

# URNFIELD BRONZE CONNECTIONS: RETHINKING LATE BRONZE AGE MOBILITY

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*When it comes to the issue of tracking the empirical reality of mobilities, archaeologists are confronted with views that vary widely. In this paper, we suggest a way of conceiving mobility dynamics in contexts of complex interaction, adapted to the multidimensionality and variability of the archaeological record. It will be argued that new research questions must take on board a human-centered (not population centered) approach if we want to avoid naturalizing identities. A polythetic classification of analytical unities will be adopted in order to frame types and processes of movement and interaction in a broader continuum. Hypotheses are assessed on the basis of cross-cultural regularities of material interactions, practice and transmission of know-hows. The field of application of these insights will be the study of bronze swords of Naue II type, a class of the late prehistoric record of the Mediterranean related to long-range connections. The spectrum of interpretations placed on the same set of evidence is illustrative of different takes on movement and of a lack of a critical self-consciousness.*

## Introduction

In the last couple of decades, archaeological research has proved migration is here to stay<sup>1</sup>. Although mobility and movement have been with us all along, now it seems possible to make strides towards greater theoretical and methodological integration of the kaleidoscopic range of human movement in ancient and modern times and by what means archaeologists should be able to track it and interpret its motivations.

What similarities and dissimilarities of design attributes should archaeologists look at in order to track mobility? This paper tries to address this through an up-to-date survey and critical discussion of literature on mobility and migration advancing three main theoretical hypotheses, namely:

1) that archaeology is still in need of a polythetic classification of its analytical units (Clarke 1968);

2) that in dealing with the interpretation of mobility, we need to be careful in adopting cross-

cultural regularities between static and dynamic processes (Gardin 1979; Gallay 2011);

3) (finally) that archaeology should opt for a theory of style (Carr 1995a; 1995b; Clark 2001) able to identify types and processes within an overarching interaction-movement nexus.

These insights will be applied to a preliminary assessment of a much-studied class of bronze swords dating to the Late Bronze Age.

## *From the Third Science Revolution to a human-centered approach to mobility*

Mobility is at the center of a perceived major paradigmatic shift in theoretical landscape of archaeology. New sourcing methods coming from biogeochemistry and molecular genetics are major force behind this so-called a “third science revolution” (Kristiansen 2014). It is now possible to make use of evidence extracted from bones to prove spatial mobility of individuals back in prehistory as well to provide, as in the case of aDNA, the backbone of the genealogy’s “journey” of modern humans or imagined transnational communities<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cameron 1995; 2013; Chapman; Hamerow 1997; Lighthfoot 2008; Dziegielewski; Przybyła; Gawlik 2010; Cabana; Clark 2011; van Dommelen 2012; 2014; Baker; Tsuda 2015; Garcia, Le Bras 2017; Meller *et alii* 2017; Hamilakis 2018; Driessen 2018; McSparron *et alii* 2020; Daniels 2022; Demoule 2022.

<sup>2</sup> Wells 2002; Jones 2016; Bojs 2017; Reich 2018; Krause [2019] 2022.

This change of direction is not always for the best. As it has been remarked by many scholars, the almost compulsory attention to bio-archaeology of the approach has led to an overreliance on a limited number of world class institutions, creating a kind of scientific colonialism that has substantially reduced the independence of poorer countries and access to major funding if not through main international gate-keepers<sup>3</sup>.

For all the new crucial information that has flowed into the archaeological discourse, the kind of questions that continue to be posed through aDNA and geochemistry is remarkably similar to those at the basis of the archaeological debate some 200 years ago<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, this change of attitude toward mobility and migration has an important preamble in many subfields of archaeology whose result can substantially contribute to shape future debates on mobility in archaeology.

In the Mediterranean of the late prehistoric and early historic periods, mobility took a different route as it can be expected for an area with extensive corpus of literary sources. While some of this discussion is triggered by the projection in the past of post-1989 globalization and high-speed connectivity<sup>5</sup>, other discussions have drawn their inspiration from studies on colonialism and postcolonial thinking on the nature of power of connections (cf. van Dommelen 2012; 2014; Wallace 2018 and references therein). Last but not least, broad social phenomena have equally transformed the way archaeologists approach such topics. We are obviously referring to the so-called refugee “crisis” both in the early 1990s, provoked by the flooding out of people from former countries of the Eastern Block after the fall of the Berlin Wall (Chapman 1997), and the one of the 2010s in the aftermath of the Arab Springs and the Syrian War<sup>6</sup>.

This tendency in archaeology, paired with the “mobility turn” in an array of other social sciences (Sheller; Urry 2006), is displayed in the stream of publications of the last decade with “migra-

tion”<sup>7</sup>, “mobility” and “movement”<sup>8</sup> or “*homo migrants*” in their title (Daniels 2022; Demoule 2022). Yet, if the path migration moves through can be imagined according to different perspectives, the kinds of similarities archaeologists can rely on for identifying migrations in the material record is far from clear.

Archaeologists have a long way ahead to reach an equal balance of perspectives on at least two different levels. On the first, several scholars<sup>9</sup> have addressed the issue by importing a conceptual apparatus of migration theory whose roots are almost 150-year-old<sup>10</sup>. By doing this, scholars have been shedding light on the structure of migration within past political economies, networked into systems of exchange and interaction. Migration in archaeology, however, might also entails another level of analysis, a shift of scale away from the premise of cultural complexes to the artifact attributes.

#### *A polythetic and interactionist approach*

An interactionist approach can enable the tracing of multiple threads entangled in the fabric of material forms<sup>11</sup>. An archaeology of origins should take on board bottom-up approaches and the question of origins addressed to things themselves, not to populations of humans turned into things. Naturally enough the search for origins of cultural traits blurs into uncertainty both of sample representativeness or the criteria to “cut out” individual movements from the flow of continuity and change. Nonetheless, in a broad sense, all things have a genealogy<sup>12</sup> and this is an object of archaeological inquiry. By this, we mean any ar-

<sup>3</sup> González-Ruibal 2014; Frieman, Hofmann 2019; Lago; Di Renzoni 2021.

<sup>4</sup> Hofmann 2015; Vander Linden 2016; Heyd 2017; Furholt 2018; 2019a; 2019b; 2021. Eisenmann *et alii* 2018; Veeramah 2018; Hakenbeck 2019; Frieman, Hofmann 2019.

<sup>5</sup> Horden; Purcell 2000; cf. Morris 2003; Gonzáles-Ruibal 2014; Feinman 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Broodbank 2013; Hamilakis 2018; Wallace 2018; Iacono 2019.

<sup>7</sup> Dziegielewski, Przybyła, Gawlik 2010; Cabana, Clark 2011; Baker, Tsuda 2015; Garcia, Le Bras 2017; Manolakakis, Schlanger, Coudart 2017; Meller *et alii* 2017; Driessen 2018; McSparron *et alii* 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Beaudry, Parno 2013; van Dommelen, Knapp 2010; van Dommelen 2014; Leary 2014; Kiriati, Knappett 2016; Gori, Pintucci, Revello Lami 2018; Wallace 2018; Duwe, Preucel 2019; Gibson, Cleary, Frieman 2021; Aldred 2021.

<sup>9</sup> Adams, van Gerven; Levy 1978; Kristiansen 1989; Anthony 1990; 1997; Burmeister 2000; 2017.

<sup>10</sup> See Ravenstein 1885; 1889; Lee 1966; Massey *et alii* 1993; Sheller, Urry 2006; Manning 2006; [2004] 2020; Creswell 2006; 2010; Bakewell 2010 to name a tiny fraction of scholars among sociologists, geographers, anthropologists and world historians.

<sup>11</sup> Gosden 2004; 2005; Knappett 2005; 2011; Olsen 2010; Hodder 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Kopytoff 1986; Gosden, Marshall 1999; Gosden 2005. Methods, both old and new.

tifact or, for that matter, archaeological features can be “broken down” into infinite components according to a given classification (Clarke 1968; Dunnell 1971). At the same time some of the intrinsic properties of material culture (Gardin 1979; Gallay 2011) can be networked through a range of scientific methods, both old and new.

Potentially, at specific scales of the units involved, this tells us about edges linking places, no matter the distance involved or what is the intermediary mechanism, a view akin to the vast spectrum of network approaches in archaeology of the last few years<sup>13</sup>. By turning mobility into a scientifically viable endeavor, instead of just trying to prove the fact of migration by archaeological means, we can start to be interested in movement of people, things and ideas, intrinsic to the dynamics of culture and identity change. In other words, our discussion asserts that an analysis of mobilities has to be operationalized by the means of a multi-dimensional – polythetic – approach towards the unities of archaeological classification (Clarke 1968; Furholt 2019a; 2019b). Contrary to the notion of analytical entities as monothetic blocks sharing uniformly design attributes, polythetic classification proposes they are combined in complex associations of finite number of trait variability.

In regard to descriptive and quantitative methods and their significance in terms of transmission and interaction, evolutionary anthropologists and archaeologists have already highlighted potential developments<sup>14</sup>. Phylogenetic trees are the mainstay of such perspective in reconstructing transmission of variation and turning the significance of the shared attributes into the language of bio-cultural relatedness. Neo-Darwinists are right in seeing a correlation of cultural traits and inheritance mechanisms in some form (inter-generational or within the same generation). Here, however, we shall pursue an alternative path to that of evolutionary archaeology, one focused on the central nexus between memory, material and the body.

### *Body, material and hands-on memory*

Since technological similarities in fabrication and usage behavior of material culture may po-

tentially reflect regular interpersonal interaction, the identification of past mobility of individuals or groups through material traces might be more likely at a closer spatial range, where the distances of the social network through which the transmission of knowledge occur are smaller. If intercultural transmission and proficiency in craftsmanship of complex technological “packages” or alternative paths of forming process is to be attained, enduring master-apprenticeship contact of individuals or groups has to be established in social structures of learning (Stark; Bowser; Horne 2008; Wendrich 2012). In our view, this should be the focus of a human-centered approach to mobility: what humans do rather than the sole movement of human bodies (Ribeiro 2019). By disentangling the operational sequences and acknowledging intercultural transmission implies spatial mobility and social network, one may arrive to two conclusions:

1) material patterns are the output of systems of communication, fossilized traces of group social memory, which is historically fractured;

2) forms of interaction generally seem to coincide with ranges of human movement and, therefore, it is up to a scientific theory to estimate greater or lesser degrees of probability of proposed explanations.

Material patterns are the deposits of habitual practices (Mauss 1936; Bourdieu [1972] 2000) and they have something important to say on “how societies remember” inasmuch embodied skills and human cognition in general treads on the physical vestiges of recursive episodes of bodily practice<sup>15</sup>. Without bodies, archaeology’s task is to “remember” absent bodies’ mobility from material traces. The apparent “stillness” of forms is the product of animate rhythm of bodily performance; and material traits are only meaningful when put together in operational sequences of moment and gestures involved in bringing forth stylistic forms.

Technology is often not easily distinguished from crafter’s choices (Sackett 1982; Lemonnier 1992). There is no dispute that the «dialogue between maker and material» (Leroi-Gourhan 1965: 132, our translation) along manufacturing process impose constraints both in the artisan and the user (Schiffer, Skibo 1997). Important for us here are the minutiae of attributes chained in earlier stages of technological styles (Lechtman 1977). Because of their low visibility potential, these can speak more about processes of cultural transmission (Carr

<sup>13</sup> Knappett 2011; 2013; Brughmans 2013; Brughmans, Collar, Coward 2016; Collar *et alii* 2015; Dawson, Iacono 2021.

<sup>14</sup> Boyd, Richerson 1985; Dunnell 1978; Leonard 2002; Shennan 2002; 2009; 2012; O’Brien, Shennan 2009; O’Brien 2008.

<sup>15</sup> Connerton 1989; DeMarrais, Gosden, Renfrew 2004; Malafouris, Kokouti 2018.

1995a; 1995b). Formalized stylistic behavior in low-visibility attributes can act as a proxy for actual movement between regions in the case these show a clear distribution pattern among regions and their complexity make independent invention less likely. This variability can be interpreted as material “anchors” of different cultural milieux amidst web of interactions and a way to prove migration «beyond reasonable doubt» (Clark 2001: 70).

### *Urnfield bronze connections*

The Mediterranean of the second half of the second millennium BC is a context of intense interaction and human mobility, involving the whole region that goes from the Levantine coast to Iberia (Iacono *et alii* 2021). Within this context, the movement of urnfield bronze artifacts, i.e. artifacts of distinctively European ancestry recovered in the eastern portion of the middle sea, can be mapped in exchange networks between the Aegean, eastern and central Mediterranean communities. Such networks, particularly in the 13 to 11th c. BC involved a complex entanglement of cultural elements and fashions<sup>16</sup>.

Together with handmade burnished pottery, urnfield bronzes are traditionally part of narratives of migratory influxes into Greece, Anatolia, Cyprus and the Levant at the threshold of the end of Mycenaean world, a sort of “visiting card” of ethnic groups in the culture-historical tradition (Jones 1997). Such narratives can be broadly categorized as follows:

1) Northerners in a ‘season of migration to the South’, inverting Salih’s ([1966] 2003) literature classic, including in turn:

(a) Early theories of the *Indogermanisierung*<sup>17</sup>, the coming of the Indo-European language (and people);

(b) “Non-Mycenaeans” intruders<sup>18</sup> or slaves brought as captives (Bankoff; Meyer, Stefanovich 1996 *contra* Genz 1997);

2) “The coming of the Dorians”:

It is similar to the earlier strand of research “in/ the search of” of ethnolinguistic groups aimed at identifying large-scale movements<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 1).

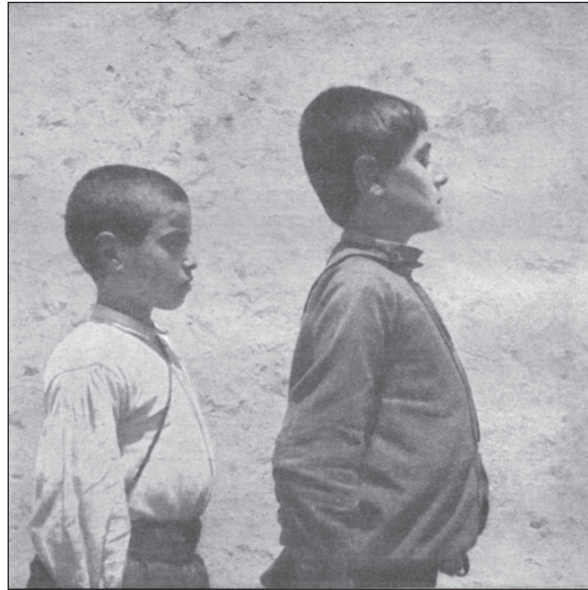


Fig. 1. Modern relics of ancient of Dorian/Aryan migrations typified by cranial shapes, in Hawes 1909-1910: 271, fig. 2.

The “descent of the Dorians”, thus would be singled out in waves from northern nomadic pastoralists<sup>20</sup>;

3) One-size-fits all “Sea Peoples”:

For decades the path of the “Sea Peoples” has been attracting scholars’ attention<sup>21</sup>. The label encompasses many ethnonyms mentioned in the Egyptian sources of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BC in the wars of Ramesses and Merneptah. In these narratives, “Sea Peoples” figure as major drivers of change and disruption through large-scale population movement. Such developments are contemporary to the breakdown of the palaces either/or by direct invasion and destruction of the palaces by ‘barbarian’ conquerors (Desborough 1964; Bouzek 1985; 2010) or by the shutting down of trade routes (Vermeule 1964).

### *Naue II swords*

Among Urnfield bronzes, a class of objects that has attracted much interest is that of “cut-

<sup>16</sup> Bietti Sestieri 1988; Harding 1984; Bouzek 1985; Bettelli 2002; Borgna, Càssola Guida 2009.

<sup>17</sup> Childe 1926; 1948; 1950; Hawkes 1948.

<sup>18</sup> Rutter 1975; 1976; 1990; Deger-Jalkotzy 1977; 1983; French 1989; Bankoff, Winter 1984 *contra* Walberg 1976; Sandars [1978] 1985; 1983; Small 1990; 1997.

<sup>19</sup> Hall 1995; 1997; 2002; [2007] 2014.

<sup>20</sup> Milojčić 1948-1949; Desborough 1964; Grumach 1968-1969; Gimbutas [1986] 1997 *contra* Snodgrass 1965; 1971; [1973] 2006; Sandars [1978] 1985; Hooker 1999; Molloy 2018).

<sup>21</sup> Barnett 1975; Sandars [1978] 1985; Dothan; Dothan 1992; Ward, Joukowsky 1992; Drews 1993; Oren 2000; Yasur-Landau 2010; Killebrew, Lehmann 2013; Cline 2014; Fischer, Bürge 2017.



and-thrust” swords of the Naue II type. Swords are weapons designed to accomplish specific functions and to attain through their use a certain performance (that can be analytically de-constructed in several measurable variables, see Fig. 2).

On this basis, such weapons have been widely taken as a more efficient tools for martial combat which gained wide currency throughout Europe and the Mediterranean toward the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC<sup>22</sup>.

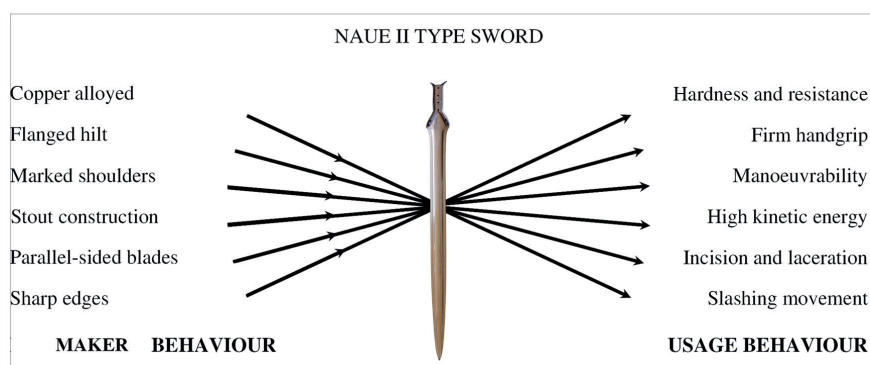


Fig. 2. Design choices and handling channeled by the type sword. Drawing by authors (after Clarke 1968: 135, fig. 19). Sword replica by Ø. Egendal.

The manufacturing of bronze swords is a time-consuming task that probably required a full-time specialist. The knowledge of the *chaîne opératoire* and the degree of skills mobilized in bronze working has only recently started to be properly appreciated (eg., through experimental reproduction using mainly the archaeological evidence from northern Apennines Terramare settlements, see Binggeli *et alii* 1997; Barbieri *et alii* 2015; Iaia 2015). The main stages of bronze sword production can be divided in: 1) copper ore extraction; 2) pre-casting, smelting and alloying; 3) casting; and 4) post-casting that might have included cold hammering, rivet punching and surface decoration.

A number of swords of this European typological family occurs in today Italy and the Aegean. Chronological synchronisms suggest the Adriatic Sea was a route of penetration of these swords into Greece (Jung 2006).

In Bianco Peroni's (1970) catalogue, the Cetona and Alleron types correspond to Naue II type in peninsular Italy. Since then, other findings made

mostly in northern regions of Veneto have been piling up (see the Appendix).

The earliest variants both in today Italy and Greece are dated to the Recent Bronze Age 1/Late Helladic III B (1340-1210 BC in absolute dates as in Manning 2014), but only later representatives from the end of RBA 2/LH IIIC Early (1210-1130 BC) on have been considered to provide a convincing case of direct influence. Catling (1956; 1961) marshalled up evidence of this type across the Aegean, Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean. Since then, many others have been reported, within and beyond the Peloponnese (but still in the broad Aegean area) and with notable quantities in the chamber tombs of Achaea, Western Greece<sup>23</sup> (see bibliography in the appx.).

For many years, there was an extreme heterogeneity of opinions regarding the origins of these swords with scholars introducing many different hypotheses. More recently, material-science based analytical techniques became available<sup>24</sup>. Some items have indicated an Italian provenance (most notably from mines in Trentino) for the copper they were made of<sup>25</sup>.

Naue II swords continue to be crucial in arguments about mobility in the late protohistoric Mediterranean, whereas arguments that try to correlate their distribution with the supposed pathway of Indo-European-speaking people (Demoule 2014) have also re-surfaced. Kristiansen<sup>26</sup> sees in the movement of these swords an imprint of Indo-German-speaking people's path, in line with the diasporic movements of Terramare of Po Plain<sup>27</sup>. Drews (2017) links them to movements of a military elite sector from north/northeast Italy in a sequence of warrior conquests.

<sup>23</sup> Cfr. Papadopoulos 1999; Moschos 2009a; 2009b; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006; Giannopoulos 2008.

<sup>24</sup> Mangou, Ioannou 1999; Kouli *et alii* 2006; Hook 2007; Giunlia-Mair, Albanese Procelli, Lo Schiavo 2010; Volpi, Dallai 2020.

<sup>25</sup> Jung, Moschos, Mehofer 2008; Jung, Mehofer, Pernicka 2011; Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Jung, Mehofer 2012; Jung, Mehofer 2013; Mehofer, Jung 2017.

<sup>26</sup> Kristiansen 2011; 2016; 2018a; 2018b.

<sup>27</sup> Cardarelli 1997; 2009; Bernabò Brea, Cardarelli, Cremaschi 1997; Bettelli, Cardarelli, Damiani 2018.

<sup>22</sup> Snodgrass 1967; 1973; 2006; Sandars [1978] 1985; 1983; Harding 1984; Drews 1993 *contra* Molloy 2010; 2016.

Apart from ethnolinguistic associations, we see with Jung (2009b; 2017) an oscillation of views on the urnfield connections between two poles. First, there are openly migratory interpretations by:

- i) northern invaders singly or in groups (Sandars [1978] 1985; 1983) uprooted by Pontic steppes groups, a view colored by later “barbarian invasions” (Bouzek 1985; 2010);
- ii) peripheral mercenaries who sold their trade in arms to state economies and run for their own fortune after their collapse<sup>28</sup>;
- iii) bronze smiths or pottery producers and household group residents<sup>29</sup>;
- iv) migrant groups of mixed composition, often involving complete households<sup>30</sup>;
- v) Mycenaean refugee groups displaced by exogenous elements or social unrest<sup>31</sup>;
- vi) «... a mass of uprooted people, landless outcasts ... », acting out in the interstices of state-controlled networks of the Western Asia and Eastern Mediterranean (Suano 2003: 93).

Second, explanations that partly reprise anti-(mass-)migrationism perspectives by advocating new commercial-diffusionist frameworks (Snodgrass 1971; 1973; 2006):

- i) generalized interregional exchange networks moving people and things in new scale and spheres of economic intercourse and cultural emulation (Sherratt’s<sup>32</sup> «decentralized low-level trade» championed by private entrepreneurs or *westernizing* “pull” of stylistic influence and appeal for Aegean sub-elites (Iacono 2013; 2019);
- ii) heterogeneous background of warrior and artifact origins and entanglements (Cline 2014; Molloy 2016; 2018).

### *Working hypotheses*

The distribution of Naue II swords provided in the Appendix as well as the maps related to the geographical distribution of specimen recovered

<sup>28</sup> Drews 1993; Bettelli 2002; Eder, Jung 2005; Jung, Mehofer 2005-2006; Bietak, Jung 2007-2008; Jung, Moschos, Mehofer 2008; Jung 2009a; 2009b; 2017; 2018; Mehofer, Jung 2017.

<sup>29</sup> Peroni 1983; Bergonzi 1985; Bietti Sestieri 1973; 1988; Carancini, Peroni 1997.

<sup>30</sup> Yasur-Landau 2010; Kristiansen 2016; 2018a; 2018b; Kristiansen, Suchowska-Ducke 2015; Suchowska-Ducke 2018.

<sup>31</sup> Papadopoulos 1978-1979; 1999; Papadopoulos, Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2001; Pabst 2013.

<sup>32</sup> Sherratt, Sherratt 1991; Sherratt 1992; 1998; 2000; 2003.

in both Greece and Italy (Figg. 3-4) confirm suggestions coming from previous scholarship, highlighting how the “hot zone” of interaction and mobility connected to the realization and circulation of these weapons is to be found in North-eastern Italy and western Peloponnese. The latter is an area that has shown also to be central more generally westernizing features in the Aegean. The potential processes beyond this material pattern are more difficult to assess. In the earlier stages of Late Bronze Age social network bridging north, west and east, migrant artisans might explain the transmission of gestures and postures connected to specialized skills necessary for producing an identical object (Iaia 2015). In later phases, the diffusion of post-casting techniques through common expertise is a sufficient condition for the dissemination of morphological features with different forms of mobility other than migration. Ethnoarchaeological research have amply showed that once kinesthetic skills were mastered and movements engrained, slices of sequences of operations of *chaîne opératoire* can be easily transmitted across a network of practioners<sup>33</sup>.

Even if these ways of doing weapons and of fighting with them did not appear *ex novo*, new fashions can arrive embedded in new styles. Therefore, we should allow for the possibility that these artifacts were moved either as finished objects or by metallurgists who traded their work rather than only by warriors fighting abroad, as it seems to be the case when the metal of these swords lies in northern Italy<sup>34</sup>. Typo-morphological and metric analysis might help supplying a conventional proxy of geographical origins if combined with the reconstruction of the overall sequence involved in shaping the swords, including the minute technological regularities of craftsmanship and, by retrodiction, the interpretation of how specific craft knowledges could had been passed on.

To take one example, it can be hypothesized, that the very close length and curvature of the handguard of some of the Cetona swords from the Pila del Brancón votive deposit (see Salzani 1994: 84, fig. 1, nr. 6; 1998: 70, fig. 3, nrs. 145-147) were produced if not from the same casting mold, at least from casting molds produced in the same local workshop. In contrast, blade design techniques such as midrib flanked by fine ridges in some Naue II swords of Achaea (Kanghadi, Kallithea and

<sup>33</sup> Gosselain 2008; 2011; Roux 2016; 2019; 2020.

<sup>34</sup> See Jung, Moschos, Mehofer 2008; Jung, Mehofer, Pernicka 2011; Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Jung, Mehofer 2012; Jung, Mehofer 2013; Mehofer, Jung 2017.



Fig. 3. Choropleth map of Cetona (left) and Allerona (right) type sword in Italian peninsula (13th to 11th c. BC centuries BC) sorted by modern regions (see appx.). Drawing by R.F. Peixoto.

Klauss now in Patras and Athens National Museum) have been used by scholars to argue for local workshop tradition<sup>35</sup>. However, morphological features of this kind are insufficient to decide between imported or locally made artifacts and they could suggest a different pattern of mobility related to a diffusion-trade nexus of finished products or post-casting procedures between the areas.

A useful complementary approach for assessing the potential movement of warriors together with their swords (or the lack thereof) could be represented by the analysis of patterns of wear traces on swords. Recent research on this aspect have clearly highlighted the possibility to recognise regionally declined patterns of wear (i.e., bolts and notches created on swords by their usage see Dolfini *et alii* 2018; Hermann *et alii* 2020). Such marks have been considered as the evidence of different “schools” of swordsmanship and their comparison with object typology could potentially offer confirmation that swords were moving together with their users.

#### *Concluding remarks*

In this paper, we have tried to suggest how a focus on human activities can benefit reflection on human mobility, complementing approaches based on biogeochemistry and aDNA that have attracted much interest in the wake of the ‘third science revolution’ in archaeology. Such an interest would involve a reconciliation of approaches in a critically vigilant and politically aware perspective on the public impact of archaeological interpretation. The archaeological concept of



Fig. 4. Choropleth map of Naue II type swords in peninsular and insular Greece (13th to 11th c. BC centuries BC) sorted by modern regions (see appx.). Drawing by R.F. Peixoto.

culture does not operate only within the context of local identities and/or of the nation state, but it can be reworked in meta-national narratives as well (Roberts, Vander Linden 2011; Frieman, Hofmann 2019). Despite much improvement of source tracing technologies at the molecular level, potentially, new paradigms can still recast in more subtle ways discourses operating along the same epistemological lines of nationalist archaeologies as well as present discourses about ancestry and heritage based on static ideas of unbroken biological continuity (TallBear 2013; Panofsky, Bliss 2017; Burmeister 2021).

Racial anxieties, increasing xenophobia, the surge of far-right movements, and the constant talk of border surveillance and control of mobility bespeak nationalist sentiments have as strong an appeal as ever in the contradictions of global connectivity and biopolitics of migration (Hamilakis 2018; Besteman 2020). Faceless hordes of “Others” from the global south abound in press coverage in the forms of “waves” or “arrows” and

<sup>35</sup> Papadopoulos, Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1984: 224, n. 34; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 179; Pabst 2013: 112).

undercurrent break of sense of cultural integrity or “great replacement” (Le Bras 2022). Media attention to contemporary migration to Europe’s Mediterranean borders resonates in commonsensical imagination and impacts the archaeological interpretation as well. One possible reverberation of prevailing restlessness of “migrant crisis” episodes since at least the late 1980s (Chapman 1997) is the reversed North-South direction of

movement by peripheric people into Late Bronze Age Mediterranean, refugee and displaced people or want-to-be conquerors looking for better opportunities abroad.

All things considered, we venture the suggestion intercultural interaction requires a rethinking below and above such metaphysical unit as “cultures” to frame mobility and identity in prehistoric societies with a non-essentialist bias.

Site of find	Context	Attribution	Regional unit/ State	Quantity	Chronology	Reference
Antro della Noce sul Monte Cetona	Cave, burial or cultic deposition	Type Cetona	Siena, Toscana	1	MBA/early RBA(?)	Bianco Peroni 1970: 62; pl. 19, nr. 135; pl. 77, nr. 1; Volante 2020: 159-165; 169, fig. 68; 170, fig. 69; 171, fig. 70; Volpi; Dallai 2020
Antro della Noce sul Monte Cetona	Cave, burial or cultic deposition	Type Cetona	Siena, Toscana	1	MBA/early RBA(?)	Bianco Peroni 1970: 62; pl. 19, nr. 136; pl. 77, nr. 2; Volante 2020
Antro della Noce sul Monte Cetona	Cave, burial or cultic deposition	Type Cetona	Siena, Toscana	1	MBA/early RBA(?)	Bianco Peroni, 1970: 62; pl. 19, nr. 137; pl. 77, nr. 3; Volante 2020
Sulmona	Collection	Type Cetona	L’Aquila, Abruzzo	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 62; pl. 19, nr. 138
Alpe di S. Giulia	Settlement or place of cult on summit of mountain	Type Cetona	Modena, Emilia-Romagna	1	RBA(?)	Foltiny 1964: 253; pl. 76, nr. 30; Bianco Peroni 1970: 62; pl. 19, nr. 139; Bettelli 1997: 726; 726, fig. 428, nr. 1
Muscoli	Bronze hoard	Type Cetona	Udine, Friuli Venezia Giulia	1	FBA 1	Bianco Peroni 1970: 63; pl. 20, nr. 140; Borgna 2000-2001: 311-316; 316, fig. 11, nr. 3
Redù	Terramare settlement	Type Cetona	Modena, Emilia-Romagna	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 63; pl. 19, nr. 141
“Italia”	?	Type Cetona	?	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 62; pl. 20, nr. 142
Fucino	Lake bed	Type Cetona	L’Aquila, Abruzzo	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 62; pl. 20, nr. 143; Bouzek 1985: 123, fig. 58, nr. 2
Fucino	?	Type Cetona	L’Aquila, Abruzzo	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 62; pl. 20, nr. 144
“Lago Trasimeno”		Type Cetona	Perugia, Umbria	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 63; pl. 20, nr. 145
“Italia”	?	Type Cetona	?	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 63; pl. 20, nr. 146
Casier	Lake bed(?)	Type Cetona	Treviso, Veneto	1	?	Foltiny 1964: 252; pl. 75, nr. 24; Bianco Peroni 1970: 63; pl. 20, nr. 147

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Tab. 1. Distribution of Naue Type II sword findings in modern Italy.



Site of find	Context	Attribution	Regional unit/ State	Quantity	Chronology	Reference
Bacchiglione	River bed	Type Cetona	Padova, Veneto	1	RBA	Zampieri 1973: 10; 10, fig. 1; 11, fig. 2, 12; A; Fogolari, Bianchi 1976: 89; pl. 27, nr. 123; Pabst 2013: 137
Bigarello	?	Type Cetona	Mantova, Lombardy	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1974: 15; pl. 2, nr. 137, A
Vibo Valentia	Tomba 156	Type Cetona	Catanzaro, Calabria	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1974: 15; pl. 2, nr. 145, A
Olmo di Nogara	Tombs 41 (inhumation)	Type Cetona	Verona, Veneto	1	RBA 1	Salzani 1991: 141; 143, fig. 3, nr. 4; Salzani 2005: 336, pl. 6, tb. 41, a; Jung, Mehofer 2005-2006: 115, fig. 5, nr. 6; Jung, Mehofer, Pernicka 2011: 233, tab. 23.1; 238-240
Pila del Brancón	Bronze hoard	Type Cetona	Verona, Veneto	1	RBA 2/FBA 1 (ca. 1200 BC)	Salzani 1994: 83; 84, fig. 1, nr. 2; Bietti Sestieri <i>et alii</i> 2013: 160-161
Pila del Brancón	Bronze hoard	Type Cetona	Verona, Veneto	1	RBA 2/FBA 1 (ca. 1200 BC)	Salzani 1994: 83; 84, fig. 1, nr. 6; Jung, Mehofer, Pernicka 2011: 233, tab. 23.1; 238-240
Pila del Brancón	Bronze hoard	Type Cetona	Verona, Veneto	1	RBA 2/FBA 1 (ca. 1200 BC)	Salzani 1998: 70, nr. 145; Bietti Sestieri <i>et alii</i> 2013: 159-161
Pila del Brancón	Bronze hoard	Type Cetona	Verona, Veneto	1	RBA 2/FBA 1 (ca. 1200 BC)	Salzani 1998: 70, nr. 146; Bietti Sestieri <i>et alii</i> 2013: 160-161; 160, fig. 4
Pila del Brancón	Bronze hoard	Type Cetona	Verona, Veneto	1	RBA 2/FBA 1 (ca. 1200 BC)	Salzani 1998: 70, nr. 147; Bietti Sestieri <i>et alii</i> 2013: 159-161
Pila del Brancón	Bronze hoard	Type Cetona	Verona, Veneto	1	RBA 2/FBA 1 (ca. 1200 BC)	Salzani 1998: 70, nr. 148; Bietti Sestieri <i>et alii</i> 2013: 160-161; 160, fig. 3
Pila del Brancón	Bronze hoard	Type Cetona	Verona, Veneto	1	RBA 2/FBA 1 (ca. 1200 BC)	Salzani 1998: 70, nr. 149; Bietti Sestieri <i>et alii</i> 2013: 160; 160, fig. 4; Jung, Mehofer, Pernicka 2011: 233, tab. 23.1; 238-240
Caorso	?	Type Cetona	Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna	1	?	Bettelli 1997: 727, fig. 429, nr. 5; 729-730
Caorso	?	Type Cetona	Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna	1	?	Bettelli 1997: 727, fig. 429, nr. 5; 729-730
Allerona	?	Type Allerona	Terni, Umbria	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 66; pl. A, nr. 153; pl. 21, nr. 153; Bietti Sestieri 1973: 405, fig. 22, nr. 8; 406
Casale sul Sile	Lake bed	Type Allerona	Treviso, Veneto	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 66; pl. 22, nr. 154; Bietti Sestieri 1973: 405, fig. 6; 406
“Lago Trasimeno”	?	Type Allerona	Perugia, Umbria	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 66; pl. 22, nr. 155
San Benedetto in Perillis	Cremation tomb	Type Allerona	L'Aquila, Abruzzo	1	FBA ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Bianco Peroni 1970: 66; pl. 22, nr. 156
“Apulia”	?	Type Allerona	Apulia(?)	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 66; pl. 22, nr. 157

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Site of find	Context	Attribution	Regional unit/ State	Quantity	Chronology	Reference
Fucino, vicinanze	Fucino group, inhumation tomb(?)	Type Allerona	L'Aquila, Abruzzo	1	RBA 2/FBA 1 (ca. 1200 BC)	Bianco Peroni 1970: 68; pl. 22, 158; pl. 77B, nr. 158; Bietti Sestieri 1973: 390-391
Fucino	?	Type Allerona	L'Aquila, Abruzzo	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 68; pl. 23, nr. 159
Rovereto	Lake bed	Type Allerona	Trento, Trentino-Alto Adige	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 69; pl. 23, nr. 160
Campodenno	?	Type Allerona	Trento, Trentino-Alto Adige	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 69; pl. 23, nr. 161
Unknown	?	Type Allerona	?	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1970: 69; pl. 23, nr. 162
Montegiorgio	Tomb?	Type Allerona	Ascoli Piceno, Marche	1	RBA	Bianco Peroni 1970: 69; pl. 23, nr. 163
Bacchiglione	River bed	Type Allerona	Padova, Veneto	1	FBA	Zampieri 1973: 10-12; 11, fig. 2, B; 12, fig. 3; Fogolari, Bian- chi 1976: 91; pl. 27, nr. 140; Pabst, 2013: 139
Colli Euganei	?	Type Allerona	Padova, Veneto	1	?	Bianco Peroni 1974: 15; pl. 3, nr. 157A
Gazzo Veronese	?	Type Allerona	Verona, Veneto	1	RBA-FBA	Salzani 1987: 63, figs. 43- 44; 2002: 159, fig. 1; Jung; Mehofer; Pernicka 2011: 238-240
Narde	Tomb 168 (crema- tion)	Type Allerona	Rovigo, Veneto	1	FBA 2	Salzani 1989: 14; 34, fig. 12, nr. 5; 20-21; Jung, Mehofer, Pernicka 2011: 238-240
Narde	Tomb 227 (crema- tion)	Type Allerona	Rovigo, Veneto	1	FBA 2	Salzani 1989: 16; 38, fig. 16, nr. 3; 20-21; Jung, Mehofer, Pernicka 2011: 233, tab. 23.1; 238-240; Pabst, 2013: 128, fig. 7, a, nr. 3
Pila del Brancón	Bronze hoard	Type Allerona	Verona, Veneto	1	RBA 2/FBA 1 (ca. 1200 BC)	Salzani 1994: 83; 84, fig. 1, nr. 1; Bietti Sestieri 2010: 58, fig. 26, a; <i>et alii</i> 2013: 158, fig. 2; 160-161; 160l, fig. 4; 162; 163, fig. 7-8
Frosinone	?	Type Allerona	Frosine, Latium	1	RBA-FBA	Schauer 1974: 31; pl. 9, 2 [scale 1:3 incorrect]; Bietti Sestieri, Macnamara 2007: 63, cat. 127; pl. 27, nr. 127; Hook 2007: 314, tab. 1
Bisignano	?	Type Allerona	Cosenza, Calabria	1	FBA/EIA(?)	Giardino 1994: 779; 780, pl. 167, nr. 1; 781, pl. 168, nr. 1; Bietti Sestieri, Macnamara 2007: 81-82, cat. 219; pl. 45, nr. 219; Hook 2007: 314, tab. 1
Fucino	Lake Fu- cino	Type Allerona	L'Aquila, Abruzzo	1	RBA 2/FBA 1 (ca. 1200 BC)	D'Ercole 1997: 72; 75, fig. 2; 76, pl. 1, nr. 5; 77; Bietti Se- stieri 2003: 99, fig. 91

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Site of find	Context	Attribution	Regional unit/ State	Quantity	Chronology	Reference
Fucino	Lake Fucino	Type Allerona	L'Aquila, Abruzzo	1	RBA 2/FBA 1 (ca. 1200 BC)	D'Ercole 1997: 72; 75, fig. 2; 76, pl. 1, nr. 6; 77; Bietti Sestieri 2003: 99; 100-101, fig. 92
Montereale Valcellina	River bed	Type Allerona	Pordenone, Friuli-Venezia Giulia	1	?	Pettarin 1996: 455, nr. 117; 456, fig. 24, nr. 117
Madonna del Piano	Tomba 194	Type Allerona	Catania, Sicily	1	FBA 2	Albanese Procelli 1994: 156, fig. 2, nr. 6; 160; 168; pl. 2
Caorso	?	Type Allerona	Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna	1	?	Bettelli 1997: 727, fig. 429, nr. 4, 729; 730
Gremanu	Sanctuary	Type Allerona(?)	Nuoro, Sardinia	1	?	Lo Schiavo <i>et alii</i> 2004: 377-378, fig. 4, nr. 5
Pescara	River bed	Type Allerona	Pescara, Abruzzo	1	?	Pabst 2013: 140

Site of find	Context	Regional unit/ State	Quantity	Chronology	Reference
Mycenaea	House of the Warrior's Vase	Argolis, Peloponnese	1	LH III	Foltiny 1964: pl. 76, 28; Sandars [1975] 1985: 92, fig. 53, a; Catling 1956: 109; Bouzek 1985: 122; Kouli <i>et alii</i> 2006: 54; 56, figs. 6-7; 58, tab. 1; 59, tab. 3
Mycenaea	Acropolis hoard	Argolis, Peloponnese	1	LH IIIB	Catling 1956: 109-111; Spyropoulos 1972: 16-17; 17, fig. 17; pl. 7, 8; Jung; Mehofer 2005-2006: 115, fig. 5, nr. 5; 2013: 176, fig. 3, B-C; 177, fig. 4; 177-178; 179, fig. 5; 180, fig. 6; 2017: 391, fig. 2; 392-393; Kouli <i>et alii</i> 2006: 58, tab. 1; 59, tab. 3; Jung; Moschos; Mehofer 2008: 94; 106, fig. 9
Mycenae	Cult Centre	Argolis, Peloponnese	1	?	Catling 1956: 111; 1961: 117; Bouzek 1985: 128; Kouli <i>et alii</i> 2006: 52, fig. 2, nr. 2740; 56, fig. 6-7; 58, tab. 1; 59, tab. 3
Tiryns	Tiryns Treasure	Argolis, Peloponnese	1	LH IIIC	Karo 1930: 135; pl. 37; Catling 1956: 111; 1961: 117; Spyropoulos 1972: pl. 32, α; Bouzek 1985: 125; Kouli <i>et alii</i> 2006: 56, fig. 5; 58, tab. 1; 59, tab. 3
Tiryns	Tiryns Treasure	Argolis, Peloponnese	1	LH IIIC	Karo 1930: 135; pl. 37; Catling 1956: 110; 1961: 117; Spyropoulos 1972: pl. 32, α; Bouzek 1985: 128; Kouli <i>et alii</i> 2006: 55; 58, tab. 1; 59, tab. 3
Klauss (Antheia)	Tomb	Achaea, Western Greece	1	Early LH IIIC(?)	Kyparissis 1938: 118-119; Catling 1956: 111-112; 1961: 117; Papadopoulos 1978-1979: 166; 228, nr. 218; Papadopoulos; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1984: 221-224; 222, fig. 2; pl. 29, b-d; Bouzek 1985: 125; Kouli <i>et alii</i> 2006: 54; 58, tab. 1; 59, tab. 3
Kallithea	Chamber tomb A, burial II (shaft grave)	Achaea, Western Greece	1	LH IIIC Middle	Yalouris 1960: 42-43; pl. 27, 1-2; Snodgrass 1967: pl. 4; 1971: 306, fig. 10.2; Papadopoulos 1978-1979: 228, nr. 222; 296, fig. 320, a-b; 331, fig. 355, c-d; Bouzek 1985: 124-125; 127, fig. 61, n. 5; pl. 9, n. 3; Papadopoulos 1999: 268; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 160

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Tab. 2. Distribution of Naue Type II sword findings in modern Greece

Site of find	Context	Regional unit/ State	Quantity	Chronology	Reference
Kallithea	Chamber tomb B	Achaea, Western Greece	1	LH IIIC Advanced-Late	Yalouris 1960: 42; 44-45; pl. 31, 1-2; Snodgrass 1967: pl. 4; 1971: 306, fig. 10.2; Papadopoulos 1978-1979: 228, nr. 223; 296, fig. 320, a-b; 332, fig. 356, a-b; Bouzek 1985: 125; 127, fig. 61, n. 5; pl. 9, nr. 1; Papadopoulos 1999: 268-269; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 160-161; Jung; Moschos; Mehofer 2008: 91-92; 105, fig. 7
Palaiopyrgos	Chamber tomb 6	Arcadia, Peloponnese	1	LH IIIC Middle-Late	Catling 1961: 117; Demakopoulou 1969: 226, fig. 1-2; 227: pl. 1; Bouzek 1985: 125; Demakopoulou; Crouwel 1998: 274; 275, fig. 6; pl. 52a; Mangou; Ioannou 1999: 92, tab. 2; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 161
Steni (Schiste Odos)	?	Phocis, Central Greece	1	PG/G(?)	Catling 1956: 112-113; 1961: 117; Bouzek 1985: 125; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 97; pl. 38, nr. 248; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 179
Vranezi	Grave(?)	Boeotia, Central Greece	1	?	Catling 1956: 113; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 97; pl. 38, nr. 249
Graditsa	?	Thessaly(?)	1	?	Catling 1961: 117; pl. 26, c; pl. 27; Bouzek 1985: 125; 127, fig. 63, nr. 1-2; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 97; pl. 37, nr. 245
Graditsa	?	Thessaly(?)	1	?	Catling 1961: 117; pl. 26, c; pl. 27; Bouzek 1985: 125; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 97; pl. 37, nr. 246
Mouliana	Tholos tomb B, burial 1 in larnax	Crete	1	LM IIIC Late	Xanthoudides 1904: 45-46, fig. 11; 48; Catling 1956: 113; 1961: 117; Bouzek 1985: 125; 127, fig. 61, nr. 3; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 97; pl. 36, nr. 242; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 164
Mouliana	Tholos tomb B, burial 2 on the floor	Crete	1	LM IIIC Late	Xanthoudides 1904: 45-46, fig. 11; 48; Catling 1956: 113; 1961: 117; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 95; pl. 34, nr. 230
Mouliana	Tholos tomb A	Crete	1	LM IIIC/LH IIIC	Xanthoudides 1904: 30-31; Catling 1956: 113-114; pl. 9, c; 1961: 117; Bouzek 1985: 125; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 97; pl. 37, nr. 247; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 163-164
Mouliana	Tholos tomb A	Crete	1	LM IIIC/LH IIIC	Catling 1956: 114; 1961: 117; Bouzek 1985: 125
Karphi	Settlement	Crete	1	Submonian	Catling 1961: 117; Bouzek 1985: 128; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 99
Sitheia	?	Crete	1	?	Catling 1961: 117; Bouzek 1985: 127; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 99; pl. 39, nr. 260
Vrokastro	?	Crete	1	?	Catling 1961: 117; Bouzek 1985: 126
Myrsine	Chamber tomb A	Crete	1	LH III A-C	Catling 1961: 117; Bouzek 1985: 122; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 95; pl. 34, nr. 227; Deger-Jalkotzy 165; 167, tab. 9.2
Messara Plain	?	Crete	1	?	Catling 1961: 117; Bouzek 1985: 125; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 97, pl. 36, nr. 241

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Site of find	Context	Regional unit/ State	Quantity	Chronology	Reference
Stavros	Cave sanctuary	Ithaka, Ionian Islands	1	?	Benton 1934-1935: 71-72; 70, fig. 20, 15a-b; 72, fig. 21a; Catling 1956: 118; 1961: 117; Bouzek 1985: 128; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 99
Samos		Samos, North Aegean	1	Geometric(?)	Bouzek 1985: 127; Catling 1961: 117
Grotta, Naxos	Chamber tomb A	Naxos, Cyclades (South Aegean)	1	LH IIIC Middle-Late	Zapheiropoulos 1966: 330; 331, fig. 1; Catling 1961: 117; Bouzek 1985: 122; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 97, pl. 36, nr. 243; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 162
Kos, Langada	Chamber tomb 21	Kos, Dodecanese (South Aegean)	1	LH IIIB Final/ III C Early	Catling 1961: 117; Morricone 1965-1966: 137, fig. 122; 139, fig. 123; 140, fig. 124; Bouzek 1985: 122; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 95; pl. 34, 228
Tseravina	Cist grave(?)	Epirus	1	?	Hammond 1967: 319; fig. 19, c; pl. 21, c; Catling 1968: 99; Bouzek 1985: 127; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 99
Sithea	?	Crete	1	?	Catling 1968: 90; 93, fig. 2, n. 2; pl. 22, c-d; Bouzek 1985: 125; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 97; pl. 36, nr. 240
Orchomenos	Hoard	Euboea, Central Greece	1	LH IIIC	Spyropoulos 1970: 264; 1972: 221; pl. 36, β; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 99
Agalianon	?	Aetolia-Acarnania, Western Greece	1	?	Gallis 1977, pl. 293, δ; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 99; pl. 39, nr. 255
Kangadhi	Chamber tomb	Achaea, Western Greece	1	LH IIIC(?)	Papadopoulos 1978-1979: 228, nr. 221; 296, fig. 320, c-d; 332, fig. 356, c-d; 1999: 272; Sherratt 2000: 96; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 165, 166, tab. 9.1
Unknown	?	Western Macedonia	1	?	Bouzek 1985: 123; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 96; pl. 36, nr. 239
Unknown	?	Northern Greece(?)	1	?	Bouzek 1985: 126; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 99; pl. 293, nr. 293, a
Kamini, Naxos	Chamber tomb A	Naxos, Cyclades (South Aegean)	1	LH IIIC Middle-Late	Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 97; pl. 37, nr. 244; Papazoglo-Manioudaki 1994: 179; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 162
Knossos	Shaft grave 201, cremation	Crete	1	Late SM/ Early PG	Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 98; pl. 39, nr. 255
Hagios Panteleimon (Pateli)	?	Florina, Western Macedonia	1	?	Catling 1961: 118; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 99
Vergina	Burial mound C, tomb Δ	Central Macedonia	1	LH IIIC	Catling 1968: 101; Bouzek 1985: 123; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 96; pl. 34, nr. 232
Lousika-Spaliareika	Chamber tomb 2, Pit 2 (NE)	Achaea, Western Greece	1	LH IIIC Middle-Late	Petropoulos 1990: 506, fig. 3; 507; 1995; 2000: 68; 69, fig. 2; 76; 90, fig. 41, nr. 4650; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 180; Papadopoulos 1999: 271; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 157-158; Giannopoulos 2008: 171; pl. 34, no 54; 50, nr. 54

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Site of find	Context	Regional unit/ State	Quantity	Chronology	Reference
Lousika-Spaliareika	Chamber tomb 2, inhumation at the floor (W)	Achaea, Western Greece	1	LH IIIC Advanced-Late	Petropoulos 1990: 506, fig. 3; 507; 1995; 2000: 69, fig. 2; 71; 83, fig. 7; 9; 76; 90, fig. 41, nr. 4645; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 180; Papadopoulos 1999: 271; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 157-158; Giannopoulos 2008: 169-170; pl. 32, nr. 48; 48, nr. 48
Cape Gelidonya wreck	Shipwreck	Southern coast of Anatolia	1	ca. 1200 BC	Bass 1991: 69
Klauss	Chamber tomb Θ, primary burial A	Achaea, Western Greece	1	LH IIIC	Papadopoulos 1994: 81 pl. 48, β; 1999: 270; pl. 58, a-b; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 180; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 165; Paschalidis 2018
Olympia	Sanctuary	Elis, Western Greece	1	?	Furtwängler 1890: 72, nr. 559, pl. 26; Bouzek 1985: 127; Sherratt 2000: 97
Krini-Drimalaika	Chamber tomb 3, burial D	Achaea, Western Greece	1	LH IIIC Middle	Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 173-174; 174, fig. 2; 175, fig. 3; 177-181; 178, fig. 4-5; 177; pl. 24, b-c; pl. 26, a-d; pl. 27, a; Papadopoulos 1999: 271; pl. 58, c-d; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 157; Pabst 2013: 112, nr. 32
Portes	Chamber tomb T3	Achaea, Western Greece	1	LH IIIC Early	Kolonas 1996-1997; Kolonas; Moschos 2000: 218; pl. 83, β; Papadopoulos 1999: 271; Kolonas 2001: 260-261; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 159
Liatovouni	Tomb 59	Epirus	1	LH IIIC	Douzougli 1999: 368-369; pl. 121, δ; pl. 122, β; Douzougli; Papadopoulos 2010: 23-27; 24, fig. 5, a-b; 26, fig. 6; 68
Alpheiousa	?	Elis, Western Greece	1	?	Vikatou 2001: 194; pl. 62, ε
Unknown	?	?	1	?	Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 179; Kouli <i>et alii</i> 2006: 58, tab. 1; 59, tab. 3
Unknown	?	?	1	?	Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 177-179; Kouli <i>et alii</i> 2006: 52, fig. 2, 13905; 58, tab. 1; 59, tab. 3
Agios Georgios	Tomb	Euboea, Central Greece	1	?	Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 179; Kouli <i>et alii</i> 2006: 55; 58, tab. 1; 59, tab. 3
Krini-Agios Konstantinos	Chamber tomb 2	Achaea, Western Greece	1	LH IIIC	Petropoulos 1995; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 180; Papadopoulos 1999: 271; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 165; 166, tab. 9.1; Giannopoulos 2008: 125-126; 127; pl. 59, nr. 1; 60, nr. 1
Palaiopyrgos	Chamber tomb	Arcadia, Peloponnese	1	?	Blackman 1997: 33-34
Nikoleika	Chamber tomb 4, pit 7	Achaea, Western Greece	1	LH IIIC Middle	Papadopoulos 1999: 267; Petropoulos 2006: 41; 2007: 257; 260; 262; 285, fig. 87; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 160
Goumero	?	Elis, Western Greece	1	?	Vikatou 2000: 283; 2019: 253

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Site of find	Context	Regional unit/ State	Quantity	Chronology	Reference
Kouvaras	Cist tomb 1	Aetolia-Acarmania, Central Greece	1	Submycenaean	Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2009: 417, fig. 731-732; Stavropoulou-Gatsi; Jung; Mehofer 2012: 254; 255
Mageiras	Chamber tomb 6, angle NW	Elis, Western Greece	1	LH IIIC Late	Vikatou 2012; 2019: 244-245; 245, fig. 18; 245: fig. 20
Mageiras	Chamber tomb 7, third burial (W)	Elis, Western Greece	1	LH IIIC Late	Vikatou 2012; 2019: 247-249; 248, fig. 22; 249, fig. 23; 253-254
Mageiras	?	Elis, Western Greece	1	?	Vikatou 2019: 248, n. 75; 253, n. 104
Mageiras	?	Elis, Western Greece	1	?	Vikatou 2019: 248, n. 75; 253, n. 104
Meganissi	Tomb 6	Ioanian Islands	1	LH IIIC	Vikatou 2017: 174; 174-175, fig. 6, β; 2018: 402; 407; 425, fig. 8-9

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