

Placing the Kazarma Tholos Tomb within the Early Mycenaean Argolid

*Stefanos Keramidas*¹ – *Sofia Spyropoulou*² –
*Andromache Vassilopoulou*³

Abstract: The Kazarma tholos tomb constitutes a significant monument of early Mycenaean funerary architecture in the Argolid. It was excavated at the end of the '60s by Evangelia Deilaki and it immediately attracted the attention of experts since, amongst other things, it contained richly furnished intact burials and an array of prestigious grave goods, which convincingly denote the high status and connections of the deceased.

With this presentation we will attempt to place the Kazarma tholos tomb within the natural and cultural landscape of the early Mycenaean Argolid. Thus, we will focus on two main axes, topography and social structure. First, it is necessary to discuss the position of the Kazarma tholos within the natural setting of the Argolid. Its location apparently creates intriguing questions. At the foot of a natural lookout, away from the known centres of the period, without any apparent relation to a contemporary settlement or other burial structures, but on an important road that connected the Argive Plain with the Saronic Gulf and the Aegean Sea, the choice of the specific setting for erecting such a monumental funerary construction remains puzzling at least.

The second part of our paper focuses on the interpretation of the Kazarma tholos tomb in relation to the evolving socio-political structure at the dawn of the Mycenaean Age. What are the elements and interrelations of power in the Argolid and under what conditions does a distinguished individual decide, or is potentially allowed, to build an imposing symbol of posthumous remembrance on an important trade route? Is it even the case of a dignitary or maybe a local leader and in what way does this paradigm emerge from the overall transforming character of this early phase of the Mycenaean Argolid?

Keywords: Argolid, tholos tomb, landscape, road system, social status

Introduction

The tholos tomb of Kazarma is located almost in the centre of the Argolid, Peloponnese, near the modern settlement of Arkadiko, 15 km east of Nauplion on the old road connecting Nauplion with Epidauros (Fig. 1). It is built at the foot of the prominent homonymous hill, which is crowned by the late Classical acropolis of Kazarma.⁴ The citadel has so far not been systematically investigated. It has been suggested that it was in use as early as the Mycenaean period and remained in use during antiquity and medieval times. However, based on the preserved architectural remains,

¹ Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Greece; e-mail: stefanosker@gmail.com.

² Directorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Greece; e-mail: spiropoulou.sofia@gmail.com.

³ Executive Unit-Partnership Agreement for the Development Framework 2014–2020, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Greece; e-mail: andromache73@gmail.com.

⁴ The ancient *kome* of Lessa, which Pausanias saw on his way from Argos to Epidauros, has been identified by Kavvadias 1885, 22–23, with Kazarma, a view also favoured by Salavoura 2015, 602 n. 292. However, according to Frazer 1913, 233, and Papachatzis 1989, 197–199, Lessa should be identified with modern Ligourio. Proto-notariou-Deilaki 1965, 66, and Alden 1981, 302–303, claim that Lessa should be identified with Ayios Adrianos. Miliarakis 1886, 89, and Lord 1939, 81, find Kastraki suitable for the site of Lessa. Piteros 2012, 209, states that Lessa extended from Ligourio to the Argive territory of the Kazarma area.



Fig. 1: The location of Kazarma in the Argolid (Th. Makris; The Kazarma tholos project)

most scholars date the fortress to the 4th century BC, while extensive repair and renovation works took place during the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods.⁵

The tomb was discovered in 1966⁶ during construction work in the Yiannoulis plot, which resulted in the destruction of part of the dromos and the chamber. Excavations were undertaken in 1968 and 1969 by Evangelia Protonotariou-Deilaki.⁷ The discovery of the monument immediately attracted the interest of the scientific community, as it was considered to be among the few unlooted tholos tombs in the Argolid.

The tomb is oriented on a north-south axis (Figs. 2, 3, 7). The dromos is preserved to a length of 5.60 m⁸ and measures up to 2.50 m in width. Its walls are lined with large, roughly worked blocks.⁹ The stomion, which is constructed in the same manner, only with slightly larger blocks, is approx. 3.00 m deep and up to 1.70 m wide.¹⁰ There is no evidence of a blocking wall.¹¹ Both the dromos and the stomion are preserved up to a height of one or two courses. The existence of the lintel is reported by Deilaki;¹² however we have not been able to trace it around the tholos.

⁵ Scranton 1941, 69; Bon 1969, 485; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1970, 104 n. 4, 6; Lawrence 1979, 309; Konti 1983, 189; Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 44; Piteros 2012, 209; CAAC; TMA.

⁶ Krystalli 1968.

⁷ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1968; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1969; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1970.

⁸ The original length of the dromos must have been greater (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1970, 105). The dromos is surrounded by dry-stone walls (*xerolithies*) which were placed there during the excavation and have remained there ever since.

⁹ Pelon 1976, 182, sees the Cyclopean technique used in the dromos blocks, cf. Loader 1995, 107–108.

¹⁰ The width of the stomion ranges from 1.70 m to 1.55 m as it narrows slightly towards the chamber.

¹¹ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1970, 105, interpreted the absence of a blocking wall as evidence of the doorway left open; Fitzsimons 2006, 146 n. 472, 148 n. 476, argues against it.

¹² Protonotariou-Deilaki 1970, 104 n. 7.

The circular chamber, which according to the excavator had already collapsed in antiquity, measures circa 7.20m in diameter and is preserved to a height of approx. 3.90m. The walls are built of large limestone blocks of irregular shape in the lower courses and smaller ones higher up.¹³

Within the chamber three roughly rectangular deep shafts (I–III) were cut into the bedrock and were covered with large slabs, resting on recesses formed along the sides (Fig. 3). The shafts were filled in with earth after the excavation and have remained covered ever since, thus any relevant data rely exclusively on the excavator's reports.¹⁴

The architectural features combined with the pottery finds indicate that the Kazarma tholos tomb was built in the LH IIA period and was in use at least throughout LH IIB. Evidence of later use of the tomb is attested by Submycenaean pottery with remains of animal bones including a red deer¹⁵ that point to a ritual practice. No articulated burial was retrieved from the chamber floor, where grave goods, including palatial jars and other types of early Mycenaean vessels (Fig. 4), seals, ivory objects and several other small finds, were found dispersed along with skeletal remains and fallen stones.¹⁶

Each shaft contained one individual burial, which was found intact with wealthy grave goods. The deceased were placed in an extended position with their heads facing north. The burial in Shaft I was associated with a female, who was accompanied by a golden diadem, a necklace of amethyst beads, and possibly a silver bowl.¹⁷ The burials in Shafts II and III were attributed to male 'warriors', since bronze daggers, knives, arrowheads and razors along with many boars' tusks were placed with them.¹⁸ The deceased of Shaft II was also provided with five LH II alabaster, a silver vessel with golden rim, three lead weights, as well as eleven beads of glass and semi-precious stones (amethyst, carnelian) and five seals (of amethyst, glass and carnelian), which were evidently all strung on a necklace. The burial in Shaft III, apart from the bronze weapons, was additionally accompanied by two bronze discs, parts of a scale pan, an ivory comb, more than 170 beads of amethyst, and several ivory discs.¹⁹



Fig. 2: The Kazarma tholos tomb (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; The Kazarma tholos project)

¹³ The building technique employed in the Kazarma tholos is strongly reminiscent of Tomb 1 at Megali Magoula, Galatas, in Troizenia and the Cyclopean Tomb at Mycenae (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2015, 496–498, fig. 15; Wace – Holland 1921/1923, 290).

¹⁴ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1969, 3–6.

¹⁵ Dr Valasia Isaakidou carried out the preliminary study of the animal bones from the tomb.

¹⁶ Protonotariou Deilaki 1969, 4–5; Protonotariou Deilaki 1970, 105, pls. 81α–β, 83α–ε, 84ε. Apart from the damage caused to the burials on the chamber's floor by the collapse of the roof, the existence of gold-capped rivets that do not match any of the tomb's bronze artefacts along with scattered human remains point to some kind of disturbance.

¹⁷ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1969, 4, fig. 4.

¹⁸ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1969, 4–6, figs. 5–7; Protonotariou Deilaki 1970, 105, pl. 84α–δ, ζ'–ζ.

¹⁹ Vassilopoulou et al. 2018, 80–83.

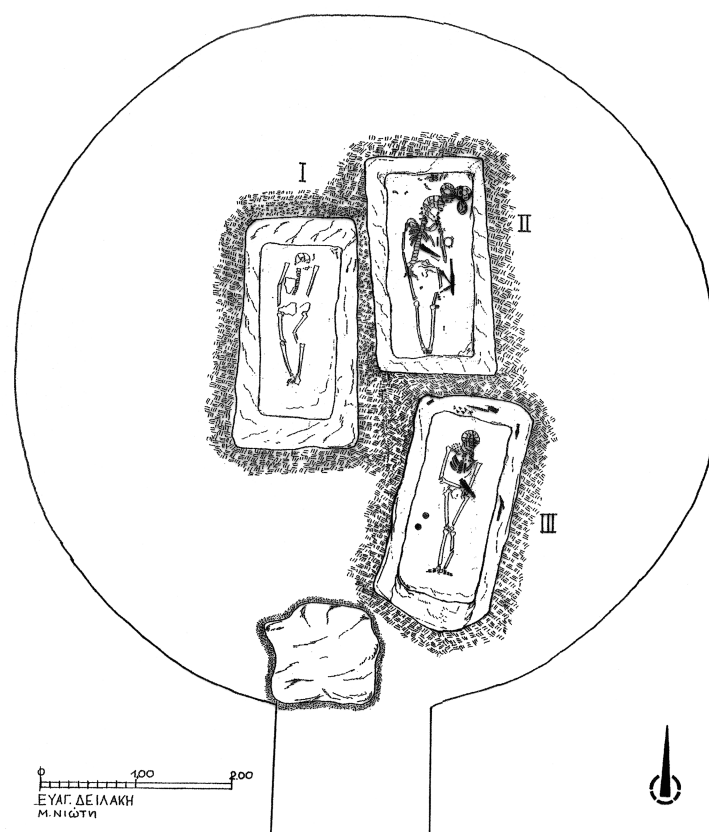


Fig. 3: Plan of the tholos chamber with Pits I–III (drawing: M. Nioti based on the excavation diaries; Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; The Kazarma tholos project)

In the last few years the archaeological material of the tholos has been re-examined within an interdisciplinary framework aiming at the full documentation and reinterpretation of the available data, as well as the reconstruction of the burial practices that took place.²⁰ A characteristic paradigm of this approach and of its rewarding contribution to the research is attested by the preliminary analysis of the human skeletal remains,²¹ which points to the burial of eight to nine adults and three children in the tomb.²²

During the conservation process of the stored finds some new artefacts of particular interest were revealed.²³ These include a lentoid sealstone depicting a boar's tusk helmet (Fig. 6) and a cylindrical bead of transparent colourless glass with golden caps (cf. Fig. 5), both of rare quality and craftsmanship. Furthermore, the careful study of long-known finds led to the discovery of a griffin's protome in relief on one of the bronze knives, while the classification of the tomb's ivory comb to the early type with a separate handle was determined.²⁴

²⁰ Along with the archival research and the meticulous documentation of the tomb and its finds, preliminary study and analyses of the material are in process in various fields, e.g. osteoanthropology, zooarchaeology, archaeobotany, archaeometallurgy, archaeometry etc., whereas conservation work is also in progress. The aforementioned research was made possible with the generous contribution of INSTAP.

²¹ The analysis was carried out by Dr Sevi Triantaphyllou, lecturer at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

²² This is especially important given the fact that the evidence on child burials in tholoi is very limited (Voutsaki 1995, 62 n. 32; Triantaphyllou 2016).

²³ For a preliminary report on the new finds, see Vassilopoulou et al. 2018.

²⁴ Vassilopoulou et al. 2018, 83 n. 31. For parallels see Vassilopoulou et al. 2018, 83 n. 30, 32–35. Worth noting is that combs of the same type accompanied the impressive burial of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos, Davis – Stocker 2016, 635 n. 17, 651. See also <<http://www.griffinwarrior.org/gallery/>> (last access 7 Feb. 2020).



Fig. 4: Piriform jar from the chamber floor, NM 15010 (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports)



Fig. 5: Necklace from Shaft II, NM 15024–15038, 15120 (the seal-stone in Fig. 6 was also part of this necklace) (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports)



Fig. 6: Sealstone depicting a boar's tusk helmet, NM 32731 (drawing: S. Lieberknecht; Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; The Kazarma tholos project)

Due to the difficult excavation conditions, the incomplete documentation, and the heavily disturbed context of the chamber, the multiple phases of the tomb's use cannot be fully reconstructed. However and while the study of the finds is still in progress, the scope of this paper is to set out some thoughts and questions regarding the relation of the Kazarma tholos with the natural, human and social landscape of the Argolid at the dawn of the Mycenaean era, and specifically at the transition from the MH III to the LH II period.

Natural Landscape and Networks

The tholos is situated halfway between Nauplion and Epidauros, on a route that has been continuously used since antiquity²⁵ and which comprised the southern branch of the road that connected Argos with Epidauros in historical times. The landscape in this eastern part of the Argolid contrasts with that of the Argive Plain to the west, since the geomorphology of the Kazarma area is defined by the converging mountain ridge of the Arachnaion to the north and a range of hills to the south, thus forming a natural passage.²⁶

The hill of Kazarma overlooks the aforementioned route;²⁷ its summit was fortified in late Classical times, while its slopes are strewn with sherds of later periods.²⁸ Despite the fact that no definite Mycenaean architectural remains have been ascertained on the hill so far, sherds dating to the MH, LH IIIA and LH IIIB periods are reported as “extending over most of the summit and also the upper slopes on the south side” (Fig. 7).²⁹

Moreover, the excavation of the tholos yielded evidence of EH occupation underneath the dromos floor.³⁰ Roman sherds were uncovered among the vault's debris, while late Roman and Byzantine architectural remains were found in the immediate vicinity of the tomb.³¹

The proximity of the tholos (about 500 m) to the well-known Mycenaean bridge at Kazarma³² is of considerable importance; the latter, along with the three other similar bridges preserved in

²⁵ Frazer 1913, 232–233; Lord 1939, 81, pl. 1; Deilaki 1977, 94, pl. 92γ; Tausend 2006, 150–151, 201, 204, map 23; Piteros 2015, 208–209.

²⁶ Balcer 1974, 149; Tausend 2006, 201. For the definition of a route, see Marchand 2009, 108 n. 2.

²⁷ The hill of Kazarma is indeed the highest one along the route from Nauplion to Epidauros (Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979, 51; Hope Simpson 1981, 27; Liko 2012, 122).

²⁸ Frazer 1913, 232–233; Hope Simpson 1981, 27. Lord 1939, 83, recognised the fortresses of Kazarma, Midea and Kastraki as Mycenaean foundations “though later work also appears”. See also Álin 1962, 51; TMA; contra: Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 44.

²⁹ Hope Simpson 1965, 19; Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979, 51.

³⁰ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1970, 105, pl. 82β.

³¹ Krystalli 1968, 180; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1970, 105; Proskynitopoulou 1988.

³² Kavvadias 1885, 22 n. 4; Despotopoulos 1940, 12, fig. on p. 11 subtitled “Καζάρμι. Κυκλώπειος γέφυρα” (Kasarmi. Cyclopean bridge); Wace 1949, 27, has mistaken the bridge for classical one, but in fig. 38b he refers to it as a “Mycenaean culvert on road to Berbate”; McDonald 1964, 222, pl. 10 n. 14 (on p. 238); Hope Simpson



Fig. 7: View of the tholos and the acropolis of Kazarma from the south (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; The Kazarma tholos project)

Arkadiko to the east, Galousi (Asprochoma) and Palouki³³ to the west, have been interpreted as the remains of a Mycenaean ‘highway’ connecting the Argive Plain with the Saronic Gulf.³⁴ This ‘highway’ is thought to comprise part of a larger Mycenaean road network, also provided with bridges, enabling access from Mycenae to the Corinthia, the Argive Heraion and potentially to Argos and Tiryns.³⁵

1965, 19; Balcer 1974, 148–149, pl. 36, fig. 6; Wright 1978, 223, fig. 219; Hope Simpson 1981, 27, fig. 4, pls. 8–9; Bougia 1996, 213–215, Arkadiko Bridge II (Kasarma Bridge), pl. 51b; Knauss 2002, 335–336, fig. 11–12; Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 158–159, fig. 8, pl. 29b.

³³ Deilaki 1977, 94, pl. 92γ; Bougia 1996, 212–213, 386, pl. 50b (Arkadiko Bridge I); Hope Simpson 1998, 250 n. 44, refers to the Galousi (Asprochoma) Bridge as Petrogefyri. Quoting Kritzas in *ADelt* 28, 1973, 250 n. 42, is wrong, it should be corrected to Deilaki. Knauss 2002, 323–359, figs. 13–18, 20; Piteros 2002, 152, pl. 69γ–δ; Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 159; Piteros 2014, 253–254, figs. 33–35, for the Arkadiko Bridge. It should be noted here that the Kazarma Bridge is often referred to as the ‘Arkadiko’ Bridge, but this is not accurate. There is another bridge in Arkadiko (also referred to as Broutzeika). For its location as well as for the other bridges see the instructive map in Knauss 2002, 352, fig. 29. It is certainly unfortunate that the promising study by E. Deilaki and Th. Chatzitheodorou entitled “Μυκηναϊκές γέφυρες και ίχνη οδού από τη Ναυπλία προς την Επιδαυρία” which was presented at the International Colloquium “Land Routes in Greece”, Athens 23–25 May 1991, and which would offer a great deal of enlightening information on the topic, has not been published, cf. Pikoulas 1995, 353 n. 215.

³⁴ The fact that at least four bridges have been constructed along a route that is directed to the Saronic Gulf makes it explicit that the Mycenaean were very much interested in that access. Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 158–159, consider this road “vital for the economy and the security of the Mycenaean state (states) of the Argolid”. Pullen 2015, 389–390 n. 19, promotes the port town of Kalamianos as Mycenae’s principal harbour in the Saronic Gulf in the 13th cent. BC, while the land route that led to it could have been under the control of Midea.

³⁵ The work of reference on the subject is Steffen 1884. See also Jansen 2003, 28–31, figs. 15–19, and Palaiologou 2012, 158–160, for Mycenae; McDonald 1964, 221–222, pl. 8; Lavery 1995, 264–265, maps 1–2; French 2002, 119–120, fig. 3; Dickinson 1994, 162–163, fig. 5.34; Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 148–156, fig. 3. Demakopoulou 2015, 194, proposed that the Mycenaean citadel of Midea, being potentially connected to the highway leading from Mycenae to Tiryns could have possibly controlled the road leading from the Argive Plain to the east coast

The bridges in the vicinity of Kazarma – and the road they would have connected, patches of which have been traced around the bridges³⁶ – have been attributed to the LH IIIB period or even earlier, mainly on grounds of their structural features related to the Cyclopean building and particularly to the corbelling technique.³⁷ Moreover, the implementation of such an ambitious road network presupposed the availability of resources and skills, as well as the existence of central planning and coordination, requirements that the Mycenaean palatial system could successfully meet.³⁸

However, people have always moved around and certainly also before the 13th century BC. The existence of plain paths would have facilitated overland communication by means of transport on foot or on animal back between places on the rugged terrain of the Argolid, including prior to the later well-built Mycenaean road infrastructure.³⁹ It is these paths that were most probably converted to roads in Palatial times,⁴⁰ while there would certainly have been many more trails known to the local population and used in daily life that were in no need of palatial intervention.

Hence, a possible route, being merely a simple track, dating at least to the time of the tholos' use or even earlier, although probably irretrievable,⁴¹ can be arguably conjectured. It could have followed, more or less, the line of the later trunk road, while its ends should be sought in the early Mycenaean settlements of the Argive Plain and the contemporary sites in the Saronic Gulf. The tholos tomb, facing south, would most probably have lain close to that track.⁴²

Apart from being a natural passage channelling traffic, and although some details are elusive, it seems reasonable to suggest that this route could have served as a terrestrial equivalent or complementary to maritime communication and coastal transportation of goods, which had to find their way through the hinterland to the rising centres of the time.⁴³ Furthermore, purely practical or social reasons for interaction, e.g. access to resources, exchange needs, local feasts etc. as well as religious or ceremonial purposes would justify its presence.⁴⁴ For example, the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, where evidence of early Mycenaean cult practice has been attested,⁴⁵ could be reached via this route.

via Mount Arachnaion and Kazarma. The bibliography on Mycenaean roads is substantial, cf. Cavanagh 2001, 181–182; Feuer 2004, under the entries for “roads” and “transportation”; Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 144–175. Salavoura 2015, 573–612, constitutes a recent and thorough overview of the evidence for overland communication during the Late Bronze Age.

³⁶ Deilaki 1977, 94; Knauss 2002, 324, fig. 1; 344–349, figs. 20–24; Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 158, fig. 3.

³⁷ Wright 1978, 222; Loader 1995, 120–122, 164; Hope Simpson 1998, 247–250, pls. 1–2, where the Kazarma Bridge is cited as Arkadiko Bridge. The dating to the Palatial period is based on two sherds found by Georgios Mylonas in trial trenches underneath Mycenae Road 1, dated to late LH IIIB, see Mylonas 1966, 87, but cf. Küpper 1996, 58; Loader 1995, 120; Schallin 1996, 173; Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 149 n. 18.

³⁸ Crouwel 1981, 30; Loader 1995, 54; Crowley 2008, 268–269. Piteros 2014, 254, sees Tiryns behind the highly demanding building programme of the road and the bridges leading to Epidaurus on the basis of the construction similarities between the Arkadiko Bridge and the walls of the Mycenaean citadel of Tiryns. Although this cannot be ruled out, it depends on the relation between Mycenae and Tiryns, see Mylonas 1966, 33–35; Hope Simpson 1998, 257; Maran 2015, 279. In any case, it seems most probable that the Argive palatial centres shared a common interest in the road network, see Crouwel 2008, 269–270; Salavoura 2015, 595, 609.

³⁹ Crouwel 1981, 29; Nordquist 1987, 67; Bintliff 2012, 192.

⁴⁰ McDonald 1964, 220; Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 146. A much debated issue regarding the purpose of the roads remains, whether these were built solely for chariots or not. See the discussion in Pikoulas 2012, 518–521, with references in n. 261; on the morphology of the Mycenaean roads, see Salavoura 2015, 574–579, and 580–585 on the means of transport.

⁴¹ Fotiadis 2011, 282.

⁴² McDonald 1964, 221, notes the likelihood of the proximity of modern roads to their ancient counterparts; Hope Simpson 1981, 27; Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 158; Küpper 1986, 58, proposes that the orientation of the tholos implies older (prior to the 13th century) road arrangements.

⁴³ McDonald 1964, 217–219, stresses the importance of land transport. Although the maritime communications are considered self-evident, not much attention has been paid to how the goods reached their final destinations by means of overland transportation, see Tartaron 2013, 183; Salavoura 2015, 573.

⁴⁴ Nordquist 1987, 67; Schallin 1996, 173; Siennicka 2003, 184; Newhard 2003; Sjöberg 2004, 133.

⁴⁵ Papadimitriou 1951a, 95–97; Papadimitriou 1951b, 197–199; Hope Simpson 1981, 27, 29; Wright 1994, 65, 68; Morgan 1999, 303; Rutter 2001, 144 n. 203; Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2010.

Human and Social Landscape

But how did this early road take form and, most importantly, which were the main points of this communication?

To begin with, we should focus on the Saronic Gulf and the intense activity that characterised the area already from the Early Helladic period onwards until the phase that is under consideration. The undisputable centre of this maritime node, where important routes intersected and where exotic artefacts and customs from the Cyclades and Crete were brought in, was the site of Kolonna on Aigina.⁴⁶ Its significance goes beyond the fact that it was the dominant trading hub at such a strategic point or that it retained its influence over a rather impressive period of time.

In the present framework, two elements of Kolonna should be underlined. Firstly, the unique character of a MH community that thrived within a rather introverted and segregated landscape and, contrary to that, constantly interacting with the flourishing parts of the Aegean.⁴⁷ And secondly, the quality of an influential centre that managed to incorporate and transform while communicating the fruits of this interaction to the neighbouring populations.⁴⁸ In our case, the recipients of these stimuli are located in the Argolid and are situated either on the east coast or on the other end of the land route that passed the area of Kazarma and led to the Argive Plain. Starting from the coast we cannot escape noticing a setting that is characterised by minor settlements,⁴⁹ which apparently served as communication posts between the core of the Saronic Gulf and their inland neighbours. Nea Epidaurus-Vassa⁵⁰ was one of them and it appears not only to have been used during the MH and early LH phases but, because of its critical position, also seems to constitute an important point of interaction between the influential activity of the Gulf and the transforming communities on the other end.

The other end-point was the fertile Argive Plain, which hosted, both in its core and the periphery a series of Bronze Age sites. Some were continuously used while others appear to be short-lived, in any case following diverse paths of development.⁵¹ In this fragmented landscape, and within the final phase of the MH period, Argos⁵² seems to have been an important player in such an idiosyncratic environment. The two important counterparts of Argos should be identified in Asine⁵³ and Mycenae,⁵⁴ and all three seem to form a triangle of power in the Argive Plain. Mycenae however seems to be more adaptable to the imminent changes that accompany the transition to the Mycenaean period in the region.⁵⁵ Lerna,⁵⁶ on the southern edge of the plain, retained some of the authority that characterised its record in the EH II period and which was significantly empowered by its position on the coast. Of an equal dynamic, Midea⁵⁷ forms another peripheral centre that should not be neglected.

Although the correlation of power in the late MH period underlines the importance of Asine and Argos, the existing communities of the Argive Plain responded variously to the transitional character of the period. Thus, some limited but still not negligible settlements seem to advance successfully into the LH period and such examples can be seen in the case of Tiryns and Nau-

⁴⁶ Siennicka 2003; Dickinson 2010, 25–26; Gauß 2010; Gauß – Smetana 2010; Tartaron 2010, 172–176; Tartaron et al. 2011, 628–631; Alberti 2013, 31–34, 36; Rom 2013; Tartaron 2013, 215–232; Berger – Gauß 2016, 218–222.

⁴⁷ Gauß 2010, 171–172.

⁴⁸ Rutter 1993, 776, 778, 780; Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2012, 70; Rom 2013, 49.

⁴⁹ Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2001, 218; Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2010; Zavadil 2010, 152–154.

⁵⁰ The acropolis of Nea Epidaurus-Vassa was founded in the MH period and was inhabited throughout LH I/II until LH IIIB, see Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979, 53; Siennicka 2003, 184; Salavoura 2015, 594 n. 238.

⁵¹ For the sites in the area: Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979, 27–49; Spathari 2012, 132–137.

⁵² Papadimitriou et al. 2015.

⁵³ Nordquist 1987.

⁵⁴ French – Shelton 2005; Shelton 2010.

⁵⁵ Maran 2015, 278.

⁵⁶ Voutsaki – Milka 2017.

⁵⁷ Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 2010.

plion.⁵⁸ On the other hand, there are sites which manage to dynamically evolve in the new environment, e.g. Prosymna and Berbati.⁵⁹ Others, struggling with their traditional values, seem to slowly disintegrate, and Argos constitutes such a paradigm.⁶⁰ The decisive confrontation,⁶¹ that will successively forge the landscape of power in the Mycenaean Argolid, is just around the corner, but in this transformative setting there is still time and space for players like Kazarma to evolve and reclaim their position, albeit for a limited time period.

The Tholos and its Setting

According to the early Mycenaean mortuary patterns in the Peloponnese, the location of the tholos and other tombs does not appear to have been determined by a single factor: geomorphologic conditions and structural convenience, perception of space and interest in display, tradition and vicinity to a settlement or communication routes are some of the factors which were probably taken into consideration when deciding where to place a tomb or a cemetery.⁶²

The tholos of Kazarma was not an exception. It seems that its location is associated with the nearby road, a practice also known from other Mycenaean sites.⁶³ In terms of tradition in land use, it has been suggested that early Mycenaean burials were located in areas known to have been inhabited in the past.⁶⁴ In Kazarma, architectural remains and pottery dating to the EH period⁶⁵ have been unearthed underneath the dromos floor of the tomb and point to a prior occupation of the site.⁶⁶

However, the puzzling question regarding the tholos remains the fact that neither residential nor funerary evidence dating to the same period has been confirmed close by. The principal early Mycenaean communities of the Argive Plain definitely lay far from Kazarma, and the same is valid for the Epidaurian sites of Vassa and Apollo Maleatas. The nearest settlement that has yielded evidence of LH II occupation is Ayios Adrianos-Prophitis Ilias,⁶⁷ about 5 km northwest of the tomb.

This perceived isolation of the tholos is a rare phenomenon.⁶⁸ Tombs were usually placed in association with others, perhaps as an expression of some kind of relationship between groups.⁶⁹ In Kazarma such a scenario currently cannot be supported, although there are a few, as yet unverified, references to the existence of a second tholos nearby.⁷⁰ In the Argolid, the early tholoi of Mycenae are integrated into a landscape comprising varied funerary and scanty building remains.⁷¹ The Berbati⁷² and Prosymna⁷³ tholoi lay at a distance of about 1 km from the contemporary sites of

⁵⁸ Maran 2015, 278–279; Piteros 2015, 248, 252.

⁵⁹ Voutsaki 2010, 100; Klintberg 2011, 97, 99, 110–111; Lindblom 2011, 77, 89–90.

⁶⁰ Philippa-Touchais – Papadimitriou 2015, 464–465; Philippa-Touchais et al., this volume.

⁶¹ Voutsaki 2001, 183.

⁶² Cavanagh – Mee 1990, 55; Georgiadis – Gallou 2008, 179; Galanakis 2011, 224.

⁶³ Dickinson 1977, 88; Wilkie 1992, 231. For a different view see Mee – Cavanagh 1990, 228–229, with a response by Lavery 1995, 264 n. *.

⁶⁴ Boyd 2002, 35.

⁶⁵ In the excavation diary Deilaki mentions a circular stone construction, which she dated to this period on the basis of the few EH sherds found.

⁶⁶ The early Mycenaean tholoi of Voïdokoilia and Koryphasion in Messenia also occupy part of an area, which was taken up by an EH settlement (Boyd 2002, 34, 37, 43, 50, 125–126).

⁶⁷ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1965, 65–66, pls. 81–82; cf. Balcer 1974, 149; Bintliff 1977, 307–308; Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979, 51; Salavoura 2015, 601 n. 290. Furthermore, Dietz 1991, 287 n. 732, reports briefly on a MH IIIB site excavated on the hilltop of Prophitis Ilias in 1981 by Evangelia Deilaki and Klaus Kilian; Rutter 2001, 131 n. 147. For a cave with evidence of religious rites at the same site, see Kilian 1990, 190–193.

⁶⁸ Darque 1987, 202 n. 79; Boyd 2002, 46.

⁶⁹ Boyd 2002, 96.

⁷⁰ See below n. 77.

⁷¹ French – Shelton 2005.

⁷² Holmberg 1983, 9; Santillo Frizell 1984, 25–44; Georgiadis – Gallou 2008, 174.

⁷³ Wace – Holland 1921/1923, 330–338.

Mastos and the Argive Heraion respectively. The tholos of Dendra⁷⁴ belongs to a wealthy chamber tomb cemetery, attributed to the citadel of Midea, which lies 1.6 km to the southeast as the crow flies. At Kokla, the tholos and the chamber tombs are associated with a nearby settlement, which lies 300–400 m to the north.⁷⁵ On the eastern peninsula of the Argolid, three tholos tombs were established in the early Mycenaean period at Megali Magoula (Galatas); LH residential remains have been reported close by, but have not been fully investigated.⁷⁶

Thus, the existence of a settlement in the surrounding area of the tholos or even on the acropolis, which is only 300 m away to the north, should be taken into serious consideration (Fig. 7). This assumption, especially in the case of the acropolis, is reinforced by the fact that prehistoric occupation levels were most probably cleared away during the late Classical and Byzantine periods. The potential existence of other burial structures – of unknown dating – in the neighbourhood of the tholos has been occasionally implied or even indicated;⁷⁷ the vagueness of these suggestions though, along with the lack of systematic investigation in the vicinity, does not allow, at least for the time being, their practical evaluation. A future survey in the area of Kazarma could shed some light on the prehistoric use of the site.

But if a settlement indeed existed nearby, who were the people buried in the Kazarma tholos tomb and how did they relate to the transformations taking place during this transitional period in the Argolid?

Uprising from Within

The type of the tomb, an ‘instrument of display’ itself, the labour investment for its construction and the conspicuous grave goods demonstrate that the deceased were prominent members of their community, potentially designating a local kin-based elite group.⁷⁸ Apparently, they were acquainted with and emulated the trends of their time by placing emphasis on mortuary distinction, which was possible since they had access to and possessed valuable goods of high quality and varied origins.⁷⁹

The funerary offerings, some of them now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Nauplion, comprise high-quality pottery, bronze weapons and implements (daggers, knives, arrowheads, razors), scale pans and lead weights, exceptional sealstones bearing strong Minoan influence, beads of amber, glass, and semi-precious stones, ivory objects, plates of boar’s tusks,

⁷⁴ Persson 1931, 3–4; Cavanagh – Mee 1998, 42; Schallin 2016, 161, 164, 167, 180.

⁷⁵ Demakopoulou 1989, 83–85.

⁷⁶ Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2012, 506–511.

⁷⁷ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1969, 5; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1970, 105–106 n. 14, on a second tholos, information that has been reproduced by other scholars like Dickinson 1970, 415, 500; Pelon 1976, 181, 464. Alden 1981, 305 n. 2, on her visit to the site in 1976 mentions having seen “something that looked extremely like a chamber tomb on the south side of the acropolis, at the foot of the hill, between the tholos and the well-known bridge”. Voutsaki 1993, 78, refers to “a knoll [that] may conceal a second tholos”. In his detailed account of the bridges and their function as a result of his on-site research in 1997 and 1998, Jost Knauss remarks on the existence of a partly preserved chamber tomb above the eastern arch of the Palouki Bridge (Knauss 2002, 340, 343, fig. 18). Thanks to his detailed mapping and description, we were able to witness a concave cutting in the rock during our own inspection of the site in September 2016, but its nature could not be determined. Knauss also mentions a “well preserved tholos tomb” near and to the west of the Palouki Bridge; the only relevant (?) structure that we were able to trace in the vicinity was a funnel-shaped rock-cut structure of unknown dating, crowned with contemporary stones, which was filled up with soil and debris. Finally, he speaks of another chamber tomb near Galousi Bridge, which, due to the heavy vegetation and the steepness of the ground, was not possible to trace.

⁷⁸ Dickinson 1983, 56; Cavanagh 2008, 337; Heitz 2008, 8.

⁷⁹ French – Shelton 2005, 182; Cavanagh 2008, 337; Heitz 2008, 8; Galanakis 2011, 226; Fitzsimons 2011, 93–94, tab. 5.7; Papadimitriou 2011, 467–473.

metal vessels, and gold ornaments that clearly indicate the wealth of the deceased and their participation in gift exchange networks within the Late Bronze Age Aegean.⁸⁰

Such a distinguished group may well have emerged from the population settled in Kazarma. The exploitation of the advantages that the physical environment provides surely contributed to the prosperity of the local community. The site offers access to arable land, water,⁸¹ and to a landscape that supports animal husbandry, while it affords an unobstructed view of the overall region, being situated midway along the key path connecting the Argive Plain to the Saronic Gulf.

Moreover, the continuity of the site's occupation, as indicated by the EH remains and the dispersed MH sherds, adds to the argument for the evolution of a kin-based leading group within the local social framework, whose members probably established their higher rank and reputation as hunters, warriors or even participants in the exchange system of their time.⁸²

This is in accordance with the socio-political pattern of the period, where eminent members of the community competed with their peers in neighbouring centres in order to ascertain their position in the arena of power.⁸³ In this respect, Kazarma, as well as other early Mycenaean sites with tholoi, may represent an independent local centre in this transformative Prepalatial period.⁸⁴

Under Mycenae's Thumb

An alternative scenario would highlight Kazarma's advantageous position for the monitoring of the inland passage, which was from early on appreciated by a rising Argive centre, most probably Mycenae,⁸⁵ resulting in the development of a mutually beneficial relationship. The nature of this relationship is difficult to define. One could postulate a kind of alliance or even gradually developing dependence.⁸⁶

The awareness of the traffic on this land route of communication would have been useful for the maintenance of Mycenae's emerging power, while its influence in the region would become evident. Keeping an eye on the pass could also secure access to the Saronic Gulf and the Aegean and by extension to the routes of exchange and inter-regional networks. On the other hand, through this relationship, the Kazarma leaders could claim links to the powerful, thus legitimising their position within their community and potentially in the eyes of their neighbours. Furthermore, the significant advantage of accessing prestigious objects necessary to signal their own individual status would be secured.

If we are to accept that the relationship between the two components was one of dependence, one should also consider that the Kazarma tholos, undoubtedly a status symbol of its owners, could serve at the same time as a kind of 'territorial indicator', advertising Mycenae's power.⁸⁷

⁸⁰ All types of metal, a highly appreciated commodity of the time, are present in the tomb. The scale pans and lead weights found among the burial offerings in the shafts are linked to prestige ideology and stress the importance of exchange, cf. Dickinson 1977, 84; Dickinson 1994, 245; Alberti 2003, 337. According to Younger 2010, 333, the pairs of sealstones and cylinder seals with common motifs, shape and material, indicate the sharing of authority among the deceased of the tholos. The tholos also yielded a considerable number of beads made of amber, a material that has long been recognised as an important proof of foreign contacts (Maran 2004).

⁸¹ Miliarakis 1886, 70, 88.

⁸² Wright 2008b, 243; Wiersma – Voutsaki 2017, viii–xiii.

⁸³ Voutsaki 1997, 45; Wright 2008a, 11–13.

⁸⁴ Pappi 2008, 402: "The monumental tomb was likely an expression of autonomy and local dominance during a period of instability and social competition that preceded the formation of the hierarchical and centralized Mycenaean political system of the nearby citadels and palaces"; Palaiologou 2012, 160.

⁸⁵ Mycenae's pre-eminence has been underlined by several scholars, e.g. Dickinson 1977, 88, 110; Voutsaki 2001, 183–184; French – Shelton 2005; French 2010, 672; Voutsaki 2012, 166; Maran 2015, 278.

⁸⁶ Mee – Cavanagh 1984, 50–51; RMDP, 59; Wright 2004, 127; Drakaki 2008, 21–22, 119–120; Dickinson 2010, 25; Petrakis 2010, 414; Voutsaki 2010, 97.

⁸⁷ See the discussion in Fitzsimons 2006, 184–187.

Stranger in a Strange Land

Still, if we accept the possibility of a local elite kin-based group that maintained a complex and refined relationship of exchange and cultural interaction with an Argive centre, why not consider an even more challenging scenario? While the theory of a settlement in the Kazarma area remains sound and relatively likely, its dynamics should be put into perspective. The archaeological finds that predate or succeed the use of the tholos are minor and someone could question the potential of such an insubstantial community to ‘generate’ a family of elite status. Then again, the attributes of the deceased undoubtedly point to a social group that knew well the symbolic language of the evolving state of affairs in the neighbouring plain.⁸⁸

Is it possible that this group or, potentially, their ancestors had resettled in this advantageous area, got accepted by the few inhabitants and progressively gained their leading position within the community? It seems that if their approach was non-violent, their prominent position would be recognised by a humble community that, despite the apparent, upsetting break with tradition, could foresee a promising, prosperous future under propitious guidance.

While this hypothesis may escape the provocative question of provenance of this expatriate (potentially from Mycenae, but why not Asine or Argos?),⁸⁹ the essential challenge connects to the reasoning behind the act of mobility.⁹⁰ Either it relates to the initiative of a dynamic kin group to move from their original establishment for reasons of ambition, antagonism or conflict or it is the case of a representative directly influenced by, or even serving an early centre.⁹¹ Even if it seems that it is quite early for such a strategic player in the region, is this scenario to be rejected without consideration?

Concluding Remarks

To sum up, any attempt to place the Kazarma tholos within its natural and social landscape is inevitably defined by the fragmented archaeological record and the transforming character of the early Mycenaean period. In any case, the choice of the specific setting for erecting a monumental tomb that hosted richly furnished burials of a local elite has been examined under different, yet hypothetical perspectives. The notable elements of topography were described, emphasising the important communication routes bringing together the Argive Plain and the Saronic Gulf. On the other hand, attention was drawn to the correlation of power between the rival centres of the Argolid that struggled to legitimise their position in a competitive and fragile environment. Finally, some possible scenarios have been suggested that could offer answers to the intriguing question of the origin of the tomb’s occupants and, chiefly, of how they perceived and defined themselves in the complex framework of the early Mycenaean era.

Whether or not the answers proposed are satisfactory enough, one thing seems to be clear; in the Kazarma tholos tomb social space is tightly interwoven with the significance of the place.

⁸⁸ Heitz 2008, 29–31.

⁸⁹ Maran 2015, 278. See also Philippa-Touchais et al., this volume.

⁹⁰ Bintliff 2010, 758, 761.

⁹¹ Wright 2004, 127.

Bibliography

Alberti 2003

M. E. Alberti, Weighting and dying between East and West. Weighting materials from LBA Aegean funerary contexts, in: K. P. Foster – R. Laffineur (eds.), *Metron. Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 9th International Aegean Conference/9^e Rencontre égéenne internationale*, New Haven, Yale University, 18–21 April 2002, *Aegaeum* 24 (Liège, Austin 2003) 277–284.

Alberti 2013

M. E. Alberti, Aegean trade systems. Overview and observations on the Middle Bronze Age, in: M. E. Alberti – S. Sabatini (eds.), *Exchange Networks and Local Transformations. Interaction and Local Change in Europe and the Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age* (Oxford, Oakville 2013) 22–43.

Alden 1981

M. J. Alden, Bronze Age Population Fluctuations in the Argolid from the Evidence of Mycenaean Tombs, *SIMA Pocket-book* 15 (Gothenburg 1981).

Ålin 1962

P. Ålin, Das Ende der mykenischen Fundstätten auf dem griechischen Festland, *SIMA* 1 (Lund 1962).

Balcer 1974

J. M. Balcer, The Mycenaean dam at Tiryns, *AJA* 78, 1974, 141–149.

Berger – Gauß 2016

L. Berger – W. Gauß, Early Bronze Age Aegina Kolonna: a view from a southwest Aegean centre, in: E. Pernicka – S. Ünlüsoy – S. W. E. Blum (eds.), *Early Bronze Age Troy: Chronology, Cultural Development and Interregional Contacts. Proceedings of an International Conference held at the University of Tübingen, May 8–10, 2009*, *Studia Troica Monographien* 8 (Bonn 2016) 209–228.

Bintliff 1977

J. L. Bintliff, Natural Environment and Human Settlement in Prehistoric Greece based on Original Fieldwork, *BAR Supplementary Series* 28 (Oxford 1977).

Bintliff 2010

J. L. Bintliff, The Middle Bronze Age through the surface survey record of the Greek mainland: demographic and sociopolitical insights, in: *Mesohelladika*, 755–763.

Bintliff 2012

J. Bintliff, *The Complete Archaeology of Greece. From Hunter-Gatherers to the 20th Century AD* (Malden, MA, Oxford, Chichester 2012).

Bon 1969

A. Bon, La Morée franque. Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430), *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 213 (Paris 1969).

Bougia 1996

P. Bougia, *Ancient Bridges in Greece and Coastal Asia Minor* (PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1996).

Boyd 2002

M. J. Boyd, Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Mortuary Practices in the Southern and Western Peloponnese, *BARIntSer* 1009 (Oxford 2002).

CAAC

Castles of Argolid, Arcadia, Corinthia. Online <http://ecastles.culture.gr/mobilecontent/-/asset_publisher/XHdEYy6aof01/content/kazarma> (last access 9 Dec. 2020).

Cavanagh 2001

W. Cavanagh, Appendix 2. Recent references to Bronze Age roads in the Aegean, in: K. Branigan (ed.), *Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age*, *SSAA* [4] (Sheffield 2001) 180–181.

Cavanagh 2008

W. Cavanagh, Burial customs and religion. Death and the Mycenaeans, in: *Shelmerdine* 2008, 327–341.

Cavanagh – Mee 1990

W. G. Cavanagh – C. Mee, The location of Mycenaean chamber tombs in the Argolid, in: Hägg – Nordquist 1990, 55–63.

Cavanagh – Mee 1998

W. Cavanagh – C. Mee, *A Private Place. Death in Prehistoric Greece*, SIMA 125 (Jonsered 1998).

Cline 2010

E. H. Cline (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean (ca. 3000–1000 BC)* (Oxford 2010).

Crouwel 1981

J. H. Crouwel, *Chariot and Other Means of Land Transport in Bronze Age Greece*, Allard Pierson Series 3 (Amsterdam 1981).

Crouwel 2008

J. Crouwel, Ahhiyawa, Argos and the Argive Plain, in: C. Gallou – M. Georgiadis – G. M. Muskett (eds.), *Dioskouroi. Studies Presented to W. G. Cavanagh and C. B. Mee on the Anniversary of their 30-Year Joint Contribution to Aegean Archaeology*, BARIntSer 1889 (Oxford 2008) 265–273.

Crowley 2008

J. L. Crowley, *Mycenaean art and architecture*, in: *Shelmerdine 2008*, 258–288.

Darcque 1987

P. Darcque, *Les tholoi et l'organisation socio-politique du monde mycénien*, in: R. Laffineur (ed.), *Thanatos. Les coutumes funéraires en Égée à l'âge du bronze. Actes du colloque de Liège (21–23 avril 1986)*, *Aegaeum* 1 (Liège 1987) 185–205.

Davis – Stocker 2016

J. L. Davis – S. R. Stocker, *The lord of the gold rings. The Griffin Warrior of Pylos*, in: *Hesperia* 85, 2016, 627–655.

Deilaki 1977

E. Δεϊλάκη, *Περιοχή Καζάρμας*, *ADelt* 28/1973, 1977, B'1, 94.

Demakopoulou 1989

K. Δημακοπούλου, *Κόκλα. Μυκηναϊκή νεκρόπολη*, *ADelt* 37/1982, 1989, B'1, 83–85.

Demakopoulou 2015

K. Demakopoulou, *The Mycenaean acropolis of Midea. New discoveries and new interpretations*, in: *Schallin – Tournavitou 2015*, 185–196.

Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 2010

K. Demakopoulou – N. Divari-Valakou, *The Middle Helladic settlement on the acropolis of Midea*, in: *Mesohelladika*, 31–44.

Despotopoulos 1940

Θ. Π. Δεσποτόπουλος, *Η οδοποιία εν Ελλάδι από των αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι σήμερον* (Athens 1940).

Dickinson 1970

O. T. P. K. Dickinson, *The Origins and Development of Early Mycenaean Culture* (PhD Diss., University of Oxford, Oxford 1970).

Dickinson 1977

O. P. T. K. Dickinson, *The Origins of Mycenaean Civilisation*, SIMA 49 (Gothenburg 1977).

Dickinson 1983

O. P. T. K. Dickinson, *Cist graves and chamber tombs*, *BSA* 78, 1983, 55–67.

Dickinson 1994

O. Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age* (Cambridge 1994).

Dickinson 2010

O. Dickinson, *The 'Third World' of the Aegean? Middle Helladic Greece revisited*, in: *Mesohelladika*, 15–27.

Dietz 1991

S. Dietz, *The Argolid at the Transition to the Mycenaean Age. Studies in the Chronology and Cultural Development in the Shaft Grave Period* (Copenhagen 1991).

Drakaki 2008

E. Drakaki, *Hard Stone Seals from Late Bronze Age Burials of the Greek Mainland. A Contextual and Historical Approach to the Study of their Ownership* (PhD Diss., New York University, New York 2008).

Feuer 2004

B. Feuer, *Mycenaean Civilization. An Annotated Bibliography through 2002. Revised edition* (Jefferson, NC, London 2004).

Fitzsimons 2006

R. D. Fitzsimons, *Monuments of Power and the Power of Monuments: The Evolution of Elite Architectural Styles at Bronze Age Mycenae* (PhD Diss., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati 2006).

Fitzsimons 2011

R. D. Fitzsimons, *Monumental architecture and the construction of the Mycenaean state*, in: N. Terrenato – D. C. Hagis (eds.), *State Formation in Italy and Greece. Questioning the Neoevolutionist Paradigm* (Oxford 2011) 75–118.

Fotiadis 2011

M. Fotiadis, *Review of A. G. Jansen, A study of the remains of Mycenaean roads and stations of Bronze Age Greece*, *American Journal of Semiotics* 27, 2011, 281–283.

Frazer 1913

J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece. Commentary on Books II–V, Vol. 3, 2nd edition* (London 1913).

French 2002

E. French, *Mycenae. Agamemnon's Capital. The Site in its Setting* (Stroud, Gloucestershire 2002).

French 2010

E. French, *Mycenae*, in: Cline 2010, 671–679.

French – Shelton 2005

E. French – K. Shelton, *Early palatial Mycenae*, in: A. Dakouri-Hild – S. Sherratt (eds.), *Autochthon. Papers Presented to O. T. P. K. Dickinson on the Occasion of His Retirement*, Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 9 November 2005, *BARIntSer* 1432 (Oxford 2005) 175–184.

Galanakis 2011

Y. Galanakis, *Mnemonic landscapes and monuments of the past. Tumuli, tholos tombs and landscape associations in late Middle Bronze Age and early Late Bronze Age Messenia (Greece)*, in: E. Borgna – S. Müller-Celka (eds.), *Ancestral Landscapes. Burial Mounds in the Copper and Bronze Ages (Central and Eastern Europe – Balkans – Adriatic – Aegean, 4th–2nd Millennium B.C.)*, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 58 (Lyon 2011) 219–229.

Gauß 2010

W. Gauß, *Aegina Kolonna*, in: Cline 2010, 737–751.

Gauß – Smetana 2010

W. Gauß – R. Smetana, *Aegina Kolonna in the Middle Bronze Age*, in: *Mesohelladika*, 165–174.

Georgiadis – Gallou 2008

M. Georgiadis – C. Gallou, *The cemeteries of the Argolid and the south-eastern Aegean during the Mycenaean period: a landscape and waterscape assessment*, *OpAth* 31–32/2006/2007, 2008, 171–182.

Hägg – Nordquist 1990

R. Hägg – G. C. Nordquist (eds.), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11–13 June, 1988*, *ActaAth* 4^o, 40 (Stockholm 1990).

Heitz 2008

C. Heitz, *Burying the Palaces? Ideologies in the Shaft Grave Period* (Heidelberg 2008). Online <<http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/volltexte/2008/89>> (last access 7 Feb. 2020).

Holmberg 1983

E. J. Holmberg, *A Mycenaean Chamber Tomb near Berbati in Argolis*, *Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum et Litterarum Gothoburgensis. Humaniora* 21 (Gothenburg 1983).

Hope Simpson 1965

R. Hope Simpson, *A Gazetteer and Atlas of Mycenaean Sites*, University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, *Bulletin Supplement* 16 (London 1965).

Hope Simpson 1981

R. Hope Simpson, *Mycenaean Greece* (Park Ridge 1981).

Hope Simpson 1998

R. Hope Simpson, *The Mycenaean highways*, *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 42, 1998, 239–260.

Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979

R. Hope Simpson – O. P. T. K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age, Vol. 1. The Mainland and Islands*, *SIMA* 52 (Gothenburg 1979).

Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006

R. Hope Simpson – D. K. Hagel, *Mycenaean Fortifications, Highways, Dams and Canals*, *SIMA* 133 (Sävedalen 2006).

Jansen 2003

A. Jansen, The Mycenaean roads in the survey area, in: *Archaeological Atlas of Mycenae*, The Archaeological Society at Athens Library 229 (Athens 2003) 28–31.

Kavvadias 1885

Π. Καββαδίας, *Επιγραφαί εκ των εν Επιδαύρω ανασκαφών*, *AEphem* 1884, 1885, 21–32.

Kilian 1990

K. Kilian, Patterns in the cult activity in the Mycenaean Argolid: Haghia Triada (Klenies), the Profitis Elias cave (Haghios Hadrianos) and the citadel of Tiryns, in: Hägg – Nordquist 1990, 185–197.

Klintberg 2011

L. Klintberg, The Late Helladic period, in: Lindblom – Wells 2011, 97–118.

Knauss 2002

J. Knauss, Furt oder Brücke. Hydrotechnische Aspekte des mykenischen Straßenbaus in der Argolis, in E. Olshausen – H. Sonnabend (eds.), *Zu Wasser und zu Land. Verkehrswege in der antiken Welt*, *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums* 7, 1999 (Stuttgart 2002) 323–359.

Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2001

E. Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, New evidence for the practice of libations in the Aegean Bronze Age, in: R. Laffineur – R. Hägg (eds.), *Potnia. Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference/8^e Rencontre égéenne internationale*, Göteborg, Göteborg University, 12–15 April 2000, *Aegaeum* 22 (Liège, Austin 2001) 213–220.

Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2010

E. Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou, The Middle Helladic establishment at Megali Magoula, Galatas (Troizinia), in: *Mesohelladika*, 67–76.

Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2012

E. Κονσολάκη-Γιαννοπούλου, Τροιζηνία, in: Vlachopoulos 2012, 212–217.

Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2015

E. Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, Structural analysis of the tholos tombs at Megali Magoula, Galatas (Troezenia), in: Schallin – Tournavitou 2015, 483–502.

Konti 1983

B. Κοντή, Συμβολή στην ιστορική γεωγραφία του νομού Αργολίδος, *Symmeikta* 5, 1983, 169–202.

Krystalli 1968

K. Κρυστάλλη, Καζάρμα, *ADelt* 22/1967, 1968, Β'1, 179–180.

Küpper 1996

M. Küpper, Mykenische Architektur. Material, Bearbeitungstechnik, Konstruktion und Erscheinungsbild, *Internationale Archäologie* 25 (Espelkamp 1996).

Lavery 1995

J. Lavery, Some 'new' Mycenaean roads at Mycenae: *Εὐρυάγρια Μυκῆνη*, *BICS* 40, 1995, 264–267.

Lawrence 1979

A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification* (Oxford 1979).

Liko 2012

S. M. Liko, *Second Order Centers and Regional Integration in the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (PhD Diss., Florida State University, Tallahassee 2012). Online <http://purl.flvc.org/fsu/fd/FSU_migr_etd-4991> (last access 7 Feb. 2020).

Lindblom 2011

M. Lindblom, The Middle Helladic period, in: Lindblom – Wells 2011, 77–96.

Lindblom – Wells 2011

M. Lindblom – B. Wells (eds.), *Mastos in the Berbati Valley. An Intensive Archaeological Survey*, *ActaAth* 4°, 54 (Stockholm 2011).

Loader 1995

N. C. Loader, *The Definition of Cyclopean: An Investigation into the Origins of the LH III Fortifications on Mainland Greece* (PhD Diss., Durham University, Durham 1995). Online <<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/5374>> (last access 7 Feb. 2020).

Lord 1939

L. E. Lord, Watchtowers and fortresses in Argolis, *AJA* 43, 1939, 78–84.

Maran 2004

J. Maran, Wessex und Mykene. Zur Deutung des Bernsteins in der Schachtgräberzeit Süd Griechenlands, in: B. Hänsel – E. Studeníková (eds.), *Zwischen Karpaten und Ägäis. Neolithikum und Ältere Bronzezeit. Gedenkschrift für Viera Němejcová-Pavúková* (Rahden/Westf. 2004) 47–65.

Maran 2015

J. Maran, Tiryns and the Argolid in Mycenaean times. New clues and interpretations, in: Schallin – Tournavitou 2015, 277–293.

Marchand 2009

J. C. Marchand, Kleonai, the Corinth–Argos road, and the ‘Axis of History’, *Hesperia* 78, 2009, 107–163.

McDonald 1964

W. A. McDonald, Overland communications in Greece during LH III, with special reference to southwest Peloponnese, in: E. L. Bennett, Jr. (ed.), *Mycenaean Studies. Proceedings of the Third International Colloquium for Mycenaean Studies held at ‘Wingspread’, 4–8 September 1961 (Madison 1964)* 217–240.

Mee – Cavanagh 1984

C. B. Mee – W. G. Cavanagh, Mycenaean tombs as evidence for social and political organisation, *OxfJA* 3, 1984, 45–64.

Mee – Cavanagh 1990

C. B. Mee – W. G. Cavanagh, The spatial distribution of Mycenaean tombs, *BSA* 85, 1990, 225–243.

Miliarakis 1886

A. Μηλιαράκης, *Γεωγραφία Πολιτική Νέα και Αρχαία του Νομού Αργολίδος και Κορινθίας* (Athens 1886).

Morgan 1999

C. Morgan, The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary, *Isthmia* 8 (Princeton 1999).

Mylonas 1966

G. E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* (Princeton 1966).

Newhard 2003

J. M. L. Newhard, *Aspects of Local Bronze Age Economies: Chipped Stone Acquisition and Production Strategies in the Argolid, Greece* (PhD Diss., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati 2003).

Nordquist 1987

G. C. Nordquist, A Middle Helladic Village. Asine in the Argolid, *Boreas* 16 (Uppsala 1987).

Palaiologou 2012

E. Παλαιολόγου, ‘Μυκήνη ευρύγυια’: η περιοχή πέριξ των Μυκηνών, in: Vlachopoulos 2012, 158–161.

Papachatzis 1989

N. Παπαχατζής, Παισανίου Ελλάδος Περιήγησις, Κορινθιακά – Λακωνικά, Vol. 3 (Athens 1989).

Papadimitriou 1951a

I. Παπαδημητρίου, Ανασκαφαί εν τῷ Ασκληπιείῳ τῆς Επιδαύρου, *Prakt* 1949, 1951, 91–99.

Papadimitriou 1951b

I. Παπαδημητρίου, Ανασκαφαί του Ιερού του Απόλλωνος Μαλεάτα εν τῷ Ασκληπιείῳ τῆς Επιδαύρου, *Prakt* 1950, 1951, 194–202.

Papadimitriou 2011

N. Papadimitriou, ‘Passing away’ or ‘passing through’. Changing funerary attitudes in the Peloponnese at the MBA/LBA transition, in: H. Cavanagh – W. Cavanagh – J. Roy (eds.), *Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese. Proceedings of the Conference held at Sparta 23–35 April 2009, Centre for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies Online Publication 2* (Nottingham 2011) 467–491. Online <<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/csps/documents/honoringthedead/papadimitriou.pdf>> (last access 7 Feb. 2020).

Papadimitriou et al. 2015

N. Papadimitriou – A. Philippa-Touchais – G. Touchais, Argos in the MBA and the LBA. A reassessment of the evidence, in: Schallin – Tournavitou 2015, 161–184.

Pappi 2008

E. Pappi, Cat. no. 258, in: J. Aruz – K. Benzel – J. M. Evans (eds.), *Beyond Babylon. Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* (New York 2008) 402–403.

Pelon 1976

O. Pelon, Tholoi, tumuli et cercles funéraires. Recherches sur les monuments funéraires de plan circulaire dans l'Égée de l'âge du Bronze (III^e et II^e millénaires av. J.-C.), Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 229 (Athens, Paris 1976).

Persson 1931

A. W. Persson, The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea, Skrifter utgivna av kungl. humanistiska vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 15 (Lund, London, Paris, Oxford, Leipzig 1931).

Petrakis 2010

V. P. Petrakis, Diversity in form and practice in Middle Helladic and early Mycenaean elaborate tombs: an approach to changing prestige expression in changing times, in: *Mesohelladika*, 403–416.

Philippa-Touchais – Papadimitriou 2015

A. Philippa-Touchais – N. Papadimitriou, Deiras, Argos: the Mycenaean cemetery revisited in the light of unpublished finds from W. Vollgraff's excavations, in: Schallin – Tournavitou 2015, 449–467.

Pikoulas 1995

Γ. Α. Πίκουλας, Οδικό Δίκτυο και Άμυνα. Από την Κόρινθο στο Άργος και την Αρκαδία (Athens 1995).

Pikoulas 2012

Γ. Α. Πίκουλας, Το Οδικό Δίκτυο της Λακωνικής (Athens 2012).

Piteros 2002

Χ. Πιτερός, Ασκληπιείο. Αρκαδικό (μυκηναϊκές γέφυρες), *ADelt* 52/1997, 2002, Β'1, 152.

Piteros 2012

Χ. Πιτερός, Επιδαυρία χώρα, in: Vlachopoulos 2012, 208–211.

Piteros 2014

Χ. Πιτερός, Αρκαδικό. Μυκηναϊκή γέφυρα, *ADelt* 61/2006, 2014, Β'1, 253–254.

Piteros 2015

C. Piteros, Mycenaean Nauplion, in: Schallin – Tournavitou 2015, 241–259.

Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2012

N. Πολυχρονάκου-Σγουρίτσα, Μυκηναϊκή Αίγινα. Κολώνα – Λαζάρηδες: ιστορία δύο θέσεων, in: Π. Αδάμ-Βελένη – Κ. Τζαναβάρη (eds.), Δινήεσσα. Τιμητικός τόμος για την Κατερίνα Ρωμοπούλου, Έκδοση Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης 18 (Thessaloniki 2012) 69–79.

Proskynitoroulou 1988

P. Προσκυνητοπούλου, Αρκαδικός. Θέση Καζάρμα, *ADelt* 36/1981, 1988, Β'1, 114, 116.

Protonotariou-Deilaki 1965

E. Πρωτονοταρίου-Δειλάκη, Άνασκαφή εις Προφήτην Ήλιαν τῆς κοινότητος Ἄδριανού, *ADelt* 18/1963, 1965, Β'1, 65–66.

Protonotariou-Deilaki 1968

E. Πρωτονοταρίου-Δειλάκη, Θολωτὸς τάφος Καζάρμας, *AAA* 1.3, 1968, 236–238.

Protonotariou-Deilaki 1969

E. Πρωτονοταρίου-Δειλάκη, Θολωτὸς τάφος Καζάρμας, *AAA* 2.1, 1969, 3–6.

Protonotariou-Deilaki 1970

E. Πρωτονοταρίου-Δειλάκη, Καζάρμα. Άνασκαφή θολωτοῦ μυκηναϊκοῦ τάφου. Δοκιμαστικαὶ τομαὶ εν Καζάρμα, *ADelt* 24/1969, 1970, Β'1, 104–105.

Pullen 2010

D. J. Pullen (ed.), Palatial Economies of the Aegean Bronze Age, Papers from the Langford Conference, Florida State University Tallahassee, 22–24 February 2007 (Oxford 2010).

Pullen 2015

D. J. Pullen, How to build a Mycenaean town: the architecture of Kalamianos, in: Schallin – Tournavitou 2015, 377–390.

Rom 2013

I. Rom, Aegina Kolonna. A case study on resilience within changing networks during the Greek Bronze Age (c. 3000–1000 BC), in: D. C. M. Raemaekers (ed.), A Kaleidoscope of Maritime Perspectives. Essays on the Archaeology, Art History and Landscape History of the Maritime World View (Groningen 2013) 43–51.

Rutter 1993

J. B. Rutter, Review of Aegean prehistory II: the prepalatial Bronze Age of the southern and central Greek mainland, *AJA* 97, 1993, 745–797.

Rutter 2001

J. B. Rutter, Review of Aegean prehistory II: the prepalatial Bronze Age of the southern and central Greek mainland, in: T. Cullen (ed.), *Aegean Prehistory. A Review*, *AJA Supplement* 1 (Boston 2001) 95–147.

Salavoura 2015

E. Σαλαβούρα, *Μυκηναϊκή Αρκαδία. Αρχαιολογική και τοπογραφική θεώρηση* (Athens 2015).

Santillo Frizell 1984

B. Santillo Frizell, The tholos tomb at Berbati, *OpAth* 15, 1984, 25–44.

Schallin 1996

A.-L. Schallin, The Berbati-Limnes archaeological survey. The Late Helladic period, in: B. Wells – C. Runnels (eds.), *The Berbati-Limnes Archaeological Survey 1988–1990*, *ActaAth* 4°, 44 (Stockholm 1996) 123–175.

Schallin 2016

A.-L. Schallin, Identities and ‘precious’ commodities at Midea and Dendra in the Mycenaean Argolid, in: O. C. Aslaksen (ed.), *Local and Global Perspectives on Mobility in the Eastern Mediterranean*, *Papers and Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens* 5 (Athens 2016) 159–190.

Schallin – Tournavitou 2015

A.-L. Schallin – I. Tournavitou (eds.), *Mycenaeans up to Date. The Archaeology of the North-Eastern Peloponnese – Current Concepts and New Directions*, *ActaAth* 4°, 56 (Stockholm 2015).

Scranton 1941

R. L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (Cambridge 1941).

Shelmerdine 2008

C. W. Shelmerdine (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* (Cambridge 2008).

Shelton 2010

K. Shelton, Living and dying in and around Middle Helladic Mycenae, in: *Mesohelladika*, 57–65.

Siennicka 2003

M. Siennicka, Mycenaean settlement patterns in the Saronic Gulf, *Światowit*, *New Series* 4/2002 (Old Series XLV), *Fascykuł* A, 2003, 179–193.

Sjöberg 2004

B. L. Sjöberg, *Asine and the Argolid in the Late Helladic III Period. A Socio-Economic Study*, *BARIntSer* 1225 (Oxford 2004).

Spathari 2012

E. Σπαθάρη, *Αργολίδα. Ιστορικό και αρχαιολογικό περίγραμμα. Προϊστορικοί χρόνοι*, in: *Vlachopoulos* 2012, 130–137.

Steffen 1884

[B.] Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai, nebst einem Anhang über die Kontoporeia und das mykenisch-korinthische Bergland von Dr. H. Lolling* (Berlin 1884).

Tartaron 2010

T. F. Tartaron, Between and beyond: political economy in non-palatial Mycenaean worlds, in: *Pullen* 2010, 161–183.

Tartaron 2013

T. F. Tartaron, *Maritime Networks in the Aegean World* (Cambridge 2013).

Tartaron et al. 2011

T. F. Tartaron – D. J. Pullen – R. K. Dunn – L. Tzortzopoulou-Gregory – A. Dill – J. I. Boyce, The Saronic Harbors Archaeological Research Project (SHARP). Investigations at Mycenaean Kalamianos, 2007–2009, *Hesperia* 80, 2011, 559–634.

Tausend 2006

K. Tausend, *Verkehrswege der Argolis. Rekonstruktion und historische Bedeutung*, *Geographica Historica* 23 (Stuttgart 2006).

Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2010

A. Theodorou-Mavrommatidi, Defining ritual action. A Middle Helladic pit at the site of Apollon Maleatas in Epidaurus, in: *Mesohelladika*, 521–533.

TMA

Tour of the Monuments of Argolis, Ephorate of Antiquities of Argolis. Online <<https://www.argolisculture.gr/en/list-of-monuments/acropolis-of-kazarma>> (last access 7 Feb. 2020).

Triantaphyllou 2016

S. Triantaphyllou, Constructing identities by ageing the body in the prehistoric Aegean: the view through the human remains, in: M. Minou – S. Triantaphyllou – Y. Papadatos (eds.), *An Archaeology of Prehistoric Bodies and Embodied Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Oxford, Philadelphia 2016) 160–168.

Vassilopoulou et al. 2018

A. Βασιλοπούλου – Στ. Κεραμίδης – Σ. Σπυροπούλου, *Επ-ανασκάπτοντας έναν πρώιμο θολωτό τάφο στην Καζάρμα Αργολίδας*, in: E. Ζυμή – Α.-Β. Καραπαναγιώτου – Μ. Ξανθοπούλου (eds.), *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στην Πελοπόννησο (ΑΕΠΕΛ 1), Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου, Τρίπολη, 7–11 Νοεμβρίου 2012* (Kalamata 2018) 79–89. Online <http://ham.uop.gr/images/aepel1_all_final.pdf> (last access 7 Feb. 2020).

Vlachopoulos 2012

A. Βλαχόπουλος (ed.), *Αρχαιολογία. Πελοπόννησος* (Athens 2012).

Voutsaki 1993

S. Voutsaki, *Society and Culture in the Mycenaean World. An Analysis of Mortuary Practices in the Argolid, Thessaly and the Dodecanese* (PhD Diss., University of Cambridge, Cambridge 1993).

Voutsaki 1995

S. Voutsaki, Social and political processes in the Mycenaean Argolid: the evidence from the mortuary practices, in: R. Laffineur – W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *Politeia. Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th international Aegean conference/5^e Rencontre égéenne internationale*, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10–13 April 1994, *Aegaeum* 12 (Liège, Austin 1995) 55–65.

Voutsaki 1997

S. Voutsaki, The creation of value and prestige in the Aegean Late Bronze Age, *Journal of European Archaeology* 5, 1997, 34–52.

Voutsaki 2001

S. Voutsaki, The rise of Mycenae. Political inter-relations and archaeological evidence, *BICS* 45, 2001, 183–184.

Voutsaki 2010

S. Voutsaki, From the kinship economy to the palatial economy: the Argolid in the second millennium BC, in: Pullen 2010, 86–111.

Voutsaki 2012

S. Voutsaki, From value to meaning, from things to persons: the Grave Circles of Mycenae reconsidered, in: J. K. Papadopoulos – G. Urton (eds.), *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World*, *Cotsen Advanced Seminar Series* 5 (Los Angeles 2012) 160–185.

Voutsaki – Milka 2017

S. Voutsaki – E. Milka, Social change in Middle Helladic Lerna, in: C. Wiersma – S. Voutsaki (eds.), *Social Change in Aegean Prehistory* (Oxford, Philadelphia 2017) 98–123.

Wace 1949

A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae. An Archaeological History and Guide* (Princeton 1949).

Wace – Holland 1921/1923

A. J. B. Wace – L. B. Holland, Excavations at Mycenae. IX. The tholos tombs, *BSA* 25, 1921/1923, 283–402.

Wilkie 1992

N. C. Wilkie, The MME Tholos Tomb, in: W. A. McDonald – N. C. Wilkie (eds.), *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwest Greece*, Vol. 2. The Bronze Age Occupation (Minneapolis 1992) 231–344.

Wiersma – Voutsaki 2017

C. Wiersma – S. Voutsaki (eds.), *Social Change in Aegean Prehistory* (Oxford, Philadelphia 2017).

Wright 1978

J. C. Wright, *Mycenaean Masonry Practices and Elements of Construction* (PhD Diss., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr 1978).

Wright 1994

J. C. Wright, The spatial configuration of belief: the archaeology of Mycenaean religion, in: S. E. Alcock – R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1994) 37–78.

Wright 2004

J. C. Wright, Comparative settlement patterns during the Bronze Age in the northeastern Peloponnesos, Greece, in: S. E. Alcock – J. F. Cherry (eds.), *Side-by-Side Survey. Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World* (Oxford 2004) 114–131.

Wright 2008a

J. C. Wright, The formation of the Mycenaean palace, in: S. Deger-Jalkotzy – I. S. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece. From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, *Edinburgh Leventis Studies* 3 (Edinburgh 2006) 7–52.

Wright 2008b

J. C. Wright, Early Mycenaean Greece, in: *Shelmerdine 2008*, 230–257.

Younger 2010

J. G. Younger, Mycenaean seals and sealings, in: *Cline 2010*, 329–339.

Zavadil 2010

M. Zavadil, The Peloponnese in the Middle Bronze Age: an overview, in: *Mesohelladika*, 151–163.

Illustrations

Fig. 1: The location of Kazarma in the Argolid (Th. Makris; The Kazarma tholos project)

Fig. 2: The Kazarma tholos tomb (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; The Kazarma tholos project)

Fig. 3: Plan of the tholos chamber with Pits I–III (drawing: M. Nioti based on the excavation diaries; Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; The Kazarma tholos project)

Fig. 4: Piriform jar from the chamber floor, NM 15010 (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports)

Fig. 5: Necklace from Shaft II, NM 15024–15038, 15120 (the sealstone in Fig. 6 was also part of this necklace) (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports)

Fig. 6: Sealstone depicting a boar's tusk helmet, NM 32731 (drawing: S. Lieberknecht; Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; The Kazarma tholos project)

Fig. 7: View of the tholos and the acropolis of Kazarma from the south (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; The Kazarma tholos project)