

AN OVERVIEW OF THE LATE HELLADIC IIIC PERIOD
IN ANATOLIA*

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When we look into western Anatolia in the LH IIIC Period, an increase in Mycenaean pottery is observed in comparison with the preceding periods along the coast in settlements like Panaztepe, Liman Tepe, Bademgediği Tepe, Kadıkalesi, Miletos, and Çine-Tepecik. In this article, I argue that the relative increase in Mycenaean artifacts on the Anatolian west coast relates to Mycenaean immigrants, rather than merchants making use of the political gap in western Anatolia. The distribution pattern of Mycenaean artifacts on the Anatolian west coast was, however, not uniform, and various sites and regions, most notably Troy, experienced an influx of Balkan influence, whilst Mycenaean cultural influence apparently dwindled.

When the process preparing the end of the Bronze Age is analyzed chronologically, it can be learned that the Mycenaean palaces were destroyed and lots of settlements in Mainland Greece were evacuated¹. Arzawa in Western Anatolia and Hittite country, which had been a major regional power, was destroyed (Woudhuizen 2006, 51), various coastal cities in the Eastern Mediterranean were damaged². The Postpalatial world, emerging after the destruction of Mycenaean palaces at the end of Late Helladic IIIB, is described as the LH IIIC Period. When we look into Anatolia in the LH IIIC Period, we see that a considerable amount of LH IIIC ceramics were obtained after the destruction of the palaces

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¹ Desborough 1964, 221-222; Mylonas 1966, 218-223; Iakovidis 1983, Drews 1993, 21-23, 109; Lemos 2007, 723; Shelton 2010, 146; Yasur-Landau 2010, 81-83.

² Barnett 1975; Sandars 1978; Drews 1993; Yasur-Landau 2010.

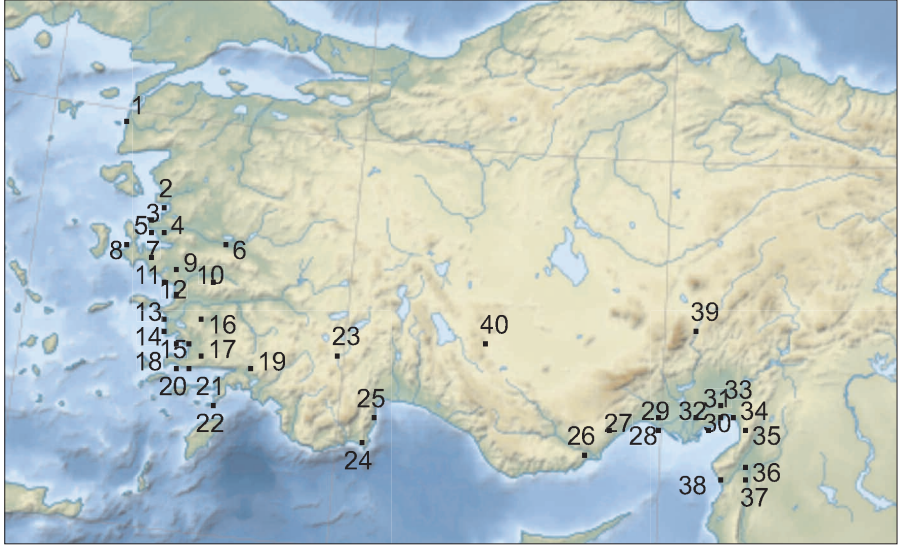
in the coastal areas of Western Anatolia and in Cilicia³. In the Amuk plain, in at least 18 Early Iron Age settlements observations of locally produced LH IIIC ceramics were reported after surface surveys carried out in the region (Yener *et alii* 2000, 188). The increase in Mycenaean ceramics can be considered either as evidence of free commercial circulation of Mycenaean goods after the Hittite embargo was lifted⁴, which lasted many years, or it can be linked to the new settlers of Western Anatolia. It is understood that Mycenaean people had brought their burial traditions into Anatolia because of the gifts and ceramics found in tombs as burial offerings, especially in Western Anatolian coastal areas.

In the pages below, I will present an overview of the archaeological data from the various regions on the western Anatolian coast, from north (the Troad) to south. The northernmost settlement in Anatolia about which we have information relating to the LH IIIC period is Troy. The VIIa layer dates to 1300-1190 BC (LH IIIB-IIIC transition) and ends with a destruction⁵. Tan ware was the most popular ceramic type in the settlement in this period and while Anatolian

³ Besides Troy (a.o. Mountjoy 1999a, 301), Pitane (Özgünel 1983, 705), Phokaia (Özyiğit 2005, 44, 48, Fig. 4-5, 7, 9; 2006, 74-75, Fig. 3), Larisa (Mee 1978, 132; Özgünel 1983, 709; Hertel 2007, 104, Fig. 6), Panaztepe (Günel 1999, 135-136), Sardis (Hanfmann *et alii* 1967, 34, Fig. 10-11), Limantepe (a.o. H. Erkanal 2008, 97), Kalem Burnu (Özgünel 1983, 719-720), Bademgediği Tepe (a.o. Meriç/Mountjoy 2002, 83; Meriç 2003, 87), Torbalı-Yeniköy (Özgünel 1996, 133, 146, Taf. 19, 5-6; Özkan 1999, 22. nos. 36, 38; Meriç/Mountjoy 2001), Klaros (Şahin 2010, 153-154), Ephesos (Bammer 1990, Pl. XVa; Mountjoy 1998, 36), Kadıkalesi (Akdeniz 2007, 35-70), Miletos (Özgünel 1996, 130, 133, 135, 138-141; Niemeier 1998, 34-36), Teichiusa (Mellink 1985, 552, 558; Hope Simpson 2003, 214), Çine-Tepecik (Günel 2008, 2009, 2010a-b), Milas-Pilavtepe (Benter 2010a, 345), Iasos (Levi 1969-1970, 484, Fig. 27; Mee 1978, 130; Benzi 2005, 212-214), Stratonicea (Söğüt 2011, 409), Çömlekçiköy (Özgünel 1996, 130-131), Müsgebi (a.o. Özgünel 1996, 129), Hydas (a.o. Benter 2010b, 670), Burdur-Düver (Özgünel 1983, 742-743; 1996, 133, 145, Taf. 19.4.), Limyra (Mellink 1983, 435; Keen 1998, 216) and Perge (Abbasoğlu 2009, 62; Martini *et alii* 2010, 112, Abb. 16; 114, Abb. 18) in Western Anatolia, Konya-Çumra, Hatıpkale, Dineksaray, Meram-Zoldura (Bahar/Koçak 2008, 13-14, note 18; Fig. 1-2), and Fıraktın (Özgüç 1948, 264; Bittel 1983, 31, 34; Drews 1993, 11) in Central Anatolia, Tarsus (French 1975; Mountjoy 2005a), Kazanlı (Mee 1978, 131; Lehmann 2007, 497-498), Kilisetepe (Jackson/Postgate 1999, 546; Fig. 5; Hansen/Postgate 1999, 112), Soli Höyük (Yağcı 2007, 373, Figs. 1-8), Kinet Höyük (Gates 2010, 71, Fig. 5; 2013, 5, Fig. 4.9-10), Domuztepe (Goldman 1935, 526; 1938, 54; Seton-Williams, 1954, 154), Dağlıbaz Höyük (Killebrew 2006-07, 250; Lehmann *et alii* 2008, 187, Fig. 2), İslamkadı Çiftlik (Seton-Williams 1954, 135, 158; Mee 1978, 129), Soyalı Höyük (Seton-Williams 1954, 135, 169), Misis (Lehmann 2007, 517) in Cilicia, Alalakh (Yener-Akar 2011, 6-7), Tell Tayinat (Janeway 2011) and Sabuniye (Pamir-Nishiyama 2010, 301).

⁴ It is suggested that the Hittites imposed an embargo on Ahhiyawa in the Eastern Mediterranean, based on a remark in the treaty between Sausga-muwa, the king of the country of Amurru, and Tuthaliya IV, the Hittite king: Cline 1991.

⁵ Mountjoy 1999a, 296-297; Becks 2003, 45; Yasur-Landau 2010, 117. Destruction evidence was observed in Ephesos-Ayasuluk (Büyükkolancı 2008, 54); Miletos (Mountjoy 2004, 198-200); Çine-Tepecik (Günel 2008, 135-136; 2011, 24); and Beycesultan settlements in western Anatolia towards the end of LH IIIB period (Hawkins 2009, 164).



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|---------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Troy | 11. Klaros | 21. Müsgebi | 31. Soyalı Höyük |
| 2. Pitane | 12. Ephesos | 22. Hydas | 32. Misis |
| 3. Phokaia | 13. Miletos | 23. Burdur | 33. İslamkadı Çiftlik |
| 4. Larisa | 14. Kadı Kalesi | 24. Limyra | 34. Kinet Höyük |
| 5. Panaztepe | 15. Teichussa | 25. Perge | 35. Dağlıbaz Höyük |
| 6. Sardis | 16. Çine-Tepecik | 26. Kilisetepe | 36. Tell Tayinat |
| 7. Limantepe | 17. Pilavtepe | 27. Soli Höyük | 37. Alalakh |
| 8. Kalem Burnu | 18. Iasos | 28. Kazanlı | 38. Sabuniye |
| 9. Bademgediği Tepe | 19. Stratonicæa | 29. Tarsus | 39. Fıraktin |
| 10. Torbalı-Yeniköy | 20. Çömlekçiköy | 30. Domuztepe | 40. Konya |

forms were used in locally produced Mycenaean ceramics called ‘Ginger’, the patterns were Mycenaean (Mountjoy 1998, 60; 1999a, 301). Deep bowl sherds and a two handled *alabastron* were revealed in a VIIa layer dating to the early phase of LH IIIB2-IIIC (Mountjoy 1999a, 301). While it is observed that Grey Minyan Ware and Tan Ware⁶ date to 1190-1130 BC (LH IIIC Early), these are in phase VIIb1 still important; a small amount of Mycenaean ceramic was made locally (Mountjoy 1999a, 324; Becks 2003, 49; Pavuk 2002, 61). A new group of ceramics emerging in this phase is defined as ‘barbarian’. Patterns on the rough, hand-made, and usually glazed pots are decorated with horizontal bands made by finger printing. The repertoire of the pots is made up of storage and kitchen pots (Blegen *et alii* 1958, 142; Mountjoy, 1999a, 324; Becks 2003, 49). In Troy VIIb2, which dates to 1130-1050/30 BC (LH IIIC mid-late), an increase in

⁶ For Grey Minyan and Tan Ware in west Anatolia, see Pavuk 2002; 2005; 2010.

ceramics known as ‘Knobbed Ware’ or *Buckelkeramik* is observed. It is seen that the architecture underwent a change and orthostats were used (Becks 2003, 47).

In the cemetery of the two-phases area of Panaztepe, dating to the Late Bronze Age, different tomb styles, defined as *pithos*, jar burial, cist, chamber, and composite are seen in the first level, *tholoi* are seen in the second level (a.o. A. Erkanal 1992; 1993; 1994; 2008, 73; Erkanal/Gürler 2003). The second phase, which is suggested to date to the LH IIIA1-2/B1 periods, includes *tholoi* with a short *dromos*, used for both inhumation and cremation (A. Erkanal 2008, 73-74). *Pithoi* with burial gifts such as ceramics, weapons, jewelry, and seals date to LH IIIB/IIIC Early (A. Erkanal 2008, 77, 80). The plan of the chamber tomb CO, made of ashlar stone, is rectangular. The chamber tomb dates to the 12th century BC, mainly the LH IIIC period, based on *scarabs* found as a tomb item⁷ (A. Erkanal 2004, 247; 2008, 74). While there was an extensive existence of *tholoi* and chamber tombs in Mainland Greece in the previous LH IIIA-B phase, it is known that in LH IIIC the *tholos* burial concept was practiced scarcely. However, chamber tombs were still very common in the beginning of LH IIIC (Desborough 1964, 33-34).

In Miletus, eleven chamber tombs were revealed in Değirmentepe, 15 km southwest of the Athena Temple area and tombs, including burial offerings such as ceramics, ornaments, and weapons known to date to LH IIIB-IIIC Early phase (Mountjoy 2006, 114; Niemeier 1998, 33-34). The tomb numbered D33, published with a drawing, was a square-shaped chamber tomb (Niemeier 1998, 36, Fig. 10-11). On the basis of Mycenaean ceramic material it is ascertained that the rectangular planned chamber tomb in Milas-Pilavtepe was used between LH IIIA2 and the beginning of the early phase of LH IIIC (Benter 2010a). In Kolophon however, a *tholos* tomb including a short *dromos* and a circular chamber tomb was revealed during excavations in 1922, which was published with a plan (Bridges 1974). Huxley dates this tomb to LH IIIB or IIIC and states that it might belong to Achaeans who settled in Kolophon at the end of the 13th century BC (Huxley 1960, 39).

Larisa, located on a high point controlling the Hermos Valley, is one of the settlements founded in the Late Bronze Age. A city wall was revealed during excavations carried out by Swedish and German teams in 1902 and 1932. This city wall surrounds a larger area in comparison with its contemporary ramparts at Troy and Mycenae (Doğer 1998, 10): Buruncuk Castle located in Larisa had a great strategic importance in the region during the Second Millennium BC. An individual piece of LH IIIC ceramic was found out of context during the excavations. An

⁷ It is known that the ashlar masonry technique was applied when the construction of the tomb was executed by newly arrived people in Cyprus in 1200 BC: Karageorghis 2002, 97-98, 105; Voskos/Knapp 2008, 665.

antithetic spiral pattern (known as Furumark Motif [commonly abbreviated as FM] 50) is observed on the piece (Mee 1978, 132; Özgünel 1983, 709). There is a chessboard pattern on rim sherds of a *skyphos* dating to the 12th century BC, revealed in the final Bronze Age layer of Larisa (Hertel 2007, 104, fig. 6).

Ceramics belonging to early and late phases of LH IIIC were revealed in the filling of an Archaic Athena temple during the excavations in ancient Phokaia (Özyiğit 2006, 74-75, Fig. 3). Especially many *skyphoi* dating to the early phase of LH IIIC were excavated (Özyiğit 2005, 44, Fig. 4-5). Apart from that, Mycenaean rim sherds dating to the mid LH IIIC Period were found under the base of the blacksmith's workshop in the first settlement area (Özyiğit 2005, 48, Fig. 9). Big, deep, and large basins that can be defined as bathtubs, dating to LH IIIC, were revealed in the first settlement area as well (Özyiğit 2005, 44, Fig. 7). It is observed that bath tubes of this type were widespread throughout a large geographical area in the Eastern Mediterranean. These types of bath tubes were first used in the IIIA phase in Cyprus and are found in Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Maa-Palaeokastro, Alassa-Palioaverna, and the Kition settlements (Karageorghis 2000, 266-272; 2002, 90-91). Karageorghis explains the existence of limestone and terracotta bathtubs in the Late Cyprus IIIA phase by the arrival of foreign emigrants coming to the island⁸.

When we go from the Gulf of İzmir towards the south, there is another settlement providing information about LH IIIC, sc. Liman Tepe, western Anatolia. Due to ceramic finds related to architecture, it is obvious that Mycenaean activities and the amount of locally produced Mycenaean ceramics increased in LH IIIC (H Erkanal 2008, 99). A great number of ceramics and large monumental structures, most of which are rectangular in shape, belonging to the same period were revealed in the first building layer of the settlement, dating to LH IIIC (H. Erkanal 2008, 97-98; Erkanal/Aykurt 2008, 237). Two parallel buildings were found and the remains of a hearth⁹ were recovered in the western one (H. Erkanal 2008, 97). Aegean-style cooking pots dating to the LH IIIC period were found around the hearth structure (Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011, 53, on figure 2b). As is known, these styles of pots were widespread in LH IIIC within a large geographical area from Mainland Greece to western Anatolia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Canaan¹⁰. The locally produced fragment of a figurine that was found must be evidence of the influences from Mainland Greece (Erkanal/Artzy 2003, 426, fig.

⁸ "I suggested that the introduction of baths and bathtubs in Cyprus in the 12th century B.C.E. might be associated with the arrival in the island of new ethnic elements from the Aegean ..." (Karageorghis 2000, 266).

⁹ Hearths are typical forms encountered in Mycenaean palaces: Taylour 1995, e.g., 85.

¹⁰ French 1975, 54; Killebrew 1998, 158-166; 2000; Yasur-Landau 2010, 124, 130, 143, 228; Janeway 2006-2007; 134-136; 2011, 161,170; Niemeier 1998, 33; 2005, 203, pl. XLIXb; 2007, 14.

7; H. Erkanal 2008, 98), as the counterparts of these figurines found in Mainland Greece, which are called 'psi idols', date to the LH IIIB2-IIIC period¹¹.

Bademgediği Tepe, which is linked to the ancient city of Puranda (Hawkins 2006, 115-116), mentioned in the documents dealing with the Arzawa expedition of Mursili II, is one of the hill towns giving information about the Post Palatial Period. Located on a strategically important point from which the Karabel Pass could be watched, Bademgediği Tepe was unoccupied for a long time after the Hittite period settlement was abandoned but was resettled again at the beginning of the LH IIIC period. The most compelling evidence of the new people coming to the city are locally produced LH IIIC ceramics found in very large numbers in Level II (Meriç 2001, 232; Meriç/Mountjoy 2002). Additionally, the restoration of city walls is linked to the new settlers coming to the city at the beginning of LH IIIC (Meriç/Mountjoy 2002, 82). It is known that a considerable number of handmade burnished ware was found during the excavations in Bademgediği Tepe. This type of ceramics, encountered in the VIIb1 (1190-1130 BC) layer of Troy and at Maydos-Kilise Tepe¹², date to the LH IIIC Period in Bademgediği Tepe (Meriç 2003, 89, fig.10). It is possible to date the handmade burnished ware, of which the main characteristic feature is the finger print pattern and which was started to be seen in various settlements in Mainland Greece from the beginning of early phase of LH IIIC onwards (Rahmstorf 2011, 317-318) and encountered in Troy VIIb1, to the early phase in Bademgediği Tepe.

It seems possible that the people using the ceramics were of Balkan origins and settled in the region or moved southwards after staying in the region for a short time¹³. A cemetery and settlement area belonging to the Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age was found in Hacıgebeş Tepe-Tatarderesi (Ersoy/Koparal 2009, 77). Two handmade pots and a bronze dagger were found in *pithoi* placed into the bedrock and soil by digging and corded *pithos* fragments were found around the tombs (Ersoy/Koparal 2009, 77-78, 87; Fig. 5-6). Patterns of the above mentioned fragments are known from the settlements in Bademgediği Tepe and Cyprus. It is stated that some pots found in Liman Tepe resemble handmade burnished ware (Erkanal/Aykurt 2008, 234; Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011, 50). The southernmost

¹¹ This figurine is the second find of this type found in Liman Tepe. For the first figurine: see Günel 1998.

¹² In the light of new excavations it is stated that the layer in Maydos Kilise Tepe, which is contemporary to the Troy VIIa period and which is another settlement showing Balkan influences, was damaged during a strong fire. Mudbrick and relief pieces were found in the layer contemporary to Troy VIIb along with handmade burnished ware. Orthostats are observed in the architecture: see Sazcı 2012.

¹³ Apart from Anatolia, handmade burnished wares were also revealed in the island of Cyprus. These types of ceramics, observed in the first half of 12th century BC in the settlements of Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Enkomi, Maa-Palaeokastro, and Pyla-Kokkinokremos, are related with the coming of new settlers to Cyprus: Karageorghis 2002, 75, Fig. 142; 79, Fig. 154; PilideS/Boileau 2009; Rahmstorf 2011, 330, Fig. 6.

settlement in which handmade ceramics were revealed in western Anatolia is at present Hydas-Bozburun. In this settlement, inhabited for the first time at the end of the Bronze Age, city walls were built in cyclopean technique and LH IIIC ceramics, most of which were locally produced, were found. Therefore, it is suggested that the settlement was founded by Mycenaean immigrants (Benter 2010b).

Levels I and II of five layers dating to the Late Bronze Age correspond to LH IIIC in Panaztepe Harbour Town. It is stated that ceramics revealed in level II are contemporary with Troy VIIa (LH IIIB) and Troy early VIIb (Early LH IIIC) (Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2008, 62-64). An example of the architecture of level I is a building with six rooms and roughly a rectangular-shaped plan (*eadem*, 63). It is stated that handmade ceramics found *in situ* in level I are contemporary with Troy VIIb samples. It is stated that the date of the building extends from Troy VIIb1 (Early LH IIIC) to VIIb2 (Mid-Late) (Erkanal/Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2007, 401; Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2008, 63).

Spool-shaped loom weights form another material group which was not observed during previous phases in layer II, dating to the LH IIIC period in Bademgediği Tepe (Meriç 2003, 90). It is observed that loom weights of this type are widespread in a large geographical area from Mainland Greece to the coasts of Canaan throughout the LH IIIC period (Rahmstorf 2003, 398-415; 2005, 143-171). Similar loom weights were recovered from the first layer also in Liman Tepe (H. Erkanal 2008, 98; Erkanal/Aykurt 2008, 234). They, however, were found as clusters in level II.1b of the Çine-Tepecik settlement dating to the Late Bronze Age (Günel 2011, 24, Fig. 7). It is observed that Early Iron Age settlers, coming to the settlement of Tel Tayinat in the 12th century BC, brought their spool-shaped loom weights, the evidence of their weaving custom, along with LH IIIC ceramics into the region (Gates 2010, 70). Rahmstorf states that distribution of clay spools is rather similar to the handmade burnished wares in the Eastern Mediterranean (Rahmstorf 2011, 320-321, 330, Fig. 6-7).

Kadı Kalesi is among the settlements revealing materials related to the LH IIIC period in western Anatolia. The ceramics classified in two groups as local and imported ceramics have very similar features as the findings in Bademgediği Tepe and it is observed that they have close similarities with material from Tarsus as well (Akdeniz 2007). The piece of a head belonging to a Mycenaean figurine, similar to the one mentioned while giving information about Liman Tepe, is also among the Kadı Kalesi finds (Akdeniz 2007, 54, Fig. 17). Figurines of this type, dating to the LH IIIC period, were revealed in Troy and Miletus in Anatolia as well¹⁴.

¹⁴ Niemeier 1998, 35-36; Akdeniz 2007, 54. The same kind of figurines is observed in Mainland Greece and the islands, and in Phylakopi in a temple context; in Perati and Ialysos they are seen in tombs: see Yasur-Landau 2010, 134.

It is observed that level II.1, dating towards the end of Late Bronze Age, in the settlement of Çine-Tepecik, situated in the Çine Plain of Aydın, had architecture including warehouses surrounded by a city wall (Günel 2011, 21). A considerable number of LH IIIB-C pottery was found in level II.1 (Günel 2008, 135-136; Fig. 6, 8a-c; 2009, 462-463; Günel 2010a). Arrowheads, spearheads, needles, and bronze artifacts were revealed besides LH IIIC ceramics in a rectangular-shaped planned magazine building (Günel 2010b, 72, Fig. 9; 2011, 22). Additionally, a basin-shaped pot (Günel 2009, 461) found in level II.1 should be considered as evidence for the presence of Mycenaeans in the Postpalatial Period at Çine-Tepecik, just like it does with the samples found in Cyprus.

With the disappearance of the Mycenaean palaces that maintained an oppressive structure dominating the whole organization of society based on a palatial monopoly¹⁵, in the LH IIIC period local potters' workshops, in which artists created their own local characteristics, replaced the central potters' workshops dominated by the palaces: as a result in every region a local style of artifacts developed (Rutter 1992, 62-67; Mommsen/Maran 2000-2001, 104). When we consider Panaztepe in the north, Liman Tepe, Bademgediği Tepe, Kadı Kalesi towards the south, Çine-Tepecik in the Aydın plain, and the city of Miletus in the south, there must have been many potters' workshops in these regions in the early phase of LH IIIC¹⁶. It can be stated that Miletus, which produced Mycenaean ceramic locally in the previous periods, was one of the most important production centres in western Anatolia during LH IIIC. A great number of LH IIIB-IIIC ceramics were found in building phase III. In excavations, 500 m south of the Athena Temple, two kilns were found, which were used to produce ceramics and dated to the same phase (Niemeier 1998, 34; Greaves 2002, 63). In this period, it is known that Miletus formed its own *East Aegean Koine* with Astypalaia, Kos, and Kalymnos (Mountjoy 1999b, 968). As a result of clay analyses of the ceramics produced in Miletus, it is apparent that these were exported to Müsgebi and Iasos (Gödecken 1988, 311-313) in western Anatolia, to Tiryns (Greaves 2002, 63) in Mainland Greece, and to Ugarit (Courtois 1973, 153-164; Mee 1978, 136) and Tell Kazel (Jung 2008, 187-188; 2009, 79) in northern Syria.

It can be said that trade was in east-west direction and bilateral during the LH IIIC period. There is evidence of *Koine* ceramics, the production of western Anatolia and Aegean islands being exported to the eastern Mediterranean, and likewise there is evidence regarding the presence of commercial activities with Cyprus, Egypt, and Palestine. Without doubt, the Cape Gelidonya Shipwreck is of capital importance for our understanding of international trade in LH IIIC, if

¹⁵ Chadwick 1973; Bennet 2007, 192-204; Jung 2006; Kelder 2008; Shelmerdine 2006; Shelmerdine/Bennet 2008, 291-306.

¹⁶ The clay analysis of one example of LH IIIC ceramics found during Goldman's excavations in Tarsus shows that it is of northern Ionian origin: see Özyar *et alii* 2009, 272-273.

only because the finds date it to the last years of Ramses III (Haider 2012, 154). It is believed that the ship, which carried copper as a raw material, was Syrian, Canaanite, or Cyprian in origin (Bass 2010, 801). The very shipwreck makes clear that the route of trade was along the southern coasts of Anatolia during the LH IIIC period. This route was definitely affecting Anatolia.

Apart from this, finds from the Panaztepe cemetery show that commercial activities were entertained with the eastern Mediterranean countries. Amongst others, Egyptian scarabs are evidence of this (A. Erkanal 2008, 80). A pyramidal seal resembling a stone anchor with three triangular sides was found in *pithos* CD in the cemetery (A. Erkanal 2001, 270-271; 2008, 80). It is suggested that such seals were also used as amulets that protected members of the Sea Peoples called Peleset-Philistines against dangers on the seas because small anchor shaped amulets were also found in temples in the Palestine region (A. Erkanal 2008, 80; Keel 1994, 28-29). With these seal samples (Keel 1994), discovered in Palestine settlements in Canaan and dating to 12th and 11th century BC, it is possible to suggest that the burial offering from Panaztepe belongs to the Sea Peoples dominating the Palestine coasts until 10th century BC. The seal is seen as an important indication for the relation between the Eastern Mediterranean and Panaztepe (A. Erkanal 2008, 80).

It is known that there was multi-directional trade between Müsgebi and the Dodecanese because the cemetery of Müsgebi is stated to be abandoned during IIIC.1e, after having started during the LH II period in the southwest of Anatolia (Boysal 1967, 25 [54]; Özgünel 1983, 733; Akyurt 1998, 33-34). A great number of LH IIIC ceramics was revealed for the period we can define as the early phase of LH IIIC (Özgünel 1996, 129-130, 132, 134, 136-140, Taf. 18.5, 21.4, 22.1, 24.1). Siana group knives, which are quite similar to the Kolophon and Panaztepe samples of bronze work in the cemeteries, date to the LH IIIB-IIIC periods (Akyurt 1998, 32). The Çömlekçiköy cemetery contains finds of the Sub-Mycenaean, Protogeometric, and Late Helladic IIIC periods. Some tombs in Asarlık are also dated to LH IIIC Late Phase (Lemos 2007, 720).

In the Mediterranean Region, imported LH IIIC ceramics in a filling under a Late Bronze Age floor were revealed during the excavations carried out in recent years in the city of Perge (Abbasoğlu 2009, 62). In addition, a terra-cotta hearth of a type seen in Mycenaean palaces was found in the east half of the same site where also the ceramics were found. The hearth type in question has two basins as well (Abbasoğlu 2009, 62-63). As it is known, in the Hellenic Tradition, Perge is considered as one of the cities which were established by the Seer Mopsus.

In the region of Cilicia, the LH IIIC period starts with destruction layers and typical ceramics. After the destruction of public buildings in the IIb layer following the destruction of Late Bronze IIa buildings, 875 pieces of locally produced LH IIIC ceramics were found in Tarsus (French 1975, 55-56; Mountjoy 2005a, 84).

In Kilisetepe, typical LH IIIc pots were found in stratum IId, following a great fire which struck the 'Stele and East Building' in IIc (Postgate 2008, 170-171). Also in Mersin, in the city of Soli, there was evidence regarding destruction. LH IIIc ceramics were revealed in the destruction layer during excavations (Yağcı 2007, 369, 2008, 238). In Kinet Höyük, situated within the borders of Antakya city, it is accepted that Period 13 came to its end by a fire (Gates 2006, 302; 2013, 488). A few LH IIIc ceramics were found in the stratum of Period 12 (Gates 2006, 304).

It is reported that locally produced LH IIIc pottery was observed in at least 18 Early Iron Age settlements during a survey conducted in the Amuk Valley (Yener *et alii* 2000, 188). In the Tell Tayinat settlement, located in the south of Kinet Höyük, a great number of LH IIIc ceramics were also found (Janeway 2006-2007; 2011). Furthermore, the same ceramics were also observed in settlements such as Kazanlı (Mee 1978, 131; Lehmann 2007, 497-498), Domuztepe (Goldman 1935, 526; 1938, 54; Seton-Williams 1954, 154), Dağlıbaz Höyük (Killebrew 2006-07, 250; Lehmann/Killebrew/Gates 2008, 187, Fig. 2) and Misis (Lehmann 2007, 517). The biggest problem encountered in the LH IIIc period in the region of Cilicia is that architecture related with the layer in question was not discovered. The ceramics found in the region in the period under scrutiny can be explained in terms of a large scale commercial organization and they also indicate that there has been a population group settled there temporarily after the region was destroyed.

Our information regarding the Late Helladic IIIc period is considerably limited for the interior parts of Anatolia. It is observed that commercial activities, which changed with the destruction of Mycenaean palaces, extended to the interior territories of western Anatolia in the LH IIIc period. Konya in Central Anatolia, Hatip Kale in Çumra, Zoldura (Hatunsaray II) in Dineksaray, and Meram are among the settlements where the ceramics in question were found (Bahar/Koçak 2008, 13-14). It is stated that a stirrup jar was discovered in the destruction layer in Fıraktin dating to the LH IIIc period (Özgüç 1948, 264; Bittel 1983, 31,34; Drews 1993, 11). This very stirrup jar, considered to be produced in Cilicia (Vanschoonwinkel 2006, 72), provides evidence that trade in olive oil extended to the interior of Anatolia in the LH IIIc period. Mycenaean ceramics are not observed in Central Anatolia in this LH IIIc period. In the previous periods, Mycenaean ceramic fragments dating to LH IIIA2-B were found in Maşat Höyük, Mycenaean sherds of a small piriform jar are known from Kuşaklı-Sarissa, and a sherd of a kylix from Bogazköy-Hattusa located in Central Anatolia, the heart of the Hittite Empire (Mee 1978, 132; Genz 2011, 305, 309).

Conclusion

The period between 1190 and 1130 BC, i.e. the early phase of Late Helladic IIIc, is the period in which Mycenaean Post Palatial activities started in western

Anatolia. In this period, there is evidence that Arzawa and the Hittites lost their hold on the region and that the western Anatolian coasts came under the influence of Mycenae. It is possible to say, based on some Mycenaean stirrup jars, that trade in olive oil was extended to the interior of western Anatolia. Therefore, the increase in Mycenaean ceramics in inland western Anatolia can be explained by the activities of Mycenaean merchants benefitting from the political vacuum in western Anatolia during the process of disintegration of the Hittite empire. However, it is wrong to relate LH III C ceramics in the western Anatolian coastal regions and Cilicia only with trade. Local production of LH III C ceramics revealed in the Liman Tepe settlement and Aegean-type cooking ware represent a non-local population. In Bademgediği Tepe, a century earlier still not occupied, LH III C ceramics were widely used; city walls were repaired in the new settlement and this might suggest the arrival of (groups of) new immigrants¹⁷. Also in the Kadı Kalesi settlement, located in Kuşadası, Mycenaean ceramics dating to before the LH III C phase are rare.

Spool-shaped loom weights revealed in Liman Tepe, Bademgediği, and Çine-Tepecik and used in the textile industry indicate settled life. Spools were also in use in Greece at least as late as LH III C Early (Rahmstorf 2011, 321). Similar weights were also found along the Cyprian, North Syrian, and Levantine coasts where LH III C pottery and handmade burnished ware was observed: this can be explained in terms of archaeological evidence for a mass migration.

The discovery of considerable amounts of LH III C ceramics along western Anatolian coasts can be explained in terms of the organization of a new political power growing stronger in the region after the collapse of Mycenaean palace system. In this respect, we come across shielded warriors and warriors with hedgehog helmets in chariot scenes; depictions of sea warfare and hunting scenes as traceable on LH III C pictorial pottery are representative of a new elite class (Yasur-Landau 2010, 155). These new elites are depicted on LH III C figurative ceramic in settlements such as Kynos, Tiryns, and Kos-Seraglio (Yasur-Landau 2010, Fig. 3.25, 3.32, 3.34-36; Mountjoy 2005b, Pl. XCVIII c-f). In western Anatolia on the Bademgediği Tepe krater, warriors with hedgehog helmets fighting on their ship are also represented in the same way (Mountjoy 2005b, 425-426, Pl. XCVIII c-f). Figures of hunters depicted on sherds belonging to a large krater, found in the first building phase in Çine-Tepecik (Günel 2011, 23-24) which dates to the LH III C period, must represent an elite class living in the settlement. Additionally, basins or bathtubs found in Çine-Tepecik and Phokaia must have belonged to Mycenaean elites rather than to ordinary people. At this point, we also may emphasize the evidence from Miletus. Niemeier states that

¹⁷ Prof. Recep Meriç states that there are architectural similarities between Bademgediği Tepe and Troy VIIb2 (R. Meriç, Bademgediği Tepe, forthcoming).

Miletus was destroyed in the LH IIIC period but he cannot specify an exact date (Niemeier 2007, 16). Finds of a Mycenaean fortification wall and *megaron* demonstrate that Miletus VI was destroyed circa 1200 BC (Graeve 2007, 629-630).

Based on these findings, the elite of Miletus must have left the settlement nearly at the same date. At this point, parallel with the destruction of Mycenaean palaces, the elite of Miletus may well have settled in the LH IIIC settlement of Çine-Tepecik.

Although we have only little information about the architecture of western Anatolia in the LH IIIC period, it can be seen that the buildings uncovered in settlements of Panaztepe, Liman Tepe, and Çine-Tepecik have a rectangular plan. A rectangular-like structure was discovered in Panaztepe (Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2008, 63). While rectangularly planned houses in association with LH IIIC ceramics were found in Limantepe, also a structure with corridor was observed (Erkanal-Aykurt 2008, 235-236; H. Erkanal 2008, 98). Furthermore, another building in Miletus dating to the LH IIIB-IIIC period has a house plan with a corridor (Niemeier 1998, 35-36, Fig. 12; 2007, 15). Based upon these examples, we can conclude that, with the destruction of the palaces in Mainland Greece, the corridor structure in architecture (Shear 1987, 62; Taylour 1995, 98) was introduced in Anatolia.

Buildings in Çine-Tepecik (Günel 2009, 462; 2010a, 32-34; 2010b, 70-71), containing warehouses with *pithoi* and stirrup jars, remind us of the buildings that serve as a 'house of a wine merchant' and 'house of an oil merchant' in the city of Mycenae (Mylonas 1966, 80-83). Olive oil and wine, which were main sources of living for the Mycenaeans, were also produced in Çine-Tepecik, which explains the construction of such warehouses. Generally speaking, the discovery of stirrup jars¹⁸ of the LH IIIC period in many settlements in western Anatolia which were used to carry olive oil, is a sign that olive oil was the most popular commercial product in that period.

Besides, it can be claimed that Balkan traditions were introduced in the western coastal region of Anatolia at the time of the destruction of Troy VIIa, as is deducible from the handmade ware discovered in Troy, Maydos Kilisetepe, Bademgediği, Panaztepe, Liman Tepe, and the Hydas settlements. As stated before, the handmade burnished ware that was common in the eastern Mediterranean, having been discovered in western Anatolia, is clearly the result of migration. In any case, it is clear that such coarse ware being brought to western Anatolia for commercial reasons makes no sense at all.

¹⁸ A.o. Haskell 1985, 221.

The migration of peoples of Balkan origin in the middle and late phase of LH IIIC must have continued because the people who used 'Buckelkeramik' in Troy VIIB2 also brought their architectural style to this settlement. On the other hand, such an assumption is more controversial for the region of Cilicia. There were traces of destruction and fire in most of the LH IIIB layers in the region. LH IIIC ceramics are mostly of local production. Ceramics of mostly local production found at Tarsus – among which Aegean cooking ware – can be considered proof for a migrant group that came to the region from the West. The layers of the Tell Tayinat settlement in Hatay dating to the same period provide significant information to compare it with the situation in the region of Cilicia. Aegean style cooking ware, LH IIIC pottery in different forms, and loom weights that were found in the settlement can be explained as the result of the influence of a new culture in the region (Janeway 2006-07; 2011).

Finally, Anatolia must have got its share from these migration movements in this period. According to the Medinet Habu Temple inscriptions, destruction of many centres in Anatolia (Arzawa-Hittite-Kizzuwatna) appears to be a historical reality (Barnett 1975; Sandars 1978; Woudhuizen 2006). Moreover, there are destruction traces dating back to approximately 1200 BC in many settlements in western Anatolia, Central Anatolia, and Cilicia. It is a fact that in Anatolia there was political unrest and upheaval in this period. It is seen that Central Anatolia was abandoned and became deserted. Suppiluliuma II changed the capital because of Hattusa's lack of security (Genz 2013, 472). While the Kingdom of Karkamis maintained its political status in the southeast (Hawkins 1988, 99-108; Güterbock 1992, 55), there is some evidence such as a Hittite-Luwian hieroglyphic seal (Schachner/Meriç 2000, 85-102), found in the city of Metropolis in western Anatolia, and a LH IIIB-C steatite seal or semi bulla used secondarily as a necklace, found in Perati in Mainland Greece and on which the name of Mira State can be read (Woudhuizen 2004-2005)) suggesting that local political power survived for a short time in the early phase of LH IIIC in Western Anatolia.

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