15. Longnon and Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres*; Davies, "Administration and Settlement in Venetian Navarino."
16. Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr, "William Gell's Itinerary."
17. Gell, *Narrative of a Journey*, 59–60.
18. Sutton, "A Temple Worth Seeing."
19. Kiel, "Rise and Decline," 317.
20. A book resulting from a decade-long collaboration between Fariba Zarinebaf, an Ottomanist; John Bennet, an archaeologist and Linear B expert; and me: *Historical and Economic Geography*.
21. In general Ottoman usage, a *mazra'a* is an agricultural estate capable of supporting a settlement, but which has been abandoned.

22. Balta, *Population and Agricultural Production*, 19. Such small holdings were entirely different from the much larger estates in northern Greece discussed by Halstead in "Surplus and Share-croppers."

23. Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*.

24. Leake, *Travels in the Morea I*, 401.

25. Cherry and Davis, "Under the Sceptre."

26. Cosmopoulos, *Political Geography of a Mycenaean District*.

27. Killen, "Mycenaean Economy," 162–63.

28. Palaima, "The Mycenaean Mobilization of Labor."

29. Nakassis, *Individuals and Society*, 181–83, with references.

#### 4. PRESERVING AND CONSERVING NESTOR

1. Quoted in Harrison Eiteljorg II, "The Archaeological Data Archive Project Ceases Operation," *CSA Newsletter*, Fall 2002, <https://csanet.org/newsletter/fallo2/nlfo2o1.html>.

2. *Chicago Tribune*, October 1, 1998, evening update, 7.

3. Blegen et al., *Palace of Nestor III*.

4. Pounder, "The Blegens and the Hills."

5. Blegen's papers alone amount to 8 linear meters (excluding the Pylos excavations) and range in date from 1906 until 1971: <https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/archives/blegen-finding-aid>.

6. In her Harvard dissertation (published as *The Perfume Industry of Pylos*), Shelmerdine drew on physical evidence from Blegen's excavations, particularly oil transport jars ("stirrup jars"), as well as Linear B recipes for the production of perfume.

7. Davis and Vogeikoff-Brogan, "Introduction: Philhellenism."

8. *Odyssey*, Book 3, ll. 1–6. The translation is mine.

9. Isaakidou et al., "Burnt Animal Sacrifice"; Stocker and Davis, "Animal Sacrifice, Archives, and Feasting."

10. Blegen and Rawson, *Palace of Nestor I*, 91.

11. Palaima, "The Last Days."

12. Papadopoulos, *Piet de Jong*.

13. Brecolaki et al., "Archer from the Palace."

14. Brecolaki et al., "Unprecedented Naval Scene."

15. Hiller, "Scenes of Warfare."

16. Bennet and Shelmerdine, "Not the Palace of Nestor."

17. Stocker and Davis, "The Petropoulos Trench."

18. Stocker, "Deriziotis Aloni."

19. Nelson, "Architecture of the Palace."

20. Karapaniotou, Kosmopoulos, Stocker, and Davis, "Archaeological Investigations and Research"; Egan, "Early Mycenaean Wall-Paintings."

21. Vitale, Stocker, and Malapani, "Late Helladic IIB Pottery Deposit."

22. Entered into law on 28 June 2002.

23. See "Search Our Resources," American School of Classical Studies at Athens, <https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/resources-landing/>.

24. Mackenzie, "Daybook of the Excavations at Phylakopi."



25. “The Durrës Regional Archaeological Project,” University of Cincinnati | scholar@uc, <https://scholar.uc.edu/collections/j96o21ot?locale=en>.

## 5. SCIENCE AND THE MORTUARY LANDSCAPE OF PYLOS

1. Renfrew, *Emergence of Civilisation*, 17–26.
2. Renfrew, *Emergence of Civilisation*, 36–44, 485–89, 496–500.
3. McDonald and Rapp, *Minnesota Messenia Expedition*, 16.
4. Murphy et al., “Late Bronze Age Tombs.”
5. Cavanagh and Mee, *A Private Place*.
6. Kourouniotis and Blegen, “Excavations at Pylos, 1939.”
7. Davis and Stocker, “Lord of the Gold Rings”; Stocker and Davis, “Combat Agate”; Davis and Stocker, “Necklace.”
8. Stocker and Davis, “An Early Mycenaean Wanax at Pylos.”
9. Wright, “Emergence of Leadership.”
10. Schepartz et al., “No Seat at the Table?”
11. Bennet and Shelmerdine, “Not the Palace of Nestor.”
12. Hatzaki, “Turn of the Labyrinth.”
13. Alberti, “Late Minoan II–IIIA<sub>1</sub> Warrior Graves.”
14. Nafplioti, “Late Minoan IB Destructions.”
15. Driessen and Macdonald, *The Troubled Island*; Watrous, *Minoan Crete*, ch. 9.
16. Tomas, “Cretan Hieroglyphic and Linear A.”
17. Lazaridis et al., “Genetic Origins,” 214.
18. Yannis Hamilakis, “Who Are You Calling Mycenaean?” *London Review of Books*, blog, August 10, 2017, <https://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2017/august/who-are-you-calling-mycenaean>.
19. Lazaridis et al., “Genetic Origins,” 218.

## 6. MINOAN MISSIONARIES IN PYLOS

1. Jo Marchant, “This 3,400-Year-Old Greek Tomb Upended What We Thought We Knew about the Roots of Western Civilization,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, January 2017, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/golden-warrior-greek-tomb-exposes-roots-western-civilization-180961441/>.
2. Marchant’s article was in press long before Trump was elected.
3. James Hooker (1931–1991), *Origin of the Linear B Script*, once argued that Linear B was not purely Greek but had been invented to serve trade as a lingua franca. Now see Salgarella, *Aegean Linear Script(s)*.
4. Broodbank, “Minoanisation.”
5. Gorogianni, Pavuk, and Girella, *Beyond Thalassocracies*.
6. Huxley, *Minoans in Greek Sources*.
7. Thucydides, Book I, 4, ed. Henry S. Jones; trans. by Davis.
8. Bacchylides, Ode I, 113–27, ed. Richard C. Jebb; trans. by Davis.
9. Caskey conducted campaigns at Ayia Irini between 1960 and 1969. The results have been published in twelve volumes. Caskey, “Excavations and Explorations, 1966–1970” and Caskey, “A Conspectus of the Pottery,” summarize the work.

10. Cummer and Schofield, *Ayia Irini: House A*.
11. Hymn to Apollo, ll. 388–99. With permission, we reproduce Rodney Merrill's translation for the Center for Hellenic Studies.
12. Evans, *Shaft Graves and Bee-hive Tombs*, 49.
13. Sakellarakis, "Ο χαρακτήρας και η λειτουργία των νεοανακτορικών κτηρίων."
14. Rutter, "Southern Triangles Revisited," has proposed "dynasty" shifts ca. 1400 B.C., between the LH IIIA and LH IIIB phases.
15. Marinatos, "Μυρσινοχώρι," 108, in Marinatos, *Ανασκαφαί*. Many clay sealings found in the final destruction levels of the Palace of Nestor had been impressed with much older hardstone seals and gold signet rings (Pini, *Tonplomben aus dem Nestorpalast*, 82–91; Krzyszkowska, *Aegean Seals*, 295–96). These also were likely recovered from Early Mycenaean graves, rather than having been treasured for centuries by families as heirlooms.
16. Galanakis, "Islanders vs. Mainlanders."
17. Dietrich, "Uniformity and Change."
18. Palaima, "Nature of the Mycenaean Wanax," 122.
19. Palaima, "Nature of the Mycenaean Wanax," 128n29.
20. Kilian-Dirlmeier, "Das Kuppelgrab von Vapheio," 197–212.
21. An axe type of Near Eastern origin: Yasur-Landau, "From Byblos to Vapheio."
22. Davis and Stocker, "Lord of the Gold Rings."
23. Stocker and Davis, "Early Mycenaean Wanax." See also Wiener, "Helladic Pairs," for his important observations.
24. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel (CMS) I 231, <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zaw/cms/>.
25. Powell, "Horns of Consecration."
26. Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship*, 9.
27. Blakolmer, "Minoan Genius."
28. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 303–11.

#### EPILOGUE

1. Now see Bintliff, *Complete Archaeology of Greece*.
2. Bintliff, *Annales School and Archaeology*; Knapp, *Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory*.
3. Valamoti, "More than Meets the Eye"; Malapani et al., *Excavations at POTA Romanou*.
4. Zangger et al., "Landscape Evolution and Site Preservation."
5. Shelmerdine, *Perfume Industry of Pylos*.
6. Driessen, "Statements in Stone."