In 1990 W.D.E. Coulson posed a series of questions related to some of the major research problems regarding the Greek “Dark Ages” which he deemed, in a wider sense, as the period spanning roughly 1125–700 B.C. Except for pursuing well planned excavations he emphasized the urgent need for the re-examination of old excavation data and the need for new publications.
THE “DARK AGES” REVISITED
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ACTS OF AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM IN MEMORY OF
WILLIAM D.E. COULSON
UNIVERSITY OF THESSALY, Volos, 14-17 June 2007

Editor: Alexander MAZARAKIS AINIAN


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Cover: G Design Studio

UNIVERSITY OF THESSALY PRESS

Argonafton & Filellinon
38221 Volos
Tel & fax: 0030-24210-74777
http://utpress.uth.gr
e-mail: press@uth.gr
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Volos, 14-17 June 2007

Volume I

Edited by A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN

UNIVERSITY OF THESSALY PRESS
VOLOS 2011
Ο W.D.E. Coulson στην Ιεράπετρα της Κρήτης (Αύγουστος 2001)
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## VOLUME I

**Preface** ................................................................. 13

**Abbreviations** .......................................................... 15

**Brogan, Thomas M., Retracing the footsteps of an Iron Age Philhellene: a Biography of William D.E. Coulson** .......................................................... 19

## GENERAL TOPICS

**Philippa-Touchais, Anna,** «Cycles of collapse in Greek Prehistory»: reassessing social change at the beginning of the Middle Helladic and the Early Iron Age ................. 31

**Muhly, James,** Archaic and Classical Greece would not have been the same without the Dark Ages .......................................................... 45

**Wallace, Saro,** Formative landscapes: Regional experiences of the Aegean collapse ca.1200 BC and their long-term impact .......................................................... 55

**Węcowski, Marek,** On the Historicity of the “Homerica World”: Some methodological considerations .......................................................... 73

**Crielaard, Jan Paul,** The ‘Wanax to Basileus model’ reconsidered: authority and ideology after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces .......................................................... 83

## TEMPLES, SANCTUARIES & CULT

**Morgan, Catherine,** The elite of Aetos: religion and power in Early Iron Age Ithaka ...... 113

**Papapostolou, Ioannis A.,** The new excavations under the Early Archaic temple of Thermos: Megaron A, Megaron B and the ash-altar .......................................................... 127

**Livieratou, Antonia,** Regional cult systems in the transitional period from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age: Comparing the evidence from two different parts of mainland Greece, the Argolid plain and the East Phokis .......................................................... 147

**Mazarakis Ainian, Alexander – Alexandridou, Alexandra,** The so-called “Sacred House” of the Academy revisited .......................................................... 165

**Κόλια, Ερωφίλη – Γκαδόλου, Αναστασία,** Ναός Γεωμετρικών χρόνων στα Νικολαϊκα Αχαΐας: Πρώτη Παρουσίαση της Ανασκαφής .......................................................... 191
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wells, Berit</td>
<td>Kalaureia in the Early Iron Age: Evidence of early cult</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaumont, Lesley A.</td>
<td>Chios in the “Dark Ages”: New evidence from Kato Phana</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zolotnikova, Olga</td>
<td>The evidence for the worship and perception of Zeus during the late Prehistoric-early Historic periods</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SETTLEMENTS & ARCHITECTURE: MAINLAND**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gounaris, Alexandros</td>
<td>Pastoral structures: The encounter of Early Iron Age Archaeology with Ethnography in mainland Greece</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basilio, Eleftherios</td>
<td>Η μετάβαση από τη Χαλκοκρατία στην Εποχή του Σιδήρου στην Ήπειρο: Τα δεδομένα από τον οικισμό της Κρύας στο Λεκανοπέδιο των Ιωαννίων</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karayiannis-Mynesiadi, Emilia</td>
<td>Η Αιανή στην Εποχή του Σιδήρου</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vassiliki Adrimi-Sismani</td>
<td>Habitation changes in the eastern coastal Thessaly following the destruction of the palaces at the end of LH IIIB2</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van de Moortel, Aleydis – Zahou, Eleni</td>
<td>The Bronze Age-Iron Age transition at Mirtou in East Lokris: Evidence for continuity and discontinuity</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luce, Jean-Marc</td>
<td>La Phocide à l’âge du fer</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rizio, Arianna</td>
<td>L’assetto topografico degli insediamenti in Acaia tra periodo miceneo e submiceneo</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallen, Lisa</td>
<td>Gendering Space in Dark Age Nichoria</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SETTLEMENTS & ARCHITECTURE: CYCLADES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kourou, Nota</td>
<td>From the Dark Ages to the Rise of the Polis in the Cyclades: the case of Tenos</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páντου, Πέγκυ - Δίτσα, Δανάη</td>
<td>Η Κίμωλος των Πρώιμων Ιστορικών Χρόνων. Στοιχεία και προβληματισμοί</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SETTLEMENTS & ARCHITECTURE: CRETE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nowicki, Krzysztof</td>
<td>Settlement in crisis: The end of the LM/LH IIIB and early IIIC in Crete and other south Aegean islands</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glowacki, Kevin T. – Klein, Nancy L.</td>
<td>The analysis of “Dark Age” domestic architecture: the LM IIIC settlement at Kavousi Vronda</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsipopoulou, Metaxia</td>
<td>Living at Halasmenos, Ierapetra, in Late Minoan IIIC. House A.1</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mook, Margaret S.</td>
<td>The settlement on the Kastro at Kavousi in the Late Geometric period</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Rousioti, Dimitra – Stournaras, Gregory, The urban development in Crete at the end
of the Bronze Age: Settlements with shrines ............................................................. 489

Santaniello, Emanuela, Gortyn in the Dark Age: A new interpretation of the evidence
from the Hagios Ioannis hill ................................................................................... 503

Haggis, Donald C. – Mook, Margaret S., The Early Iron Age–Archaic transition at
Azoria in Eastern Crete ............................................................................................... 515

SETTLEMENTS & ARCHITECTURE: SICILY

Lentini, Maria Costanza, Sicilian Naxos: Evidence from the Early Iron Age............... 529

Tréziny, Henri, Aux origines de Mégara Hyblaea........................................................ 541

VOLUME II

Abbreviations ..................................................................................................................... 565

NECROPOLEIS & BURIALS

Pomadere, Maia, Un « Héritier choyé d’innombrables biens » (II. IX, 482): Les enfants
de l’élite sociale au début de l’âge du fer ................................................................. 569

Χρυσοστόμου, Αναστασία, Αρχαία Αλμωπία. Τα νεκροταφεία των τύμβων ............... 579

Ευσταθίου-Μπάτζιου, Ανθή, Θολωτός τάφος Πυράσου ................................................ 595

Μαλακασιώτη, Ζωή – Τσιούκα, Φωτεινή, Ζητήματα ταφικών πρακτικών στα νεκρο-
tαφεία της Εποχής του Σιδήρου στην περιοχή της Αρχαίας Άλου, θέση «Βουλοκα-
lύβα» ...................................................................................................................... 609

Georganas, Ioannis, The transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in
Thessaly: Some thoughts ............................................................................................ 627

Lemos, Irene S. with Mitchell, David, Elite burials in Early Iron Age Aegean. Some
preliminary observations considering the spatial organization of the Toumba
cemetery at Lefkandi ................................................................................................... 635

D’Onofrio, Anna Maria, Athenian burials with weapons: The Athenian warrior graves
revisited ......................................................................................................................... 645

Σκιλάρτη, Δημήτριος, Αριστοκρατικές Ταφές από το Γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο της
Κηφισιάς ...................................................................................................................... 675

Mazarakis Ainian, Alexander, A necropolis of the Geometric period at Marathon.
The context ..................................................................................................................... 703

Pappi, E. – Triantaphyllou, S., Mortuary practices and the human remains: a prelimi-
nary study of the Geometric graves in Argos, Argolid ............................................. 717
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zafeiropoulos, Fotini, New data from the Geometric Naxos: The necropolis at the Thessaloniki city of Xylokastoria</td>
<td>733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day, Leslie Preston, Appropriating the past: Early Iron Age mortuary practices at Kavousi, Crete</td>
<td>745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stampolidis, Nicholas Chr., LUX CRETENSIS: A Cretan contribution to the revision of the so-called Dark Ages</td>
<td>759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zervaki, Fotini, The necropolis of Ye III Gamma-Uphetaikic period in the Agia Agathia of Rodou</td>
<td>769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariaud, Oliver, The Geometric graves of Colophon and the burial customs of Early Iron Age Ionia</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**POTTERY, ICONOGRAPHY & OTHER FINDS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>†Coldstream, J.N., Geometric Elephantiasis</td>
<td>801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlachou, Vicky, A group of Geometric vases from Marathon: Attic style and local originality</td>
<td>809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charalambidou, Xenia, Developments in Euboea and Oropos at the end of the “Dark Ages” (ca. 700 to the mid-seventh century BC)</td>
<td>831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blandin, Beatrice, Amarynthos au debut de l’age du fer: Les trouvailles de la propriete M. Patavalis</td>
<td>857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psaltis, Athanasia, New iconographic krateras from the Geometric Era: The krateras of the eleventh century BC</td>
<td>873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenzelmann Pfyffer, Anne - Verdan, Samuel, Vaisselle domestique, vaisselle de sanctuaire? Deux exemples eretiens</td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gros, Jean-Sebastian, Pour une typolochronologie de la ceramique commune en Grece centrale</td>
<td>905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLoughlin, Beatrice, The pithos makers at Zagora: Ceramic technology and function in an agricultural settlement context</td>
<td>913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reber, Karl, Ceramique eubenne a Naxos au debut de l’age du fer</td>
<td>929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotsonas, Antonis, Ceramic variability and drinking habits in Iron Age Crete</td>
<td>943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gimatzidis, Stefanos, The Northwest Aegean in the Early Iron Age</td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simantoni-Bournia, Eva, Multi-storeyed vases of the Geometric period</td>
<td>971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouzek, Jan, The iconography of the “Dark Age”: From LH IIIC to Geometric: Continuity and changes</td>
<td>983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakas, Iannis, New melains: Plaia kai vasphegi at the Aigio of the prehistoric Epoch of the Sidiro</td>
<td>1003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gesell, Geraldine, The handmade terracotta animal figurines at the end of the Late Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age in Crete: Chronology, technology and function.</td>
<td>1019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λουκά, Μαριωάννα, Κόσμηση Θεσσαλική: Από τους Σκοτεινούς Αιώνες στην αυγή της «πόλεως»</td>
<td>1027</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BIOARCHAEOLOGY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theodoropoulou, Tatiana, Fishing in Dark Waters: A review of the archaeological and archaeozoological evidence of the exploitation of aquatic resources in the Greek Early Iron Age.</td>
<td>1039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trantalidou, Katerina, Animal remains related to sacred areas on the Cycladic islands Amorgos and Tenos, during the Geometric period: Two distinct examples bearing evidence of sacrificial rites and bone working activities.</td>
<td>1059</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE

The Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology of the University of Thessaly and its Laboratory of Archaeology received in 2005 an important donation by Mrs Elisabeth Kontidou, widow of the late William D. E. Coulson. The archives have been classified and are kept in the Laboratory of Archaeology and are accessible to researchers who wish to consult them, both in the premises of the Laboratory and through the related website (http://extras.ha.uth.gr/coulson/). The majority of the books of W.D.E. Coulson’s library are now in the Main Library of the University of Thessaly, while the doubles, all the off-prints and the series of periodicals are kept in the library of the Laboratory of Archaeology. In order to mark the event of the donation, a Symposium in memory of W.D.E. Coulson was held at the University of Thessaly, from 14-17 June 2007. This event also gave Willy’s friends and colleagues an opportunity to pay him tribute for his contribution to the study of Early Iron Age Greece. An archaeological exhibition on the work and personality of W.D.E. Coulson was set up at the Central Library of the University of Thessaly, on the side of the meeting.

More than fifteen years ago, W.D.E. Coulson published a paper titled The Greek Dark Ages. A review of the evidence and suggestions for future research (Athens 1990). There, he posed a series of questions related to some of the major research problems regarding the Greek “Dark Ages” which he deemed, in a wider sense, as the period spanning roughly 1125-700 B.C. These questions were either Archaeological in nature, such as the nature and transition from LH (or LM) IIIC to Early PG, the existence or not of the Darians, the development of architectural forms and materials, or Environmental, such as the state of the environment, land use practices, health, diet, and in general how man used natural resources during the Early Iron Age. In the process of pursuing well planned excavations with the goal of constructing a complete picture of a given settlement, he emphasized the urgent need for the re-examination of old excavation data and, especially, the need for new publications. He also underlined the importance of ethnography in the understanding of the society and the environment of the Early Iron Age.

Today, much progress has been made through excavations, surveys, various studies, symposia, and publications towards understanding the period between the end of the Late Bronze Age and the rise of the “polis”. Thus, the aim of this meeting was twofold: To address these issues and other related topics through papers spanning multiple disciplines, and to present the results of new significant excavations, to present unpublished material deriving from old excavations, to discuss and assess the importance of new finds of the period between the end of the Bronze Age and the early 7th c. B.C., and to discuss old and new ideas and theories about Early Iron Age Greece.

For the organisation of the Conference I was assisted by various colleagues, students, as well as staff of our Department. Special thanks are due to Dr Christina Mitsopoulou and Mrs Eva Charalampidou (MA) of the Laboratory of Archaeology who took care of most of the practical matters of the Conference; Dr Themis Dallas constructed the related website; I thank them all.

The Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology (IAKA) of the University of Thessaly and its Postgraduate Programme, the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), the Greek Ministry of Education (Postgraduate Division), the Research Committee of the University of Thessaly, as well as the Municipality...
of Volos, supported financially both the meeting and the exhibition. The publication of the Acts of the Conference was made possible thanks to the generous funding of INSTAP and that of the University of Thessaly Press. The Postgraduate Programme of the IAKA Department also supported financially the publication. Apart from the above mentioned persons and institutions I also thank Dr Christina Mitsopoulou who assured the contact with the contributors while preparing this publication as well as the contributors, for their collaboration and patience. Last but not least, I wish to express my warmest thanks to Dr Alexandra Alexandridou who assisted me at all stages during the editing of the volume and undertook most of the editorial work.

Alexander Mazarakis Ainian
Professor of Classical Archaeology
Dpt. of History, Archaeology
and Social Anthropology
**ABBREVIATIONS OF TERMS**

### CHRONOLOGICAL PERIODS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Period</th>
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<td>EIA</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### DIMENSIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

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<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>a.C.</td>
<td>ante Christum</td>
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<td>B.C.</td>
<td>before Christ</td>
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<td>av.J.-C.</td>
<td>avant Jesus-Christ</td>
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<td>inv.</td>
<td>inventory, inventaire</td>
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<td>National Museum</td>
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<td>plate, planche</td>
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</tr>
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ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS

AA: Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAA: Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών / Athens Annals of Archaeology
AAX: Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά
ActaArch: Acta Archaeologica
ΑΔ: Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
ΑΕ: Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς
ΑΕΘΣΕ: Αρχαιολογικά έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας
ΑΕΜ: Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών
ΑΕΜΘ: Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη
AIABull: Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America
AION: Annali di archeologia e storia antica. Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico. Istituto universitario orientali di Napoli
AJA: American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America
AJPA: American Journal of Physical Anthropology
AJPh: American Journal of Philology
AM: Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
AmerAnt: American Antiquity
AntK: Antike Kunst
AnthRaChron: Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά
AnzWien: Anzeiger. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philologisch-historische Klasse
AR: Archaeological Reports
ArchAustr: Archäologica australica
ASAtene: Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente
AttiTaranto: Atti del Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto
BABesch: Bulletin antieke beschaving. Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology
BAR-IS: British Archaeological Reports International Series
BASOR: Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BdA: Bollettino d’Arte
BICS: Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies
BSA: The Annual of the British School at Athens
CAJ: Cambridge Archaeological Institute
Chiron: Chiron. Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraph des deutschen archäologischen Instituts
CJ: Classical Journal
CAnt: Classical Antiquity
CIRh: Clara Rhodos
CMS: Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel
CretChron: Κρητικά Χρονικά. Κείμενα και Μελέται της Κρητικής Ιστορίας
CronCatania: Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell’arte, Università di Catania
CVA: Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
DArch: Dialoghi di archeologia
EchosCl: Échos du monde classique
EEBM: Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βοιωτικών Μελετών
Έργον: Το Έργο της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
ΕΥΠΠΟ: Το έργο του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού στον τομέα της πολιτιστικής κληρονομικάς
Hesperia: Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
Historia: Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte
FD: Fouilles de Delphes, Paris
GaR: Greece and Rome
GrazBeitr: Grazer Beiträge
JArchSc: Journal of Archaeological Science
JdI: Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts
JFA: Journal of Field Archaeology
JHS: Journal of Hellenic Studies
JMA: Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
JPR: Journal of Prehistoric Religion
IJNA: The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology
LIMC: Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
MacActaA: Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica
MedItArch: Mediterranean Archaeology. Australian and New Zealand Journal for the Archaeology of the Mediterranean World
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<td>Marburger Winckelmann-Programm</td>
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<td>MÉFRA</td>
<td>Mélanges de l’École française de Rome, Antiquité</td>
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<td>RStFen</td>
<td>Rivista di studi fenici</td>
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RETRACING THE FOOTSTEPS OF AN IRON AGE PHILHELLENE: 
A BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM D.E. COULSON

The Volos conference (The “Dark Ages” Revisited) celebrated William Coulson’s rich and diverse career. Coming just six years after his early and tragic death from Whipple’s disease in 2001, the meeting included a large group of archaeologists who knew him well or shared his interest in the Greek Iron Age. The speakers recalled numerous stories about Coulson, while the event highlighted the generous donation of his archives to Volos University by his widow, Elizabeth Kontidou. This paper served as an introduction to the conference, providing an overview of his life and broader accomplishments as a student at Princeton University, as professor at the University of Minnesota, as excavator at Nichoria, Naukratis, Kavousi and Halasmenos and as director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA). It was offered as a tribute to a friend’s career and provides a brief narrative to accompany the trove of images found in his archive, showing him in class, on digs and trips, or attending social events, during the course of his four decades in the field.

This review of Coulson’s scholarly achievements draws on several sources. First, there are his student applications, transcripts and degrees, his publications (many books and more than one hundred articles and reviews which are noted in the bibliography accompanying this volume), and the newsletters of the ASCSA. There are also my own experiences on two of his excavations, Kavousi and Halasmenos, as a member of the ASCSA (1992-1995) during his directorship, and as the director of the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) Study Center for East Crete, the construction of which he assisted between 1995-1997. To learn more about his formative years and early career choices, I wrote to his classmates, colleagues, students, and family for their recollections, and I am greatly indebted to them for their assistance with facts and illustrations. In the future, scholars will be able to consult his archives for more detailed answers to these questions. His personal papers are housed in the University of Volos, while the records of his two terms as director of the ASCSA are part of the Blegen Archives of that institution.

To provide some introduction to these sources, I would like to draw attention to the Blegen Archives, which contain Coulson’s transcript from Trinity College (fig. 1) and his application to the regular program of the American School in 1965. Both documents provide an interesting introduction to his biography. In the ASCSA application Coulson wrote:

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* I would like to extend my congratulations to the organizers for accepting the responsibility and challenge of caring for William Coulson’s personal papers and for the effort of launching this conference.

1. My first encounter with Coulson came in 1987, when I assisted him in the excavation of a trench at Kavousi Vronda (we found the first remains of the site’s LM IIIC shrine—Building G). He had just taken up the post of director of the American School of Classical Studies.

2. I would like to thank the Spitzer Archivist of the ASCSA, Dr. Natalia Vogeikoff, for providing access to the documents and permission to cite them in this article.
THOMAS M. BROGAN

I was born in London and began Latin at the age of nine in my boarding school in England. When I came to the United States at the age of 14, I attended the Hill School in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, where I continued studying Latin and began Greek. Because of my training in Latin and Greek under Professors Notopoulos and Merriman at Trinity College, I was able to pass my reading list at Princeton in January of my first year. To prepare for my general examinations I have also studied Greek and Roman Art and Archaeology. I have taken a survey course in Greek and Roman Art, a course in Lyssipus and Hellenistic Art, and Campanian Wall Painting, all under Professor Sjoqvist.

According to William Childes, one of Coulson's classmates at Princeton, it was this course on Lyssipus that was the source for Coulson's dissertation: an archaeological and historical commentary on Pliny's chapters focusing on Greek sculpture. In his application Coulson also reports that "...my project will require not only a careful study of Pliny's text but also stylistic analysis of many Greek sculptures, which can be found in the museums of Greece, in order to determine whether any of these sculptures can be correlated with any of the artists mentioned in Pliny." Today this approach has fallen out of favor in American classrooms and periodicals, but in 1965 it struck just the right cord with the fellowship committee of the ASCSA (i.e., approaching Greek antiquity though the solid basis of ancient, albeit Roman, eyes). Coulson was awarded the White Fellowship ($3,000), which allowed him and his wife Mary Lee to travel to Greece on the Queen Fredirika in 1966. His classmates that year included several students interested in Greek epigraphy: Kevin Clinton, John Trail, Leslie Threatte and Steve Tracy, suggesting that the group probably stopped at every Greek inscription passed on the trips. One also assumes that Coulson found good company when the group came across an inscribed statue base connected with his dissertation topic. These trips and the school excavations at Corinth obviously made a lasting impression on the young classicist because he would spend all but one of his remaining summers exploring Greek remains in the Mediterranean.

Writing about Coulson in 2007, what was most striking is what is missing from the story up to 1967: Greek pottery, the Greek Iron Age, Nichoria, Naukratis or Crete—the topics, material, and sites that the Volos conference explored in connection with Coulson's scholarly career. Although his dissertation would spawn a few articles, such as a study of Euphranor, Coulson's scholarship and career took a dramatic change of course when he became an assistant professor at the University of Minnesota in 1967. Mary Lee Coulson noted that he chose Minnesota over several other offers because of its library and the promise of fieldwork in Greece. William McDonald had just finished his pioneering survey of Bronze Age Messenia and was planning the second phase of the project—excavations at Nichoria. McDonald—Rapp 1972).

McDonald's preface to Nichoria III explains how Coulson came to be in charge of publishing material from the site. We should all have such forethought when we write these introductions. "Coulson assumed the largest share of responsibility for the Dark Age occupation—the natural outcome of the way tasks were originally distributed to the trench masters. Coulson's digging sector was Area IV NE, where he uncovered most of the best preserved Dark Age architectural remains." (McDonald 1983, xxix). In the early 1970s Coulson received substantial support (including an NEH grant in 1972/73) to prepare his contributions for Ni-

3. Coulson's first wife, Mary Lee, noted that this was a miserable experience for the young boy, captured in letters to his parents.
4. Personal communication with William Childes.
5. Personal communication with Mary Lee Coulson.
choria III, where he alone was responsible for the pottery (the hallmark of his later work) and jointly the architecture, tombs, and historical overview (fig. 6). McDonald's stated goal was "...to make progress towards an interdisciplinary as distinct from a multidisciplinary approach to the evidence. Archaeology will meet the challenge of the late 20th century only as we gradually learn with the help of specialist colleagues to recover, conserve, and integrate data of all sorts to create a broad reconstruction of the past in all its complexity and diversity." (McDonald 1983, xxxii). While Trinity and Princeton, no doubt, prepared Coulson well for his years at the American School and classes at Minnesota, Nichoria and William McDonald would stimulate Coulson's subsequent approach to archaeological theory and practice.

Coulson's own interest in the Peloponnese continued with further publications of Dark Age pottery from Messenia and Sparta. From the beginning of the 1970s there was also a clear record of collaboration with members of the Greek Archaeological Service in the Peloponnese who offered Coulson access to their finds. These contacts would continue throughout Coulson's years in Greece, and they certainly represent a key aspect of his personality and approach to archaeology. It also helped that Coulson could speak modern Greek so well6. To become fluent he explored modern Greece on many levels, including Greek plays, music in Athens, endless conversations with Greek friends (fig. 7).

Having 'cut his archaeological teeth' in Messenia, Coulson was then interested in directing his own projects. According to Nancy Wilkie, he and Al Leonard planned the Naukratis Project when Al was a visiting Professor at the University of Minnesota (figs. 9-13). It was not possible at that time to get a permit in Greece, so when counterpart funds in Egypt became available, they decided to re-open the excavations at Naukratis, previously conducted by Petrie, Gardner, and Hogarth. Their primary goal was the excavation and survey of the commercial and domestic districts of that Greek trading colony, which was first opened under Psammetichos I in the seventh century and given permanent status in the sixth century B.C. (Sullivan 1996, 191-210). The short 1977 season revealed that nearly 1/3 of the site had been removed by farmers looking for fertilizer, and a large portion had been flooded to create a lake (Coulson 1996, 5-17). After the first season, Al Leonard continued the excavations at Naukratis, while Coulson and Nancy Wilkie surveyed both the site of Naukratis and its wider regional context (recording 180 sites in two seasons). With the exception of two archaic sherds, the earliest pottery from the survey comes from the fourth century, with much larger amounts of Ptolemaic and Roman remains (fig. 12: Coulson 1996, 19-138). Coulson eventually saw the survey of the site of Naukratis through to final publication, and he thus must have had an appetite for challenging new material (moving from Pliny and Dark Age pottery to Egypt).

According to Al Leonard, conditions were pretty grim on the project—a mood that dig photos appear to capture (fig. 10). Nancy Wilkie, however, provided some colorful photos that illustrate the lighter side of the project—a party in traditional dress and picture of Coulson that appears to capture the frustration of all who come to Naukratis and fail to find traces of the Archaic Greeks mentioned by Herodotus (figs. 11 and 13).

At the conclusion of this work, Coulson made two significant career choices. The first was to take up an offer to return his attention to the Greek Dark Ages, this time on Crete. He joined Leslie Day and Geraldine Gesell who were making preparations for the excavations at Kavousi Vronda and Kastro which began in 1987 (fig. 14). That same year he also took

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6. According to Mary Lee Coulson, he was also fluent in German and Russian—the latter picked up from a nanny that fled Russia with his father's family during the Bolshevik Revolution.
up the directorship of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (fig. 15).

During his ten years as director in Athens, Coulson would oversee what in hindsight was a major expansion of the School’s facilities, staff, projects, and mission. The School is an institution with many talented members and an outstanding tradition in Greek Archaeology, Classical Studies, and general teaching (training generations of American professors in Classical Studies and Greek material culture). The director wears many hats – public representative of the school, dean of its academic program and lobbyist for its many field projects – all work intended to ensure that good ideas are strongly supported and that a host of different disciplines “make progress into the past” (fig. 17).

As an expert in the Peloponnese and Crete, Coulson led a generation of students on the annual trips to these areas. The Blegen Archive possesses ten hours of film from his last trip to Lakonia and Messenia in 1996 taken by Bruce Hartzler. Coulson’s trips were particularly rich experiences for students of the Bronze Age and Iron Age (a distinct minority at the School) with visits to every Late Helladic tomb in Messenia and lengthy discussions of pottery on site and in museums.

Coulson was also a strong supporter of the School’s role in hosting major academic conferences. Some were broad collaborations developed and organized by senior school members and Coulson’s close friend Prof. Olga Palagia (fig. 16). Two, however, were organized by Coulson and Palagia alone (Regional Schools of Hellenistic Sculpture and Sculpture from Arcadia and Lakonia) and they provided Coulson with the opportunity to return to the subject of his doctoral study of Pliny and Greek sculptors.

During the period 1987-1997, Coulson also played an active role in expanding the School’s mission. This consisted of pushing for new projects, including a large number of field surveys and excavations (many in the form of synergasias with members of the Greek Archaeological Service) and a program coordinated with the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC) with funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation to bring scholars from Central Europe to Athens to use the School’s library and other facilities.

The Trustees of the School were also extremely active during this period, funding major additions to the School’s physical plant and mission. The largest was the expansion of the Blegen Library (fig. 15). Equally significant, however, was the construction of the Wiener Laboratory in the School’s basement with the financial support of the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) (fig. 18). The lab offered a new base for archaeological science in Greece, particularly in geology, physical anthropology, botany, and zoology. Many of the lab’s members would also be involved in projects that Coulson co-directed on Crete, and it is fair to say that the lab got off to a good start under his watch. The third project was the construction of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete – a storage and research facility for American School projects in the Miraello region of east Crete (fig. 19). In its first ten years, the Study Center hosted more than ten excavations and surveys.

as well as several visiting projects, with up to 120 members each summer\textsuperscript{12}. The conservation lab of the Study Center was named the Coulson Laboratory to honor his many contributions, while the petrography lab of the Study Center was named after his mentor at Nichoria, Bill McDonald\textsuperscript{13}.

I end with a brief mention of Coulson’s fieldwork during his term as director; in fact, the finds from these projects are the subjects of several papers published by his colleagues in these conference proceedings. There were the Kavousi Excavations co-directed by Gerry Gesell and Leslie Day (figs. 7, 14, 20-21 and 23) and the Halasmenos Excavations co-directed by Metaxia Tsipopoulou (fig. 22). Coulson’s work at Kavousi Kastro revealed a magnificent sequence of unbroken occupation from 1200-650 B.C., and responsibility for its publication is now in the hands of his student, Margaret Mook. Since Coulson’s death, Metaxia Tsipopoulou has more than doubled the excavated area at Halasmenos, which now presents the most complete picture of an LMIIIC settlement on Crete. Under the same permit, Krzysztof Nowicki was also able to explore the remote occupation on the ledges of Katalimata in the Ha Gorge. This excavation, fully published in 2008, has demonstrated several periods when Cretan inhabitants of the North Isthmus retreated to this highly defensible site (Nowicki 2008).

Coulson was, widely recognized in Greece as a Philhellen. I can think of no better proof of this than the Greek staff of the American School, who all greatly admired him, and the Cretans living in the villages of Kavousi and Pachia Ammos who worked on his projects. In 2006 Coulson’s remains were transferred to a grave in the village cemetery, providing him with a permanent resting place on Crete and a view of the Kastro (fig. 24). The bonds behind such acts usually go unnoticed; however, in this case they were eloquently displayed in several poems or mantinades penned by his Cretan friends for a memorial service held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens after his death.

\textbf{BIBLIOGRAPHY}

Constructing a Bronze Age Regional Environment, Minneapolis.
Fig. 1. Coulson upon graduation from Trinity (Photo provided by M.L. Coulson).

Fig. 2. Coulson at Princeton in 1966 (Photo by M.L. Coulson).

Fig. 3. William and Mary Lee Coulson on board the Queen Fredrika (Photo by M.L. Coulson).
Fig. 4. Coulson at Nichoria in 1970 (Coulson Archive at Volos University).

Fig. 5. Excavations at Nichoria in 1972 (Coulson Archive at Volos University).

Fig. 6. Coulson studying pottery at Nichoria (Coulson Archive at Volos University).

Fig. 7. Coulson on the Kastro in 1993 getting a lesson in Cretan dialect.

Fig. 8. Coulson and Al Leonard at Naukratis in 1980 (Coulson Archive at Volos University).

Fig. 9. Excavation at Naukratis (Coulson Archive at Volos University).
Fig. 10. Naukratis Team Photo in 1982 (Coulson Archive at Volos University)

Fig. 11. Coulson and N. Wilkie in traditional outfits (Photo by Wilkie)

Fig. 12 Coulson washing pottery at Naukratis in 1981 (Coulson Archive at Volos University).
Fig. 13. Coulson preparing for a dig party at Naukratis in 1982 (Photo by Wilkie).

Fig. 14. Kavousi Project Directors (Coulson Archive at Volos University).

Fig. 15. Coulson speaking during the groundbreaking ceremonies for the Blegen Library Extension (Coulson Archive of the ASCSA).

Fig. 16. Coulson and O. Palagia at a conference in Athens (Coulson Archive at the ASCSA).

Fig. 17. Coulson and US Ambassador to Greece Thomas Niles on Crete (Coulson Archive at Volos University).

Fig. 18. Coulson, H. Lewis, M. Wiener and C. Wiener at the ceremony opening the Wiener Laboratory of the ASCSA.
Fig. 19. Coulson speaking at the opening party of the INSTAP Study Center in July 1997.

Fig. 20. Kavousi Project Team Photo in 1987 (Coulson Archive at Volos University).

Fig. 21. Coulson digging at Kavousi Vronda in 1984 (Coulson Archive at Volos University).

Fig. 22. Excavations at Halasmenos in 1996 (Coulson Archive at Volos University).

Fig. 23. Coulson, L. Day and V. Apostolakou prepare to visit Vronda.

Fig. 24. Coulson grave in Kavousi, Crete (Photo by Brogan).
"CYCLES OF COLLAPSE IN GREEK PREHISTORY": REASSESSING SOCIAL CHANGE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MIDDLE HELLENIC AND THE EARLY IRON AGE *

INTRODUCTION

In a recent volume in honour of C. Renfrew, bringing together a series of papers on social archaeology, J. Whitley has published an interesting paper, from which I have in fact borrowed part of my title (Whitley 2004). In this paper Whitley raises the crucial question of social evolution, which should not be equated with a linear progressive development from simple social forms to complex ones. Social evolution is inescapably multi-linear and, according to the author, in Greece the advance of civilisation was not uninterrupted. On the basis of this fact Whitley uses two examples from Greek pre-protohistory, the "House of Tiles" at Lerna and the "Heroon" at Lefkandi, representing "as essentially the same social models", to illustrate how cycles of collapse mark processes —different in each case— towards new forms of complexity: in the first case the palace states of LBA and in the second the "poleis" of the later Iron Age. On the basis of the above examples, he also maintains that the Greek EIA is the perfect analogue for the Early Helladic period.

Though I have some doubts as to how successful this parallelism is, mostly because of the differences in scale between the two examples (concerning the quantitative, qualitative and contextual differences of their parallels, their system's complexity and the consequences resulting from their collapse), I fully agree with the whole train of thought and the point of view —also argued by other scholars— that in prehistoric and historic Greece there are more than one cyclical periods of "complex" societies which seem to have reverted to simpler social forms (Whitley 2004, 194; Bintliff 1982, 107). I also agree that their comparison "should help in elucidating key points in our understanding of social evolution and the emergence of political complexity" (Whitley 2004, 194).

In this paper I will attempt another parallelism which, in my opinion, also reveals the non linear evolution and the sequence: collapse of a "complex" system / appearance of a simpler form - evolution / new complex system outcome. The comparison will concentrate on the early Middle Helladic and the Early Iron Age, periods which represent low complex systems that might have prevailed respectively after the collapse of the proto-urban EH societies and the LH palatial system.

This comparison is not a new one. Several scholars have already mentioned similarities in the practices and/or the material culture of these two periods. Most of them noticed a re-
semblance in their burial practices, namely in the adoption of the single cist burial, the contracted position of the deceased, the scarcity of grave-goods, and the increasing number of intramural burials (Desborough 1964, 37; 1972, 108, 266; Deshayes 1966, 240-242, 249-250; Styrenius 1967, 161-163; Snodgrass 1971, 180-184, 186-187, 384; 2006, 161-162; Hooker 1977, 178-179; more recently Dickinson 1983; Mee – Cavanagh 1984, 45-64). Resemblances in the architecture have also been noticed, particularly in the presence of small, unfortified settlements, the abandonment of monumental buildings and the appearance of long apsidal houses (Coldstream 1977, 304; Snodgrass 1971, 383-384; 2006, 162). The most complete and accurate description of the similarities between these two periods was however given by A. Snodgrass (Snodgrass 1971, 383-386; 2006), who also stressed further correspondences in the material culture of the two eras: in pottery, the dark-on-light decoration with geometric patterns, the scarcity of fine wares and the close analogies in fabric and shapes of the coarser hand-made and incised wares; a decline in metallurgy and the resort to more primitive – easily accessible – raw materials for implements, the near disappearance of luxury artefacts, and finally the privation and isolation1 of both periods – all manifestations of a general fall in population and in living standards.

It is noteworthy that most of the scholars who noticed these similarities were particularly interested in EIA; consequently, they tried to explain this phenomenon from the perspective of that era. Most of the given explanations concerning the resemblance with or the possible reappearance of older practices in EIA revolve around the question of the cultural continuity (or discontinuity) between Bronze and EIA. There have been two main explanatory tendencies. According to the first, which stresses the innovative character of EIA and cultural discontinuity with Late Bronze Age, the similarities are accidental (Desborough 1972, 275). According to the second, which on the contrary underlines continuity from the pre-Mycenaean (Middle Helladic) times, the similarities constitute revivals of earlier (more primitive) practices caused by cultural reversion (Snodgrass 1971, 186-187, 385; more specifically on continuity see Snodgrass [1971] 2000, xxvi).

One of the main reasons why the approach to this phenomenon has fallen out of favour is because both explanatory tendencies involve, more or less, ethnic issues (Dickinson 1983, 67; Mee – Cavanagh 1984, 45-64). As we all know, the first interpretation, which seems the more outdated, links changes in the material culture of the EIA with the appearance of new ethnic groups (Desborough 1972, 106-111). According to the second explanation the reappearance of older (MH) practices in the EIA suggests the coming to the forefront of the essentially Helladic element (the “substratum”), which during the Mycenaean times was in some way on the sidelines (Deshayes 1966, 240-242, 249-250; Snodgrass 1971, 186-187, 385; 2006, 161, 169). Later however, Snodgrass refined his hypothesis, arguing that the changes at the beginning of the EIA can be seen as regressive adaptations or as the result of a collective response either to new needs or to changed conditions (Snodgrass 1987, 187-188). Whatever the accuracy of this latter hypothesis, I think that its perspective introduced notions – such as the “profound change in circumstances” or the “adaptive accommodation to unfavourable conditions” – that have advanced considerably the discussion on this topic.

My attempt to re-discuss the analogy between the Middle Helladic and the Early Iron Age has a double aim: to shed new light on this phenomenon from the perspective of both eras, and try to reassess its significance in terms of socio-political organisation. To do this, I shall be concentrating on 1) a brief examination of selected archaeological evidence, namely analy-

1. Although in the foreword of the second edition of his Dark Age of Greece (Snodgrass 2000, xxxi), Snodgrass stresses that there would have been less emphasis on isolation, but even greater on continuity from the past, especially from the pre-Mycenaean age.
sis of MH and EIA habitation and burial space, and 2) theoretical analysis concerning the specific type of evidence.

The Evidence

The examination of the evidence from both periods cannot be exhaustive in the frame of the present paper. Regarding the architecture the analysis will concentrate on the layout of settlements; as to burial practices, the examination will focus on the location of the tombs in relation to houses, therefore on the existence or not of organised cemeteries. Underlying the choice of these specific data is the idea that they most clearly reflect social organisation, as we will see in more detail below. Finally, only some examples of MH and EIA settlements will be examined, specifically those offering evidence that can illuminate our discussion.

1. The Evidence from the Middle Helladic period

At Asine in the Argolid, the well-known plan of the MH Lower Town of Kastraki, with dense blocks of buildings separated by a narrow street, belongs to the latest phases of the settlement, whereas during earlier MH phases houses were rarer and more dispersed on the slope of the hill (Frödin – Persson 1938, 68-74 [houses A-E], 88, 93-95; Nordquist 1987, 69-84). Remains of two MH buildings excavated on lower part of the Barbouna slope, opposite to Kastraki, seem to belong to the late part of the period as well (Nordquist 1987, 85-86).

A large number of tombs (more than 100) of children and adults, dating to all MH phases, were found among the settlement remains of the Lower Town (Frödin – Persson 1938, 115-128; Nordquist 1987, 95-98, 128-134; 1996, 19-38; Cavanagh – Mee 1998, 24). In the Barbouna area, some burials have been found among the building remains while some others seem to constitute an extramural cemetery (Nordquist 1987, 98-99, 135-136). Excavations on the East foot of the acropolis uncovered part of a tumulus containing 3 graves, with 17 others outside. According to the excavator, the use of the tumulus started during the MH II, providing evidence for a MH cemetery used in parallel outside the habitation area (Dietz 1980; Nordquist 1987, 99-100, 134-135).

At Lerna, the layout of the early MH settlement is not well known; yet we know there were several large, free standing houses, some of apsidal plan (Zerner 1978). An impressive number of over 200 burials of children and adults, dating to all phases, have been found among these houses (Blackburn 1970). No evidence for an organised MH cemetery has been found as yet.

On the MH settlement of the Aspis hill at Argos, three main phases of occupation have been identified. The earliest one, known only by fragmentary walls, was supposed to be sparsely occupied. In the second phase the settlement becomes more densely inhabited with houses of different plan and size; a solid enclosure was probably built at the beginning of this phase, aimed at fortifying the settlement for the first time. In the final phase, the settlement acquired a more coherent layout delimited by an impressive and continuous series of rectangular buildings around its edge, successive concentric retaining walls, and very probably by an exterior circuit wall (Philippa-Touchais 2010; Philippa-Touchais – Touchais 2006, 716-721; Whitney, AR 52 (2006), 31-33).

Within the SE sector of the settlement 13 tombs of children and adults came to light, dating mostly to the early Aspis phases (Philippa-

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2. A synthesis on MH graves, namely on their location within the settlement, in extramural cemeteries or in burial plots – among the houses, adjacent to them or out in the fields –, can be found in the valuable book by Cavanagh – Mee (Cavanagh – Mee 1998, 23-26).

None of them dates to the final MH Aspis phase, during which an extensive cemetery was in use at the foot of the hill (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980; Papadimitriou N. 2001, 20; Papadimitriou A. 2010). During recent work on the eastern sector of the settlement, which had been excavated at the beginning of the 20th c. (Vollgraff 1906), three new burials came to light, dated very probably to MH I-II or at the latest to MH IIIA. This discovery provides evidence that burials were not concentrated in one sector of the settlement but rather dispersed over several areas; it also confirms that no burials date to the latest MH occupation phase of the site (Morgan, AR 54, 2008, 25-27).

At Eutresis in Boeotia, according to the excavator, the MH occupation went through three main architectural phases (Goldman 1931, 31-60)\(^4\). However, a more recent study, based mainly on the re-examination of the architectural evidence, assumed the existence of at least five MH architectural phases (Philippa-Touchais 2006, 689-703; 2010). It seems that the earliest MH settlement was rather sparsely inhabited, whilst already from the second phase onwards the settlement gradually acquires a densely organised plan with two distinctive quarters, each one with specific morphological characteristics and very possibly different functions: a probable residential quarter on top of the hill, with larger houses organised around a square, and perhaps a more industrial quarter with smaller houses containing ovens, vaulted pits and large pithoi, laid out on both sides of a central street (Philippa-Touchais 2006, 610; 2010).

Some 22 burials belonging to adults and children were found inside or between the houses, on deserted areas of the settlement or on lanes (Goldman 1930, 221-226). As their dating is unclear, it is difficult to reconstruct their distribution through time. However, the rather limited number of graves in comparison to the high number of houses suggests that intramural was not the only burial practice, or that it was not used throughout the period; an organised cemetery must have existed nearby, by the end of the period.

At Kirrha, located in the bay of Itea (Phocis), five MH phases were discerned by the excavators on the magoula of Xeropigado (Dor et al. 1960, 29-33). During the earlier phases the remains were very fragmentary and without any apparent architectural cohesion, whereas during the later ones the settlement acquired its definite form (Dor et al. 1960, 35-42). According to a recent re-examination of the architectural evidence, the habitation area included oblong, freestanding houses and large open enclosures, delimited by loosely constructed walls, used probably as stockyards for livestock (Philippa-Touchais 2010).

Fifty-nine graves of adults and children have been excavated inside the Bronze Age settlement, 40 of them dated to the MH (Dor et al. 1960, 43-64, 115-124). In sector D, 17 MH graves, dating mainly to the latest MH phase according to the excavators (see also Dickinson 1983, 62), were apparently dispersed within the enclosures or in open areas. In sector A, a group of six large cist graves\(^5\) containing valuable grave goods and attributed to the local elite (Dor et al. 1960, 59-63) was clustered in an open space, probably a passageway.

2. Evidence from the Early Iron Age

At Asine, remains of the EIA settlement have been excavated in two areas: scanty vestiges in the Lower Town of Kastraki (Frödin - Persson 1938, 64, 81-82, 89-90, 312) and buildings better preserved to the east of Kastraki, in the Karmaniola plot (Dietz 1982, 60-62; Wells 1983; see also Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 68-70,

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\(^4\) For a re-examination of the chronological phasing of Eutresis, based on the study of pottery, see Maran 1992, 302-309.

\(^5\) Dating no later than LH II according to Dickinson (Dickinson 1983, 62).
It therefore appears that the EIA settlement was not concentrated within a specific area, but rather was dispersed in different areas. Architectural evidence suggests the coexistence of apsidal or oval and rectangular houses, freestanding and mostly varying in orientation.

In the Lower Town of Kastraki forty-six PG graves (mostly of children) were found among the scanty settlement remains (Frödin – Persson 1938, 129-139, 144-145, 422-431), whereas on the plain east of the acropolis (Karmaniola plot) eight PG burials of children and adults were found among the remains of the houses (Wells 1976; 1983, 31, 90, 122-123; Dietz 1982, 43-53; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 70; 2007-2008, 377-378; Lemos 2002, 158-159).

The site of Asine presents a characteristic example of a cemetery shifting over time. The number of tombs per period found within the architectural remains of the Lower Town is very eloquent: 106 date to the MH, 11 to the LH and 46 to the PG period (Frödin – Persson 1938, 142-145). These numbers clearly show that in MH most people were buried inside the settlement, in the LH a majority of burials took place in the necropolis of Barbouna, with only a few inside the town, whereas the relatively numerous burials of the PG period suggest that they might correspond to one of the clusters of houses of the PG occupation.

At Tiryns, the EIA occupation evidence is meagre. PG settlement remains have been located in the western part of the Lower Acropolis (probable construction of new isolated houses or reuse of rooms that had not been completely destroyed next to the rampart and near the tunnels), as well as at several points around the acropolis – such as part of an apsidal house and some circular and apsidal structures to the west, outside the enceinte (Papadimitriou 1998, 120; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 98). Due to the fragmentary condition of the settlement remains, it is not possible to reconstruct the extent and organisation of the occupation. Yet the evidence does suggest that the settlement of the EIA must have consisted of small, dispersed groups that gradually expanded through time (Papadimitriou 1998, 125; 2006, 545; Lemos 2002, 139).

Forty-three PG graves with grave goods, organised in small groups, have been excavated all around the acropolis and directly adjacent to the houses. The location of the graves next to the settlement space seems to underline the independent character of the clusters of houses, which can be interpreted as farms (Hågg 1974, 82-84; Papadimitriou 1998, 119-120, 125; 2003, 2006, 545; Lemos 2002, 159-160).

In Argos, EIA settlement remains have been excavated in the central zone of the lower town as well as in the southern and south-eastern areas, covering a more extensive perimeter than in the previous SM period. Occupation was therefore dispersed, with several nuclei of habitation. Yet, the principal nuclei of the PG occupation appear to be situated in the southern quarter of the modern town, at the foot of the Larissa. There is nothing to indicate, however, the existence of an organised urban complex or some early kind of synoikismos; all indications rather point to a set of scattered habitation units, according to a scheme not very different from that witnessed at Tiryns (Hågg 1974, 18-30, 89; Touchais – Divari-Valakou 1998, 14; Papadimitriou 2006, 545; Lemos 2002, 138).

In the PG period, groups of single inhumation burials, belonging to either children or adults, have been found at several points in the town, grouped around habitation quarters. True cemeteries appeared during Geometric times, in the northern, eastern and southern parts of the town, although burials within the settlement continued (Courbin 1974; Hågg 1974; Foley 1988, 24-25, 39; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 106-107; Touchais – Divari-Valakou 1998, 14-15; Lemos 2002, 157-158). It is interesting that the “intramural” inhumations include both children and adults, since Argos was one of the rare sites where there was no differentiation either in the location or the type of child burial (Snodgrass 1971, 153; Courbin 1974, 149).
In Mycenae, scanty PG settlement remains have been identified inside and around the citadel, whereas several graves of children and adults discovered in the same area seem to confirm that the site was occupied during this period but probably on a smaller scale compared with other PG sites in the Argolid (Hagg 1974, 66-67; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 67-68; Lemos 2002, 160). Just after the PG period, people started to carry out burial in the surrounding lower town.

At Corinth, according to the excavator “by the end of the PG period scattered inhabitation had already taken root in areas later to be encircled by the fortification walls” (Williams II 1984, 11). “By the LG period urban organization is taking root, seen archaeologically in a new burial practice … family burial plots, in association with the houses in the centre of the city, are being eliminated in favour of large group burial grounds away from the urban areas” (Williams II 1984, 19). The great change in the burial patterns from family plots … within the areas of inhabitation to group burials in more isolated cemetery areas indicates interest in community organization, or at least in the power of some authority who acts in terms of priorities of the community over and above those of the individual or family (Williams II 1984, 15; see also Whitley 1991, 61-64; Lemos 2002, 152-154; 2006, 512-517; on the occupation of the agora by pottery workshop, see Papadopoulos 2003).

At Thorikos, several EG-LG rectangular houses have been excavated on the lower slopes of Velatouri hill. It has been assumed that some of them served as workshops for metalworking (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 254). A hundred and fifty PG and LG graves were laid out around and above the houses; they were cist graves and jar burials, mainly of children (Mussche 1974, 29; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 147).

At Eretria, excavations give a fragmentary picture of the ELA settlement, although it is clear that this was particularly extensive. The oldest houses, dating to the MG II (2nd quarter of the eighth century), were found by the harbour in the southern quarter, which was the most densely inhabited. Most of the houses of this period had curved foundations, which have been attributed to apsidal or oval forms (Kahil 1983; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 102-105; 2006). Apart from a tomb of the mid-ninth century, all the other burials date to the eighth century and many of them have been found within the extensive cemetery by the sea. Smaller burial grounds, with pithos-burials, cremations but also inhumations, have been excavated all over the inhabited area, next to the foundations of the houses. It is worth noting that all these burials are of infants or children (Kahil 1983; Blandin 2000, 134-146; 2007a; 2007b, 195-113; Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 373-376).
More evidence on EIA settlements with or without “intramural” burials can be found in a recent paper by A. Mazarakis Ainian (Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008), addressing the question of burial amongst the living in EIA Greece. Analysing settlement and burial in a whole series of EIA sites, from Epirus to Crete and Asia Minor, the author observes a geographical diversity in the distribution of “intramural” burials: it seems that this practice was more prominent in East Central Greece, from Thessaly down to Attica and the NE Peloponnese (e.g. Volos, Mitrou, Viglatouri in Euboea, Asine) (Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 385). But the most interesting point in this paper, in my opinion, is the new approach to EIA “intramural” burials, examined in connection with the settlement layout. The patterns emerging from this settlement-burial connection, as well as Mazarakis' suggested interpretation, will be discussed below.

**DISCUSSION**

From the above brief examination of selected archaeological evidence, important similarities between the two periods under consideration do in fact emerge: at the beginning of both periods the settlement layout seems rather loose, lacking uniformity and any apparent coherence, and is characterised by quite strong variation in shape, size and orientation of buildings; as regards burial practices, notably the location of graves, one observes significant numbers of individual burials inside settlements and very few organised cemeteries.

These similarities have, in my opinion, a common reference mark, which is the perception and use of space: the fact that there is no clear spatial differentiation between domestic, burial and, in some cases, production areas indicates a low specialisation in the use of space (see also Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 387). Besides, the coexistence of multifunctional areas suggests a strong interaction between them. This perspective possibly advances our understanding of the pattern emerging from the evidence: intramural burials seem to fit best into a loosely organised settlement, which is not segmented into specific sectors of use. On the other hand it is not surprising that a strongly structured settlement may not contain intramural burials (Philippa-Touchais 2003). Mazarakis’ study leads to a similar conclusion. The author notes variation in the pattern of EIA settlements related to the presence or absence of “intramural” burials: in communities organised in several small family clans, burials were accepted within or in close proximity to the space of the living, whereas in densely nucleated settlements it appears that all burials were strictly excluded (Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 388-389). In MH it is clear that the “loose” settlement pattern prevails during the early phases, while more highly structured or nucleated settlements linked to organised cemeteries do not appear before the second half of the period. In EIA this sequence seems to follow a similar development; however, the two patterns may also appear synchronically (Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 386-391).

Coming to the possible interpretation(s) of the observed variation in the pattern of spatial organisation. Mazarakis Ainian (Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 389) very perceptively observes that the EIA nucleated settlements – with organised cemeteries, corresponding to more coherent, closed and often competitive communities, were unable to face new challenges (and therefore failed to develop into poleis); on the contrary, the loosely organised settlements – with “intramural” burials – were more favourable to population growth and open to changes both in social and political spheres (and for this they finally acquired polis status). However, when turning to the causes of formation of these different settlement/social models, less successfully, in my opinion, he argues that the loose settlement pattern could be associated with pastoral and thus unstable communities (apidal houses), less attached to the land, and giving little importance towards well-defined physical
terритори boundaries (Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 391, see also Gounaris 2007, and in this volume). I think that an emphasis on the agro-pastoral—not simply pastoral6 (Cherry 1988)–subsistence strategy might be quite accurate not only for the beginning of the EIA but also for that of the MH (Bintliff 1982). Although there may be a connection between such an economy system and a loose spatial organisation, I will not agree, however, that the latter pattern might be related to “unstable communities giving little importance towards well-defined physical territorial boundaries”. On the contrary, as argued by Wright (Wright 2004, 74) animal herding may be understood as defining the outer geography of [transegalitarian and chiefly] societies, while agriculture defines the inner one and in this manner is marked out a physical, political economic, social and cosmic geography within which the community operates7. In any case, it seems clear that the subsistence strategy by itself constitutes one of the parameters of interpretation and does not enable us to reconstruct complex processes such as social change or socio-political formation. Therefore, questions related to these latter processes and which might better elucidate the dynamics that caused, at the beginning of both periods, the emphasis on the prevailing spatial pattern, still remain open. My tentative interpretation will have thus a more social perspective.

It is not a new idea that there is a tight, dialectical connection between settlement layout and social organisation. The form and layout of buildings—as the material expression of the perception of space—reflect on the one hand social behaviour (codes of communication, symbols, concepts and rules), and on the other hand social differentiation (hierarchy, socio-political stratification, economic specialisation). Fur-

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6. The production and consumption of animals is an activity that binds animal husbandry and agriculture (Halstead 1996, 21, 33-36).

7. See also the diagram (Wright 2004, 75) illustrating the economic and social activities that take place within such a landscape.
1974, 74-79 and most recently 2001), as well as with societies related by a “corporate” solidarity based on interdependence between subgroups (Blanton et al. 1996, 6). The inclusive “corporate” strategy emphasizes staple food production, communal ritual and reduced consumption of prestige items; besides, the control of power is rather shared across different groups of society and not monopolised by prestigious leaders (Blanton et al. 1996, more recently Feinman 2000, see also Parkinson – Galaty 2007).

By “simple” I do not mean, however, a system that is devoid of any complexity. On the contrary, even from the beginning of both periods elements of social differentiation and competition can indeed be distinguished, mainly in the context of exchange and consumption of valuable goods. I believe therefore that varying types of power strategy may coexist to some degree in the political dynamics of the presumed “simple” system, as of all social formations (Blanton et al. 1996, 2). In the same direction, Wright has recently maintained that, in the aftermath of the EBA collapse, societies on the Greek mainland were at best “transegalitarian” (neither egalitarian nor politically stratified, Hayden 1995) and operated as multicentric economies (Wright 2004, 68). Yet, these communities mask very powerful forces working to establish inequalities of wealth, resources influence and power. It is not surprising therefore that the role played by individuals trying to differentiate themselves from each other was pivotal for the rise of socio-political complexity (Wright 2004, 69-70). Coming to the EIA political organisation, recent views seem to outline a nearly similar scheme. According to Whitley “what does seem clear is that the [EIA] political organisation can hardly have been complex. A society composed of household or kin groups of more-or-less equal size fits more comfortably with what American anthropologists have termed a ranked society rather than a stratified one. That is, there would certainly have been inequalities of wealth and status, but such inequalities had not become a permanent feature of the social hierarchy. Hierarchies existed, but shifted constantly, and status was achieved rather than being ascribed” (Whitley 2001, 89). Finally, there is no doubt of the existence of substantial variation between the two analogous socio-political systems, as there might have been substantial regional variation within the structural organisation of each one of them.

The fundamental changes – at all levels – at the beginning of both periods might have brought about a reconsideration of value systems and behaviour codes; thus they might also be reflected in the symbolic field, namely in “art”. I propose that the observed persistence in geometric patterns on pottery of both periods might perhaps express the emerging ambience of socio-political instability and ideological heterogeneity, where social relations and identities were under a new negotiation. Ritual emphasising cosmological principles may not be excluded either. But most probably the emphasis on geometric patterns could be connected with the little concern with individual prestige or wealth-based policies. In fact, it has been proposed that figurative representations and more specifically representations of preeminent persons are consistent with the individualising emphasis of the “network” strategy (versus “corporate”) and its public glorification (Blanton et al. 1996, 8). The absence of figurative representations may also be associated with Renfrew’s “faceless and anonymous” individuals in “group-oriented chiefdoms” (Renfrew 1974, 79). Finally, according to a more speculative assumption geometric patterns might express a kind of search for the lost order or the lost equilibrium of a neater and more glorious past. In that case the pictorial decoration, appearing in later phases of both periods, could correspond to the regained order and symmetry or, paraphrasing Hodder, to the dominated and tamed disorder (Hodder 1990, 39).

To return to the traditional question – the significance of the “reappearance” of older (MH) practices during the EIA – I feel that this question is rather misleading and should be put
It is essential to emphasise that the discussion addressed here is not about practices characteristic of one specific period “reappearing” in another, but rather about practices appearing/emerging under specific conditions in (at least two) different periods, within a defined area (the Aegean). Thus, the issue may well not be the cultural origin or ethnic identity of the specific practices or patterns, but rather what they may reflect in terms of the economic strategies, socio-political structures and social behaviour (the conditions) of both periods, or even of other periods when similar patterns may occur. I therefore believe that, at the beginning of the MH and EIA, the formation of a socio-political, economic and symbolic model of an analogous “simple” structure could not be accidental. Without taking a deterministic stand, yet bearing in mind that histories are repeated and polities alternate following cyclical paths (or “dynamic cycles”, Marcus 1998, 92), I argue that this formation could in fact result from similar causes, that it could be a consequence of the collapse of the previous, more complex systems—the proto-urban EH II in one case and the LH palatial in the other. These presumed “simple”, probably corporate forms very soon evolved towards more complex polities through varied trajectories. For, as convincingly argued by Whitley (Whitley 2004, 200), different processes as well as different starting points must in large part result in different outcomes.

To sum up, I have tried to point out in this paper that specific settlement or burial patterns appearing with some emphasis at the beginning of both the MH and the EIA are by no means to be exclusively associated with cultural features—and even less with ethnic groups—but rather with the emergence of analogue subsistence strategies, socio-political systems and ideologies. These systems might be characterised by a rural economy, a low degree of social complexity, a non-centralised political control, and an emphasis on kinship and descent relations. I also proposed that it was probably the collapse of the previous more complex systems and the reversion to “simpler” ones that explain to a great extent the phenomenon of structural similarities at the beginning of both periods.

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James Muhly

ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL GREECE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN THE SAME WITHOUT THE DARK AGES

Ian Morris, in his survey of scholarship on Dark Age Greece, outlines the debate that has gone on between archaeology and philology. Is the Dark Age an archaeological problem, best studied in terms of Submycenaean and Protogeometric pottery? Or is the Dark Age best seen as a philological problem, one that needs to be studied by trying to determine a date for Homer, for the composition of the Iliad and the Odyssey, and also the date and the character of ‘Homeric Society’? (Morris 1997, 122-130).

The reason why this debate has gone on for such a long time is that both positions are totally wrong. The Greek Dark Age, like every other Dark Age in recorded history, was a historical period and can only be studied as a historical problem. Pottery and language are important sources of information, to be sure, but, like every Dark Age, going back to the ‘Dark Age’ of Pharaonic Egypt at the end of the 3rd millennium BC (Bell 1971), and the ‘Dark Age’ of Mesopotamian history in the mid second millennium BC (Landsberger 1954), the Greek Dark Age has to be seen as a historical phenomenon. For the historian every Dark Age owes its darkness to the lack of contemporary historical sources, to written testimonia recording what happened during the decades in question. The reason why so many scholars of ancient Greece have been willing to accept a Dark Age lasting as long as ca. 400 years (1100-700 BC: Whitley 1991, 5) is due simply to the fact that it was during those centuries that all of Greece seems to have forgotten, or at least lost interest in writing their spoken language. William Coulson made his position very clear when, in 1990, he defined the Dark Ages as “the four centuries from the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces to the time when the Greeks recovered the art of writing and events were recorded” (Coulson 1990, 11). In order to clarify the account given by Coulson himself (Coulson 1990, 7, n.1) it should be pointed out that this pamphlet began life as a paper delivered before a special joint session of the annual meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Schools of Oriental Research and the Society for Historical Archaeology, organized by James Wiseman and held in Baltimore MD on 7 January 1989. The session was devoted to the evaluation of ‘Dark Ages’ across the Mediterranean. To my knowledge the ‘Proceedings’ of this meeting were never published.

Written records are, in reality, what it is all about. One can talk about pottery styles, about oral poetry and the transmission of Mycenaean epics through bardic powers of memory, about contact between Greece and the Near East, the export of Greek pottery to and the import of precious materials from the Near East. One can talk about continuity of cult, about continuity in bronze working and gold smithing, and even ivory carving, about remarkable developments in monumental architecture and lavish warrior burials. All very important but, as far as the historian is concerned, the lack of writing means that we are still in a Dark Age. This is true for all Dark Ages in World History.

I do not have to write a history of Dark Age Greece because that has already been done, by
the ancient historian Chester Starr in a book on *The Origins of Greek Civilization*, a history of ancient Greece from 1100 to 650 BC. Starr is best known for his work on the Roman imperial navy, but he also wrote extensively about ancient Greece. His book on *The Origins of Greek Civilization* was published in 1961, and was one of the first synthetic accounts of Dark Age Greece, appearing long before the books by Bouzek (1969), Snodgrass (1971), Desborough (1972) and Whitley (1991). It is, in my opinion, the best historical account of this still problematic period. It is also a book virtually ignored by all archaeologists who have chosen to specialize in the world of post-Mycenaean Greece. James Whitley, in his comprehensive book on *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece*, published in 2001, provides a bibliography of over 1000 items. It does not include Starr's 1961 publication. The same is true for the new book by Oliver Dickinson, on *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age*, published in 2006.

There are many reasons for this seemingly odd situation, but the basic one has to be that Starr, as an ancient historian, saw fit to write about a period known chiefly from pottery found in cemeteries. In other words, he should have known better than to attempt such a project. From my point of view, when a gifted historian has to rely upon pottery for historical evidence, then pottery it is. I challenge everyone to improve upon Starr's evaluation of the historical significance of Submycenaean and Protogeometric pottery based, to be sure, almost entirely upon evidence from the Kerameikos cemetery. What else was there in 1960? To be sure Starr had also read *Tiryns I* (Müller – Oelmann 1912, 127-164) and the 1958 publication of Nicholas Verdelis on local Protogeometric styles of pottery in Thessaly (Verdelis 1958) for, as an ancient historian, Starr realized that never "is it safe to write the history of Greece purely in terms of Athens, either culturally or politically..." (Starr 1961, 96). At the same time Starr was all too aware of the limitations of ceramic evidence:

"Pots are not magical lamps from the Arabian Nights, nor do they themselves speak. While products of clay were used for many purposes, they were after all only physical objects which could not express clearly the ideals, aspirations, and fears of their makers" (Starr 1961, 100).

There was, of course, the great book on *Protogeometric Pottery*, by Vincent Desborough. This book, published in 1952, did not actually represent the beginning of Desborough's serious research dealing with this style of pottery. In 1948 Desborough published a remarkable article on "What is Protogeometric?" (Desborough 1948). His work brought a new methodological rigor to the study of early Iron Age pottery but, at the same time, it was curiously 'ahistorical'. What Ian Morris has argued is that Desborough, along with Nicolas Coldstream and his *Greek Geometric Pottery* (Coldstream 1968), by placing such emphasis upon pottery actually helped to create a split between those scholars who studied archaeology and those who did texts and history (Morris 1997, 119-120).

Starr was a great believer in the Dorian Invasion, meaning by that term the northern invaders who brought North Greek into the Aegean world while, at the same time, destroying Mycenaean civilization (Starr 1961, 69-74; for current research on the 'Dorian Invasion' see Hall 1997, 4-16, 56-65, 182-185; Eder 1998, 13-20, 136-139, 201-203; Morris 1999, 198-207; Dickinson 2006, 3-4, 53-57). In this context I hope that Oliver Dickinson has, once and for all, put an end to all the nonsense devoted to the infamous invasions by the Peoples of the Sea, a creation of the scholarship of the late 19th century AD (Dickinson 2006, 45-48; see also Finkelstein 2007; for an excellent presentation of the 'traditional' interpretation see Cline – O'Connor 2003). Starr's real interest, however, was in accounting for the remarkably sudden and thorough collapse of Mycenaean palatial civilization. The palaces disappeared so com-
pletely that, in subsequent generations, no one ever thought of trying to rebuild a single one of them (Dickinson 2006, 61). Why not?

For Starr the elite who dwelled within the compounds of the Mycenaean palaces were intruders, they lacked deep roots in Greek soil and built palaces in order to create what Starr saw as “a temporary imitation of Oriental monarchy on the grand scale” (Starr 1961, 129). As such this civilization lacked secure foundations and, when challenged, it disintegrated, never again to be seen in any subsequent period of Greek history. This is why Homer found it necessary to base his description of the palace of Alkinoos, in Book 7 of the Odyssey, upon Neo-Assyrian models (Cook 2004). Nothing comparable survived upon Greek soil. As Starr put it:

“At the end of the Late Bronze era... this imitation Oriental monarchy had fallen with a crash. The centralized political administration implied in the palace archives dissolved; the term wanax itself disappeared from the Greek vocabulary save as a term for gods and as an epithet in the Homeric poems. The basileus was a successor not of the wanax but of the local lords and the warleaders of the invaders...” (Starr 1961, 126. For recent scholarship on the term wanax see Palaima 1995; 2006).

In the following remarkable passage Starr combines the dull repetition of the Near Eastern-derived Mycenaean world with what he saw as the essential destructive force of the ‘Dorian Invasion’:

“Greek civilization could never have arisen if that disruption had not occurred and had not shaken the old conventions. In the dull, repetitive cases of Mycenaean pottery which can be seen in modern museums, in the palace tablets which now show the centralizing drive of royal masters, we can sense that the Mycenaean world was far too attached to outside models ever to develop an independent outlook of its own. These links were broken by the barbarian invasions of Greece and of the Middle East at the end of the Late Bronze Age; the declining palace economies of the Mycenaean lords were shattered; and so men were set free to create new political and intellectual views, once the worst of the chaos was over” (Starr 1961, 74).

Starr goes on to say that:

“Although the Greek genius was not a gift from the wild forests of Indo-European Europe, we cannot do without the Dorians in essaying to explain the world in which the first clear marks of Greek civilization appeared.” (Starr 1961, 74).

Starr’s conception of the ‘Dorian Invasion’ really goes back to that proposed by Eduard Meyer, in a volume of his great Geschichte des Alterthums, first published in 1893 (Meyer 19372, 249-532). Does this interpretation have any validity in a world of scholarship over 100 years later? Compare an evaluation by Sarah Morris:

“A major modern factor keeping Bronze and Iron Ages artificially apart is the concept of a “Dark Age” and the persistent specter of the Dorians. The former has been illuminated too brightly by recent discoveries to retain its name or reality; the latter has been successfully demolished by linguists and archaeologists. Both derive from a modern myth encouraged by the nineteenth-century pursuit of race and ethnicity” (Morris 1989, 48).

This is why I fully agree with James Whitley who has argued that “The main interest in the Dark Age ...is not that it followed the Mycenaean but that it preceded Archaic and Classical Greece” (Whitley 1991, 8).

But what of the Dark Age itself? Was it re-
ally all that 'Dark'? Do we really need the existence of a Dark Age? Is it better to speak of the period as 'subfusc' rather than 'dark' (so Coldstream 1998, 5). Is the willingness to recognize such a period no more than individual psychological temperament, as Emily Vermeule has argued?:

“It is probably temperamental predisposition as well as individual scholarly interests that divides those who believe in the possibility of continuity from the "heroic" world into the “renaissance” of the Greek eighth and seventh centuries, from those who really prefer the idea of a fresh start for the Greeks after the poverty and restriction of local economies during the Dark Age” (Vermeule 1991, 100).

Surely there is more to the debate than the predilections of individual scholars, and real archaeological and cultic continuity has now been documented at several sites in the Greek world, especially on Crete (see discussion in Burkert 1985, 47-53; Morgan 1999, 295-304; for the lack of continuity at Eleusis see Binder 1998). The central issue remains the same as it always has been: what do we mean by a Dark Age? (Coulson 1990, 7). The loss of the art of writing is the defining characteristic of a Dark Age, but it remains a symptom, not the cause of such a period. Darkness implies disturbed social and economic conditions resulting from the breakdown of an existing political structure. That is certainly what happened in Greece by the late 12th century BC. But the cultural isolation created by such darkness is not necessarily an unmitigated disaster, for cultural isolation carries within itself the opportunities for retrenchment, consolidation and rebirth. That is the crux of the matter. This is why so many scholars now see a Dark Age as essential for the subsequent development of Greek civilization. More importantly, what took place during that Dark Age is now seen as crucial for understanding why Greece developed in ways very different from those to be seen in all neighboring cultures (Morris 1993, 216-217).

This is the paradigm shift that has taken place in recent years, a shift that has inspired the holding of this international symposium on “The ‘Dark Age’ Revisited”, in memory of the late William Coulson. Willy was my predecessor as Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. While teaching at the University of Minnesota, Coulson excavated and published (as Nichoria III, Minneapolis 1983) the Dark Age levels at Nichoria, including a justly famous apsidal building of two phases (Unit IV-1 a & b), dating to the 10th and 9th centuries BC (Coulson et al. 1983). He went on to publish the pottery from this period in a special monograph on The Dark Age Pottery of Messenia (Coulson 1986). Nichoria gave us a new version of the Dark Age in southern Greece, not only in terms of pottery and architecture but also in its reconstruction of the Early Iron Age environment, including one of the first technical studies of animal husbandry in Dark Age Greece (Mancz 1989).

Nichoria presented the sort of Dark Age that is going to be discussed at this symposium. Gone forever were the horrific accounts describing in harrowing detail an age of poverty and misery, of sudden death and destruction, a life that was “nasty, brutal and short” (to quote Thomas Hobbes). For Martin Nilsson (Nilsson 1933/1972, 246) post-Mycenaean Greece was “the poorest and darkest epoch in all Greek history except for the Stone Age”. Nothing, however, could possibly equal the description of Dark Age Greece presented exactly 100 years ago by Gilbert Murray (Murray 1907/1960, 57):

"a chaos in which an old civilization is shattered into fragments, its laws set at naught, and that intricate web of normal expectation which forms the very essence of human society torn so often and so utterly by continued disappointment that at last there ceases to be any normal expectation at all".
In my opinion Murray had no idea what he was talking about. No scholar today would dare to write such blatant nonsense. The surprising thing is that something similar to this point of view prevailed into the 1960's. It was presented, in a very eloquent fashion, by Sir Denys Page:

“Sometime soon after 1200 B.C. the Mycenaean civilization was wiped off the face of the earth. The great palaces—Mycenae, Tiryns, Thebes, Pylos—were destroyed, the great kings and their peoples were killed or driven out or enslaved. For the next three or four hundred years Greece was isolated, impoverished, parochial. The art of writing was lost; contact with the outside world was reduced to little or nothing; the arts and crafts of Mycenaean Greece were disused or greatly debased. The contrast is about as extreme as it could be…” (Page 1962/1965, 22).

I have tried to argue that our current understanding of Dark Age Greece goes back to the 1961 book by Chester Starr. I have to admit that, while that book was read by all serious students of ancient Greek history, it is difficult to document its impact upon the scholarship published by archaeologists in the ensuing decades. There is, however, an even earlier book whose impact is simply hard to exaggerate. I refer, of course, to The World of Odysseus by Moses Finley, first published in 1954. Finley could not have cared less about pottery or architecture. Like Starr he was an ancient historian, a scholar interested in texts, in literature and in social organization. Finley accomplished nothing less than a total transformation of our understanding of the 10th and 9th centuries BC, the decades that, for him, could best be associated with what had come to be known as ‘Homerian Society’.

Exactly ten years ago, in 1997, Ian Morris, another ancient historian, published a superb summary of exactly what Finley achieved by writing The World of Odysseus:

“Finley redefined the Bronze Age as a Near Eastern palatial society, and the post-Mycenaean period as a hierarchial and complex world of heroes. These were calculating supermen struggling against common enemies and each other in a Hobbesian war of all against all, forming a complex web of political alliances, gifts, and counter-gifts where might was right and the price of weakness was destruction. For the first time, the post-Mycenaean period was important within a larger historical narrative” (Morris 1997, 117).

It sounds rather grim, and I doubt that Finley would have accepted the reference to ‘supermen’, but what Morris gets right is what was of crucial importance: Finley saw the so-called ‘Dark Age’ as but part of a “larger historical narrative”.

This summary of Finley’s position is actually very similar to the position I advocated in my paper presented at the Albright Centennial Symposium in Jerusalem (May 2000; published in 2003: Muhly 2003). There I went on to argue that the tombs of these condottiere, the “returning heroes” of Hector Catling (Catling 1995) or the “Big Men” of the anthropologists and of James Whitley (Whitley 1991, 184-186) and Mazarakis Ainian (Mazarakis Ainian 1997), are to be identified with a series of rich warrior burials from sites such as the North Cemetery at Knossos (Tombs 186, 200-202: Catling 1996, 645-649), from the Skales cemetery at Palaepaphos (Tombs 49, 58, 76 and 89: Karageorghis 1983), from Salamis (Tomb I: Yon 1971), Kourion Kaloriziki (Tombs 39 & 40: McFadden 1954; Demetriou 2000), Amathus (Tombs 521 & 523: Hermary 1999, 57, and, for Cyprus see Iacovou 2007, 467) and Tomb 28 at Tiryns (Verdelis 1963, 10-24). These tombs cover a period of about 100 years, from 1050 to 950 BC. I would argue that the last “hero” in this series of burials was the warrior whose cremation burial was placed beneath the so-called “Heroon” at Lefkandi (Whitley 1991, 185-186; Antonac-
JAMES MUHLY

icio 2002, 18-24; for all the problems connected with this building, and its twin burials, see Mazarakis Ainian 2006).

Anyone reading Starr’s 1961 publication will be struck by the impact of recent discoveries upon his evaluation of the period 1000-800 BC. For Starr:

"the period 1000-800 is devoid of spectacular developments, a poor age illuminated mainly by the scanty deposits of vases which mourners placed in graves" (Starr 1961, 107).

Now, with the publication of material from the North Cemetery at Knossos, from the various cemeteries at Lefkandi and from the settlement at Nichoria, we have a totally different understanding of this period (for which see Lemos 2002). In reality, however, has our understanding of this so-called Dark Age in Greek history really been so transformed? I quoted earlier from Martin Nilsson who saw the Dark Ages as taking Greece back to the Stone Age. Quotations, taken out of context however, are always misleading, for Nilsson goes on to say:

"but it ought to be added that it was of fundamental importance. During this time the foundations of the future history of Greece were laid. The indigenous population and the immigrant Greeks became fused so as to form the historical Greek people, the social conditions and the conditions of property were developed and fixed, and finally that form of state came into being in which the political life of the Greeks was vested until the downfall of Greek civilization. We call it by the Greek word polis" (Nilsson 1933/1972, 246).

That, as far as I can see, is how we now look upon the Greek Dark Ages.

The past thirty years of archaeological work, at a series of Dark Age sites in Greece, has produced a remarkable array of magnificent material. This is true for sites from all over Greece, from Kavousi on Crete (Gesell – Day – Coulson 1995), Argos and Tiryns in southern Greece (Hägg 1974), Lefkandi on Euboea (Morris 2000, 195-256; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 48-58, esp. 55 and n. 126), Kalapodi in Phocis (Jacob-Felsch 1996; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 137-140), Thermon in Thessaly (Papapostolou 1997; Wardle – Wardle 2003; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 125-136) and Assiros in Macedonia (Wardle 1997; Newton – Wardle – Kuniholm 2003). We now have a better understanding of Greece in the 10th and 9th centuries than what was available to scholars from all previous generations. In 1990, some 30 years after the publication of his book on The Origins of Greek Civilization, Chester Starr was asked to contribute the ‘Introduction’ to the publication of a conference on Greece between East and West: 10th-8th Centuries (Kopcke – Tokumaru 1992). In reference to what had happened during the intervening three decades Starr concluded that:

“Our knowledge, in sum, of no other period of ancient history has changed and expanded in recent generations so much on the factual level as has our picture of early Greece; it remains a serious question whether our conceptual schemes have altered and developed as much as the evidence has” (Starr 1992, 3).

My guess is that this conference in Volos has been designed, at least in part, to answer that very question.

ADDENDUM

If I had remembered to take account of the very important paper by Anthony Snodgrass, first published in 2002 and reprinted in 2006 (Snodgrass 2006), I could have presented my arguments in an even more forceful fashion. Snodgrass’ arguments for discontinuity, from
i.BA to EIA, are based mainly upon an interpretation of the archaeological evidence, but one quote (Snodgrass 2006, 170) makes clear his basic position:

“The recently-propounded view that the Dark Age itself is an outdated fantasy depends crucially on a belief that the societies of the Early Iron Age retained most of what had been significant in Mycenaean culture – including its political structures and especially the links of Mycenaean culture with the Eastern Mediterranean. Personally, I hold that they retained rather little, and that that little then dwindled away to almost nothing, until some elements were artificially revived in the late eighth century BC and later.”

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FORMATIVE LANDSCAPES: REGIONAL EXPERIENCES OF THE AEGEAN COLLAPSE CA.1200 BC AND THEIR LONG-TERM IMPACT

PREFACE

Meeting William Coulson first when excavating at Monastiraki Chalasmeno in 2000, I liked him immediately for the relaxed, open and humorous attitude to life which made him patient and friendly to a young scholar keen to argue at length about the reasons for settlement shift in Crete around 1200 BC. Those features of personality were shared with his second wife Elisavet, who dedicated herself entirely to him during the years of his illness, a period intended to have been only the start of their bright future together. It is thanks to Elisavet's determination to do what she felt to be the right thing by Willy through the difficult and confusing years after his death that Willy's archive has made its way to Volos, where I hope it will help to stimulate and support scholarship in a vibrant and ambitious young department.

INTRODUCTION

Coulson's participation in a groundbreaking project on Iron Age Crete, based around Kavousi, represented just one of his research directions (Coulson – Mook 1997; Mook – Coulson 1997; Gesell et al. 1983; 1985; 1991; 1995). My paper builds on recent developments in Iron Age Cretan research, including the Kavousi project, and includes two more angles related to Coulson's work. One is landscape archaeology, which became fashionable in the Aegean during Coulson's career - though usually with a strong determinist slant, and a heavy focus on collecting and cataloguing site information through survey (e.g. Bintliff 1977; Macdonald – Rapp 1972; Renfrew – Wagstaff 1982). The Minnesota Messenia Expedition was a leader in this respect, and Willy was fortunate enough to be closely involved in the excavation at Nichoria, a project in which many of the survey's interests and approaches were extended (McDonald et al. 1983; Rapp – Aschenbrenner 1978). Here I want to apply a rather different, phenomenological perspective to landscape, drawing on approaches developed in northwest Europe in the 1990s and onward, but still not regularly applied to the rich Aegean record (Bradley 2000; Tilley 1992; 2004). The third way in which the study touches Willy's interests and experience is its consideration of the EIA archaeology of Messenia, which still needs a great deal of research: I use north Messenia as a short case study (Coulson 1986).

The very deep-rooted cultural and social change occurring at the end of the Bronze Age affected the whole Aegean, promoting spatial readjustment on an immense scale. Due in part to sparse data, this change is often still poorly theorised at regional level for mainland Greece, being often rather oversimplified in terms of 'disturbance', 'migration' or 'desertion' affecting large regions (e.g. Eder 1998, 195-208; Fox-
My aim is to use the exceptional level of landscape knowledge and understanding we now have for Crete to pose meaningful questions of the record in less well-understood regions, and thereby improve insight into different experiences and strategies of collapse (in the restricted space here, however, I do not include figures of Cretan sites and landscapes). The Bronze to Iron Aegean as a whole is an intriguing collapse case study. The different sizes, structures and alignments of Bronze Age states meant collapse could never have been uniform. At the same time, we recognise linked conditions at the end of the Bronze Age to which all regions responded (Dickinson 2006; Ward - Joukowsky 1992). Here, I consider how structured the response was in each case study region, how far it was conditioned by local history and topography, and the long-term impacts of different regional responses on the structuring of social identities and outlooks through the course of the Iron Age. Study of Iron Age cultural landscapes has so far been heavily focused on site function. Shifting our attention to experiences of the landscape, and how these shaped social outlooks and responses at a broader level, offers new insight, especially if we consider all aspects of experience rather than just the visual (Rodaway 1994; Wallace 2007).

**EXPERIENCES OF LANDSCAPE CHANGE IN CRETE**

Crete is distinguished both by very dramatic new types of landscape use at this period, and by a very dense palimpsest of earlier landscape use (Nowicki 2000; Wallace 2007). Surely, then, the cultural landscape must have figured prominently in the Cretan populations' experience of collapse. A high degree of cultural landscape planning is seen in the very widespread, coherent, and collaborative defensive settlement relocation occurring here from around 1200 BC- suggesting that the collapse process itself was exceptionally well planned (Wallace in press a). The rapid development of stable new social institutions in the island during the early part of the EIA, and the very low number of site destructions there, support the idea of a very coherent, pro-active adjustment to the prevalent instability and conflict, allowing collapse to occur in a particularly smooth and 'successful' way.

The material past clearly formed a significant component in the EIA landscape, at several levels. At a significant number of the new twelfth-century sites, settlers would have found visible traces of much earlier use in the form of surface artefact scatters and/or ruined buildings. Karfi and Jouktas were Bronze Age peak sanctuaries; Azoria and Katalimata had Neolithic occupation (Haggis et al. 2007; Nowicki 1994; 1999; 2000, 44-45). These histories often seem to have been valued and respected by the settlers: Karfi buildings contained redeposited Neolithic and Bronze Age artefacts; house walls at Katalimata re-used Neolithic and Middle Bronze predecessors (Pendlebury et al. 1938, 89-92, 96; Nowicki in press). Indeed, they offered fertile ground for the development of new community-defining practices and traditions, though we have little evidence as to exactly how they were used in this regard. Beyond the settlement sphere, the continued use of Bronze Age ritual sites, such as the Psychro cave, right through the Bronze-Iron Age transition suggests a continuous symbolic potency in this dimension for both the material remains and the practices of the immediate pre-collapse period, notwithstanding the major changes in the sites' context of use which surely occurred as a result of relocation. Evidence that the concept of cave sanctuaries was also transferred to entirely new locations, like Patsos, to fit the new settlement pattern and political environment, confirms this (Kourou - Karetsou 1994; Watrous 1996, 100-102). Another kind of reference to the past in the landscape involved the adaptation of well-known, high-profile LBA sites, abandoned for settlement during the collapse period, as ritual places. These probably served...
people from a number of different sites in the surrounding region, with deep-rooted regional landscape memories being drawn on to consolidate their new status. Kommos and Ayia Triada must have functioned like this: at the intra-site scale, the monumental, highly visible Bronze Age remains of these formerly important towns must have formed a resonant reference in the rites performed at the EIA shrines there (Wallace 2003).

The twelfth-century settlement shift itself seems to have been quickly separated out as a defining horizon in terms of the formation of regional/polity identity during the later Iron Age, with its material correlates being referred to in a variety of ritual and symbolic practices. Abandoned twelfth-century settlements such as Smari Profitis and Monastiraki Chalasmeno were returned to for cult, feasting or burial activity as nucleated settlements emerged and state structures started to consolidate from the tenth century through the seventh (Wallace 2003). Within these old settlements, certain structures or areas do seem to have been selected for re-use, but the most impactful, labour-intensive activity was surely the return to the site itself. The high visibility and striking morphology of some of these re-used sites may have helped them to take on roles as foci of social memory for regional groupings tracing their identity and relationships back to the collapse period and the drastic social changes associated with it. It appears, then, that landscape-embedded networks of historical and social reference had a strong stabilising role, both at the crisis period and well beyond it.

Turning back to the ca. 1200 BC relocation phase itself, visual aspects of the new landscape seem likely to have made a major impact on the communities living there. Multi-site intervisibility (with the striking topography of many sites making them easily identifiable from far away) meant that however the communities of a region conceptualised their relationships – as defence partners, trade rivals, or satellites – they were unable to ignore events affecting each other. Thanks to the dramatic relief contrasts, inter-settlement distances looked relatively small from many of the new locations, and opportunities for long-range communication and interaction, including potential territorial expansion as circumstances changed, were highlighted by panoramic views. This contrasts with the probably much more restricted channels of interaction and outlook available to small- to medium-sized communities during the Late Bronze Age, when the majority of settlements were located in coastal plains or low-lying valleys. In this context, irrespective of their size or functional importance, the most dramatic, highly visible ‘landmark’ settlements may have come to symbolise whole regional communities or settlement clusters from which they could be seen or easily reached: Karfi, Rotasi Korifi and Keraton provide good examples of sites of this type in regions where the other contemporary settlements known are of a less dramatic type (Nowicki 2000, 139, 157-164, 191).

If the above reconstruction is valid, then it is likely that some transference of political and symbolic associations would be required from Protogeometric onwards, as more than 50% of the most extreme sites founded in the twelfth century were abandoned in a regionally-bound nucleation movement to larger, lower-lying sites. This occurred in conjunction with a set of other developments pointing to increasing social and political complexity in the island (Wallace 2003). That this transference was a relatively drawn-out process is suggested by the persistence of use of some visually dramatic ‘landmark’ sites, such as Kavousi Kastro and Vrokastro, into the earliest Archaic (Hall 1914; Wallace in press b). I have argued elsewhere that these were bases for small clan groups trading on the visually-linked symbolism and profile of their settlements to maintain a separate territorial identity and power base, even while becoming increasingly dependent on, and integrated within, much larger regional state-level polities (Wallace 2003). In this way, the early grounding of strongly-defined and stable community
identities in the landscape - so useful in building social coherence in the early post-collapse period - could actually have held back smooth complexity growth in the period of change ca. 1000-700 BC.

The new visual landscape created by the twelfth-century relocation had other implications, reinforcing the impression gained from individual attributes of the new sites - of a strongly collaborative system, involving regular communication and relatively close social links between scattered communities. When clouds descended, 'landmark' settlements of the type described above must have become suddenly vulnerable, relying on lower-lying neighbours in the valleys to maintain defence and communications networks (Nowicki 1990). In contrast to the wide-angled perspectives from the peak-top sites, coastal settlements mainly looked out to sea, their views inland being blocked by high ground. Yet these sites had the closest, easiest contacts both with the outside world and with the residents of more distant Cretan regions. The record tells us imported goods and materials were moving regularly into the interior: the founding of several coastal shrines in the early part of the EIA and the continued use of a very few large LBA settlements near the coasts right through the crisis period suggests that coastal presence was considered consistently important to maintain. That a number of newly-founded defensive sites were coastal confirms the strong degree of collaborative planning in relocation, with the risks of placing new settlements on the coasts balanced against their value as the outermost components in the new defensive networks, as well as the potential gains to be made from trade interactions.

Overall, then, a newly joined-up experience of landscape developed in the post-collapse period, with more people moving regularly around what had previously been marginal and remote areas. In this context, knowledge of these areas may, in the period of the move and just afterwards, have connoted considerable social power for those who knew the difficult access routes into and between sites, the emergency concealment places, the water sources, and the best cultivable pockets, and who were aware of old territorial boundaries and thus best positioned to help claim and mark new ones. These individuals may have held relatively modest status in the highly stratified LM IIIA-B society - as local administrators, shepherds and farmers. The deep transformation of the cultural landscape, as experienced at the visual level and beyond, thus potentially altered social relations to a significant extent (Wallace 2004).

Difficulty in accessing many of the new sites must have affected social relations. Stress on the heart and legs caused by steep ascents, dangers posed by very narrow access paths up cliffs; exposure to cloud, thunderstorms or cold on the exposed routes between sites, and the silence or sound of high winds around them, surely promoted a sense of isolation and vulnerability for those moving in the landscape between them. Moving tools, crops and water into a village could be difficult and dangerous at highly inaccessible sites like Monastiraki Katalimata and Elliniki Korifi (Nowicki 2000, 129-130). Thus, new relationships of dependency perhaps developed, with the elderly, pregnant, infirm and children now much more reliant on the able-bodied to bring supplies and less able to join in daily work. Possible tensions in the early relocation period, and deep changes in social and economic ranking over time may have arisen as a result, with certain types of family structure (male-heavy) gaining new precedence. At the same time, planning for periodic siege existence could also help bond communities internally, promote the growth of new kinds of social institutions (intra-settlement public cult and new kinds of formalised public feasting seem to have been two of these), and build regional cohesion, with reciprocal protective arrangements on food storage and supply made between proximate settlements. Within such frameworks, it may have been agreed that vulnerable people would be sent to the lower-lying, more accessible sites in times of great risk.
The building up of political debts in this way could ultimately assist the transfer of power to the large low-lying sites in the period of complexity growth from the tenth century onward.

With such a large-scale change in cultural landscape, the whole tone and character of community self-definition and rights to territory must have undergone drastic transformation. Intersite visits needed careful planning, given both the difficulties of access to settlements and the insecure environment. Residents probably often came out to meet visitors on the nearest accessible area, since wheeled vehicles and even pack animals had to be left below. Surely a newly sharp definition of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' resulted, helping build a very distinct identity for each community within its regional grouping. In the densely-packed settlement scatters of some regions, frequent meetings between residents of different communities probably occurred at the borders of farmed lands. The latter may often have been located very close to, and been clearly visible from, the new settlements, with their wide-ranging views, yet at the same time cut off from direct access to settlement, thanks to the extreme topography of the new settlement pattern. This combination of factors surely helped encourage the emergence of small, but well-defined settlement territories, and of a widespread system of landownership based on habitual, well-recognised land use by individual families, replacing the larger, remoter, consolidated territory blocs formally attached to polities or single high-ranking owners in the Late Bronze Age. This kind of strong small-scale attachment to land from early in the post-collapse period may have helped a bound labour system to become especially deeply entrenched as political complexity grew and inequality increased from the PG period.

The new settlements were often placed near established major natural routes. Use of formerly minor routes surely intensified where site density increased (e.g. within the west Siteia and Lasithi mountains); some new routes must also have been created, giving rise to new contact maps throughout the island. In the new defensively-organised landscape, some sites guarded routes in pairs, bringing questions of individual community identity again to the fore: did sites like those at Oreino, flanking a major pass into the west Siteia mountains (Nowicki 2000, 78-81) develop 'brother' relationships, or compete directly in some areas, such as the control of trade passing along these routes to the island's interior? The fact that the nucleated sites growing up from Protogeometric onwards were all located directly on, or had very easy access to, major routes indicates high awareness of constraints on travel and expansion in the twelfth-century landscape - as soon as it was viable, people actively reformulated the landscape to expand in these directions. The ritual re-use of abandoned settlements in the later Iron Age must have become especially resonant as the routes which had been developed in the early post-collapse period to reach these settlements became forgotten and overgrown. Once again, we see social power being deeply invested in landscape knowledge and memory.

EXPERIENCE IN OTHER AEGEAN LANDSCAPES

Other Aegean regions also show evidence for both defensive adaptations of the natural landscape from 1200 BC, and the grounding of a powerful historical consciousness and symbolism in landscape. The sharing of these features across a broad geographical area suggests that although regional responses were strongly conditioned by the local topographic canvas, ongoing contacts between regions, as well as strong elements of shared history and culture, encouraged some common attitudes and understandings regarding landscape to emerge. When a number of regions are surveyed, certain broad types of crisis response appear to match up with particular kinds of landscape, but meaningful differences arise from contingent factors and choices in every case. Cycladic
landscapes of the early EIA, for example, echo Cretan ones in the extensive use of new naturally defensible or fortified sites (Karageorghis – Morris 2001). However, special types of compromise in the Cyclades are often overlooked in the scholarship, particularly by scholars wishing to link settlement patterns of the southern Aegean islands generally to the arrival of immigrants from the mainland or further afield, sideling local input and decision-making. For example, in comparison to Crete a much higher proportion of the population stayed in coastal locations and/or at or around existing LBA settlements, and there was more widespread use of fortification. The relatively small population sizes of the islands, an economic outlook which had been very strongly tied to that of the maritime trade sphere during the LBA (related to the limited concentration of agricultural resources in the islands, as well as their smaller populations) and the limited amount of naturally defensible topography by comparison to Crete, all seem to have conditioned this response.

The response pattern of defensible site foundation known from the southern Aegean gains further depth and complexity when we start to note and collate evidence for similar patterns in insular and peninsular areas of the northern Aegean. These are striking to anyone familiar with the southern phenomenon, but the recognition of parallels has been slow because sites’ landscape context is rarely discussed in publications, and site dating is more approximate in these areas (a study by Matsas 2004, on which I draw heavily, clearly explains the dating problem). Despite the broad similarities, though, differences in practice within the north Aegean region suggest variable experiences of collapse at local level. The northern mainland suffers little negative effect from the collapse in the south. A high number of large and prosperous sites continue through the Bronze to Iron transition, a fact probably linked to freed-up, intensified exploitation of Balkan trade routes and local metals sources (Cambitoglou et al. 2001, 280-294; Papadopoulos 2005, 589-592; Savvopoulos 2004; Squarif 2004; Traxasopoulos-Salakidou 2004; Wardle 1989). The northern islands and peninsulas show a much more radical, pro-active response pattern at the crisis period. Perhaps mainland communities failed to protect these groups, thanks to weak regional political links in the LBA. The island/peninsular regions may also have become more heavily involved with opportunistic seaborne trading and raiding during the collapse period, giving them a different outlook and economic base.

On the isolated Sithonia ‘finger’ of the Chalkidiki peninsula, the site of Koukos Sykia, with its inland positioning, yet easy coastal access, represents a response echoing that of many Cycladic communities, in dominating a small and valuable harbour and a rare stretch of arable land (figs. 1-2: Carington Smith 2003; Carington Smith – Vokotopoulou 1988; 1989; 1990; 1992). With limited agricultural resources, it seems that communities seeking defence in these island and island-like regions could not afford to move far from them, or from maritime contacts, even though it is clear that the threats affecting them mainly came from the seaward direction. From the summit of Koukos, strategic views cover the coast, but there is little view inland (fig. 3). The site is highly inaccessible from most directions, with especially challenging access, up steep cliffs, from the coastal side. The only additional protection needed was a short fortification wall where the summit joins the massif behind it. All these features recall the new types of south Aegean site. Though the whole ridge is visible from the bay, it is hidden from other parts of the peninsula and the site itself does not stand out as a landmark, as in some of the Cretan cases described above. Nearby Torone, seeing a flourishing occupation phase from about this period, has a very different topography (fig. 4). The small low Lekythos peninsula runs out into a valuable sandy bay adjacent to the exceptionally well-protected Koufos harbour to the south, the control of which must have been of major interest. The peninsula, and the strip of land
now linking it the coast seem very unlikely to have been used for settlement before the G-A period. Earlier EIA (mostly cemetery) material is best known from the slopes slightly above the peninsula to its south-east (Paspalas 2001; Papadopoulos 2001; 2005, 571-594). Again, we see a Cycladic-type concern to control coastal resources closely, but here addressed in a much more risky (though potentially more rewarding) way than in the Koukos case. The steep-sided Anemomylos hill above the peninsula might possibly have been used as a refuge in the early EIA, but is not very defensible at local level, and would require substantial fortification to be really secure: the peninsula itself and isthmus the cliffs are also not high or steep enough for protection without heavy investment in fortification. Thus, we see two very different outlooks on risk in the EIA of Sithonia, which seem to have paid off differently. The hidden Koukos community stayed small, with a limited range of external contacts, through the Iron Age, and was abandoned at the end of the period. In contrast, Torone, with its approachable, outward-looking location, grew, showing very pro-active external links in its pottery right through the EIA (Papadopoulos 2005, 575-580). The sites are not visible from each other, despite their closeness, and each commands its own hinterland, with little suggestion of defence collaboration or close links. This is partly a result of the topography of the peninsula, with its central block of high land, but seems also to relate to deliberate, and different, strategies adopted in the face of threat.

Turning to the island of Samothraki, the results of recent research by Dimitris Matsas again suggest two distinct local experiences of, and responses to, collapse within a small area. The island's flat coastline lacks much defensive topography. By far the best combination of coastal access with extensive arable is found in the large western plain, where Bronze Age settlement concentrated (Matsas 2004). In contrast, the southeast coast has high cliffs and a very narrow coastal strip broken only at the small sandy bay of Pachia Ammos (fig. 5). In the crisis period (as indicated by the roughly-dated local material) a major new settlement was established inland on the large steep-sided hill of Vrychos, sited above the western plain and commanding a valley route deeper into the interior (fig. 6). Though not highly defensible, due to its large size and lack of cliffs, Vrychos offered strategic advantages through a set of compromises. Its flat summit allowed a large community to be housed, and defensibility was enhanced by a high-investment fortification. The site's size, its central location, the general lack of other topography of this type in the region, and the degree of investment made, suggests the collaboration of a number of wealthy groups, perhaps originating from several different parts of the island. Who, then, chose to relocate to a new site at the Krimniotissa location, a small rocky summit on the high ridge overlooking the Pacheia Ammos bay? Access is extremely difficult here and flat arable very limited, with the steep valley sides and narrow rocky saddles between them forming the only areas for cultivation, though the area is rich in springs. One approaches the site up steep gullies from the seaward side, then around the back along very narrow rocky terraces. A short fortification wall offers the last protection - hardly needed if, as it seems, approaches from the sea were the main threat. Were the settlers here a poorer community already established in the local region, or were they people sent from the always heavily-populated western zone to establish a security post against attackers landing in this hidden bay? Despite the difficulties, living here could offer considerable advantages. In particular, the differences in visual profile and outlook between the two sites may have been influential. From the sea, the Krimniotissa site marks the position of the bay, and views from it look outward to Imbros, marking an important island-hopping route leading east (fig. 7). From Vrychos, in contrast, no other landfall is seen, and the site is relatively hidden from coastal approaches among a set of low hills. Though more
visually exposed, the Krimniotissa site’s residents were actually highly secure, and could intercept trade and form external alliances without the co-operation of their western neighbours. There are traces of a larger settlement on the slopes below Krimniotissa to the southwest, which, if datable to the EIA, might represent a longer-term expansion of the site down off the most defensible summit, a pattern also seen at some EIA defensible sites in Crete.

If northern Greek islands/peninsulas show some similarities to the southern Aegean in terms of landscape response, central mainland Greece has particularly marked differences. Across much of the region, the twelfth century sees much fewer, probably larger sites replacing the typically spread-out LH IIIB distributions. If this represents a concentration of population at selected existing sites, it would help explain the difficulties in developing stable new social institutions after collapse suggested by various aspects of the record (Wallace in press a). The mainland’s broad topographical divisions, with very large mountain zones and huge rolling plains, made widespread relocation to defensible niches impractical if the main resources of the region were to continue to support the population. This, along with a number of other factors, seems to have promoted selective settlement continuity. The continuing settlements were able to gain some defensive strength through sheer size: that defence was a concern on the mainland, especially its coasts, is indicated by the foundation of a relatively small number of new defensive sites. At the same time, coasts and near-coastal zones clearly retained an attraction (probably trade-linked) for some continuing large sites (Wallace 2003). We can learn more about how all these different factors were actively balanced by different mainland communities if we pay attention to how change was experienced in landscape terms: below, I address two contrasting cases in the east and west mainland.

The zone bordering the Euboean gulf, well-settled in LH IIIB, lacks defensive topography almost completely, and is highly accessible by sea. In the context of the collapse and its associated threats, staying in such an area, even at a few large selected sites, would have been a risky proposition. The reasons for which we see no reduction or contraction, but actually an intensification, of settlement here from the crisis period onward must be connected to the fact that the region became a major gateway for trade with the east from this period, with the protected Euboean gulf corridor used to feed goods inland to wealthy communities like those burying at Elateia (Andreiomenou 1972; Boardman 1957; Dakoronia 1993; 2006; Popham 1994). In this context, the inhabitants clearly thought it worth risking attack not just by staying put, but by actually expanding settlement density. Sizeable numbers of people almost certainly chose to relocate here from some inland areas. Both new and old settlements, of various sizes, reach out in their siting to seaborne traffic, being placed on low eminences or flat on the coast: a bigger contrast with newly-established sites on the coasts of north and south Aegean islands/peninsulas could not be imagined. Lefkandi, Chalkis and Amarynthos are all such cases. Mitroura is a striking case of a relatively small newly-founded site on a very lowlying tidal islet in a protected bay, providing no strategic lookout and accessible on all sides (van de Moortel in this volume). Kynos (Pyrgos Limenatou) offers immensely strategic views along the coast and great seaborne access, but totally lacks local defensive capabilities (fig. 8: Dakoronia 1993). Many of these communities apparently did not even follow the island pattern of investment in heavy fortification to offset their topographic weaknesses, though many clearly had the size and wealth to do so (recent excavations at Lefkandi have notably shown traces of a fortification wall; Lemos personal communication). The security of high population numbers, but also the region’s special gateway role, may have protected them. Ultimately, though, this is an issue of outlook: people living here were prepared to accept or control risk in a way which
the inhabitants of many of the Aegean islands were not. Insight into attitudes and outlooks on landscape in this region is hugely enhanced by considering the cultic landscape. The choice of Kalapodi as a place to establish a new regional sanctuary at this time clearly relates both to its past as a Bronze Age settlement, and its location - a deeply unobtrusive position hidden away on the slopes of a large, open inland valley, accessible for a very large number of communities in the region (fig. 9: Felsch et al. 1996; Morgan 2003, 133-135). Deliberate reference seems made to local memory maps, and the focus here is on access for local groups in the wider region, emphatically not a reaching out to outsiders.

In conclusion, I turn to the north-west Peloponnese, probably the least intensively researched of the regions reviewed here. It has a long, flat, exposed and accessible coastline, with large shallow bays and huge areas of prime inland arable stretching back from the coast (fig. 10). This is a prime example of a region where LH IIIB populations were so large, and arable and coastal resources so valuable, that island-type mass relocation was not practical (McDonald - Rapp 1972, 264-310). Yet the response here is different from that in the Euboean gulf zone, indicating a particular local outlook on landscape, as well as demonstrating concerns broadly shared with other regions at this period. Though any kind of extreme naturally defensible topography was again lacking, a rather greater need for protection seems to have been felt here than in the east. Fortification was adopted as a strategy at exposed, strategic, rocky headlands like Teichos Dymaion. Nucleation, offering strength in numbers, was also adopted - but here made much more effective by a careful selection of locally strategic points for the large settlements where regional population seems to have concentrated. A compromise had to be made in this respect with what the landscape had to offer, based on long experience and the weighing up of different benefits and risks. These subtle considerations can sometimes be overlooked when studying the sites as dots on a distribution map rather than in their local landscape context. In this landscape, even low eminences positioned slightly inland had a huge defensive value thanks to the panoramic views they offered over coast and landward approaches. Ancient Elis occupies exactly such a location, with gentle and approachable slopes rising not far above the plain, but with an immense strategic advantage (figs. 11-12). The settlement is usually recognised as founded in the Submycenaean period, based on its excavated cemetery sector of this date, but looking at the topography of the site in conjunction with wider landscape developments, such as the abandonment of a number of small cemetery sites further inland in LH IIIB/C, suggests strongly that its EIA occupation actually dates from the twelfth century (Arapogianni 1996; Eder 1999). The site of Ano Samikon, to its south, also lacks extreme defensive characteristics, but actually offers the best strategic protection and viewpoint for miles around: occupation may have moved here at the end of the LBA from the Kleidhi settlement below (McDonald - Hope Simpson 1961, 230; Sperling 1942, 85-87). These considered compromises obviously provided enough flexibility for long-term settlement success: both Elis and Samikon had long and prosperous histories.

Again, looking at the way cult operated in this landscape adds an extra dimension of understanding. Olympia was a site with a Bronze Age settlement history chosen for cult use from very soon after 1200 BC, in what must be a deliberate reference (Kyrieleis 2002). As at Kalapodi, deep and long-term local landscape knowledge was privileged in this dimension of social activity: the river confluence site on a valley route well-marked in local mental maps, rather than any visually obtrusive location, was key to the choice. The north Messenian regional community managed to promote (loose) political cohesion, as well as ensuring its security, by drawing subtly and diversely on shared landscape awareness and experience.

In conclusion, existing natural and cultural
landscapes were consciously manipulated and planned around in all Aegean regions at the crisis period: behaviour was never straightforwardly determined by landscape. Yet the choices made at collapse, once embedded in landscape, had very long-term conditioning effects on regional political and social developments.

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Fig. 1. Map of the Aegean, showing the non-Cretan sites mentioned in the text.

Fig. 2. Koukos Sykia, from east.
Fig. 3. View from Koukos Sykia, looking east.

Fig. 4. Torone bay and Lekythos peninsula, from south-west.
Fig. 5. Krimniotissa site, looking north-east from Pacheia Ammos bay.

Fig. 6. Vrychos, from north.
Fig. 7. View of Krimniotissa site from north-west, showing the site's steep slopes and Imbros in the far distance.

Fig. 8. Kynos (Pyrgos Limenatou) from north.
Fig. 9. Kalapodi from east.

Fig. 10. View north from Ano Samikon.
Fig. 11. Ancient Elis from south-east.

Fig. 12. View west from Ancient Elis, overlooking Peneios river valley.
Beginning in the seventies and the eighties of the previous century, there has been a smooth divorce between Homer and Archaeology, a pair hitherto happily united at least since Heinrich Schliemann. This break up has never been a definitive one, but nowadays in archaeological syntheses Homer is most often relegated to appendices, epilogues or concluding chapters, to corroborate the picture. On the Homeric side of the divide, scholars never ceased to debate the problem of the so-called 'historicity' of the so-called 'Homeric world' and archaeology plays an important part therein. Now, I believe that Homer can still be an important element of our vision of Early Iron Age in Greece, because Homeric poems themselves in many ways stem from historical developments of the Greek 'Dark Ages'. After all, for a very significant part of the formative period of Greek civilisation, these are our only extant literary texts. — But how should we handle them in order to obtain positive historical data?

To simplify, perhaps somewhat grossly, we can distinguish two different traditional approaches to this problem. On the one hand, there has been a tendency to confront diverse Homeric Realien with our currently available archaeological material. Where both converge, it is believed that we come across hard historical data for a given period, and even that we are entitled to supplement our literary evidence by the archaeological one and vice versa. Whenever such a convergence does not occur as regards fundamental elements of the Homeric 'material world' (Homeric weaponry, dress, housing etc.), scholars tend to adopt two different strategies (sometimes both of them at the same time). They can either explain away divergences they observe arguing that these disparities are rooted in different historical layers of the Homeric text; or they can look for a historical period and/or a particular region wherein some older forms of weapons, dress or housing allegedly coexist with new ones in our archaeological material (Cf. Van Wees 1999, 16; in general, see Sherratt 1990, passim). This approach carries on the line of reasoning assuming that the primary task of archaeology is to elucidate notable texts, even if nowadays it is rather texts

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D. Frame, M. Lurje, G. Nagy, R. Osborne, C.B.R. Pelling, A. Purves, K.A. Raaflaub, A. Snodgrass, L. Trzcionkowski, S. West, A. Wolicki, and A. Ziolkowski. To all of them, I would like to express my deep gratitude. Needless to say, I am the sole responsible for all the remaining weaknesses and shortcomings of the paper. It is my pleasure to extend my thanks to the Director and to the Staff of the Harvard's Center for Hellenic Studies (Washington, DC) for unique conditions to conduct my research in 2006.

1. For a general overview of this tradition, see H.-G. Buchholz 1991; at its origins, see esp. E. Buchholz 1871-1885. The series Archaeologia Homerica is a monumental example of this approach. The classical although much outdated study of the issue: Lorimer 1950. In general, cf. a recent synthesis by Mazarakis Aïnian 2000.
that are supposed to elucidate archaeological data and corroborate archaeological constructs.

On the other hand, beginning with Sir Moses Finley, there have been many attempts at identifying a coherent overall picture of 'Homeric society' ('Homeric kinship', 'Homeric kingship' etc.); its historical plausibility can allegedly be verified by ethnographic and historical parallels, and/or supported by pertinent anthropological and sociological models. The results of such an approach vary from one study to another, the 'Homeric world' being identified with some period within the Dark Age, or with the contemporary or nearly contemporary times of Homer. I will call this approach the 'systemic' one because its main feature is in fact the belief in a very high degree of coherence of the society and polity depicted by Homer. What is more, it is this idea of (alleged) social coherence that in itself becomes a guarantee of the historicity of the Homeric picture and makes it possible to analogize this (alleged) 'system' to some external systems or models. No doubt, this approach is prevalent in Homeric scholarship at the moment and so it deserves a closer look.

Nowadays, the majority of the proponents of this attitude argue that the best way to use Homer as a historical source is to use it as a source for the social and historical reality of (more or less) his times. On the one hand, there is a common-sense proposition that it is precisely a contemporary flavour, or perhaps better: some important contemporary 'landmarks' in the epic scenery, that made the poetic world of Homer look plausible and comprehensible to the intended public of the Iliad and Odyssey (see above all Morris 2001; Raaflaub 1991, 212-214; 1998, 178-179, 181-184; but cf. already Meyer 1884-1902, III, 203). Moreover, and again on comparative grounds, we are told that this continuous 'actualisation' of the socio-political literary world forms an essential characteristic of oral traditions and oral poetry in general. On the other hand, however, 'the setting in a remote past allows for a large element of idealization and fantasy, too'. This notwithstanding, the exponents of the 'systemic' approach believe they can 'disentangle these disparate elements', by isolating and discarding phenomena resulting from 'epic aggrandizement', 'poetic archaization', or to put it more generally, from the 'distancing effect' typical of heroic poetry (quotations from Van Wees 1999, 2). The point is, of course, how measurable the poetic 'idealization and fantasy' may be, and here again, the advocates of this approach can resort to the abundant comparative material at their disposal.

Now, both attitudes are not mutually exclusive and are often combined by scholars, especially nowadays, with ever more extensive use of anthropological and sociological models in archaeology. Thus, ever since Sir Moses Finley the 'systemic' approach has been gaining the upper hand over the earlier one.

The 'systemic' approach relies, perhaps too strongly, on the allegedly objective, and universally applicable, tools of the Oral Poetry Theory, both in its strictly textual and its comparative aspect, for our assessment of how an oral epic tradition transmits or 'records' historical data. Its main weakness is due to the fact that it nearly automatically tends to elaborate gen-

2. For the most prominent examples of this attitude after Finley 1988, see esp. Qviller 1981; Morris 2001 (in a recent version of his influential paper, I. Morris deemphasizes the issue of Homeric society, i.e. 'institutions and forms of behaviour', in favour of Homeric culture, i.e. 'taken-for-granted attitudes about how the world works' [p. 57]; cf. also Morris 2000 in general; Raaflaub 1997a, 626-627, 1998, 170, 173-174; cf. also Ulf 1990, perhaps the most comprehensive and systematic of all. A very succinct and clear statement of this method is to be found in Murray 1993, 37 (cf. 17); and Raaflaub 1993, 44-46, 77; cf. already Andreev 1984, passim. For a critical, although rather one-sided, appraisal of this approach, see Gschnitzer 1991, 184-194.

3. Crielaard 2002 develops this idea in a very interesting way, asking the question of how far Homer and his audience could have been aware of the 'present' infiltrating the heroic world in the Iliad and the Odyssey (in general, cf. Crielaard 1995).

4. See now 'two caveats' by Foley 2005, 197. The pa-
eral historical models. Very often, this attitude ends up conceiving or at least assuming diverse evolutionary patterns of the development of the Greek polis, largely based on their historical, and ‘systemic’, interpretation of the Homeric polity and society, which sometimes, if not always, amounts to a circular argument.

Another possible answer to the question of the historicity of the Homeric world is a sceptical conclusion that ‘Homeric society’ is just a composite conflation or ‘amalgam; or even ‘patchwork’; of diverse historical strata, and that this very fact precludes a historical analysis of its social and political background. In principle, this idea is of course a negative reaction to the claims of the comparative attitude. Methodologically, however, this is not a self-standing approach to our problem, but rather a pessimistic outcome of one or both of the aforementioned methodologies.

In my opinion, all these methodologies have a shared weakness of somewhat arbitrarily dealing with literary texts. In that, we are not very unlike our ancient fellow-Homerists, who could always support their claims using the inexhaustible stock of Homeric hexameters at their disposal. Unlike them, of course, we are aware of a diachronic development of the poems and hence of a complex historical provenance of this material, but here the Oral Poetry Theory and diverse general comparative considerations come to our rescue. As a result, our modern methodologies do not do justice to the literary conventions and artistic peculiarities of the Homeric text as we have it and hence are characterised by indiscriminate use of diverse registers, strata and literary devices of the poems in our historical analyses.

Let me give you just one example of what I mean, example indeed emblematic of the historical interpretation of Homer, namely ‘Homeric metallurgy’. The Homeric world is one of bronze tools and most conspicuously bronze weapons, hence, to simplify the matter, the past temptation to identify it as a Bronze Age world. However, in a famous episode of Patroclus’ funeral games, Achilles offers a very peculiar prize for the winner: a lump of raw iron. We also hear of its previous usage as a sports tool (something of a shot-put: ll. XXIII 826-835).

He stresses the advantages of this object for the shepherds and peasants of the winner. Now, historically it seems rather implausible that iron tools be already used in agriculture, but not yet in war, technologically the most advanced domain of human activity of all times. Homeric scholars tried to solve this problem in a number of ways, either (rather desperately) looking for a historical period when such an unusual metallurgical situation might seem conceivable, or introducing diverse hypotheses based on speculations regarding the history of the Homeric text, i.e. interpreting our episode as a heterogeneous one and ascribing it to some particular period of the development of the Homeric poems. There is, however, yet another striking ‘metallurgical’ passage in Homer. In a well-known Homeric simile, ‘as when a smith plunges into cold water a great axe or an adze which hisses aloud; for this is the strength of iron — even so did [Polyphemus’] eye hiss round the stake of olive-wood’ (Od. IX 391-393). As Dorothea Gray observed long ago, with this simile in our mind, we cannot help concluding that the intended public of the Odyssey was acquainted well enough with steel tempering techniques (‘hardening by quenching’, in the event), for otherwise the simile would have been useless (Gray 1954, 12. Cf. already Lorimer 1950, 118).

For my present purpose, I would only like to point to some fundamental differences in the literary status of different aspects of the Homeric-
ic ‘metallurgy’. True, for EIA Greeks bronze was a real life thing with strong prestigious connotations, but the omnipresent bronze of the Homeric heroes belongs to the world stylized by the poet, and experienced by his public, as that of the times of old; it is not by chance that in Hesiod we find the ‘race of bronze’ (Works and Days 143-155, with West 1978, ad loc.). Bronze is then an element of the literary creation or of ‘epic distance’. But the mention of iron by Achilles is by no means more ‘reliable’ historically. Once again, it stresses the difference between the ‘heroes of bronze’ on the one hand and the non-heroic humankind contemporary of the poet on the other. One could even be tempted to see here a subtle suggestion that non-heroic and socially inferior people of the heroic age were in one more respect similar to us, representatives of the ‘race of iron’. Hence, in both ‘registers’ of Homeric poetry, we find pictures, which cannot be used in our historical reasoning. Conversely, our last example, the poor Polyphemus scene, gives us an objective point of reference as it refers us to the everyday experience of the Homeric audience. To my mind, then, the only historical ‘Homeric world’ is the (implied) world of the contemporary public of Homer, but this is not quite easily accessible to us readers of the Iliad and Odyssey.

It seems safe to conclude, then, that our usual cautionary notions of ‘poetic archaisation’ or ‘aggrandizement’, or idealisation (or ‘epic distance’ and ‘alienation effect’), which permit many scholars to allow for some minor inconsistencies in the otherwise coherent Homeric image, are not quite ‘operative’ in our enquiry. On the other hand, the very coherence and hence ‘social plausibility’ of this picture need not be founded mainly in the realities of social and political life of the contemporary public nor in the slightly more distant ‘social memory’ of this public. In fact, it was based on the one hand on the self-explanatory logic of the plot, on the other hand and more importantly still, on mechanisms of ‘traditional referentiality’ (a term coined by John Foley within the frames of the Oral-Formulaic Theory), where the version of the performed song evokes as pars pro toto the entire background of its tradition\(^6\). Hence, the least likely to yield positive historical data are, firstly, traditional narrative elements, motifs etc.; secondly and more importantly, mainstream narrative units crucial to the plot. These remarks are indeed self-evident but still need emphasising.

Conversely, in order to arrive at a historically reliable interpretation of the Homeric poems, I believe we should proceed in a very peculiar way, following a precise agenda of consecutive steps in our enquiry.

First and foremost, as many scholars have long realised, instead of relying on what is consistent and typical in the Homeric world, and on what is presented to us in the ‘foreground’ narrative, we should begin by examining (I) what is implied, what can be detected in their ‘background, what is a-typical and awkward’. But it is very important to bear in mind that we are not necessarily dealing with unconscious ‘slips of tongue’ of the poet(s). For the general sphere of what is implied can, in its turn, be divided in two separate realms that should be treated one after another. Firstly, as we shall see in a while, there are (1.1) some objective linguistic data strikingly anachronistic and obviously ‘modern’ as compared with the Homeric picture of the heroic world. These data should of course provide us with our starting point. Secondly, there is another group of idiosyncratic literary phenomena, and which gathers (1.2) diverse figurative and meta-narrative devices and/or poetic figures and tropes such as similes etc. Their function is that of explaining, illustrating, providing a deeper meaning of, or

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7. Cf. already Andrewes 1961, esp. 129 (isolated scenes that play no part in the general Homeric picture likely to reflect ‘a comparatively recent growth’ [on phrase trials in Homer]). Recently, cf. e.g. Raafflaub 1997c, 2. on ‘offhand remarks’ and ‘asides’. 
just creating a tension between, the represented action of the poems on the one hand and everyday experience, shared social, moral or aesthetic values of the authorial audience on the other. This group of phenomena is important for our historical analysis not because it can provide us with readily recognisable anachronisms. Rather, it orientates the audience in just the opposite direction to what the literary devices contributing to the ‘distancing effect’ do. I would be tempted to call this group tentatively the sphere of ‘immediate (or incidental, or non-traditional) referentiality’, as these literary phenomena create a ‘connecting effect’ by referring (for whatever reason) the intended public to its extra-textual experience.

These phenomena will be highly useful in our historical analysis, but are very unlikely to contribute to a coherent vision of the ‘Homeric world’ and will only provide us with some occasional glimpses of its underlying historical reality. It would then be a sound method to turn next to the (II) mainstream narrative units and to the realm of the ‘traditional referentiality’ just to check or develop the conclusions of our examination. But even here, again, we should focus not on what is (sometimes very consistently) depicted or narrated (II.1), but rather on what is (II.2) implied or taken for granted – from the (hypothetical) point of view of the intended public of the poems. Only at the end our investigation, we might finally be entitled to relate our resulting image to (III) some external criteria such as (III.1) archaeological evidence, (III.2) anthropological material or sociological models.

Now, I shall try to test the validity of those principles and check a possible outcome of such a study; as my test case, I have chosen the Homeric polis.

I start (I.1) from the results of a study by Benedetto Bravo (Bravo 1988; cf. briefly Bravo 1996, esp. 532-535), dealing among other things with such terms as πόλις and άστυ, δήμος and λαοί, and their derivatives, including some telling personal names. Homer is not sensitive to the blatant anachronism when placing them in a heroic context. Such names, and their underlying ideas, are totally natural to him, e.g. the idea that ambitious nobles must please their fellow-citizens (Λειώδης) in order to get elected (Δειώκριτος) and, moreover, that they must convince their inferiors (Πείσανδρος, Πείσιγμος, Πεισιστράτος), no doubt using persuasive speeches. With this in my mind, I pass to the second step in my agenda (I.2), namely figurative and meta-narrative devices, and analyse a very peculiar section of the Ilíad: the Assembly in Book II. The description of the manner the Achaeans gather in, and behave during, the assembly, and especially the similes used to this effect, are very revealing. They are repeatedly compared to swarms of bees flying chaotically around (86-90), or to foaming sea waves and to rolling cornfields ruffled by wind (144-149). The cries of the Achaeans are also compared to roaring coastal waves (209-210). We may conclude that the unusual concentration of those vivid similes, although understandable in its own literary terms, makes the best sense if we assume an underlying image of the assembly: difficult to deal with, noisy, fussy, fickle, hot-headed, and perhaps a bit unpredictable.

Yet another and very elaborate simile renders the reaction of the assembly to the final proposal of Agamemnon: the loud, enthusiastic and indeed decisive cry is compared to the irresistible power of the sea (394-299). Usually, this passage is interpreted in terms of an informal and perhaps non-binding acclamation.
tion of the proposal made by the king\textsuperscript{10}. But if we compare it with symptomatically inconclusive closures of the assemblies all over the \textit{Iliad} and the \textit{Odyssey}, wherein the δῆμος plays no active role whatsoever in the decision-making process\textsuperscript{11}, it becomes clear that by using this literary device the poet concentrates on the Achaeans as a leading (collective) character of this scene. Indeed, for some reason, it is them who are supposed to make their decision and to approve Agamemnon's proposal. Now, if we remind ourselves of the telling Homeric names and above all of Λειώκριτος, 'Chosen by the people', we may expect that some procedures of electing magistrates, and hence of voting, were a self-evident thing for Homer's contemporary public. If so, although Homer never shows us explicitly scenes of voting, I would suggest that here we come very close to this and that what is implied in our episode is an unambiguous decision-making by the people.

At any rate, the dubious pragmatism of Agamemnon's initial decision to 'test the Achaeans with words' (73: έπεσίν πειρήσομαι), stigmatized by commentators ever since antiquity, can now be accounted for. In fact, if we adduce here the already mentioned Homeric names such as Πείσανδρος or Πεισήνωρ, and Πεισίστρατος, it becomes clear that Agamemnon's idea to 'test the army with words', which I take here to be an euphemistic periphrasis of the necessity of persuading the people, was customary and lawful in the contemporary society of the poet. Hence the final focus on the sovereign decision of the people rendered, as I would argue, by the elaborate simile mentioned above.

Actually, I understand the whole Διάπειρα in this very manner, but on a monumental scale. Bound by his heroic convention, the poet manipulates the procedures of the decision-making process, and hence the problems we have with the logic of the episode. If we combine the meaning of the whole with the famous Thersites scene embedded in it (211-277), it turns out that a decisively negative reaction of the people to their leaders' proposals was by no means inconceivable to the contemporary public of Homer.

All in all, then, the Homeric (implied) assembly and decision-making process seem much more formal and 'developed' than usually admitted, with some clear-cut procedures to observe, procedures taken for granted by the intended public of the poet.

But there is a more general point to be made about the 'immediate referentiality' of this episode. The Διάπειρα precedes the Catalogue of Ships, which presents a panorama of the Achaeans dined and then go to war, but the whole process is very twisted, which is perhaps due to the fact that this episode intended to restore the internal order in the Achaean camp, and therefore contrapuntally echoing the assembly from Book I, makes a certain blurring of the competences of the supreme king and his noble allies inevitable. Trojan assemblies are no better: \textit{II.} II 786-808; VII 345-379. Cf. VIII 489-542; XVIII 245-310; it should be noted that in the two last cases we find an unambiguous cry of approval providing a strong coda for the assembly - a short mention (and a formular hemistich έπί δέ Τρώες κελάδησαν), however, not an elaborated scene nor a simile. Interestingly, already Grote 1872, 10, emphasized the 'nullity of positive function' of the Homeric agora ('no division of affirmative or negative voices ever take place, nor is any formal resolution ever adopted').
expectations of the public as to how such a decision should be made. This brings me to my final point. Given the foregoing results, we should perhaps rethink what to my mind is one of the fundamental axioms of the historical interpretation of the Homeric poems and of the study of early Greece in general, namely the notion of an 'underdeveloped', 'early' or 'proto-' polis. We are sometimes told that the Homeric polity does not present well defined, integrated nor formalized political and legal institutions or clear-cut procedures of political action. I think it is much safer to read Homer without the evolutionary assumption that some important elements of the would-be 'full-fledged polis', detectable in our earliest source of information, in Homer, must have belonged therefore to an 'earlier stage' of their historical development.

A general limitation of my approach for our reconstruction of early Greek history is obvious: instead of conceiving more or less complete evolutionary models starting off with the 'Homeric world' and continuing with later literary evidence, we will only be able to observe phenomena already (implicitly) attested to by Homer; the Homeric poems thus becoming only fragmentary witnesses to the outcome of some previous historical mutations during the 'Dark Age' of Greece. Thus, we can safely assume that the polis came into being some time before Homer (note, e.g., his indifference to the telling political names adduced above), but based on Homer, we will not be able to speculate on how and when, nor on the nature of its early development. On the one hand, then, the explanatory value of Homer for later Greek history will be limited; on the other hand, the need to introduce external or comparative considerations will be all the more urgent – but, let me stress it once again, only at this ultimate stage of our Homeric inquiry.

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SUMMARY

I start this paper with a critical assessment of the ‘wanax to basileus model’. I demonstrate that it contains certain internal inconsistencies, and present material and literary evidence that contradict the validity of the model. I then introduce and discuss archaeological data in order to substantiate my claim that the model has prevented us from appreciating two important aspects of the post-palatial period and the Early Iron Age, namely the diversity in local or regional responses to the collapse of the palatial societies in both the short and the long term, and the considerable degree of continuity in socio-economic complexity and socio-political structures in certain regions.

FROM WANAX TO BASILEUS?

In Linear B documents, the *wa-na-ka* appears as the supreme ruler and highest authority in the Mycenaean palace societies. The *qa-si-re-u* is a local official who ranks considerably lower in the hierarchy (Palaima 2006). Both terms have counterparts in first-millennium literary sources. They surface for the first time as *anax* and *basileus* in the Homeric epics, where they represent distinct and very often opposed terms. As Pierre Carlier points out, *anax* often occurs in formulas and nearly always in the singular, and is frequently accompanied by a genitive indicating who is ruled; *anax* can be a title, especially for gods, but is not an office. The translation is ‘lord’; the house lord, master of slaves or even master of animals. *Basileus* appears very often in the plural — *basilees*, designating a group — but seldom in formulas. The term indicates a privileged human position, most often the hereditary leader of a political community (Carlier 2006, 101-102; also Hajnal 1998).

The ‘wanax to basileus model’ is based on the hypothesis that with the fall of the Mycenaean palaces, the apex of the Mycenaean socio-political hierarchy represented by the *wa-na-ka/wanax* of the Linear B documents was decapitated. Power was subsequently resumed on a local level by the lower echelons, that is, the *qa-si-re-we* of the tablets, who appeared as the only remaining authority. It has even been suggested that the *qa-si-re-we* — who were leaders living in outlying areas — had sided with the lower classes against the aristocracy and the palace, and then assumed power in areas that had become isolated and independent (Shear 2004, 84-85). The *qa-si-re-u/basileus* managed to survive during the Early Iron Age to re-emerge at the beginning of the historical period in the
poetry of Homer and Hesiod as one of several basilēs who rule over local communities.

The appeal of the 'wanax to basileus model' lies in its simplicity, and it is not difficult to see why it is widely accepted (a quick count yields over 40 titles, starting from Finley 1957, 142 and Gschnitzer 1965 up to the present day; for authors questioning this theory, see Palm- 
yery writes that the appeal of the 'wanax to basileus model' lies in its simplicity, and it is not difficult to see why it is widely accepted (a quick count yields over 40 titles, starting from Finley 1957, 142 and Gschnitzer 1965 up to the present day; for authors questioning this theory, see Palmer 1965, 228; Tandy 1997, 91, with references). However, there are a number of difficulties with this model. The main ones are:

1. The model is in effect a relict of traditional and by now outdated viewpoints that regard the transition from Bronze to Iron as a phase of sudden and dramatic, socio-political and cultural change related to the fall of the palaces, followed by a prolonged and static period showing little signs of development at all, supposedly characterizing the so-called Dark Ages. However, the survival of other titles of authority of Mycenaean origin in some parts of the Greek world and its periphery during the first millennium BC. Apart from qa-si-re-u/basileus, one may think of ko-re-te/koirētēr/koiranos, ko-sa-ma-to/ 
kosmētōr/kosmētēs, do-pa-ta/despotēs (although the tablet mentioning do-pa-ta refers to a deity), te-re-ta/telestai and, possibly, ra-wa-ke-tal lawage(r)tās/lagetās. It is true that Pindar's stereotyped use of lagetas (Ol. 1.89; Pyth. 4.107) does not provide hard evidence of semantic continuation. A different case, however, is sixth-century Elis, where we find the title of telestēs for an official (Morpurgo Davies 1979, 96) or Boiotia where koiranos is used for 'king' while sixth-century Phrygians were acquainted —perhaps through the Mycenaean Greeks of Anatolia or their descendants— with the titles of wa­ ­nax and lawage(r)tās (Cassola 1997, 145-147). In Iron Age Cyprus, regional kingdoms were ruled by a basileus (first attested in seventh-century inscriptions as pa-si-le-wo-se), but next to that the title of (w)wanax was used to designate the basileus' sons and brothers and (w) anassa to denote his daughter, sister or wife (Iacovou 2006, 319, 329). In the early fifth century, the Deinomenid monarch Polyzелos had himself inscribed as 'wanax of Gela' (Gelas ... wanass[on]) when he dedicated the famous bronze charioteer at Delphi (Hansen - Nielsen 2004, 83, with n. 49). There is little doubt that at least some of these titles underwent considerable semantic change after the Bronze Age (cf. Morpurgo Davies 1979, 97-98). On the other hand, they remained in use as terms of power and thus bear testimony to a degree of continu­ ation —comparable to the development from qa-si-re-u to basileus. However, the survival of terms other than wa-na-ka and qa-si-re-u is not explained by the 'wanax to basileus model'.

5. The model assumes that the title, position and office of basileus were the same all over Iron Age Greece, but this is far from certain. In Hesiod, the term basilēs is virtually syn­ onymous with 'judges'. Hesiod's clash with the basilēs pertains to a juridical conflict and his criticism concerns primarily their behaviour in
juridical matters (Theog. 80-92, 434; Works and Days 38, 202, 221, 225-226, 248-264 etc.); apart from that, they seem to play no role in everyday life (cf. Works and Days 286-828; Edwards 2004). The basileis' function may have been similar in neighbouring Attica. According to Drakon's law, which was re-inscribed on a stele in 409/8, basileis in late seventh-century Athens were judges in homicide cases (see Gagarin 2000, further pointing out that the term archon basileus is a modern invention, and is not based on literary evidence; for religious functions of basileus and basilissa in later times, see Burkert 1972, 239, 257, 280). It is generally assumed that the Athenian basileus (and the phylobasileis — 'tribal kings' — associated with him) represents a late stage in the evolution of the title: title and office are supposedly reminiscences of the time before the abolition of hereditary kingship, when the king was also judge (like in ll. 18.503). However, this is no more than a hypothesis. The fact is that between Hesiod and the basileis, there are no economic, socio-political, religious or military ties. In other words, there is no positive evidence to suggest that Hesiod's basileis fulfilled the same functions as the basileis in Homer.

There is more to say with respect to the 'wanax to basileus model,' but I shall first summarize what is actually known about the Mycenaean qa-si-re-u. The qa-si-re-u remains a somewhat shadowy figure mentioned in a number of tablets from Pylos, Thebes and Knossos. The tablets give nine individuals of this rank at Pylos and more than ten at Knossos, mentioning them by name. The qa-si-re-u is only loosely associated with the palace organisation; he is probably not an official appointed by the central palace. Carlier defines him as a local ruler or leader, holding an intermediary position between palace functionaries and heads of districts on the one hand, and chiefs of village communities on the other (fig. 1). His position seems to have been hereditary. He was charged by the palace in specific circumstances to control some activities and was responsible for the requisition of certain contributions by groups of people, including the distribution and production of bronze. He stood at the head of a qa-si-re-wi-ja — a particular type of collective connected to his rank. This may have been similar to the ke-ro-si-ja (corporations headed or owned by the ko-re-te), who was an official of relatively low rank: on a tablet from Pylos, one of the ke-ro-te is also mentioned as the qa-si-re-u leading the collective (Carlier 1984, 115; 1995; also Ledjegàrd 1996-1997). The ke-ro-si-ja has been identified with gerousia, that is, 'council of elders' or body of senior representatives of a kin group (Deger-Jalkotzy 1998-1999). Another interpretation is that both qa-si-re-wi-ja and ke-ro-si-ja were corporations of craftsmen (Eukleidou 2004, 114-115, 121, 141).

It has been suggested that in pre-palatial times, men holding the position of qa-si-re-u had been rulers or local authorities in their own areas before they became incorporated into the larger kingdoms of the wanax, and succeeded in maintaining that position in regions that were outside the control of the palace and during the period after the collapse of the palatial societies (Palaima 1995, 124-125; 2006, 68; Wright 1995). Carlier (Carlier 1995, 363; 2006, 105) has proposed a number of possibilities to explain how the basileis could have survived the Mycenaean palace system. As indicated by the tablets, they controlled bronze production in certain localities, and led or presided over certain privileged bodies, such as qa-si-re-wi-ja and perhaps ke-ro-si-ja. Rather conjectural are Carlier's propositions that they performed religious functions and administered certain local sanctuaries, and that they were in a superordinate position to a number of dependants à titre personnel, and occupied a central position in a vast network of activities and relationships that were independent of the palace (for this last point, see also Weingarten 1997, 531). Maria Iacovou (Iacovou 2006, 327-328) adopts this idea to explain how the qa-si-re-u found his way to the copper island of Cyprus to live on as pa-si-le-wo-se. The idea of qa-si-re-we figuring in long-distance networks, however, is no more than an assumption.
wanax
[wa-na-ka]
chief official

lawage(r)tâs
[ra-wa-ke-ta]
'leader' or 'assembler of the host':
second-in-command, prince & heir (?)

telestai [te-re-ta]
elite individuals, 21 identified at Pylos

hek'etâi [e-qe-ta]
'followers', 'attendants': perhaps
military (officers ?), at Pylos at least 12 identified

da-mo-ko-ro
probably provincial governor; at Pylos
pres. two, appointed by wanax

ko-re-te-re
po-ro-ko-re-te-re ('vice-ko-re-te-re')
together serving as local administrators
in the Pylian kingdom

gasileus
[qa-si-re-u]
prob. local ruler
or leader

qa-si-re-wi-ja

Figure 1. Schematic and probably simplified representation of the possible position of qa-si-re-u in relation to the higher echelons of the palatial hierarchy (based on Morpurgo Davies 1979, 93-99; Ruijgh 1999; Carlier 1984, 40-116; Bennet 2007, 192-193; Hooker 1987 is critical about these identifications).

is evidence that within the palatial sphere, e-qa-ta were responsible for external relations (Shear 2004, 49), just as the ko-re-te-re/po-ro-ko-re-te-re were (also) responsible for providing the centre with bronze (Bennett 2007, 193). Moreover, Linear B documents suggest that there was only a loose and occasional link between qa-si-re-we and bronze production (Carlier 1984, 109). With this in mind, we may observe the following:

6. The qa-si-re-u held a relatively low-ranking position in or in relation to the palatial hierarchy. For that reason, it may be seriously doubted whether after the fall of the palaces individuals of this rank would have been in a position to obtain the principal authority.

7. Mycenaean qa-si-re-we apparently lived outside the palatial centres (also Morpurgo Davies 1979, 98-99, n. 40). Archaeology provides strong hints that authority continued in some form directly after the collapse of the palace system (see below), but most of this evidence comes from the former palatial centres and is therefore difficult to link with peripheral qa-si-re-we.
8. In Homer, *basilees* are the paramount leaders of a community or region. They fulfil certain cult duties, administer the divine and customary laws (*themistes*), and act as war leaders. In return, they are granted a privilege called *geras* that includes a *temenos*, and feast on behalf of the community (see esp. *Il.* 12. 310-314; also 4. 257-264, 341-348; 8. 161-164; *themistes: Il.* 1.238; 2.206; 9.99; cf. *Theog.* 85). Not only are they honoured like gods (e.g. *Il.* 12.312), but they are also styled *diogeneis* ('Zeus-born') or *diotrepheis* ('Zeus-fostered') (Carlier 2006, 104, with references). Their leadership and authority give fertility to the land and the people (see e.g. *Od.* 19.109-114; cf. *Works and Days* 225-237). Particularly the last three qualities of the Homeric *basilees*—leadership in war, possession of a *temenos* and divinely inspired authority—are unlikely to have been typical of the Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u*, but are rather to be associated with the *wanax* and, to some extent, the *lawaget(r)tas* (military function, *temenos*) and *telestai* (*temenos*) (Morpurgo Davies 1979, 95; Davis – Bennet 1999, 117-118; Palaima 1999, 373; 2006, 57, 62-63, 67-69; Ledjegård 1996-1997, 377, noting that nowhere in the Linear B documents the *qa-si-re-u* is associated explicitly or implicitly with religion or cultic activities; Driessen 1985, 192 for a possible military function of *qa-si-re-we* in Crete). In the light of points 6 and 7, regarding the peripheral position of the *qa-si-re-we*, it is difficult to picture how the essential features of the *wanax* ideology were bestowed upon the *basilees* in a direct manner (*pace* Palaima 2006, 69).

9. Finally, the model implicitly assumes that the way things were happening was the same everywhere all over the post-palatial, Greek world. A wide variety of explanations have been offered for the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial systems, including natural disasters (e.g. earthquakes, climatic change, famine), socioeconomic decline (resulting from e.g. overspecialisation, hypertrophy of the palatial system, system collapse), conflicts (internecine warfare, invasions) or a combination or cumulative effect of one or more causes (overview in Dickinson 2006a, 43ff.). However, most scholars assume that one cause or combination of causes was responsible for the destruction of all the palaces. It is questionable, however, whether this is a likely scenario. One important reason to doubt this is that, despite the many similarities, there were salient differences between palatial centres, for example differences in location, economic organisation and specialisation, systems of defence, and intensity of palatial control over certain regions (cf. Dickinson 2006a, 25, 36). This makes it difficult to assume that one cause affected all centres in the same way. In this context, it is also important that not all palaces were destroyed at exactly the same time and that some sites were destroyed more than once (Deger-Jalkotzy 2002, 48-49; French 2002, 135, 140; Crielaard 2006, 278, nn. 23-26). What is lacking is a scenario that envisages diverse and perhaps unrelated causes leading to the collapse of palatial rule, as well as different ways in which this was experienced —that is, probably differently in core regions than in peripheral areas, and variously in one palatial centre compared to another. Such a scenario would contain a stronger focus on regional diversity, which would help to better explain the regionalism that counts as an important characteristic of the post-palatial period (Rutter 1992).

These observations lead to the conclusion that the 'wanax to basileus model' tends to overgeneralize and oversimplify matters. More in particular, the model supposes a breakdown in socioeconomic complexity and hierarchy that was sudden, drastic, uniform and quasi-universal.

In the remainder of this paper, I present and discuss evidence of continuity in socioeconomic complexity and socio-political structures. I also consider indications of regional variety in the effects of and responses to the crisis situation directly before and after the destruction of the palaces and possible effects on long-term regional paths of socio-political development. To be clear, the focus on continuity and
regional diversity is not intended to mitigate the scale and range of the changes related to the collapse of the palatial system: there is no doubt that central and southern Greece and the Aegean were going through a deep crisis and were literally in a ruinous state; moreover, destructions were endemic to the LH IIIC period and there is the possibility of population movements. The point is that a more nuanced picture can help us to give the LH IIIC period a proper place in the history and archaeology of early Greece and to understand how this period set in train developments that lasted into the ensuing Iron Age.

AUTHORITY AND IDEOLOGY

Not everything was turned upside down by the events related to the destruction of the palaces. In places that continued to be inhabited during LH IIIC, the underlying social substructure remained more or less intact. It is conceivable that households, perhaps joined together in small-scale lineages or other kinship groups, will have helped to absorb the shock caused by the collapse of the palace system and guaranteed a form of structural continuity (Small 1998; Deger-Jalkotzy 1991, 59; 1998-1999, 76. Kinship groups in EIA: e.g. Crielaard 2006, 288-289). In some cases, the local community —or da-mo (damos) of the tablets— may have remained unimpaired. Damos communities living in second- or third-order settlements owned land and produced staples (Shelmerdine 2006, 73-76), and in some places probably continued to do so after the collapse. But what about high-ranking individuals, officials or bodies of central authority residing in first-order centres? A first indication that some form of central authority persisted may be found in the reorganisation and layout of settlements. At Mycenae and Tiryns the cyclopean fortifications were repaired immediately after the disasters of ca. 1200 BC (French 2002, 135-138). Before the disasters, this type of work would have been done by to-ko-do-mo (toikhodomoi), working for the palace. At several sites on the Aegean islands new defensive walls were constructed or old ones extended or reinforced during the thirteenth and twelfth centuries (Salamis, Naxos-Grotta, Siphnos-Ayios Andreas, Kea—Ayia Irini, Melos-Phylakopi and -Ayios Spyridon, Paros-Koukounaries, Tenos-Xombourgo; Vlachopoulos 2003, 229-230); some of these remained in use until the PG or even G period. This suggests that a sense of place and a sense of community persisted, and that someone or something had the authority to direct this type of communal undertaking. At Tiryns—which seems to have displaced Mycenae as the leading centre of the Argolid— not only the Lower Acropolis was reoccupied, we also witness a remarkable expansion of the habitation area. After the damming and canalisation of the Manessi river in LH IIIB2 or IIIC (Zangger 1994), building activities were started in different parts of the Lower Town. These followed a carefully planned layout (Dickinson 2006a, 60-61; Maran 2006; Thomatos 2006, 194-196), which is further evidence of some form of central authority. The large-scale redesign and rearrangement of occupation of the Lower Citadel and Lower Town included the construction of houses arranged around courtyards (including at least three conspicuous residences of LH IIIC Early and Middle date), workshops, storage areas and streets. We also find a regular layout of the settlement outside the former palatial centres, in regions that gained new importance, such as Lefkandi (AR 50, 2004, 39; AR 51, 2005, 50-51) or the walled town at Grotta on Naxos (see above).

Particularly informative is the use and treatment of palatial architecture and tholoi, as these were the most conspicuous symbols of the palace organisation and of the status and authority of the wanax in the palatial period. The Mycenaean palaces and their interior furnishings —especially of the megaron with its throne, hearth, colonnade and frescoes—were the focus of political, economic, social, ideological and myth-historic practices, and were
used for activities that promoted the legitimacy of the rulers (Wright 2006, 37-39). During LH IIIC, we find 'megara' that follow the core plan of the Mycenaean palaces at Tiryns, Midea and Mitrou. These indicate the continuing importance of elements of the cultural and perhaps also the socio-political order of the preceding palatial period (Wright 2006, 40-41; Maran 2006, 124-128; AR 51, 2005, 53; AR 53, 2007, 41; van den Moortel in this volume: building B at Mitrou that probably covered all phases of LH IIIC, and was partly reused in the PG apsidal building A). At Mycenae, some of the debris resulting from the disaster of ca. 1200 was shifted to form a series of heavy terraces. Reoccupation of the citadel is limited to certain places, but these are rather conspicuous. They include the Granary (storage of wheat, barley and vetches) between the Lion Gate and Grave Circle A, the megaron of the House of the Warrior Krater immediately south of Grave Circle A, and the area of the Cult Centre and Processional Way. One room even contained a fresco fragment, possibly dating to LH IIIC. New structures were built over parts of the palace, mainly in the open spaces of the Great Court and House of the Columns, following, however, a different alignment. Over the North Storerooms, a new road was constructed with a building beside it, set against the citadel wall. French suggests that the building in the Great Court —which was "of some sophistication"— was the palace of the twelfth century (French 2002, 136-138; further Thomatos 2006, 179-186). Especially telling, of course, is the Upper Citadel at Tiryns, where the Great Court was partly cleared and Building T was constructed in the east portion of the Great Megaron. The throne in the megaron and altar in the Great Court were respected during these activities. It has recently been suggested that during LH IIIC, the Upper Citadel ceased to fulfil a residential function; Building T would have served as a communal hall in which ceremonial gatherings were held on certain occasions (Maran 2000; 2006, 126-127, 142; Shear 2004, 17, with n. 109; cf. Midea megaron until LH IIIC Late: Dickinson 2006a, 61, 75; Thomatos 2006, 186-188); on the other hand, twelve storage vessels found directly north of Building T seem to testify to its residential function (Mazarakis Aminian 1997, 161; Thomatos 2006, 189, 196). The question remains, however, who was behind these building activities, which included the restyling of the palatial megaron and the planning of the residential areas. In my view, it would be far-fetched to attribute a role in these activities to such a peripheral figure as the qa-si-re-u. Given the stress on continuity with the preceding palatial society, high-ranking members of the former palatial elite seem to be more plausible candidates (also Maran 2000, 15-16).

Clearly, not all palaces and palatial centres followed this same path. The Mycenaean urban complex at Salamis-Kanakia was destroyed by fire in LH IIIC Early, inhabited by 'squatters' for a short while and then deserted for good (AR 47, 2001, 14-15; AR 48, 2002, 14-15; AR 50, 2004, 9-11; AR 51, 2005, 10; Lolos 2003). In Messenia, a steep drop in the number of habitation and burial sites suggests that the Pylos region became virtually uninhabited during the twelfth century—a situation that lasted into the ninth century. After the destruction of the palace in LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Early, the ruins of the palace became the site of a Dark Age settlement (PG; G, Archaic temple) with evidence of ceremonial feasting. Some rooms of the palace were reoccupied and new partitions were constructed, joining those walls that were still standing (http://marwp.cla.umw.edu/marwp; Davis 2008, 97-100). This begs the question why habitation was resumed at this site. Was it simply the presence of building material and still-standing walls? Or was it because it was a meaningful spot? An element of continuity of authority is not very likely, considering that post-destruction LH has not been substantiated in the area of the former palace (Eder personal communication 2008). A cluster of LH IIIC sites is found around the area of the former palace, and there are indications that a small portion of the Messenian population returned during LH IIIC.
Middle (Davis et al. 1997, 424, 451-453; Eder 1998, 145ff.; 2006, 549-554). The rich chamber tomb K-2, located near Pisaskion some three km south of the palace, possibly provides evidence of continuous use during LH IIIB and LH IIIC. However, the burial record for tholos no. 1 at nearby Tragana-Viglitsa seems to be more typical for the situation in Messenia. After having been used in LH IIIA2, it was probably cleared in LH IIIC Middle and continued to receive burials until LPG or even EG. We may interpret this as evidence of an elite that wished to maintain certain links with the palatial past but also had a lively interest in seafaring and overseas connections, considering the location of Tragana on the coast, overlooking Pylos' artificial harbour basin, and the famous LH IIIC Late pyxis decorated with a representation of an oared galley that was found inside tholos 1 (Eder 1998, 150-156; 2006, 550-556).

The situation at Dimini is different again. After the palace-style complex had been destroyed (LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Early), LH IIIC 'squatters' took possession of the ruinous complex, but certain parts, such as the altar room, were deliberately closed off. At the same time, the habitation quarters outside the complex, which had also been destroyed, were repaired and continued to be inhabited, but only for a short while, until their abandonment still in LH IIIC Early. The harbour site of Pevkakia was destroyed and abandoned at the same time as the palace-style complex at Dimini. However, Palaia (Volos-Kastro) — another important Mycenaean centre in the region — remained inhabited and seems to have assumed a dominant position in the area after the downfall of Dimini and Pevkakia. The sequence of events suggests that the palace-style complex was destroyed by human agency, and quite likely by people from the region itself. We may think of an uprising by the local population or a conflict between rivaling factions in the region, or a combination of the two.

As already indicated, burial sites constitute another category of evidence that provides important information about the different local responses to the fall of the palaces and the palatial hierarchy. This relates to tholoi in particular. During the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB periods, their use had been increasingly monopolized—at least in Messenia and the Argolid—by the Mycenaean palatial centres and palatial elites (Davis et al. 1997, 420-421; Voutsaki 1999, 112-113). Tholoi found outside palatial centres may be explained in various ways. At Nichoria, the medium-size tholos that was constructed or went out of use in LH IIIA2 is thought to reflect the incorporation of the Further Province into the Pylos polity and the introduction of a newly dominant elite group at the site, the members of which possibly acted as regional governors (Wilkie 1975, 157b-c; Davis et al. 1997, 421-422, n. 84; Shelmerdine 2006, 84). Tholoi of more modest dimensions found outside the tentative sphere of influence of known palaces—like the ones at Pteleon in Phthiotis (LH IIIA2 and later) and between Aliveri and Kyme (LH IIB(?)-IIIB) in east central Euboia—seem tell a different story (Crielaard 2006, 274-277, with references; Adrimi-Sismani 2007, 173-176). These may indicate that on the periphery there were still autonomous areas ruled by petty kings.

In some places, tholoi continued to be used or were reused during the post-palatial period. Around Pylos, 'palatial' tholos III at Kato Englianos received burials from LH II to IIIB, while Tragana tholos 1 (LH IIIA2) represents a clear case of reuse from LH IIIC Middle onwards (Eder 2006, 550; Davis et al. 1997, 421, 428; see further above; for PG tholoi in the region, Eder 1998, 153-154, 172, 174). On Kephalonia, the small to medium-size tholos at Mavrata was constructed in LH IIIB/C or early LH IIIC and received burials until an advanced stage of that period, while the monumental tholos that was built in LH IIIB at Tzanata-Borzi (incorporating elements of an earlier structure) continued to be used or was reused in LH IIIC (Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 58, 138, 140). The situation on the island is in contrast to that on neigh-
bouring Zakynthos, where the use of tholoi seems to have come to an end after LH IIIB (Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 123). This indicates that even two parts of the same general region could follow different socio-political paths during the post-palatial era. In Crete, the most substantial tholos tombs were built before LM IIIB, although some were reused or continued to be used, such as Mouliana tomb A (LM IIIA-C Late/SubMin); the latest, richly furnished depositions included an inhumation and a cremation, both of which are attributable to warriors (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 163-164). Evidence of continuous use or reuse into the LH IIIC period is also found at Pteleon (tholos A: LH IIIA2-IIIC1; C: LH IIIB(?)-C; B, D: LH IIIC-PG; all small to medium size tholoi). I. Shear (Shear 2004, 17), finally, makes the suggestion—although without providing hard evidence—that also the Tomb of Klytemnestra at Mycenae possibly functioned during part of LH IIIC. It is difficult to imagine that these tholoi were not considered as ideologically charged objects, especially during the period immediately after the destruction of the palaces when the recollection of *wanaktes* was still fresh. Similarly, it is hard to imagine that just anybody would be permitted burial in a tholos tomb. This leads to the conclusion that for some individuals or groups of individuals of exalted status, it was beneficial to associate themselves with the rulers of the recent past, or even that some individuals remained in an elevated position after the fall of the palaces.

We may detect a similar, possibly positive attitude vis-à-vis rulers of the past from activities centred on Grave Circle A at Mycenae. Robert Laffineur (Laffineur 1995, 90-91) argues that during the LH IIIC period, the grave stelai were re-erected. One of them had been plastered and decorated with a fresco of attacking warriors and at a still later stage was used to close the interior niche of chamber tomb 70 in the Lower City. The redecoration was probably done by the same hand that painted the famous Warrior Krater (Immerwahr 1990, 148-151; Rutter 1992, 65 and n. 10 and 12). It should be noted that Schliemann found the Warrior Krater in a house just south of Grave Circle A, together with two bronze vessels and a Naue II-type sword, although the finds' precise stratigraphical relationship to the house is not clear. The House of the Warrior Krater included a megaron-like room and several living rooms and was planned—probably already in LH IIIB—with regard to Grave Circle A; the krater and building complex may be associated with these or other graves (Wace 1964, 65; French 2002, 82, 140; Thomatos 2006, 181; Burke 2008, 80-84). If Laffineur's reconstruction is correct, these actions embody a powerful statement about the past. When ca. 1250 BC Grave Circle A had been incorporated within Mycenaean's perimeter, this probably served to underline the close link between the Shaft Grave dead, the citadel, the *wanax* and the ruling, palatial dynasty (Button 2007). The tentative restorative actions in LH IIIC represent a next stage in redefining the place that these ancient dead occupied in the present. It is not possible to tell whether the post-palatial Mycenaeans continued to see them as powerful entities guarding the city's most important gateway or venerated them as part of a cult of the dead or even ancestor cult—in which case we have to take into account individuals who claimed a special relationship with the *wanax* and his predecessors, either genetically or in a metaphorical sense. What is evident in any case is that the memory of the *wanax* did not provoke only negative sentiments or measures that purposefully erased memory, comparable to what the Romans later knew as *damnatio memoriae*.

Summing up, we may say that not all tholoi tell the same story. If they tell us something about sentiments regarding hierarchy in the past and present, it is important to conclude that in many places existing tholoi continued to receive depositions or were reused and new ones were constructed. Although most of the post-palatial and EIA examples were small in comparison to the tholoi of the heydays of the
palaces, they were virtually always associated with elevated status (e.g. in Thessaly: Georganas in this volume; AR 48, 2002, 63; Adrimi-Sismani 2007, 172, 176). The hybrid tholos-chamber tomb at Palaiokastro in Arcadia is clearly an 'imitation' of palatial-period examples. It was used in LH IIIC Middle, but unfortunately we cannot be certain whether this was also the date of its construction (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 161). In Mouliana tomb B and Praisos-Foutoula in Crete, LM IIIC/SubMin warriors combined tholoi with gold face masks and a larnax, while the Naxos-Aplomata chamber tomb B contains cut-out dress ornaments that recall early Mycenaean examples (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 162-164). These various finds can be interpreted as signs of a conscious reliving of the past. This phenomenon was not, of course, limited to tholoi. Cases in point are the Tiryns Hoard—which is of LH IIIC/SM date but contains a mix of objects dating to various periods—and the 'Tripod Tomb', which was dug during LH IIIC Late on the north slope of the acropolis of Mycenae and contained a male and twenty bronze double axes and as grave markers had two 'Mycenaean' (or, rather, transitional LBA/EIA) tripod cauldrons. By means of location and deposition of antiques, individuals who were conscious of their social position were attempting to establish a relationship with their 'ancestors' of the Mycenaean period (Maran 2006; Papadimitriou 2006, 542-544).

WARFARE AND MILITARY ORGANISATION

During the palatial period, warfare and military matters were closely associated with the palace and the palatial elite. In the context of the present discussion of elements of continuity in hierarchical and institutional organisation, it is interesting to look at developments that took place in this field after the destruction of the palaces. Our main sources of information are iconography and burials. Most of the arms and armour shown in LH IIIC figurative representations are also known from palatial-period pottery and frescoes, although we also observe the appearance of new types of weaponry and fighting techniques (Rutter 1992, 67-68). Other elements that are indicative of continuity are types of ships and chariots, albeit the lighter rail chariot seems to have become dominant in this period (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982; Crouwel 1993; Wachsmann 1998, 130ff.; Wedde 2006; AR 51, 2005, 51, fig. 90). Burials present a similar picture (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006 for overview).

The iconographical material from the post-palatial period allows us to discern three categories of depictions and related modes of fighting, involving roughly four or five types of warriors. First, there are chariots carrying a driver and a spearman (e.g. Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 121 XI.1A-B, 125-6 XI.16). Second, we have galleys propelled by large numbers of rowers; the galleys are used in amphibious operations (beaching at speed) or in engagements at sea (mobile fighting platforms for a few warriors fighting from the central gangway or deck and forecastle, see e.g. Crielaard 2006, 279, fig. 14.2). Third, we find foot soldiers. Our most complete testimony for this is the Warrior Krater from Mycenae: side A shows a group of six soldiers marching in uniform step, and side B depicts five soldiers moving forward in battle formation with raised spears and shields lowered in defence. The frescoed stele from Mycenae carries a similar scene of attack of approximately the same scale (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 130-134: XI.42-3; Immerwahr 1990, 149-51). Files of warriors costumed and armed in a comparable way are known from other pictorial kraters from Mycenae (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, XI.44, 47, 64.1; Crouwel 1991, 24 G1A), Volos (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, XI.57) and, possibly, Lefkandi (Evely 2006, 240, B3, B5, B8).

We observe some recurring elements in the way these warriors are equipped and dressed. Spiked helmets (presumably of leather) of the
'hedgehog' type, fringed tunics and leg protection (probably greaves or leggings of cloth or leather) seem to have been popular among foot soldiers, chariot crews and marines alike (e.g. Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, XI.1, 3, 17, 18, 38; Günther 2000, 25 Wagen 24 C; Crie-laard 2006, 279, fig. 14.2: b-c). Having said that, the dress and the accoutrement of foot soldiers are remarkably uniform. The Warrior Krater and painted stele show them wearing corselets (presumably not of metal but with metallic reinforcements), fringed tunics, greaves/leggings and low boots, and bearing single spears and round shields with handgrips and segmented lower edges. All warriors on side A have ration bags slung from their spears. Worthy of note is the absence of swords. All soldiers on side A of the Warrior Krater wear horned helmets with plume, while those on the reverse sport hedgehog helmets; the stele shows a mixture of both types. The outfit of other warriors stands in some contrast to this uniformity. Although the hedgehog helmet was especially popular, there is considerable variation in helmet types (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, XI.8, 31, 46, 61-62, 64; Evely 2006, 240, B3; Eder 2006, 553, fig. 29.3) and, to lesser extent, protective armour (tunics with seemingly metallic reinforcements: XI.16; possibly, metal corselets: XI.57; cuirasses: XI.18; Crie-laard 2006, 283, fig. 14.4: f). Rare elements of accoutrement are daggers (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, XI.39) and swords (usually with tasselled scabbard: XI.39, 49, 54, 59; Crie-laard 2006, 283, fig. 14.4: i). This different gear is frequently found with warriors who are associated with horses (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, XI.7-8, 16, 31, 39, 59). In addition, charioteers and spearmen sport round shields (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, XI.1, 16, 22, 28) and carry one or sometimes two javelins that seem to be shorter than the infantry spears (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, XI.1, 16, 18, 28, with p. 131). Also warriors fighting from ship decks seem to employ weapons of choice (different types of shields and helmets, longer or shorter spears, bow; Crielaard 2006, 279, fig. 14.2: b-d; also Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, XI.58?); this is in contrast to the rowers, who are costumed and armed in a uniform manner (Günther 2000, 33 Mensch 17-18, with pl. 12.6-7; Mountjoy 2005, pl. 96-8; AR 51, 2005, 51, fig. 90).

If these representations bear some relationship to the military practices of the post-palatial period, we may infer a number of things. Warfare involved considerable numbers of men; armed forces were characterized by differentiation and specialisation, and army organisation was related to differences in rank —assuming that warriors using chariots or fighting from ship decks ranked higher than foot soldiers and rowers, and that foot soldiers were higher ranking than rowers. Moreover, the foot soldiers’ outfit and their way of marching and charging in what seems to be closed formation suggest that there existed units of warriors who were equipped in a uniform manner and were trained to adopt a coordinated style of fighting. This presupposes a form of organisation and authority, presumably at the level of powerful individuals or political communities. Something similar relates to crews propelling galleys. Rowing and manoeuvring requires training and coordination. Rowers, too, wear uniform outfits. This might be a matter of convention on the part of the pot painters; on the other hand, some painters rendered these outfits in considerable detail and we find differences in outfit between crews, for instance in the form of a distinct hairstyle or headgear. Perhaps these different outfits also served as a marker of social identity, place of origin, or membership of an army contingent or war band.

Tomb evidence constitutes our second source of information on post-palatial weaponry and warfare. Burials, however, present a picture that is rather different from what iconography offers us. In a recent article, Sigrid Degeljalkotzy (Degeljalkotzy 2006, 154-157) shows that warrior tombs often constitute a small minority among a burial population that was interred without arms or armour. For instance,
of the 219 tombs at Perati, only 3 can be considered as warrior tombs. In some cases, these warrior tombs display signs of hereditary, elevated status. The basic equipment of these warriors consisted of a sword and a spear, or of two spears/javelins and knives, but for the rest burials goods vary considerably (see Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 169 and Tables 9.1-9.3; also Eder 2003, 41). Deger-Jalkotzy (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 176-177) is inclined to link them with individuals who wished to evoke associations with Mycenaean kingship and with the new monarchic rule of qa-si-re-we/basilees.

It is implausible that the small number of weapon graves forms an accurate reflection of the actual scale of LH IIIC warfare and the number of individuals involved in it. They rather seem to be the result of ideological considerations. Probably only those who were ascribed excellence in warfare, for instance on the basis of their high social position, were allowed to be buried with arms and armour. For them, these items referred not to a profession or specific activity, but to an elevated status and the capacities thought to be inherent to this status (see Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 152). Iconography and burial evidence alike suggest that high-status individuals were equipped according to personal preferences, although nearly always with a sword—the weapon most intimately linked with prestige-providing, close-hand fighting (note that swords are the only weapons in some prestigious tombs, such as Naxos-Kamini tomb A and Aplomata tomb A; see Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 169). In addition, some of these high-ranking warriors were associated with horsekeeping. In the period's burial record, evidence of this is provided by the tomb of the horse rider at Koukounaries on Paros, tomb A at Grotta-Kamini on Naxos and tomb A at Mouliana in eastern Crete (Schilardi 1992; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 162-164). For foot soldiers who specialized in 'mass' fighting of the type depicted on the Warrior Krater and painted stele from Mycenae, the story was entirely different. They were seemingly not allowed interment with weapons because of their rank or because—and this is equally possible—they did not own weapons, since these soldiers were equipped and trained by a local authority or powerful individual. It cannot be excluded that this situation went back to palatial times. The palaces were responsible for the production of large numbers of arrow tips, spearheads and chariots (Palaima 1999, 367-368; Schon 2007). There was an obligation to perform military service. Tablets record numbers of rowers, identified by their hometowns. Besides, there appears to be a direct relationship between land grants and civic/military services. Those providing military services were to some degree outfitted at palatial expense, as indicated by, for instance, tablets from Knossos that mention bronze cuirasses (Deger-Jalkotzy 1999, 124-125; Shelmerdine 2006, 78-79).

The depictions of warlike activities and related scenes of banquets and hunting can be connected to the way of life of the elite (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 168). The representations peak during the LH IIIC Middle phase. This is about the same period in which most of the warrior tombs are dated (LH IIIC Middle and Late). It has been suggested that the occurrence of agonistic motifs in vase painting and of warrior tombs in LH IIIC is linked to a new elite that had risen to prominence on the basis of "individual accomplishments in war, hunting and competitions" and in circumstances of "unstable social order" and, more generally, unrest, upheavals and endemic warfare (Maran 2006, 142-143; also Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 168, 173-175; Dickinson 2006b, 120). The question, however, is what is 'new' in this respect. Exactly the same themes occurred on frescoes decorating the Mycenaean palaces. A case in point is the iconographic programme of the Southwest Building at Pylos, suggested to be the residence of the lawage{r}tâs (see Davis - Bennet 1999, 117-118; Bennet 2007, 192; note that naval themes are very rare in Mycenaean wall painting, but see Shaw 2001, with http://marwp.cla.umw.edu/marwp). The themes are adopted in vase painting as ear-
ly as LH IIIC Early (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 107-114; Rutter 1992, 62-63; Güntner 2000, 19-40; Mountjoy 2005, 425), which indicates a form of continuity in values and ideology, despite the fact that in LH IIIC a different medium was chosen to express them. Another possibility would be to interpret them as “an effort to gain legitimacy under new social and political circumstances through reference to the past” (Maran 2006, 142). However, this past was not very long ago and, as we have seen above, the dramatic events around 1200 BC had not resulted in a total break between the palatial and post-palatial period. In this light, one may wonder whether here again the evidence leaves room to acknowledge a degree of partial preservation of the old palatial hierarchy. In any case, it is difficult to see a role here for the qa-si-re-we. Also, the degree of instability and unrest should not be overstated. During the LH IIIC there is ample evidence of long-distance communications over both land and sea, including gift exchanges between members of local elites (Eder 2003; Crielaard 2006, 277-285; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 164). Moreover, the best evidence of regular and peaceful contacts is perhaps the development of the pictorial koine style itself. We may safely assume that such circumstances formed a precondition not only for the development of a shared medium to express a common elite lifestyle (i.e. figurative representation painted on kraters; see also Crouwel 1991, 31-32; Crielaard 2006, 281-284), but also for the communication and adoption of the things represented (i.e. same types of military dress and equipment, similar military tactics, same ship types and probably ship construction technology, etc.). Without stable conditions it is very difficult to explain why we find, for instance, very similar naval battle scenes over a substantial period of time in places ranging from Bademgediği Tepesi in the coastal hinterland between Izmir and Ephesus in western Anatolia (LH IIIB2-IIIC Early; Mountjoy 2005, 423-425) to Pyrgos Livanaton in East Lokris (LH IIIC Middle; Dakoronia 2006a-b).

The LH IIIC burial evidence provides hints that confirm the idea of regional paths in socio-political developments. The power base of the high-status horse rider residing in the miniature Mycenaean citadel at Koukounaries (LH IIIC Early-Middle) must have been different from that of his peers dwelling in the large coastal town at Grotta on neighbouring Naxos. A particularly telling example of a specific regional path is Achaia, which shows a sharp increase in warrior tombs in LH IIIC. This increase may be related to Achaia’s active role in interregional exchange networks (Eder 2003, 44-5; 2006; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 168-169). The distribution of these tombs further suggests that these elites ruled over small local polities. They may be seen as local warlords who may have profited from the less strongly developed tradition of central authority in this part of the Peloponnese.

It is conceivable that the scale and organisation of warfare and armies became more modest after the LH IIIC period. On the other hand, the observation that small numbers of warrior tombs are hardly an indication of the military organisation is a welcome lesson that may also apply to the EIA.

CRAFT SPECIALISATION

In the remainder of this paper, I briefly discuss what evidence there is of economic specialisation in relation to social stratification during the final Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. During the palatial period, some sectors of the Mycenaean economy had been in the hands of royal and local elites. The production of textiles and perfumed oil are obvious examples. In other sectors, palatial involvement was less direct. For instance, the palaces took no direct interest in pottery manufacture, although they consumed ceramics in large quantities. At the same time, reference to a potter with the adjective wa-na-ka-te-ro (‘royal’) suggests that the palatial elite could call upon the products of certain
elite craftsmen (Shelmerdine 2006, 75, 81; Bennett 2007, 194-199). In palatial Pylos, making chariots and making chariot wheels were probably the responsibility of different specialists, but all specialists were maintained, controlled or monitored by the palace (Eder 2006, 565; Schon 2007).

Craft specialisation, of course, changed drastically with the fall of the palaces. According to counts by A. Morpurgo Davies (Morpurgo Davies 1979, 99-102, 102-105), only some 40 occupational names and titles known from Linear B documents are preserved or attested in later Greek, whereas some 115 are not. The author points out that of the occupational names, especially those indicating skills with a strong element of specialisation were lost, presumably because they had become useless. *ke-ra-me-u*/*kerameus* and *ka-ke-u/khalkeus* were among the survivors (cf. Od. 18.328, 601; *Works and Days* 25, 493), but *na-u-do-mo* ('shipbuilder'), *a-mo-te-wo* ('wheelwright'), *tu-we-ta* ('perfume maker') and *a-re-pa-zo-o* (unguent-boiler) did not make it into first-millennium Greek. The implication is that the organisation of crafts changed dramatically and saw a stronger focus on household production, leading to a decrease in the numbers of full-time specialized craftsmen.

In general terms this will have been the dominant trend, but we have to be cautious with our conclusions. For instance, at the level of individual crafts we cannot take it for granted that lexical disappearance equates the loss of a specific craft specialisation. Archaeological evidence testifies strongly in favour of a continuous tradition in the construction and use of oared galleys and rail chariots. There is no doubt that the manufacture, maintenance and repair of ships and chariots required highly skilled craftsmen and we may safely assume that specialized craftsmen existed throughout the period in question (also Wedde 2006; J.H. Crouwel in Evely 2006, 238). If we look at the epic testimony, we find that the term for 'chariot maker' or 'wheel maker' (*harmatopégos*) had changed since the Mycenaean period, but the descriptions of his craft (e.g. *II*. 4. 485-7; but cf. 21.37-8) clearly show that his was a specialized trade. We may assume something similar for shipwrights, despite the fact that *na-u-do-mo* of Mycenaean Greek had been replaced by the much more generic designation *tektones* ('constructors'; e.g. *II*. 13.389-391=16.482-4; *Od*. 9.126-127; cf. 19.56; 21.43; Sappho 111.3 V).

The making of refined or perfumed olive oil is another case in point. It hints at the continuity of tradition at more than one level. To begin with, olive trees require a significant number of years and a considerable investment of time and energy before they start producing fruit, and even more to produce their maximum yield. Over the years, energy investment decreases and trees produce more olives, although always in a biennial cycle. Not only is the planting of olive trees a long-term investment, but the instability and the biennial cycle of yields require many extra trees to guarantee sufficient harvests. For these reasons, olive cultivation alone is a good indication of stable settlements and settled conditions. "*Paci nutritor olivam,*" says Virgil (*Georgics* 2.425), and it is not without reason that many ancient societies associated the olive with peaceful and stable conditions (e.g. *Genesis* 8.11). During the Mycenaean period, olive production was under palatial control. The perfume industry at Pylos was presumably located in or very near the palace. Production required a large quantity of ingredients (olives, aromatic herbs, spices and flowers) and the skills of a small number of craftsmen and craftswomen of rather elite status in order to added value to the products. Olive oil was one of the goods offered by the palace centre in return for either goods or services. Perfumed oil was sent abroad in trading and gift exchanges on an intra-regional, inter-regional and 'international' level (Shelmerdine 2006, 81-83). The stirrup jar was most probably designed to hold refined and/or perfumed oil, as tablets from Knossos and Pylos also indicate (Bennet 2007, 198).
Pollen analysis suggests that between ca. 1200 and 800 BC, olive cultivation decreased sharply in the Pylos palace area, but this was most probably related to the virtual abandonment of the region (Zangger et al. 1997, 589-594). Continuation of the production of fine or perfumed olive oil during the post-palatial periods is borne out by stirrup jars. This vase type remained in use down to the SM period and even later in Crete and, more marginally, at Athens. During the LH IIIC period, stirrup jars and the perfumed oil they presumably contained continued to be exported, for example from Achaia to central and north-western Greece and even southern Albania, and from Crete to the western Peloponnese and the Argolid (Eder 2003, 42-43, 49, n. 99; 2006, 556; Maran 2005; Papadimitriou 2006, 539-540). During the PG period, the lekythos usurped the function of the stirrup jar. This shape is common in tombs at Lefkandi (SM-SPG II) and Athens (SM-LPG) (Lemos 2002, 72-74). It is not clear whether the relatively large numbers of oil flasks found at Lefkandi and Athens are simply related to specific burial customs, or whether they reflect a local or regional specialisation in olive cultivation and oil production.

Refined and perfumed olive oil was relatively labour-intensive to produce. After the fall of the palaces, it continued to have a high ritual and social value and to be consumed in very similar contexts (e.g. Il. 14.171-172, 18.350-351; Od. 16.227, 24.44-45, 67-68, 73). The epics may suggest the existence of a continuous tradition of producing rose-scented olive oil (Il. 23.186) and using oil to make ‘shining’ and ‘fragrant’ textiles. Perfumed oil was related to a refined lifestyle and type of body care that in a number of elite graves also finds expression in the deposition of tweezers, combs, razors and the like (e.g. Knossos t. 201). Anointment of the body was presumably also part of funerary rituals that display a degree of continuity from LH IIIC to an advanced stage of the Iron Age (Eder 2006, 556). One of the reasons for the oil’s high value—and for its popularity as an exchange good—may have been that it was a relatively scarce good. It seems that already in the palatial period the production of olives and oil was restricted to certain regions. Thebes, for instance, imported substantial numbers of (inscribed) stirrup jars and, by implication, oil from Crete (Bennett 2007, 204). For the post-palatial era, we may assume that only in some regions were levels of population and stability sufficient to support extensive olive cultivation. It is significant that even in the seventh century, olive culture was still not part of the agricultural regime of the type of farmer that Hesiod addresses, although his farmer does consume perfumed oil on certain occasions (Works & Days 521-2). Pollen evidence may also suggest that for most areas of Greece olive cultivation was not practiced until the end of the BA or the beginning of the Archaic period (Runnels – Hansen 1986, 302-304).

The conclusion must be that a number of specialist crafts survived the transition from Bronze to Iron. Although the evidence for the Iron Age is sparse, the picture from the organisation of crafts in the archaeological and textual records is largely comparable. Communities could rely on both resident craftsmen and travelling specialists. It is difficult to say whether the former were full-time craftsmen. The latter include Homer’s ἐμίουργοι (Il. 17.382-385) as well as, presumably seasonal itinerant potters and workshops identified in the period’s ceramic record. It is highly likely that some specialized craft production took place under elite patronage, and perhaps continuously since the Bronze Age (see Crielaard 1999, 54-58). In Homer, craftsmen who built houses and ships for the elite were at the top of their professions (Il. 5.59-64; 6.313-316). Specific types of highly specialized craftsmen, such as shipwrights and chariot makers, were possibly closely associated with certain local elite households that owned ships and chariots and possessed the level of wealth to maintain these specialists and supply them with the necessary materials. We may theorize that this bond was also beneficial from
the perspective of elite patrons who wished to secure preferential access to the skills of specialist craftsmen. A similar relationship may be assumed between perfume makers and large landowners who cultivated olives. The archaeological record also provides hints of bronze workers and potters linked to local or regional elites (Morgan 1990; Crielaard 1999, 57, 64). It cannot be excluded that some of these craftsmen were dependent workers.

**DEPENDENT LABOUR**

A considerable part of the skilled labour force in the palatial period consisted of dependent workers. One category is termed do-e-ro(a). The term has a continuant in doulos/doulē, the normal term for chattel slave in Classical Greece. The Pylian tablets suggest, however, that do-e-ro were rather dependent personnel (quite often bronze-smiths) whose status was higher than that of a slave. Probably closer to our definition of slaves are groups of women who are described in the Aa/Ab series by ethnics denoting an origin outside the Pylian polity. They worked mainly in the textile industry. In addition to these, there occur in the Pylian tablets a group of women with their children who are described as ra-wi-ja-ja ('captives') (Eukleidou 2004, 61, 110, 123-128, 135, 139, 207, 212-217, 226-227).

Deger-Jalkotzy (Deger-Jalkotzy 1996) certainly has a point when she stresses that the fall of the palaces was not only a disastrous event but must have been a moment of liberation for many people and regions. On the other hand, evidence of central authority and the continuation of power positions of certain elite groups allows us to stipulate that for some lower ranking groups in some places, not much changed. Also, the existence of flourishing urban centres in LH IIIC, like the ones in Tiryns and Naxos, presupposes a subordinated rural hinterland and perhaps a workforce of dependent labourers. Endemic warfare would almost naturally have guaranteed a continuous supply of captives or prisoners of war. Slaves may have been employed for manorial tasks, and presumably also for heavy work like mining. It is not far-fetched to suppose that the 'discovery' and increasing exploitation of indigenous iron deposits required ever larger numbers of dependent workers.

However, like for many other periods, slaves do not feature prominently in our records and it remains difficult to find hard evidence of slavery and servitude in post-palatial and EIA Greece. Etymological relationships are not helpful, since we do not know whether or, if so, when semantic values may have changed (do-e-ro(a) became doulos/doulē in alphabetic-Greek; in the epics, the most frequent term is ἔνομο/ἔνω, which is not found in Mycenaean texts; doulē is attested but rare: II. 3.409; Od. 4.12). Hence, we have to fall back on inferences and indirect or circumstantial testimony. An example of this may be the stores of dried figs found at LH IIIC Lefkandi. In the palatial period, dried figs figured in bulk trade, but the above groups of foreign female workers were also provided with daily rations of figs and barley (Eukleidou 2004, 123-128, 135, 207, 216-217, 226-227). This is in contrast to other individuals mentioned in the tablets who receive more prestigious products such as wine or olives (Palmer 2003, 129, 133-135; Killen 2006, 88ff.; Eukleidou 2004, 128-133), showing that figs and barley constitute a poor man's diet. Most interestingly, seven centuries later Hipponax of Ephesos qualifies exactly the same things as 'slave fodder' (fr. 26-26a.6 W).

Other instances that allow us to infer dependent labour include large building projects. Whereas a case could be made for considering the construction or repair of defensive walls as communal undertakings that testify to collaboration, conspicuous grave monuments undertaken to the benefit of a small group of individuals are rather indicative of coercion. We may think of the LH IIIC Middle stone tumulus at Chania near Mycenae, with its 1m thick enclosing wall with orthostat blocks and possibly a tile
roof, containing six or eight urns (Papadimitriou 2006, 532; Thomatos 2006, 151), or the fill and mound heaped over the MPG building at Lefkandi-Toumba. The excavators estimate that the original volume of the Toumba mound would have required an investment of 2000 man days of 10 hours each (J.J. Coulton in Popham et al. 1993, 34, 53, 55-56). It is not very likely that the Toumba hero’s elite descendants personally transported the fill. Quite the contrary, we may say that the size of the Toumba mound is not only a symbol of the elevated status of the hero and his spouse, but also a most eloquent expression of the dependent workforce their next of kin could mobilize. Once again, the nature of the testimony makes it difficult to come up with hard facts, but circumstantial evidence warrants the conclusion that slavery and dependent labour remained integral parts of society throughout the final Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age.

ELEMENTS OF ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY

In this final section I discuss the thorny question of possible continuity in the use of elements of bureaucratic infrastructure and symbolism of administrative authority. My argument focuses on seals and weighing devices. I am fully aware that it may be skating on thin ice to raise the possibility that some form of administrative system or administrative techniques to monitor and record transactions may have persisted after the fall of the palaces. Linear B signs were still used in LH IIIC at Tiryns and possibly even in PG in the form of mason marks found at Volos (Snodgrass 1971, 373), but there is no proof that script was still employed for administrative purposes. On the other hand, simple forms of administration, using seals and sealings, had existed in the Aegean since at least Early Helladic II and one may wonder whether it is likely that a tradition going back 1500 years perished overnight.

Sealing serves as a means of protection (security during the transportation of goods) and facilitates the management of the distribution of goods and the administrative control of incoming items. Sealings are documentation proving a transaction. Before writing was used, goods were registered and stored by means of sealings as bookkeeping tools, although earlier examples of seal use constitute the individual marking of objects for identification or decoration. Thus, seals were used to identify ownership, seal goods and documents, and confer authority. In this respect, the practice of sealing was an instrument of social control. In addition, seals were worn as amulets or jewellery (Ferioloi - Fiandra 1990, with pp. 230-232 and 233-247 in the same volume; Eder 2007).

Seal stones occur —to give a random sample of post-palatial and EIA findplaces—in a number of chamber tombs at Perati (LH IIIC), as part of the inventory of high-status burials at Naxos-Kamini tombs А-Γ and Aplomata tomb B (LH IIIC) and in Toumba tomb 12B (MPG) at Lefkandi (Iakovidis 2003, 128-129; Thomatos 2006, 236-237; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 162; J. Younger in Popham et al. 1980, 225). They are antiques and some are imports. It is remarkable that throughout LH IIIC and the Early Iron Age, there remained a fascination for seal stones. People apparently went to great lengths to keep these small objects or to enter Bronze Age tombs to find them, or to purchase them from foreigners in or from faraway lands. It should be noted that this is not a peculiarity of the ‘Dark Ages’: strictly speaking, it is a continuation of practices already attested for the last stage of the palatial period. When hard-stone seal carving came to a halt in ca. 1300 BC, antique seals and seal stone rings came into use (the soft-stone seals that were manufactured probably had an apotropaic function; Younger 1987, 69-70; remarks by J. Younger and T.G. Palaima in Palaima 1990, 240-241, 245, 247). Illustrative is the Theban collection of cylinder seals from Mesopotamia, Syria, Cyprus and Anatolia, which includes pieces dating to the third
millennium (Porada 1981-1982). Furthermore, also in Bronze and Iron Age Cyprus, seals were reused and sometimes even re-carved, some examples being centuries old (Porada 1983, 407-410; Smith 2003, 297-299). From the Near East, finally, there is testimony of kings deliberately using antique seals (Porada 1981-1982, 69).

In the course of the Geometric period, oriental seal stones and rings became increasingly popular. Bronze Age examples appear among the votives in Archaic sanctuaries. Local seal-engraving was resumed in the ninth century (Coldstream 2003, 56-58, 130, 151-152, 177, 210, 258). There is a distinct influence from oriental prototypes, although so-called Island Gems (ca. 650-550 BC) copy Bronze Age shapes and figure schemes (Boardman 2002, 96-98; 2003, 306).

Seals may have been valued for their aesthetic or apotropaic properties. Thus, they were worn as personal ornaments and were deposited in tombs. A different, more practical use may be assumed for crude and inconspicuous seals found in settlement contexts (e.g. Cambitoglu et al. 1988, 235, pl. 287-8: stone seal with schematic designs and pseudo-alphabetic inscription from Zagora on Andros), but also for precious seal stone rings, stamp seals or scarabs with peg or loop handles, and seal bases for bronze animals (Coldstream 2003, 130, 149-152, 177). This latter category of very diverse items has links with high status, as is shown by its presence in, for instance, conspicuous tombs at Rhodian Ialysos (early 9th c.; Clara Rhodes VIII, 1936, 164), Athen-Tomb of the Rich Lady of the Agora (mid 9th century; Coldstream 1995), Eretria-West Gate and Hygeionomeion areas (later 8th c.; Criaelaard 2007, 172) and Tragana in Lokris (G Larson; ΑΔ 42, 1987, Xpovká, 235-238, pl. 137δ-ε; cf. seal use in EIA Cyprus: some examples—especially hard stone examples—hint at administrative and commercial uses and can be associated with high status, Reyes 2002; for seals and signet rings in Archaic Greece and Lydia; e.g. Theogn. 19-24; Hdt. 3.41ff.; Polykrates; Plato, Rep. 359-360: Gyges).

The Tomb of the Rich Lady of the Agora is of particular interest, because in this tomb ivory seals—the first examples of local manufacture after the Bronze Age—are combined with a large terracotta model of a granary and a ditto chest with five model granaries on the lid. These objects must refer to aspects of storage (facilities, capacity) and probably to the source of the family’s affluence. Seals and model granaries symbolize class membership rather than personal or individual status. The symbolic emphasis that the Rich Lady’s next of kin put on storage may be placed in a wider context of conspicuous storage to signal wealth, status and power derived from the control of surplus that is manifest during the first half of the first millennium BC (Ebbinghaus 2005).

Seals impressions would provide the best evidence for the practice of sealing for administrative purposes; however, few examples are known. On the other hand, factors affecting the recovery of sealings and other administrative media involving clay can hardly be underestimated (M. Wiener in Palaima 1990, 238-239). Exceptional for the EIA is tomb 22 at Lefkandi-Toumba (SPG I) containing clay sealings that show fingermarks, impressions of wood, straw or reed packing or basketwork, string holes and possibly cloth, belonging to some perishable object that had been closed and sealed with lumps of fine red clay. Admittedly, no seal impressions were found, but the excavators note that the rectangular and cylindrical or conical plugs of clay are similar in shape to the early clay sealings from EH II Lerna (Popham et al. 1980, 180, 226). The practice of sealing objects must have been part of a literally respected tradition because without a seal, putting a string with lumps of clay around a container would have been a useless exercise. Among the earliest known examples of clay sealings are the ones discovered at Koukounaries on Paros in the House of the Seals (aka Prytaneion; 8th-7th centuries), located directly north of the Athena temple (IIAE 1986, pl. 80a). Besides sealings, there are stamped impressions that are found on large clay vessels (from MG or even PG/
EG onwards), as well as on minor objects like loom weights and spindle whorls/beads; Papa-
dopoulos 1994, 453, 470-471; also Kleiner et al. 1967, 139-141; Coldstream 2003, 276). One of
these is the seal impression on a closed vessel from Pithekoussai (ca. 700 BC) that shows Aias
carrying the corpse of Achilles; the same die was used for a clay plaque found in the Samian
Heraion. An ivory seal from Perachora carries a similar representation. Some of the above
stamps can be compared to known Geometric seal stones and a bronze weight; in one case, it
cannot even be excluded that an EH seal was reused. The purpose of stamping was perhaps
to indicate the maker or the owner of the object (or in the case of clay containers, its contents),
or the stamped impressions may have been a protective measure against wrongful use, a sig-
nature, a warrant or mark of guarantee, or simply a form of decoration (Papadopoulos 1994,
470, 482-483, 486, with references). As for 'decoration', one may ask whether this term is ap-
propriate in this context. An individual who is familiar with the practice of sealing or stamping
might wish to mark his ownership of different items or express his identity through various me-
dia, such as pots, loom weights, a gold band or votive plaque. In his careful discussion of these
stamped impressions, John Papadopoulos (Pa-
padopoulos 1994, 484-485) concludes that "the
use of seals was by no means a strange phenom-
enon, at least for certain members of the pop-
ulation. The existence of these Early Iron Age
stamp impressions brings us a little closer, but
does not totally bridge the chronological gap, to
similar stamp impressions of the Bronze Age".

The last objects that are relevant in the con-
text of the present discussion are the possible
parts of a bronze weighing balance that came
to light in Lefkandi in Toumba grave 79, to-
gether with sixteen stone weights of Near East-
er origin and an antique north Syrian cylinder
seal (Popham – Lemos 1995, 153-154), and the
possible miniature scale-pan of lead found at
the same site in Skoubris tomb 59A (Popham
et al. 1980, 130, 258-259). Both were very rich
tombs, dating to SPG II and III, respectively.
These objects do not stand in isolation, since
bronze scales and/or weights have been found
in a number of tombs of the Minoan and Myc-
eenaean periods and the Cypriot Late Bronze and
Early Iron Ages (H.W. & E. Catling in Popham
et al. 1980, 258; Matthäus 1985, 285ff.; Kilian-
Dirlmeier 1987, 206, n. 82; Popham – Lem-
os 1995, 157, n. 8, all with references). Most of
these tombs can be attributed to figures of high
status. Two tombs are worth singling out. An
early example is the Vapheio tholos tomb (LH
IIA), which contained ten bronze scales belong-
ing to balances and ten lead weights, along with
weapons, metal vessels and seals (Kilian-Dirl-
meier 1987, esp. 206-208). Tomb 67 at Palaepa-
phas-Skales on Cyprus (CGI-IB/II) is close to
Toumba grave 79 in date and content: it yielded
a small weighing balance of bronze, as well as
an almond-shaped weight and stamp seal with
bronze swivel (both were antiques; note the
combination of weight and seal), possible stone
weights and three bronze hemispherical bowls
(Karageorghis 1983, 158-176, 401-402, 410, 424-
425). In this connection, one could mention a
possible bronze weighing scale of small dimen-
sions from Building B-I at Oropos and a disc of
lead bound in a bronze ring from the Mazzola
‘industrial complex' at Pithekoussai; the latter is
a balance weight of 8.79 g, which is very close
to the Euboic stater (Kroll 2003, 317). The find
contexts are similar in date (early seventh centu-
ry) and function: Alexander Mazarakis Ainian
identified them as architectural complexes con-
ected with high-status individuals or wealthy
families who managed metal-working activities
Finally, a small bronze scale-pan with three sus-
pension wires was found in or in front of the LG
temple at Kalapodi (Felsch 2007, 245, 386, no.
2293), while the Argive Heraion has yielded a
weighing beam attributable to the early seventh
century (Galani-Krikou et al. 1996, 65, ill. 1).

Weighing and weighing balances may be re-
lated to a variety of beliefs and practices. Weigh-
ing devices may be kept and put in tombs as
curios or as purely symbolic items, associated with, for instance, law and justice, fate or death (cf. Zeus’ golden fate-scales: II. 8. 69ff.; 12.433-438; 16.658; 19.223-224; 22.209-213; Hom. h. Hermes 324; Arkhil. fr. 91 W; further Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 14-15; Carpenter 1991, fig. 325). Two flimsy, miniature weighing balances made of gold foil discovered in tomb 3 of Grave Circle A at Mycenae (Karo 1930, pl. 34) may be connected to this sort of symbolism. Otherwise, they may have been valued as practical or symbolic items related to various sorts of transactions. Indeed, Toumba grave 79 has been dubbed the tomb of a ‘warrior trader’ (Popham – Lemos 1995), just as the Vapheio tholos has been attributed to a ‘Minoan merchant-prince’ (Muhly 1999, 523-524). The occurrence of weights and weighing balances in shipwrecks provides a direct association with trade. The Uluburun wreck, for instance, yielded two pairs of bronze/copper scale pans and almost 150 weights in bronze, haematite and other types of stone, nine cylinder seals (including antique and reworked examples) and a number of scarabs (Pulak 1997, 243, 247-248; 2005, 87-88). Apart from trade, weights and weighing balances may have also functioned in connection with redistributive transactions. Linear B documents show us the meticulous recording of the weight or volume of goods that were collected or allocated by the palaces by means of the talasia system (Schaps 2004, 57-60; Shelmardine 2006, 76-78, 80, 83; Bennett 2007, 198).

The relatively heavy weights of the Vapheio tholos tomb (10 lead discs of different sizes seven of them ranging between 54.4 and 958 gr., amounting to more than 4 kg in total) were probably used for weighing more bulky substances. The Lefkandi weights, on the other hand, fall within the range of 5.9 to 159.7 gr. The Uluburun wreck may give us a glimpse of how these types of weights were used. Among the weights that the ship transported, several sets can be distinguished. The sets of weights for more accurate, small measurements were probably intended for lightweight goods, spices, or precious stones and metals. The ship carried various goods that fall into this category, including precious metal in the form of so-called Hacksilber and Hackgold. This had been kept in one part of the ship, presumably for making payments along the way (Pulak 2005, 66-68). A connection with weighing precious metals may also be assumed for the Lefkandi weights and scale pans, mainly on the basis of the fact that there is widespread evidence of this in the eastern Mediterranean.

The Near East produces the first examples of weighing amounts of metals—especially silver—as forerunners of true coinage (Howgego 1995, 9, 13; Thompson 2003). In Greece, too, true coinage must have been preceded by the use of bullion weighed according to standardized weight and value. A first indication is the various denominations of coinage that are derived from the practice of weighing (e.g. talanton: ‘balance,’ ‘talent’; statér: ‘that which balances the scales’; cf. shekel: ‘to weigh’), while koptein for ‘to strike (coinage)’ has as a primary meaning ‘to cut’ (Balmuth 1975, 295; Carradice – Price 1988, 22; Kroll 2003, 316-317). Moreover, the earliest contexts that provide specimens of struck coins (Artemision at Ephesos, ca. 600), also contained unmarked lumps of silver and electrum bullion, apparently cut to a weight standard (Carradice – Price 1988, 24). Support is also found in the Homeric poems, where talents of gold are awarded as prizes, recompense or gifts (II. 9.122; 18.507-508; 23.269, 614; Od. 8.393; 9.202). On two occasions it is explicitly mentioned that gold talents are ‘weighed out’ (II. 19. 247; 24.232). The context suggests that what is weighed is fragmented gold. The gold hoard dated ca. 700 found at Eretria and consisting of nuggets, lumps and pieces of jewellery might give us an idea of what form such fragmented gold took (Le Rider – Verdan 2002; Thompson 2003, 71, 75, 91-92).

If the Lefkandi weighing scales and weights can be associated with the weighing of precious metals, they were essentially functioning in pre-coinage monetary transactions. How-
ever, we should not lose sight of the fact that weights and balances were buried in tombs (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1987, 206). This means that we cannot neglect the symbolic dimension of weighing devices (it is of interest that at least one of the Mycenaean tombs can be attributed to a female). What these objects and their find contexts have in common is their association with high status and authority. In her discussion of the Vapheio tholos, Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1987) argues that the presence of balances and weights transgresses the mundane, day-to-day use of such objects. She suggests that they were symbols of authority, which— together with the seals— stressed that the owner was in the position to control the weight, quantity, value and destination of goods that were exchanged and redistributed. This is an interesting interpretation, one that also seems applicable to other contexts, including the weights and balances from Lefkandi. There is abundant evidence to suggest that a relationship between weighing and high status or authority was widespread in the Aegean and the Near East during both the Bronze and the Iron Age. This is clear for the second millennium BC Near East, where metrics and status were closely interlinked. Here, both gods and kings were responsible for the correctness of economic transactions and, at a higher level, justice. The weight of the king was the official metrological standard. With this in mind, weights must be viewed as artefacts in which economic, symbolic and ideological meanings are strictly correlated (Ascalone - Peyronel 2001, esp. 8-10). This applies, a fortiori, to weighing scales. An illustration of this is provided by a late eighth-century tombstone from Neo-Hittite Gurgum (Maras) depicting an important male figure holding two sets of scales, apparently as a badge of office or symbol of authority (Orthmann 1971, pl. 48 D/5). As for evidence from the Greek world of connections between weighing and authority, we may think in a worldly context of the above passages in the *Iliad* (19.247; 24.232), which show that kings personally weigh out the gold talents, or the well-known Laconian cup of ca. 560 BC that shows King Arkesilas of Cyrene supervising the weighing of bulk goods (Boardman 1998, 187; fig. 420). The link with divine authority is illustrated by the finds of balances in Kalapodi and the Argive Heraion. It was only in an advanced stage in the history of Greek poleis that weights and measures were carried out by *metronomoi* and were in the hands of the state.

It is not certain that the Lefkandi balances and weights stand in an unbroken tradition going back to the Bronze Age. It cannot be ruled out that Minoans and Mycenaeans used balances for a wider range of purposes. We may relate the Lefkandi finds to the Near Eastern sphere of influence, particularly considering the striking parallels between Tumba t. 79 and Skales t. 67 (bronze balances, seals, similar weights, bronze vessels, Cypriot and ‘Phoenician’ flasks). On the other hand, three LH IIIC tombs at Perati yielded one small stone weight each which were of eastern type and, according to S. Iakovidis (Iakovidis 1969-1970, 460-461), resemble the Palistine *shekel* and Egyptian *qdt* unit, respectively, and can be linked to the weighing of precious metals. This would push back connections with Near Eastern weighing practices to the outgoing Bronze Age. Moreover, it is possible that during the Bronze and Iron Ages a *koine* of weighing systems existed in the eastern Mediterranean (Alberti - Parise 2005). However this may be, if we follow Kilian-Dirlmeier’s interpretation, there are correspondences with BA predecessors at a symbolic and an ideological level.

**CONCLUSION**

The evidence for the post-palatial period and especially for the Early Iron Age is thin. We should avoid the positivist pitfall of thinking that the state of the archaeological record is an actual reflection of life in these periods —especially since the ‘visibility’ of these periods is poor compared to others (cf. also Dickinson 2006a, 117).
However, a combination of evidence leaves room to conclude that after the fall of the Mycenaean palatial system there was a degree of continuity in authority and ideology, military organisation, craft specialisation, elements of bureaucratic infrastructure and symbolism of administrative authority. At the same time, we have to realize that there were local and regional differences in the response to the collapse, resulting in different regional paths in socio-political and economic developments during the post-palatial period and Early Iron Age. One of the consequences of this is that it is difficult to create a generalizing picture of aspects of continuity or discontinuity that applies to large parts of the Greek world. Regional differences are huge and there were regions that experienced a truly dark age. However, a model of diverse regional paths can also explain why and how a diversity in terminology of power came into being during the EIA. In some cases, the authority of the wanax seems to have crumbled only gradually, and perhaps we have to envisage a situation of other powerful individuals making claims to his position or of the wanax having to share his authority with other members of the former palatial elite. Immediately after the collapse, those in power in regions that show continuity of power and authority may have had differing titles, but at this stage qa-si-re-u/basileus was probably not one of them. As for the term basileus, it would have taken a considerable period of time for the title of wanax to wane and for basileus to develop into a title of power, and for the concomitants of the wanax' authority (leadership in war, possession of a te- menos, divinely inspired authority) to pass on to the basileus. Instead of a direct and sudden transfer of power from wanax to basileus, we probably have to reckon with a drawn-out process of upgrading of the basileus, possibly combined with a situation in which power was shared by several representatives of local or regional elites or kinship groups. This kind of upgrading of originally low-ranking figures is not without historical parallels, as illustrated by the example of comes evolving from its original meaning of 'companion' or 'client accompanying a high-ranking individual' to 'high-ranking imperial official' to 'comte' and 'count' in the Middle Ages (François de Polignac, personal communication 2007), or such instances as major domus, 'constable' (from comes stabuli), 'chancellor' (from Latin cancellarius) and marshal ('horse attendant') (Morpurgo Davies 1979, 99, n. 40).

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THE ELITE OF AETOS: RELIGION AND POWER IN EARLY IRON AGE ITHAKA

Aetos is the only major Early Iron Age settlement yet known on Ithaka, and the only extensively excavated site of this period in the central Ionian islands. From 1931-1934, and again in 1938, ca.25m² of the so-called cairns area was investigated by the British School at Athens (Heurtley – Lorimer 1933; Heurtley – Robertson 1948; Benton 1953). More of the lower city, including Geometric housing, has since been uncovered by a team from Washington University directed by Sarandis Symeonoglou (ΠΑΕ 1986, 234-242; ΠΑΕ 1989, 292-295; Еργον 1987, 75-76; Еργον 1992, 91-92; Symeonoglou 2002, 15-23). Elsewhere in the central Ionian islands, trials at all four cities of the future Kephallonian tetrapolis have produced eighth-century traces (D'Agostino - Soteriou 1998, 356-359; D'Agostino - Gastaldi 2002; Randsborg 2002, D3, E6). Earlier evidence is still slight: of the major late and sub-Mycenaean sites, only Kokkolata Junction likely just extends into Proto-geometric (Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 40, 143), then there is a Late Proto-geometric sherd from Same (D'Agostino – Soteriou 1998, 356) and a very little ninth-century pottery at Krane (Soteriou n.d.; personal communication). Yet this picture is hardly secure: given the limited extent of excavation, one cannot rule out the possibility that Aetos will eventually be understood as one of a group of local centres, whether or not primus inter pares.

The Early Iron Age is the only period when Ithaka, an island physically shaped in two distinct parts, appears to have been dominated by the south (fig. 1). Aetos controls the harbour at modern Piso Aetos (opposite Same) and has a clear north-south sight line from its acropolis, giving visual contact with the Roussano acropolis above Polis Bay, and on occasion even with the Polis ‘cave’. The shrine established in this so-called ‘cave’ allowed the rulers of Aetos to project their authority into the north, and comparison of the votive records of Polis and Aetos shows a carefully conceived relationship. Extensive exploration of northern Ithaka has so far revealed only a few, scattered Early Iron Age finds, and no stable local context for the Polis shrine before the major later seventh- and sixth-century expansion of settlement. Tris Langadas has one or two later Proto-geometric and Geometric sherds (Benton 1949, 307; Benton – Waterhouse 1973, cat. no. 28, upside down and misidentified), a little Proto-geometric is reported from the University of Ioannina excavations at Ag. Athanasios (Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2001, 70, 74; a site badly damaged by later overbuilding), and on the Stavros ridge, a hiatus in settlement between final Submycenaean and the seventh century is broken by just two sherds (likely tenth- and ninth-century, both unpublished). An MGII krater recovered by Benton from a grave in the Polis Valley cannot now be traced (BSA Archive: Benton: Misc. notebooks: Stavros 1935-1936, 11, fig. 4), and
such pottery as can be identified from her subsequent excavation of a nearby structure (the ‘Geometric House’: BSA Archive: Benton: Misc. notebooks: 1937’ daybook, 7-9/6/37) appears to begin in Subgeometric. The recent work of the 35th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at the same location does not alter this general picture. The impression is of sporadic exploitation of northern Ithaka via scattered homesteads until substantial settlement began to develop on the Stavros ridge during the seventh century. Hence, perhaps, the relatively late (later seventh- and sixth-century) floruit of the Polis shrine (taking into account the whole record, including unpublished metalwork, not merely the bronze tripods). This is notably later than Aetos, but the date fits the earliest epigraphical reference to the *peripoloi* of Athena Polias and Hera *teleia* (IG IX, 1614) an epithet to which we will return.

My point of departure in this paper is Nancy Symeonoglou’s reconstruction of a sequence of Nichoria-like long-houses in the cairns area with an associated votive deposit (fig. 2: Symeonoglou 2002, 24-52). This sequence begins with the late eleventh-century Building C (itself replacing the Late Bronze Age Building B, of uncertain function). The ‘cairns’ contained much pottery and other debris, and lay inside and right beside the houses, echoing the practice of sweeping rubbish to the sides of living space also seen at Nichoria (Benton 1953, 259; cf. McDonald – Coulson – Rosser 1983, e.g. 26, 35, 38-39). A greasy black earth concentration best preserved around Building C is linked to cooking and dining around an interior hearth (Symeonoglou 2002, 36-38, 42-46; a view also hazarded by Benton 1953, 255, 257). The construction of the rectangular cult Building E (probably seventh-century) and the sixth-century Temple of Apollo (Building A) thus marks the transition to exclusively religious purpose advanced as a general hypothesis by Mazarakis Ainian (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 346-349), but not seen at Nichoria which was abandoned before the Spartan invasion.

Symeonoglou’s building sequence provides a framework to support her proposed long pottery sequence, which gives a fuller view of the evolution of PG and Geometric shapes (Symeonoglou 2002). The result echoes the instinctive judgements of Benton (Benton 1953, 257-259, with pottery descriptions at 267-337), and Birgitta Eder’s stylistically-established sequence at Olympia, with wide comparanda in Elis and Messenia (Eder 2006), and Achaia and coastal Aetolia (Morgan 1986). No sequence is problem-free, but all trend strongly in the same direction. Actual imports are relatively few, and largely late eighth- to seventh-century. Most of the Aetos pottery is local, to judge from fabric, paint application, potters’ marks and at least one kiln test (Morgan 2001, 213; Symeonoglou 2002, 54-56; echoing the more conservative Heurtley – Robertson 1948, 103-109), and it copies, and sometimes liberally adapts, stylistic traits from a wide area.

Description of the Aetos repertoire is beyond the scope of this article. I merely note that after EPG, when Mycenaean heritage linked the western Peloponnese, Apulia and the central Ionian islands, by LPG fewer, but more specific parallels focus on Aetolia, Phokis and the eastern and northern Peloponnese (Symeonoglou 2002, 106-107; Morgan 2003, 219-220; see Snodgrass 1971, 85, figs.42-44). This laid the foundation of the mid eighth-century and later Corinthian Gulf *koine*. The Aetos repertoire includes both Gulf *koine* styles like Thapsos (made in more than one centre, including perhaps Ithaka: Gadolou 2008; personal communication) or black kantharoi, as well as more distinctive imports (see e.g. the Achaian and Lakonian vessels Heurtley – Robertson 1948, cat. nos. 354, 358, 396) and influences, like the West Peloponnesian straight-sided oinochoai echoed at Pharai and Volimedia (Morgan 2006, 226-227, with previous bibliography). The more complex the vessel, the more idiosyncratic the combination of traits. These Gulf connections are also expressed in other media. Achaian script - a combination of traits around the Gulf (Jeffery
THE ELITE OF AETOS

- is first attested ca.700 at Aetos in a hexameter inscription likely referring to xenia (Heurtley – Robertson 1948, 81-82; Wachter 2001, 168-169). Ithakan exports expand the picture westwards into the Bay of Naples and as far north as Satricum (Morgan 2001, 220; 2007, 76). These are mostly black kantharoi and Corinthianising, but there is also figured ware, and in return came aspects of ritual iconography as well as personal ornament.

Eighth-century Aetos was not dominated by Corinth, nor was it a Corinthian settlement (contra Heurtley – Robertson 1948, 122-123 [Robertson]; Coldstream 2003, 85, 187-188, 394); nonetheless, Corinthian and especially Corinthianising wares were prominent (Symeonoglou 2002, 65-67). These divide into actual imports, faithful copies of Corinthian products (e.g. vessels with underbase marks of the Kandyliotis group which had long passed for Corinthian: ΠΑΕ 1992, 294), and Corinthianising of great richness and invention (e.g. the 'Corinthian' vessels from Pithekoussai paralleled on Ithaka and no further east: Morgan 2001, 220). In part, this is predictable: Corinthian pottery is rarely found abroad before MGII, but thereafter, the spread was rapid, to Pithekoussai, in quantity to Otranto, and, from the 3rd quarter of the century, Kerkyra (Morgan 2003, 214-215; 1995, 342-343; G. Avgerinou personal communication).

Aetos was no mere trading post, but an extensive settlement dominated by a well-connected elite who lived beside the sacred area and probably played a leading role in cult activity. Indeed, the importance of the central buildings may be reflected in architectural representations among the early Archaic votive terracottas, notably the roof of an apsidal structure with checkerboard decoration (Aetos 600: Schattner 1990, cat. no. 4 with previous bibliography) and a few further, slightly later architectural members (e.g. fig. 3: the column Vathy 176, one of six such unpublished pieces noted in BSA Archive: Ithaka: Aetos 5, p. 2; for the phenomenon, see Petropoulos 2002, 152; Kolia – Gadolou, in this volume). Considering the deposition of the various categories of object associated with ritual, the cairns contained pottery of all EIA phases as well as mostly unburnt bone (unfortunately not studied at the time of excavation and now lost). The presence of two terracotta tripods (fig. 4) and five fragments of (probably the same) ring-kernos in cairns or related deposits confirms a ritual connection for Building C at least (Symeonoglou 2002, 48-51), although no other offerings can be securely associated with these deposits (Heurtley – Lorimer 1933, 29-30, 61, noting at 28 likely later intrusions). From the eighth century at the latest, most votives (including ritual vases) were found south of Wall 6 which delimited the cairn area (Heurtley – Lorimer 1933, 25, 27-28), and continuing to the west, surrounding Temple E (mostly to the south and west: Benton 1953, 257-258). The so-called Upper and Lower Deposits by Wall 6 were separated by a stone platform between Walls 6 and 7, but this did not continue beyond Wall 7 where the votive material is thoroughly mixed: in any case, the Upper and Lower Deposits were not internally stratified and likely represent a process of continuous discard (Heurtley – Robertson 1948, 9: Benton 1953, 259, most material in the Lower Deposit predates 700). The eighth century therefore saw not only an escalation in dedication, with an ever increasing quantity and range of votive material, but a concentration of offerings around the main cult buildings.

In so far as the disposition of individual categories of object and/or material can be determined from the manuscript handlists in the excavation archive (BSA Archive: Ithaka: Aetos 4 and 5), most are widely scattered. The exception is a strong concentration of iron spear and arrowheads, and knives in trench VN south of Temple E (Benton 1953, 343-345): this includes 3 of the 5 arrowheads reported in excavation handlists, 14 of 19 knives and all 5 spearheads, noting also Benton’s speculative identification of chariot parts (including fragments of rail) and - very tentatively - an iron ‘tripod stand’
also in VN (Benton 1953, 358; BSA Archive: Ithaka: Aetos 4, 10-12, 26). The weapons are long-lived types (see e.g. Snodgrass 1964, 121-122, 127 on the Type E and M spearheads), but if the chariot identification is correct, then significant metal wealth was deposited here perhaps as early as ca. 700. Benton's identification of a collection of ivory, amber and bronze as a temple treasure linked to the immediate predecessor of Temple E (Benton 1953, 257, Wall 27 = Symeonoglou 2002, 33 Building/Wall F) depends on the fact that the wall sits over the objects: the site record does not indicate that this is a discrete deposit.

A personal or familial character to dedication is generally clear. In the case of the ceramic assemblage, quantification by shape (Table 1) shows a higher proportion of serving and pouring vessels than is commonly found at contemporary mainland shrines such as Olympia, Isthmia or Kalapodi (Eder 2006, 202-210; Morgan 1999, 321-323). Sets of equipment suggest a more individualised (perhaps family or household) provision than the mass gatherings implied elsewhere. There is also a marked difference between Aetos and the Polis cave in this respect, as ongoing reappraisal of the total ceramic assemblage from Polis by the Stavros Valley Project indicates. Naturally, biases on both sides result from preservation, sorting and retention. For example, the apparently high ratio of drinking vessels to kraters at mainland sites may reflect failure to recognise easily shattered kraters in sherd deposits (Morgan 1999, 272), and on Ithaka it is clear from excavation records and re-examination of a few unsorted sherd bags that pottery of all periods was discarded without quantification. Yet these original records show the same general structure to the assemblage as Symeonoglou's analysis of the extant pottery. In view of the strategic position of Ithaka on sea routes west to the Bay of Naples and Apulia, north along the Akarnanian and Epirote coasts, east to the Peloponnese and the Corinthian Gulf, and south to Crete, it is important to consider exactly how external connections with peer elites may have shaped the expression of wealth and status. Ceramically, there are similarities with Pithekoussai: despite the lack of an unequivocal sanctuary deposit, the enigmatic Scarico Gosetti on the Monte di Vico divides into 34% pouring, 41% drinking, and 25% eating shapes, the last including many plates (Ridgway 1992, 88-89). At Pithekoussai, plates reflect the strength of Phoenician influence, but they are not standard domestic equipment in mainland Greece or the Aegean, where a ritual role is generally proposed for Late Geometric and early Archaic examples (Morgan 1999, 322). At Aetos, there is a relatively large number of plates by Aegean standards, but their profiles fit the Corinthian LG tradition rather than the Phoenician/Pithekoussan (Heurtley – Robertson 1948, cat. nos. 559-565; Benton 1953, 333-335; on shape cf. Morgan 1999, cat. nos. 460-464; even Aetos cat. no. 563, which has a profile closest to Pithekoussan, lacks the distinctive broad rim).

Ritual vessels (ring vases, ring-kernoi, and tubular stands) are a distinctive feature (Symeonoglou 2002, ch. 3 offers a thorough review of the material, though I here exclude the circular stand as potentially practical). Most of the 25 preserved vessels are eighth to seventh-century and from the main votive deposits, but, as noted, they have Protogeometric predecessors. While a relatively small proportion even of the

Table 1. The Aetos ceramic assemblage by period and function. Group 1 = drinking; 2 = serving; 3 = storage; 4 = pouring; 5 = ritual.
eight to seventh-century assemblage (Table 1),
young Aegean standards (surpassed at relatively few shrines, notably the De-
lian and Argive Heraia), and imply an empha-
sis on ritual action/performance not universally
found. The ring vases and ring-kernoi were
probably not lamps (there is no burning, even
where the wick would rest), but were certainly
used to pour liquid or viscous substances,
whether or not they had the further function
of heating or cooling liquids. The function of
tubular stands remains debated: Heurtley and
Robertson (Heurtley – Robertson 1948, 88-89)
saw them as candlesticks, and Benton (Benton
1953, 328-329) as rhyta or more probably torch-
holders (on the latter see Parisinou 2000, 17,
137, 163), whereas Symeonoglou (Symeonoglou
2002, 197-202) reaches no conclusion, but in the
case of Vathy 293 (Symeonoglou 2002, cat. no.
328) she rightly emphasizes the combination of
shape and imagery (Apollo and a deer) plausi-
ably linked to male initiation (cf. Parisinou 2000,
13). If these vessels were for lighting (perhaps
as holders for saucer-lights), they place Ithaka
in the vanguard of provision for the use of light
in ritual. This need not imply a major concep-
tual change, merely the opportunity to devel-
op performance, since their major advantage
would be portability in comparison with the de-
vices most likely used within the earlier build-
ings at Aetos (Parisinou 1998). Stylistically, the
Aetos ritual vases are best paralleled on the east-
ern and western fringes - variously in the east-
ern Aegean, Crete and Cyprus, and in the Italian
and Italo-Corinthian repertoires (Symeonoglou
2002, 176-184, notes a possible Ithakan export
at Cumae) - but with distinctive and sometimes
unique traits of shape (e.g. fig. 5) and feature
(such as double necks or animal feet). And in
passing, it is interesting to note among the small
bronzes symbolic representations of vessels (espe-
cially jugs and dinoi) primarily of Macedonian
and Illyrian derivation but also local, as well as
one example of what may be a miniature stun-
ning hammer (PBF X1.2, 302 [hammer]; 11461,
1469-1470, 1477, 1483, 1528 [vessels]).

Turning to iconography, the seven late
Vathy 293 (Symeonoglou 2002, cat. no.
163) as bride-claiming. Ritual per-
formance can be seen on the pyxis (or house-
model) Vathy 244 in the form of robed proces-
sional and confronted figures, and a side-sad-
dle male rider (Morgan 2001, 200-213). Person-
al status is revealed in aspirational images - deer
for the hunt, horses, and a chariot procession on a kantharos from San Montano tomb 949 at Pithekoussai (Morgan 2001, 213-220) which is aspirational indeed for Homer’s ‘rugged island not fit for driving horses’ (Od. 13.242; see also Od. 4.607-608) but perhaps echoed in the putative chariot dedication noted above. These representations draw as heavily on Near Eastern, Cretan and Italian iconography as on (mostly Corinthian) Greek, but the blend is local and unique (Morgan 2001; 2006).

It is worth digressing briefly to note further Cretan (and Cypriot) imports which confirm the importance of Ithaka’s position on trade-routes up the west coast of the Peloponnese and across to Italy. Metalwork includes a late ninth- or eighth-century gold finial similar to those on the large pendant necklace in the jewellery cache in Tekke tomb 2 (Robertson 1955: Hoffmann 1993, 213-221), a fragmentary Cypriot hemispherical bowl with interior ridge (a shape otherwise confined to Cyprus and Crete: Matthaus 1998, 138), and from Polis cave a bowl with lotus handle, a shape of Cypriot origin which, while more widespread, is hardly common in old Greece (Benton 1934-1935, 72-73, fig. 22; Matthaus 2001, 162, 185). Such items are few, but they are rich and relatively rare. Links continued into the seventh century with, for example, a local plastic vase in the shape of a lion which is closely paralleled at Arkades (Heurtley – Robertson 1948, no. 558, pl. 41: Levi 1927-1929, 240, fig. 281, pl. XIX).

Returning to the geographical and social interests represented by other categories of offering, it is possible here only to summarise the most important trends within a complex and varied assemblage. Personal ornament dominates. Beads in glass, amber, terracotta and (unusually) silver from necklaces or bracelets, as well as amber fibula ornaments, were jumbled through the votive deposits, but many must be eighth- or early seventh-century (Heurtley – Robertson 1948, 114-121; Benton 1953, 353-356). How many strings of beads were present is unclear: the 67 well-preserved pieces in all materials (plus countless fragments, H. Hughes-Brock personal communication) could work in many combinations, and the small bronze beads which Benton notes as ‘infesting’ Aetos (Benton 1953, 343) are likely spacers from composite strings. The quantity of amber is striking. As Benton remarked, ‘the whole excavation was pervaded by ruined amber’ (Benton 1953, 338), and even though confusion with decomposed glass is likely, the collection of well preserved items is substantial (H. Hughes-Brock personal communication; Heurtley – Robertson 1948, 117; Benton 1953, 354-356, 347). The Aetos material, while early by wider Greek standards, is less and later than the amber from Lefkandi and Ephesus (Lemos and Mitchell in this volume), but likely arrived via a different route - via Italy (cf. Benton 1953, 338, rejecting an Adriatic route; Negroni Catrachio 1989, esp. 661-662, with plates illustrating the range of likely uses of the Aetos material). Geographical proximity favours this, as do ceramic links with the Bay of Naples, the likely function of many of the pierced sections (e.g. Heurtley – Robertson 1948, D3-7; Benton 1953, M63, plus at least 2 further unpublished) as ornaments on composite fibulae including the type which at Pithekoussai goes back into the second half of the eighth century (Lo Schiavo 2006, 254: at Aetos, see Heurtley – Robertson 1948, 118, cat E22, noting also the seventh-century Italian animal fibula, E23, = PBF XIV.4, Type VIIIc), and the likely Italian origin of two somewhat later amber animals (Heurtley – Robertson 1948, D1, D2). Amber was available for trade in areas with which Ithakesians were in contact: Pithekoussai apart, it is found in the Quatro Fontanili necropolis at Veii by the mid eighth century, and spread rapidly through Etruria and Latium, culminating in the 500 pieces in Satricum tomb VI of ca.650-40 (Waarsenburg 1995, 399-492).

To add to these ornaments, most small Geometric bronzes are pendants. Stylistically, they are mostly central Greek and Macedonian (here cf. Giamatzidis’ observations on exports to Italy in this volume), with some central Pelopon-
nesian types also. Thus, from central Greece, Thessaly, Aetolia and Macedonia come various types of wheel, pendant, bird pendant and double axe; predominantly from the central Peloponnese (Sparta and Tegea), pomegranates and double axes: from Macedonia southwards, cage pendants – and local twists include versions of pompom and cage and other pendants. Seals and scarabs are a predictable accompaniment. Aetos has some Lyre Player seals (Buchner – Boardman 1966, cat. nos. 49-52), as well as seventh-century Peloponnesian and East Greek bone or ivory seals (Boardman 1963, 146-150, 154-155) which have their closest parallels at Artemis Orthia, Ephesus and Perachora. But in general these are few and restricted in type, especially in comparison with sites such as Pithekoussai, Eretria or Perachora (thus confirming that this is not a bias of context). The evidence instead fits the profile of smaller scale shrine and grave deposits along the coast from Volimeda to Delphi (see e.g. Petropoulos 2002, 148-150 for the contents of a rich grave from Aigion). This is not, of course, the totality of the Aetos jewellery (much could be said about the remaining fibulae and pins), but it is the most characteristic part, and one which is largely absent from the Polis cave.

By contrast with, for example, Olympia or Delphi, figurines are few and there is scant evidence that economic and/or subsistence interests were symbolised in this way. There are almost no Geometric or early seventh-century terracotta animals (exceptions include the Subegometric dog and bird, Heurtley – Robertson 1948, 114 A21, A22) and bronze animals are largely horses (exceptions include the birds noted above and an imported Macedonian dog: PBF XI.2, cat. no. 647). One unique piece is interesting for the eastern origins of the iconography, but also for its protective, apotropaic connotations. A pair of back-to-back griffins (fig. 10: PBF XI.2, cat. no. 1151; Benton 1953, 340, E198), is unique in subject but closely similar to the back-to-back horses known from Philia, Pherai and Delphi, and deer from Pherai. All are of Greek manufacture: Zimmermann places one horse-pair in his Phokian group and all the rest (deer and griffins included) in the Aetolian, thus emphasizing their Central Greek conception and style (Zimmermann 1989, 235; PBF XI.2, 1146-1150). However, all commentators see a Near Eastern origin in the pose, which also fits the griffin image (Benton 1953, 340; Zimmermann 1989, 212-213; Poulsen 1962, 12-15); and here it is interesting to note, in addition to vase-painting, the presence at Aetos of a bronze sphinx cauldron attachment of the second half of the eighth century, of North Syrian style but probable Greek manufacture (Kourou 1979, 190-191, cat. no. 548; Heurtley – Robertson 1948, 118, E 5), and a local large terracotta sphinx of the early seventh century from Polis (Kourou 1979, cat. no. 538; Morgan 2008).

Horses form the largest group, complementing the 'aspirational' imagery on vases and the putative chariot remains. Of the 8 freestanding horses (ca. 730-700), all but one are Corinthian in style (Zimmermann 1989, LAK 143, COR 8, COR 16, COR 32, COR 55-57, COR 59). Yet they show some differences, spanning Zimmermann's 'Perachora variety (pre-725), the variety of the Large Stallions (ca.725), and the later Aetos variety, which is found only at Aetos and Delphi and has a strongly Lakonian-influenced form of support (Zimmermann 1989, 195-197). Reappraisal of the precise nature of the Corinthianising represented is beyond the scope of the article. But the picture is enriched by considering together the Aetos freestanding figures and the tripod handle attachments from Polis. Zimmermann (Zimmermann 1989, 59-62) put these attachments into his Ithaca-Delphi group, which he characterised as a variant on Argive (dating ca. 800-725) with a different distribution. He rejected Argos as the place of manufacture and favoured

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2. PBF XI.2 cat. nos. 112, 116, 137 (wheels); 351, 586 (pendants); 757, 847, 882, 1059 (bird pendants); 1692, 1698, 1711, 1715-16, 1736, 1746 (double axes); 678 (pomegranate); 1675 (double axe); 647 (cage pendant); 310 (pompom); 512, 514, 526, 1330 (cage pendants etc.).
Corinth over Delphi or western Greece: Ithaka was rejected due to a perceived lack of technical skill and artistic background, although the later horses were allowed as the work of an itinerant bronzesmith (Zimmermann 1989, 196). Only the most ‘primitive’, and quite late, horse (perhaps a miscasting) became the work of a native craftsman (Zimmermann 1989, 62, 196 re Vathy 880, Benton 1953, 348, E190). At this point it is worth adding to the discussion the 13 surviving ninth- and eighth-century tripods from Polis, since many of the same ideas have been advanced with respect to these. Stylistically, these are loosely Corinthianising, but variation in the alloys used, as in general in ‘Corinthian’ tripods (in comparison with Argive and Attic), allows a range of explanations, from a widely shared style produced in different centres to a lack of technical control by craftsmen in Corinth (Magou – Philippakis – Rolley 1986, 127-129). Certainly, at least some were produced at Aetos. Both Benton and Davies reported smithing and bronzeworking debris (Benton 1953, 343, 352, cat. no. E250; Davies 1934-1935, 137), and more recently, a fragmentary investment mold for a tripod leg (Symeonoglou 2002, 204-205, 321, cat. no. 338, fig.128a) similar in form to one from Lefkandi (Catling – Catling 1980, 95-97) has been found in a Geometric metalworking area. This raises the question of exactly what was cast locally. If the legs of tripods, also horse attachments – and even freestanding horses?

Large metal dedications are only to be expected of a rich elite in touch both with the Greek world of inter-state sanctuaries and with the materially competitive elites of the Naples area (on Pontecagnano, see Cuozzo 2003, ch. 9). The choice of Polis as the place of dedication is internally significant (indeed, the problem of how the tripods were displayed – and re-displayed – merits a paper in its own right), although it is important to recall the long tradition of terracotta skeuomorphs for large bronze vessels at Aetos from Protogeometric onwards. Full comparison with the Polis cave, while beyond the scope of this article, is essential to understanding Ithakan cult organisation, and is an important goal of the Stavros Valley Project. Some basic points of contrast can, however, be noted. By contrast with Aetos, Polis has no pre-seventh-century terracotta figurines (pace Benton) and no certainly freestanding bronzes, very little personal ornament, and a ceramic assemblage more suited to conventional mass drinking than the Aetos sets and which remained plain through the eighth century as Aetos grew iconographically and functionally more elaborate (Benton 1934-1935). Yet it has the majority of monumental bronze dedications, an equally long series of offensive weapons (mostly spearheads: Snodgrass 1964, 119, 120 Type B, C), as well as armour (including at least 7 helmets from the early seventh century onwards: A.M. Snodgrass personal communication) which is largely missing at Aetos (Benton 1953, 340 reports one greave plus fragments of belts).

In conclusion, the wealth of Aetos was no mere by-product of Corinthian enterprise in the west. Ithakans maintained wide connections, and expansion and exploitation of these networks enabled them to acquire everything from commodities like amber, to ideas about forms of adornment, ritual behaviour and the iconographical ideas to express their status and wealth. Pre-existing power structures as well as new relations with elite peers could thus be expressed in richer and more innovative ways, as is especially evident from the second half of the eighth century onwards. The Aetos votive deposits indicate emphasis on personal or family participation, personal status and adornment, ritual performance, and fertility (perhaps also rites of passage): by contrast, the Polis shrine suggests that elite power was projected into the north of the island rather differently, with mass consumption and then monumental metal offerings. The period considered in this paper is, however, a distinctive and quite short phase in Ithakan history. From the latter part of the seventh century, settlement growth in the north was accompanied by a shift in patterns of dedication – and a new chapter in the history of Ithaka's sanctuaries.
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THE ELITE OF AETOS

Fig. 1. Ithaka: principal locations mentioned in the text (map: C. Hayward).

Fig. 2. Aetos: principal structures in the cairns area (plan: adapted from Symeonoglou 2002, fig. 22, with details of 1953 trenches from Benton 1953, fig. 2 [N. Bruce]).
Fig. 3. Vathy 176: terracotta votive column capital (photo: author).

Fig. 4. Vathy 715: Protogeometric terracotta tripod (photo: author).

Fig. 5. Vathy 283: LGII vertical ring vase (photo: author).

Fig. 6. Vathy 721: Sandstone tripod, late 8th-early 7th century (photo: author).
Fig. 7. Vathy, unpublished (photo: author).

Fig. 8. Oinochoe or ring-vase with male attachment (early 7th century?). Heurtley – Robertson 1948, cat. 557 (photo: author).

Fig. 9. Vathy 183: LGII Ithakan oinochoe neck with female attachment (photo: author).

Fig. 10. Vathy 888: LGII bronze back-to-back griffins (photo: author).
I thank most warmly Dr Miriam Erwin Caskey for the translation of the text.
cessive periods. The earliest are Megaron A and \( \alpha^4, \alpha^5, \alpha^6, \beta \) and probably the apsidal construction with the pithoi, west of the temple. The rectangular buildings \( \alpha^1 \) and \( \alpha^2 \) are later. For a time, however, they were all simultaneously in use. Our excavations revealed in addition other bits of ruins beneath the temple and proved the existence of an extensive pavement of the same period. Revealed as well was a paved pathway leading up toward the east side (fig. 6). I have reported elsewhere that the Late Helladic settlement suffered two major catastrophes: one during the LH IIA period, which left in a number of buildings a sealed layer with finds in situ, and a second, final destruction, which we observed in some spots beneath the temple and which we dated at the very end of the LH IIIC period (fig. 3). Contacts with the Mycenaean world were regular to the end (for example with Achaia), but relations remained superficial and there was never any real cultural assimilation. Yet Mycenaean ceramic finds (imported pottery and local imitations) were plentiful at Thermos. This was an important agricultural and animal husbandry settlement, a place where people met and carried out commercial exchange. It was the seat of the leader of the general region and it kept alive its Middle Helladic tradition throughout the Late Helladic period and later still, as is strikingly evident in both the pottery and the manufacture of stone tools.

The next, third stratigraphical horizon is that of the period of Megaron B (fig. 4). The ceramic evidence showed that this building and the other contemporary ones, preserved only as sparse remains of two or three, were built in the 11th century B.C., not long after the catastrophe at the end of the LH IIIC period, since there is no accumulation above the destruction level. The building remains are associated with the appearance of a hand-made, matt-painted pottery showing unmistakable connections with the Middle Helladic matt-painted ware of Macedonia (fig. 5: Wardle 1977, 162; Wardle – Wardle 2003). Yet it must be dated in the Early Iron Age not only on the basis of technique and decoration, as has been argued, but also for stratigraphical reasons. Perhaps there are occasional finds in Aitolia as early as LH IIIC times. Megaron B was built on the partly stone-paved level that extended S of Megaron A. Observations of its remains show convincingly that it was planned as a regular rectangle and not, as thought for a long time, as an “irregular rectangle” with the outer walls curved and inclined (Drerup 1969, 65, 83, 103-104). The evidence has been presented elsewhere showing that the deviations occurred later and most of them, indeed, later than the excavations (figs. 6, 7). They are due to static failure. Even so, in buildings constructed with the materials and in the technique of that time, we can hardly expect precisely straight and upright walls. While we do not know what material was used for the upper part of the walls, stone cannot be excluded. The most conventional roof would have been double or quadruple pitched. The floor of the building was not flat, and it appears to have followed the incline of the ground from N to S (a difference of 0.40 m.)

This long narrow construction, 20.80 × 7.50, was from its inception a closed, extensive οίκος, one of the earliest examples in mainland Greece. The ground plan cannot be explained as a derivation from the Mycenaean megaron. We have interpreted it as a ruler’s seat and place for communal gatherings, a function retained to the end.

During the period of its use, there was a built bothros for sacrifices, made of stone slabs, in front of the entrance (fig. 6: compare Poulsen – Rhomaios 1927, 36, fig. 58). It was found by Rhomaios but it is today no longer preserved in good condition.

Found at a short distance from this were two built circular constructions 0.45 m. high and 0.80 m. in diameter (fig. 8). These are connected with a cult to which we shall refer further on. A retaining wall protected the building along its length to the east, beside which the slab-paved pathway continued in use, leading to the upper levels.

The destruction of Megaron B can be dat-
ed at the end of the 9th - beginning of the 8th century B.C. or later. The rear room appears to have been repaired and in any case continued in use even later, when a large, clay "ash-altar" was made at ground level in the area that surrounded the lower part of the walls of the destroyed building (fig. 9). A layer of light-coloured ash with burnt and smashed animal bones, remains of burnt sacrifices (holocaust), are preserved today only beneath the east wall of the cela of the peripteral temple and beneath some of the middle bases of the interior colonnade. The width of this "hearth" is unknown; its preserved length, some 15 m., shows that it is indeed a large "ash altar". The sherds recovered place its construction and initiation in the 8th century B.C. It continued in use to about the time when the early archaic cella was built. Thus, while the old excavation represented the archaic temple as a direct successor to Megaron B, the new excavation has shown that a long time intervened during which the "ash altar" was in use and other cult constructions were made, without any building succeeding Megaron B. Neither remains nor stratigraphical evidence were found to suggest such a building. The space south of the old building was filled to raise it to the level of the altar. Into this fill sacrificial pits/bothroi were dug. Black ashy earth, animal bones and iron dedications, spear-heads and knives are connected with the bothroi. Although the built pit of the time of Megaron B had been filled in, the two rounded constructions continued in use.

Along the ruined west wall, within the stone construction, cavities were made (we found three) probably for the setting of pithoi or for some other cult purpose. Nothing survived. Only a single large pithos was found against the wall itself; it was earlier than building B and had been put to use at a later time as well. It was empty.

From the beginning of the 7th century there were important new changes in arrangement and organization of the site that indicate both expansion of the cult and its increasing variety. In the area of the bothroi of the south side, the level in front of the "ash altar" was raised slightly with earth and rubble. Found standing upright in this was a small, rough, pilaster-like stone that was clearly connected with an older bothros and dedications (fig. 10). We shall return to this subsequently. The rear room was rebuilt or repaired following its collapse or at least the fall of its south wall. Formed at that time was a level of use, characterised by a clay layer that covered over the remains of the catastrophe, between the room and the "altar". This is slightly higher than the clay covering of the floor level of the altar. Found at that same level was a Late Geometric bronze figurine of a horseman, which provides a chronological terminus for these arrangements, in round figures, let us say 700 (Papapostolou 2001).

The most important change in the area during the 7th century B.C. was the placing of the well known slabs forming an elliptical space around the "altar" of the holocausts and the rear room (figs. 1, 2). Stratigraphical studies have shown that when the slabs were set in place, the building was not standing. They belong quite clearly to the stratigraphical horizon of the ash-altar and the sacred stone. The most likely interpretation of the slabs is that they formed the peribolos of the temenos. They may have held low stone pillars. Other hypotheses have met with strong rejection. They are, for example, that a) the slabs held columns supporting a baldachin over the altar, b) they held posts for an enclosure, c) they held peristyle columns of a building, d) they held beams to reinforce the walls of an hypothetical apsidal building that was later than Megaron B (Wesenberg 1982, 149ff.), e) they held inclined supports for the roof of Megaron B (Drerup 1963; 1964, 195). It may be that a slab pavement was also set in this place at that same time.

Preserved to the S of the temple, at a distance of 7,40 m., is part of a rock that is not mentioned in the bibliography, but was probably preserved by the first excavator. I believe it can be interpreted as a "rocky altar" (fig. 11).
The new excavation also re-affirmed, in a limited space, the “upper black layer” known from the first excavations, evidently laid over the level on which were set the slabs of the west and south sides of the peribolos. The “black layer”, in which the bronze offerings were found, consists of remains from sacrifices, but it differs from those of the light coloured ash of the totally burnt sacrifices. It is connected with the usual sort of sacrifices, followed by feasts, made during the period when the ash altar was functioning. What was preserved represents the last phase preceding the early archaic cella, dated now by ceramic finds to the end of the 7th century B.C.

To the last period preceding the temple belong remains of constructions of wood, wattle and daub, as can be seen from holes in the area of the old rear room of Megaron B with carbonized material from the wooden supports. No traces of habitation exist in the horizon of the ash-altar.

This, then, constitutes the succession of stratigraphical horizons from pre-Mycenaean times to the end of the 7th century B.C.

Cult remains are found in every period. Discovered in the largest building of the Late Helladic settlement, Megaron A, according to the first excavator, were small pithoi, placed upside-down on slabs. They contained earth, carbonized matter and burnt animal bones. Inverted vases constitute a well-known practice, with many examples from Late Helladic times to late antiquity (Åström 1987; Burkert 1985, 73). Their significance cannot always be the same. It will have differed in different places and times, according to the shape and use of the vases and to the context as a whole. In this particular instance we have the storage of “sacred ash” perhaps from sacrifices. We do not know if they belong to the time when the building was functioning, or later, when the ruins may have remained visible for a time. In any case, the reversed pots cannot be associated with burials.

The large pithoi too are reported to have held ashes, and a few were noted in the area, but their closer dating is not known. They may have witnessed more than one building phase. Other indications of cult practice during the Late Helladic period are provided by a number of Mycenaean vases (Rhomaios 1915, 266-268; Wardle–Wardle 2005, 149-150) (bridge-spouted jugs, a rhyton, Vapheio-type cups, LH IIIC kylikes with a swelling on the tall stem, and crateres). They will also have served other uses or they may have been kept as valuable, exotic or rare objects, as was the “warrior” crater. Feasting is evident from the type and shape of the pottery in general. Pockets of ash and animal bones on the lower level remain from this period. The study of the archaeozoologist Armelle Gardesens has shown that most of the bones from the Late Helladic horizon are those of goats. Most are the remains of feasts and it is possible that also at Thermos we have animal sacrifices during LH IIIC times, despite the reservations of scholars (cf. Dickinson 2006, 223-224; Morgan 2006, 244; Hägg 1968, 59; 1988, 113; Bergquist 1988, 30).

The picture of the time of Megaron B from the 11th to the beginning of the 8th century is likewise blurred. The built bothros (fig. 6) we referred to above may well be associated with cult practices: it contained bones of kids and birds. So too, the two rounded built constructions (fig. 8) that cannot, however, be the same sort of thing as the well-known circular stone-paved platforms seen at Asine and many other places (Hägg 1983, 189ff). Many animal bones, mainly goat, were found in the level associated with their use and beneath it. There is no trace of fire. That the constructions were used in some supplementary capacity in cult or other festival ritual is very likely.

The stratigraphical horizon of the period of Megaron B cannot be explored anywhere except in the area beneath the temple. Within building B there are no finds to suggest a hearth. Yet there is likely to have been one, although it may not necessarily have been used for cult purposes. Examples of official buildings that might have housed cult activities are few and dubious.
THE NEW EXCAVATIONS UNDER THE EARLY ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF THERMOS

(Poseidi in Chalkidike and, with reservations, Nichoria) (Vokotopoulou 1992; McDonald – Coulson 1983, 21-22, 26, pl. 2; Mazarakis Ainiian 1997, 43, 74-80). In general, very few sites in the Peloponnese and in Mainland Greece can be connected with cults during the first centuries following the LH IIIC period. Corresponding evidence for the period of Megaron B is provided by Asine (Wells 1983, 34). No grave was found, nor any human bones at Thermos, just as the first excavators reported verbally.

Thermos, during the early “Dark Ages”, cannot be ranged with the other early sanctuaries such as Olympia, Kalapodhi, Isthmia, perhaps also Amyklai and a few others. It was simply the seat of a leader, where certain ritual acts involving feasts took place. This is not the case of a sanctuary, local or communal, being established in a place with already venerated ruins, as for example at Olympia (Kyrieleis 2005, 61ff.). The place continued to exist not because of the cult, but through its advantageous situation. Delphi shows similar chronological developments (Rolley 1977, 136-138; Müller 1992, 83). We have no evidence that might identify a defined specific space as a special cult place in the establishment (compare Polignac 1984, 27-31; Morris 1987, 189-192; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993). Quite apart from whether a new group of people settled here at this time or whether there was simply a change of conditions with a cultural and economic re-orientation, the establishment of Megaron B does not necessarily mean a change in the social-political structure. From the excavational standpoint, the existence of a large and flourishing Early Iron Age settlement as flourishing as that shown by the Late Helladic buildings cannot be demonstrated. The buildings could, however, have disappeared, except for Megaron B, which was preserved complete beneath the temple.

The excavation produced no evidence to support a development of Megaron B according to the formula “ruler/leader’s residence to temple”. The building was destroyed before it managed to become a “temple or a “shrine”. A deeper break occurs after the destruction and the establishment of the ash-altar in the 8th century B.C. (fig. 9). Now, for the first time, there is a temenos. Similar finds in Aitolia (Taxiarchis, Chrysovitsa (Rhomaios 1920-1921, 64; 1926, 25ff.) are probably later, beginning in the 7th century B.C. and in Kalydon, where remains of holocausts might have been expected, we have no comparable find (Dyggve 1948, 352-353; Antonetti 1990, 245). At Kalapodhi, a comparable phenomenon exists in the hearth located on the site of the later north temple, with successive clay layers and ash in situ as early as the second half of the 9th century B.C. (Felsch 2007, 7). A change in the use of certain areas in the 8th century B.C. is observable also at other sites that had even been sanctuaries at an earlier time, such as Isthmia (Morgan 1999, 372ff.). During this same period the piling up of ash appears at more sanctuaries, but what kind of ash it might have been is not always clear from the publications.

Association of holocausts solely with the worship of the so-called chthonic divinities does not appear to hold. Rhomaios had already countered the exclusive association and Nilsson in his specialised research had connected the holocausts with other divinities as well (Nilsson 1923; Furley 1981, 114ff.; Burkert 1985, 63). It is accepted that the sacrificial holocausts everywhere, while showing the same ritual, do not all have similar contexts or content. Their origins differ (Dietrich 2005, 9; Auffarth 2005, 19ff.; Parker 2005, 41ff.; Henrichs 2005, 48ff.). An important result of recent research is that it is now understood that the holocausts are performed for exceptional or extraordinary situations (Ekroth 2002, 215ff, 226ff, 311, 325-326). The light coloured ash with fragments of bones corresponds to the burning of entire animals without feasting. On the same hearth, however, the parts of the animal destined for the divinities during the usual sacrifices accompanied by feasts could well have been completely burnt. I should add that at Thermos no burnt dedications were found in the light coloured ash, as
was usual in the εναγισμός, the offering to the dead or heroes.

Moreover, the presence of bothroi at such an early period need not characterise a hero or ancestral cult. These bothroi were temporary and were used from time to time for special needs; including sacrifices, indeed, but of a different nature than those of the ash-altar. They may have been blood sacrifices in honour of potencies other than the gods; perhaps for daimons, which, as we know from Hesiod, received honours and in my opinion cannot be identified either as ancestors or as anonymous heroes (Works and Days 121ff.; West 1978, 186, 373). In no period can the ritual remains of Thermos be understood as indicating hero-worship, which is in any case difficult to eradicate: for Thermos no authentic mythical heroic tradition is known.

The black layer in which the bronze offerings were found, known from its later phase, is the result of canonical sacrifices as distinguished from the holocausts. They were carried out probably on an altar, which we identify hypothetically as an unworked rock that still exists to the S of the ash-altar.

Thus at Thermos we observe various types of rituals held on separate occasions or at the same time, at different spots close to each other in the sanctuary.

The rough stone set up in the area of the bothroi during the 7th century B.C. at the time of the elliptical peribolos, is a unique find (fig. 10). It is clearly a “sacred stone” (ιερός λίθος) that remained in situ through several decades while around it successive levels of use were formed until it was covered over by the early archaic temple. The terms used to designate the different meanings of “sacred stones” are not fixed. Dedications, markers (horoi), symbols—signs of divine power, aniconic representations are all capacities attributed to “sacred stones”. (Doepner 2002, with older bibliography). In this case, I believe the best choice of definition is to call it a “sign” of the presence of a divine power or as a hodos. The vagueness itself, even during the time when sacred stones were used, offered the possibility of adaptation and connection to any divine or daimonic power.

Despite the lack of any epigraphical evidence, there may have been a cult of Artemis at Thermos. Not so much as a continuation of a prehistoric cult of the “great goddess”, but as a cult consequent to Apollo, who likewise is not necessarily to be considered as the young god, the son or brother of Artemis, who is introduced at a later time. I believe the most likely picture to be that of the belligerent war-god presented by Homer, who at Thermos suggests the well-known Syrian figure of the war-god Reshef (fig. 12: Rhomaios 1915, 271-272; Rolley 1984, 669-670; Renfrew 1985, 306; Seeden 1980, 128; Gallet de Santerre 1984, 12, 19; Burkert 1975b, 61, 67). It is a type that has already been connected, correctly in my opinion, with the early Apollo. The appearance of the armed god gives him the power of functioning in different capacities, according to the demands of the community. With the capacities that belong to the god, holocausts have a place (Rhomaios 1932, 33ff.; Parker 1983, 138). The war-god, indeed, is connected with fire, as is Reshef, and we should not forget that Apollo was also worshipped at Thermos with the epithet Lyseios (releaser), which clearly proclaims his character as a purifier or healer, similar to some other gods with the same epithet (Dionysos, Artemis). We do not, however, want to argue that the altar for holocausts was established from the beginning to serve the cult of Apollo. A change in the content of a ritual, however, is possible (Chaniotis 2002, 39ff.; Boeringer 2001, 44-45; Ulf 2006, 33-36).

There is also another possible early association of Apollo with Thermos: the connection of the god with the yearly assemblies (apellai) and ephebic ceremonies (Burkert 1975a). Moreover, even if in Homer it is not quite clear, the connection had already reached a developed stage in the Peloponnese and in Central Greece. The Apollo Thermios of the 8th century was not only the victorious ἐκηβόλος (“attainer of his target”) Homeric god, but the god of synods and the sa-
cred rites of passage that have also a cathartic aspect. From this standpoint, the worship of Artemis can be connected with that of Apollo, as two divinities with shared qualities and functions, such as the protection of those “passing into another stage” and the introduction of the young into communal life, values and institutions that were new in the 8th century. The bronze spiral rings that served as hair adornments and, in my opinion, were offered in sanctuaries together with their long locks by young men and girls alike provide evidence that a coming-of-age ritual was practiced (compare: Leitao 2003; West 1966, 263-264). Quantities of such hair spirals were found in Thermos (fig. 13). As early as the 8th century, the cult of the god had been established in other sanctuaries as well (Kalapodhi, Delphi, Eretria). Thermos too has yielded the remains of tripods.

The founding of the cult of Apollo is likely to have been a programmed enterprise on the part of a common agent of equal communities throughout central Aitolia. This excellent site was chosen in view of communication and of its symbolic character as a boundary between wild nature and cultivated land. The site was probably already functioning as a meeting place for the people of the neighbouring communities. This was a first sign of the process toward ethnicity. Before becoming ethnic, the sanctuary will have provided stability and been an attraction to the various communities for contacts, exchanges and festivals. It will have created community cohesiveness, distinguishing it in all circumstances from other areas, at least of Aitolia.

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Fig. 1. Aerial photograph of the site of the new excavation, 1998.
Fig. 2. The settlement of the Late Helladic Period, the Megaron B and the early archaic temples.
Fig. 3. Pottery from the destruction of the LH settlement (drawing by D. Wardle)
Fig. 4. Megaron B.
Fig. 5. Iron Age Matt – painted pottery from new and old excavations (drawing by Wardle – Wardle 2003).
Fig. 6. The east wall of Megaron B, the remains of the built bothros (left) and the pathway (right)
Fig. 7. Static deviation from the straight line of the north wall of Megaron B.
Fig. 8. The two circular constructions.

Fig. 9. Stratigraphical section with the ash of the holocaust sacrifices.
Fig. 10. Δρυς λίθος standing upright on the site of an earlier bothros.

Fig. 11. The rocky "altar".
Fig. 12. Statuette of the god Reshef.

Fig. 13. Hair spirals in Thermos.
REGIONAL CULT SYSTEMS IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD FROM THE LATE BRONZE TO THE EARLY IRON AGE: COMPARING THE EVIDENCE FROM TWO DIFFERENT PARTS OF MAINLAND GREECE, THE ARGOLIC PLAIN AND EAST PHOKIS

The question of religious continuity from the Late Bronze Age (LBA) to the Early Iron Age (EIA) has been much discussed in scholarly literature and could even be described as old-fashioned; yet this paper will attempt to present a fresh approach through the comparison of the relevant evidence from two areas of different Mycenaean 'identity' and different evolution in the Iron Age: the Argolid, and in particular the Argolic plain, the core area of the Mycenaean world par excellence, which would later host one of the earliest poleis, and East Phokis, and especially the environs of the Kephissos valley, an area most often identified as part of the Mycenaean periphery, as well as the heart of the Phokian ethnos. Focus will be placed on the religious developments from the Late Helladic (LH) IIIC to the Protogeometric (PG) period. The juxtaposition and comparison of the two regional cult systems and their evolution from the LBA to the EIA is aimed to shed light on the multivariate effects of the palatial collapse on religion and the latter's evolution in close connection with the changing sociopolitical systems.

In the Argolic plain, religious life was apparently centred in the citadels in palatial times, and it also carried on in the same context after the collapse, albeit not without changes in material investment and architectural setting. More specifically, cult evidence dating to the postpalatial period comes from the three citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea, as well as from the site of Asine. At Mycenae, cult activity was apparently resumed in the area of the Cult Centre after the devastating destruction at the end of LH IIIB2, but it appears to have been limited to a LH IIIC-early complex of two rooms (Taylour 1981, 37-38, 42, 53; Albers 1994, 51), called here A and B (fig. 1), and to an open-air area where sacrifices possibly took place to the South of the Room with the Fresco complex (i.e. South of Room xxv on fig. 1: Mylonas 1973, 102-103). Note should be made of the quite rich floor deposit found in room B, containing items such as ivory fragments and bronze tools (Taylour 1981, 36, 40), which presents significant analogies to the contents of a deposit sealed in this same area in LH IIIB (Taylour 1981, 40: Area 36, floor 2). Although the room in LH IIIC appears to have been roofed and not to be an open-air or perhaps partially roofed space, as it used to be in LH IIIB, it constitutes a quite probable case of function continuity in the Cult Centre from palatial to post-palatial times. It has been suggested that it was used as a storeroom of cult implements or offerings (Albers 1994, 51), like its predecessor (Iakovidis - French 2003, 17), while doubts have been raised against Taylour's identification of this room as a workshop in LHIIIB (Taylour 1981, 40) in the absence of material that would clearly constitute workshop residue (Krzyszowska 1997, 148, n. 26). In any case, the floor deposit of room B shows that luxurious items were still in circulation in post-palatial times, and that cult was
still embellished with luxury denoting prestige and power to those who performed it and those who controlled it.

In spite of the possibly continuing cult function in the area of the Cult Centre in post-palatial times, significant changes can be noted not only in the architectural plan, but also in the approach of this area. The Processional Way (Mylonas 1981, 315) is obviously no longer in operation, as indicated by newly built structures over it (Mylonas 1966, 109-110, fig. 4; 1970, 119-120; 1971, 152-153, pl. 187; 1981, 309-310), and the previous official connection between the Cult Centre and the ruling authorities, i.e. the palace, is now inevitably lost. Besides, the palace itself had been destroyed in the end of LH IIIB2, and it does not appear to be re-used after the destruction. There is of course the open question whether the later structures in the court of the palace should be dated to LH IIIC, as recently supported by French (French 2002, 136-138, pi. 65), but even so, these structures do not reflect any attempt to restore the former palatial order at least in architectural terms, and therefore it is not possible on the basis of the available evidence to suggest a reactivation of the role played by the palace and the wanax in the religious life of Mycenae. Overall, it seems that in post-palatial times, cult played a different, less elaborate role in the life of the community than before.

At Tiryns, a series of three successive cult places were built during LH IIIC in the Lower Citadel, very close to Room/Casemate 7 of the fortification wall, which must have functioned as a cult place in LH IIIB (cf. grey circle in fig. 2 and fig. 3; room 110a – cf. Kilian 1981a, 170-171; 1981b, 49-53; 1988, 142-145). It seems that the open-air area in front of the casemate to the East, which might have been connected with cult practices in LH IIIB, retained its cult character in LH IIIC as well, since it was here that the series of cult rooms was located (Kilian 1978, 460-465; 1981b, 53-56). The other feature that was preserved from LH IIIB to LH IIIC is Building VI (fig. 2), which was partly rebuilt after the destruction (fig. 3: VIa – cf. Kilian 1983, 279). Despite several structural differences as compared to its predecessor, it represents the main case of architectural continuity from LH IIIB to IIIC in the Lower Citadel (Kilian 1981b, 58). This building must have played a prominent role in the resettlement both before and after the destruction, and this does not seem to have been unrelated to the single other feature of the Lower Citadel that was preserved, i.e. the cult area. It has been suggested that these two, Building VI and the cult place, composed a traditional complex that had to be preserved, and in particular that Building VI might have been the residence of a very important person in the community, such as the priest (Kilian 1981b, 58; 1982, 400-403; 1983a, 304) or an elite member of high status (Mühlenbruch 2007, 245).

On the Upper Citadel, the single re-established building after the destruction was most probably the megaron, known as Building T, together with the altar lying in the Great Court (fig. 4). The controversy in scholarly literature over the dating of Building T and the latest confirmation of its LH IIIC dating by Maran (Maran 2000, 1-12; 2001, 113-114) are of course well known. Focus should be placed here on the remodelling of the altar with the addition of a square enclosure, which must have been contemporary with Building T (Maran 2001, 115, n. 15), and points to the continuing religious role of the megaron and of the respective political authority. Considering that the wanax of palatial times is generally thought to be endorsed not only with political but also with religious power, it seems logical to conclude that his post-palatial successor also played, or at least claimed to play the same role in the cult activities of the community.

However, this role of his appears to be weakened in post-palatial times, as indicated by the change of spatial organization in the Lower Citadel. In particular, the court near Casemate 7 became more accessible from the buildings of the Lower Citadel in post-palatial times, as opposed to the LH IIIB period, dur-
ing which it was broadly accessible only from the South, from the Upper Citadel (as pointed out by arrows on fig. 2: Albers 1994, 104-105). This change in interaction between the buildings and the open-air court must have also affected the cult use of the area lying under Case-mate 7. Although its use for religious practices continued in LH IIIC, the character of the cult must have somehow changed since access to the area became less restricted than in palatial times. Cult activities were possibly now less tightly connected to the Upper Citadel and more involving for the population of the Lower Citadel.

In the citadel of Midea, it is possible that cult activities which took place on Terrace 9 by the northeastern fortification wall in LH IIIB continued in LH IIIC too, as indicated by figurines and jewellery found in the respective layers (Walberg – Giering 1998, 82; Walberg 1998, 138). Moreover, it has been suggested that the megaron on one of the lower, North-east Terraces might have also been used for cult purposes in LH IIIB, and that its religious role was carried on in LH IIIC, as indicated by a deposit of several valuable objects, including three very large, ceremonial sword pommels, found in a niche inside the LHIIIC megaron (Walberg 1996, 28, 30).

Asine appears to be a different case from the above sites. A very important assemblage testifying to post-palatial cult activities – and including the head of a famous figure, the so-called 'Lord of Asine' (D'Agata 1996) – has been recovered in the well-known Room XXXII of House G in the Lower Town on the Acropolis hill, the so-called Kastraki (fig. 5: Frödin – Persson 1938, 63, 66, 74-76, 89, 98, 298-305, 308-310; Hägg 1981, 91-94). The controversy over the domestic (Nilsson 1950, 110-114; Sjöberg 2004, 34) or public nature (Albers 1994, 114-115; Wright 1994, 64; D’Agata 1996, 46) of the cult in this room is also very well known. The cult deposit found here dates to LH IIIC-late (Mountjoy 1986, 181; D’Agata 1996, 46; Sjöberg 2004, 33-34), but it is not known whether there was another cult place at the site, at the same or at another location, in earlier times. If, however, no former cult place existed at Asine, the establishment of a new one in LH IIIC-late could be related to the prosperity of the settlement at that time and possibly to the new needs of the rising local elite (Morgan 1996, 51-52).

In East Phokis, LH IIIC evidence for cult activity comes from the sanctuary of Kalapodi, where two centres of cult activity have been uncovered (marked with arrows on fig. 6). One of them was revealed during the early excavations under the direction of Felsch in the east part of the excavated area, in front of the southeast corner of the Classical temple. Cult activities, entailing animal sacrifices, drinking and dining, and the offering of votives, seem to have been concentrated around a small shrine and a hearth (Jacob-Felsch 1996, 11-13, 102-103; Felsch 1981, 87-88; 1999, 165-166; 2001, 194-195; 2007, 5). LBA evidence was also found in the area beneath the south, Late Archaic temple. The sequence of cult activity in this part has not been easy to restore mainly due to the overlying structures. A pit with clay-covered walls most probably dating to LH IIIA2-LH IIIB was reached during the early excavations at the bottom of a deep sounding within the cella of the south temple (Felsch 1987, 5; 1991, 86, 2007, 6; Jacob-Felsch 1996, 4-5, 11, 93). The more recent excavation campaigns by Niemeier revealed a succession of LH IIIC and LH IIIA2-LH IIIB layers in the east part of the south temple, as well as fragments of clay figurines, faience beads and a cone of steatite in the earlier layer, thus pointing to the possibility for even earlier activity at the site than previously thought (Niemeier 2006, 168; 2006-2007, 43; 2008, 102; 2009, 109). It is believed that the main centre of LBA cult must have been located under the cella of

1. I would like to take this opportunity to express my warmest thanks to Prof. W.-D. Niemeier, who was most kind to give me an illuminating tour through his latest discoveries when I visited the site in summer 2007, thus helping me significantly to gain a full understanding of the new evidence and its significance.
The sanctuary of Kalapodi appears to have attracted visitors from a wider area in LH IIIC. The occurrence of LH IIIC-middle pictorial pottery (Jacob-Felsch 1987, 28-30; 1996, 34-37, pls. 7-8, Niemeier 2006-2007, 42, fig. 51) shows contacts with Kynos in East Lokris and Lefkandi in Euboea, as well as Thessaly and East Attica, i.e. the areas participating in the LH IIIC-middle Aegean koiné (Lemos 2002, 221; Crielaard 2006, 282-284). Its local ‘radiation’ might have spread quickly due to its proximity to the route from the valley of Kephissos to the plain of Atalante (fig. 7a). The sanctuary would not only serve the religious needs of the local inhabitants, but it would also possibly act as a meeting place for neighbouring populations (Morgan 1996, 47-48 and 57; 1997, 176-179; Lemos 2002, 224), and as a venue for interaction among the elites of the area, rising in power in post-palatial times and needing a new ‘institution’ to play the role of legitimisation, which might have been formerly undertaken by the palace (cf. Knapp 1996, 13; Morgan 1996, 45; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 393 for the connection between political and religious control and Foxhall 1995, 248; Thomas 1995, 349-354; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 375 for the status of local elites before and after the palatial collapse).

Moving back to the Argolic plain and forward in time to the beginning of the EIA, the cult evidence becomes quite limited. Claims have been made for cult activity initiated in the PG period in the citadel of Mycenae (Hall 1995, 599), the Argive Heraion (Ström 1988, 175-176; Hall 1995, 592-594) or the sanctuary of Athena Polias on the summit of Larissa at Argos (Hall 1995, 605). However, doubts have also been raised against the identification of such early cult activity at these sites, since the available evidence is very thin and mainly consists of a few PG sherds found in relation to later cult contexts in the case of Mycenae and Argos, and mainly of two PG pins in the case of the Heraion. The beginning of cult activity at these sites can be dated from the 9th and more securely from the 8th century BC onwards (cf. Klein 1997, 279; Billot 1997, 14; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 321).

At Tiryns, the earliest evidence testifying to EIA cult activity comes from the Late Geometric/Early Archaic bothros found on the Upper Citadel (Grossmann 1975, 159-161). The narrow rectangular platform added to the South of the altar in a second phase of remodelling (fig. 4), after it had been built into a square enclosure in LH IIIC, is also thought to date to this phase of activity on the Upper Citadel, although the evidence is inconclusive (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 161; Maran 2001, 115, esp. n. 15). Building T has also been thought to be contemporary with this phase of cult activity on the citadel of Tiryns, but as mentioned earlier, the latest discoveries by Maran date it to the LH IIIC period. On the other hand, Mazarakis Ainian has suggested that Building T might have survived into the EIA and, being in a ruinous condition by the mid-8th century BC, it would have been renovated and turned into a temple in the Late Geometric period (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 161). As Maran has stressed, however, this is difficult to accept in view not only of the lack of post-Mycenaean finds during the excavations in the area by Dörpfeld and Schliemann (Maran 2001, 113, n. 5), but also of the lack of any heterogeneous signs on the building itself, pointing to later repairs (Maran 2000, 15-16). Even if we accepted that the megaron survived into the beginning of the EIA before falling into ruins, it would still be impossible to pinpoint the nature of its use, if any.

The most substantial cult evidence dating to the PG period comes from Asine, where cult function has been attributed to a pithos containing EIA pottery and bones of several species of animals in the Karmaniola area to the East of the hill of Kastraki (fig. 5). The foot of a skyphoid krater, pierced probably for libation, was also included among the vases. On the basis of bones and fat, charcoal-filled soil found in the area around the pithos, it was suggested
that certain religious activities such as sacrifices took place in its vicinity, possibly followed by sacrificial meals, while the pithos received what was discarded after the accomplishment of religious activities. There might have also been some sort of a permanent construction in this area, as many burnt clay fragments found nearby testify (Wells 1983, 34). The exact dating of the pithos is problematic, because it was not a closed deposit, in fact it 'lacked bottom and lid', while Geometric sherds were also found in the fill around it (Langdon 1985, 533). Therefore, it cannot be excluded that the pithos might have been contemporary with the Late PG apsidal building found further South in the Karmaniola area, as Mazarakis Ainian has pointed out (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 70).

There are also other distinctive features that have been attested at Asine in relation to cult and rituals. A jug of the early 10th century BC found under the outer socle of the apsidal building in the Karmaniola area probably testifies to a libation ceremony that took place when the foundations were laid. This could probably indicate that the building had some special significance – perhaps that of the chieftain’s dwelling (Wells 1988, 265). The discovery of three stone concentrations interpreted as tomb-altars among the PG tombs on the hill of Kastraki, in the Lower Town, is also rather exceptional (Frödin-Persson 1938, 133-135). Evidence for libations in relation to burial cult was also found in the Karmaniola area (Wells 1976, 24-25).

To sum up, cult evidence dating to the PG period in the Argolid is not very rich. The cult places of the LH IIIC period are no longer visited in the EIA. Those that had been established after the palatial collapse inside the citadels did not survive for long. The cult room at Asine was also probably short-lived, since the area of the Lower Town on the hill of Kastraki apparently changed into burial ground in the PG period (Frödin-Persson 1938, 129-139; Hägg 1974, 52, n. 147). The evidence for PG cult activities from Asine seems to point to changes not only of locale but also of ritual customs. While in the end of the LBA, cult was apparently housed inside a building, possibly the house of an elite member, in the PG period it appears to take place in the open air. It should be noted, of course, that drinking and dining, as well as libation, appear to be involved in cult in both periods. On the other hand, the EIA remains testify to simplification of the religious assemblage, since no cult figures or figurines of any kind were found in relation to the pithos. In addition, the open-air location of the cult place in the PG period seems to point to practices of less elaborate and more communal nature than those that would have taken place within the LH IIIC-late building and would probably involve a restricted number of persons – if not being of purely domestic nature, as it has been suggested. In theory, however, it cannot be excluded that ritual meals destined only for the eminent members of the community might have also taken place during the EIA inside the apsidal building after the performance of sacrifices in the vicinity of the pithos, while the rest of the population celebrated outside – assuming that this building was a ruler’s dwelling, although this identification is hindered by the limited scale of the excavation of the EIA settlement and the lack of finds from inside this building, which had already been nearly emptied of its contents in antiquity (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, n. 244).

In East Phokis, on the other hand, cult activities continued throughout the Submycenaean (SM) and into the PG period at the sanctuary of Kalapodi. The Mycenaean shrine to the East of the north temple was probably destroyed in the SM period according to the latest revision of the evidence (Felsch 2007, 5), and an altar-like heap deriving from the remains of hearths started building over it in the PG period (Jacob-Felsch 1996, 13; Felsch 1999, 164; 2001, 194). In addition, a PG layer, as well as debris pointing to the existence of a structure in the vicinity, have been found in a trench dug in 2005 in the east part of the south temple (Niemeyer 2006, 168). Overall, cult practices carried on the same from LH IIIC to the SM and PG
period too, albeit with some changes: the terracotta figurines almost disappear in the PG period, while iron knives make their appearance (Felsch 2001, 195).

Conflagration apparently occurred at the sanctuary in the transition from Middle PG to Late PG and a gap probably followed in the activities at Kalapodi, as at least documented in the eastern part of the sanctuary during the early excavations (Nitsche 1987, 36, 41; Felsch 1999, 166; 2001, 194). After this short gap, cult activities were resumed, and the two cult centres in the eastern and southern parts of the sanctuary continued to be revered (Felsch 1980, 50-52; 1987, 11-12; Nitsche 1987, 48-49; Niemeier 2005; 2006; 2006-2007). A significant change occurred at the sanctuary in the middle or second half of the 9th century BC with the installation of a new hearth in the northern area of the sanctuary and thus the establishment of a new cult centre, followed by the construction of a Geometric cult building (Felsch 1987, 5, 11; 1991, 87).

The uninterrupted cult activities at Kalapodi throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA correspond to the continuous use of most of the sites in the vicinity and in the wider area of the plain of Atalante to the East and the valley of Kephissos to the West (fig. 7b-c: Livieratou 2009). The material culture of the area also finds parallels in the offerings deposited at Kalapodi throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA (Lemos 2002, 221; Morgan 2003, 114-118). Kalapodi is not only important for the area in its immediate vicinity and the wider area of the valley and the plain, but it also participates in the Euboian koine of the PG period, and receives offerings and influences from other members of this network too (Lemos 2002, 221). Only after the destruction at the end of Middle PG is the sanctuary abandoned for a short time, thus synchronizing with a gap in the material from the burials at Elateia (Lemos 2002, 22, n. 156) and the general decline in the number of sites that can be noticed in the valley of Kephissos in the PG period (Livieratou 2009, 954).

The religious continuity from the LBA to the EIA in the case of the sanctuary of Kalapodi should not only be placed in the context of the continuous habitation in the area, but it should also be examined in relation to the social and political structures of the local communities throughout the crucial period of the transition, as these are possible to reconstruct on the basis of the archaeological evidence. The area of East Phokis in particular shows strong signs of stability and prosperity throughout this period. The continuous use of most chamber tomb cemeteries throughout the LH IIIC and into the SM period possibly testifies to continuity in the social structure of the local communities (fig. 8a-b). The cemetery of Alonaki at Elateia, characterised by increase in the number of burials and in richness of burial offerings in this phase and especially towards its end, is the most distinctive example (Dakoronia 2004, 185-186; Deger-Jalkotzy 1990, 80-85; 2004, 187), in spite of the introduction of cultural innovations related probably to population movements (cf. Dakoronia – Deger-Jalkotzy 1992, 68-70; Dakoronia 1993b, 37 for the handmade pottery; and Dakoronia – Deger-Jalkotzy – Fabrizii-Reuer 2000-2001, 137 for cremations).

Signs for continuity in settlement distribution and in social structure appear in the PG period too, such as the continuous use of chamber tombs in certain cases, as in Elateia (where in fact people even built new chamber tombs, albeit of the small type – cf. Dakoronia – Deger-Jalkotzy 1996, xi; Deger-Jalkotzy 2004, 188), or the reuse of heirlooms as burial gifts (Deger-Jalkotzy 2000, 206-207), pointing perhaps to claims on behalf of elite members for descent from their Mycenaean ancestors. On the other hand, the PG period witnessed significant changes: most chamber tomb cemeteries in the area were abandoned, while the first single burials made their appearance, as indicated by a cist tomb found West of the village of Kalapodi (Dakoronia 1987, 234-235) and a group of twelve Late PG/Sub-PG tombs in cists and pithoi further North in the Kephis-
sos valley, at Modi, Ag. Athanasios (fig. 9: Dakoronia 1992, 200-201; 1993a, 205). The cemetery of Elateia itself witnessed a decline in the number of tombs and burials (Deger-Jalkotzy 2004, 188), possibly reflecting the community’s segmentation – whether it means that part of the population started using the new, popular burial custom, the single burial or moved away from Elateia to a new settlement location.

On the whole, the PG period appears to be a dynamic era marked by power shifts and cultural changes in the area of Kalapodi, and it is within this context that the destruction at the end of Middle PG and the temporary disruption of cult activities at the sanctuary should also be viewed. Its survival throughout the crucial period of the transition from the LBA to the EIA had, however, granted the sanctuary a firm position on the religious map of the area, and thus cult activities here were soon resumed. It seems that it also regained its role as a meeting place for the local populations, as indicated by evidence pointing to contacts with the Euboian koine in the Sub-PG period (Nitsche 1987, 42-47; Lemos 2002, 21).

To sum up, the differences in the religious developments in the Argolic plain and the environs of the Kephissos valley after the palatial collapse are quite striking. In the Argolic plain, the temporarily successful attempts to restore the political order after the severe destructions at the end of LH IIIB2 also meant the resumption of cult activities in the citadels. However, changes occurred in this respect too, most significant being the change of interaction between the cult places and the centre of political power, the megaron, as noted at both Mycenae and Tiryns. Although the altar in front of Building T at Tiryns and the rich floor deposit in Room B at Mycenae show that the elite was still authorized with religious power or at least invested in cult, cult places in the citadels now seem to be less tightly connected to political authority and more open to the public – which is most probably related with the diminished status of the rulers’ successors in the postpalatial period. Outside the citadels, the case of Asine might testify to the adaptation of cult in a new context, in the house of a local elite member – potentially the new ruler, whose authorities and status might have increased after the palatial collapse and the failure of the old rulers’ successors to retain their power throughout LH IIIC, as indicated by the decline or even abandonment of the citadels in LH IIIC-late.

After this phase, marked by severe population decrease, the socio-political structure of the communities that survived in the Argolic plain and in particular in and around the citadels disintegrated, and the local populations were divided into small groups of people on the basis probably of family or kinship ties (Papadimitriou 1998, 125; 2003, 725-726). As a result, the material expression of religion, i.e. the cult establishments and implements used in rituals or votives, appear to change significantly and to be simplified in accordance with the low level of the new life-standards. The surviving evidence from Asine appears to confirm this reconstruction.

In East Phokis, on the other hand, the sanctuary of Kalapodi testifies to continuous cult activities at the same locale throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA, while it cannot be excluded that cult had initiated at this site even before the time of the palatial collapse. The collapse itself does not appear to have had a huge impact on the life of the local populations, and the settlement patterns and socio-political structure of the communities seem to have overall been preserved throughout LH IIIC, as discussed above. In this context, the continuity of cult activities at a site already visited before the palatial collapse would not be surprising. Whether cult activities had initiated at Kalapodi in LH IIIC-early, as thought until recently, or earlier, the sanctuary appears in any case to have functioned as a meeting place for the local elites of the area. If the current and future investigations prove that the sanctuary was visited in earlier times too, then very interesting questions will arise as to the potential rela-
tionship of the sanctuary with the nearest palatial centre (Orchomenos) and as to any ensuing changes in the architectural setting and cult practices before and after the palatial collapse. It will be interesting to investigate whether the evidence could allow us to detect the involvement or influence of the palace in the activities at the sanctuary, and whether the palatial collapse might have resulted into changes in religious practices or even beliefs, in the sense that patterns and norms previously dictated by the palace were now relaxed and replaced by more localized trends and preferences.

In any case, the sanctuary retains its significance for the local populations and continues to be visited uninterruptedly throughout the transition from the LBA to the EIA, thus synchronizing with the neighbouring settlements, which also carry on successfully in the crucial LH IIIC-late and SM periods, in spite of any changes in material culture or occasionally in burial customs. In the following PG period the wider neighbourhood of the sanctuary and the sanctuary itself seem to be affected for the first time by the general changes in settlement patterns and material culture occurring at that time in the context of the new network of contacts, the Euboean koine. In the field of cult implements and rituals, a tendency towards simplification seems to occur at Kalapodi with the near disappearance of figurines in the EIA, while sacrifices, drinking and dining in the open air appear to take place both in the EIA and the LBA. On the other hand, it is difficult to investigate in depth the degree of change especially in cult structures, as long as the main centre of Late Mycenaean cult remains unexcavated under the south temple.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note on the basis of the currently available evidence that in spite of all differences between the Argolic plain and East Phokis, certain features, i.e. the simplification in cult assemblages and the focus on sacrifices and on communal drinking and dining characterize both areas in the EIA. A similar process of transformation has been observed in general in EIA Greece (Morgan 1996, 55). EIA cult activities appear to take place in undistinguished cult settings, possibly in the open air around an altar or in relation to simple, mud-brick structures that are not destined to survive for long and are difficult to detect in the archaeological record – yet still clearly defined in terms of space, as Sourvinou-Inwood vividly showed in her response to well-known claims for the spatial indeterminacy of EIA sanctuaries (Sourvinou-Inwood 1993). Looking at the available evidence from this viewpoint, it is not surprising that not much has survived from the PG cult places in the Argolid, while the longevity and continuous use of the sanctuary at Kalapodi seem to have played catalytic role in the preservation of the early phases of cult at this site.

To conclude, the palatial collapse evidently had serious effects in the world of religion in the former Mycenaean heartland, and in spite of the temporary attempts of post-palatial elites for restoration of the cult systems, the socio-political dissolution that followed at the very end of the LBA could not allow for any signs of continuity in cult places. In the area of East Phokis, on the other hand, the much less serious repercussions of the palatial collapse did not inhibit continuity in habitation, settlement patterns, socio-political structure and consequently also religion. Being probably less dependent on palatial control and guidance than the sites of the Argolic plain, the local populations in the area of Kalapodi were apparently less seriously affected by the collapse, and in fact the local elites might have even increased their power and status in LH IIIC, liberated now from the former palatial control. In this way, the sanctuary was continuously visited and probably gained a new role as the arena for the display of the local rulers' new status. Thus, while new cult places were probably established in the EIA Argolid in undistinguished settings, a sanctuary in the so-called periphery of the Mycenaean world retained its role and significance into the EIA, in spite of any cultural, socio-political and economic changes occurring at that time.
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REGIONAL CULT SYSTEMS FROM THE LATE BRONZE TO THE EARLY IRON AGE


Fig. 1. LHIII C remains in the Cult Centre, Mycenae (adapted from Taylour 1981).

Fig. 2. The Lower Citadel of Tiryns in LHIII B (adapted from Kilian 1982).
Fig. 3. The Lower Citadel of Tiryns in LHIIIC (Kilian 1981a).

Fig. 4. Building T and the altar on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns (Maran 2001).
Fig. 5. The excavated areas at Asine (Dietz 1982).

Fig. 6. Plan of the sanctuary at Kalapodi (Felsch 2007).
Fig. 7a-c. Distribution of sites in the environs of the sanctuary of Kalapodi.
Fig. 8a. Distribution of LBA sites in East Phokis. The rectangular outlines mark the sites with LHIIIC phase.

Fig. 8b. Distribution of SM sites in East Phokis. The SM sites are marked with circular dots.
Fig. 9. Distribution of PG sites in East Phokis. The PG sites are marked with circular dots.
THE "SACRED HOUSE" OF THE ACADEMY REVISITED

The site of the Academy is situated at a distance of approximately 1.5 km north of the Dipylon (fig. 1). The archaeological discoveries of the 20th century confirmed the distances mentioned by ancient authors1. The first excavations were carried out by the architect Panagiotis Aristophron, between 1929 and 1940, under the supervision of K. Kourouniotis, and the auspices of the Academy of Athens (K. Kourouniotis, ΠΑΑ 5, 1930, 420-424; P. Aristophron, ΠΑΑ 8, 1933, 70ff.; P. Aristophron, – A. Keramopoullos, ΠΑΑ 8, 1933, 246-248). After Aristophron's death in 1945, excavations were resumed in 1955, by Phoivos Stavropoulos, this time under the auspices of the Greek Archaeological Society and lasted until 1963 (Stavropoullos 1955, 53-61; 1956, 45-54; 1958, 5-13; 1959, 8-11; 1960, 318-323; 1961, 5-13; 1962, 5-11; 1963, 5-28; Ph. Stavropoulos, ΑΔ 16, 1960, Χρονικά, 33-35. For a general account of the excavations at the Academy: Stavropoulos s.d; Travlos 1971, 42-51, figs. 52-64; Travlos – Petropoulakou – Pentazos 1972, 17, 24, 25, 26, 28, 33).

The first remains of the EIA in the wider area of the Academy were apparently uncovered by K. Kourouniotis in 1932-1933, but the results of these excavations were never published in detail2. Stavropoulos' EH and EIA discoveries were published in preliminary reports in the Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας. In the Kokkinogenis plot he discovered, among others, a large deposit of ca. two hundred complete kantharoi and cups, which Coldstream would date from the excavator's description in the Early Geometric period (fig. 2: Coldstream 1977, 347). Some 150 m northeast, in the area of the main excavation quarter, he excavated the remains of a mud brick building of the LG period, known ever since as the "Sacred House" (fig. 3). The building was built on the NW slopes of a low natural hill. Nearby, especially at the west side of the hill, he brought to light a series of pits and deposits. Stavropoulos also excavated north of the "Sacred House" several LG burials, mostly belonging to chi-
More LG and Archaic burials were found in the area of the so-called “Teichion”, a stretch of wall to the NE of the “Sacred House” identified by Stavropoullos, though not very convincingly, as «το Ἰππάρχου τείχιον», mentioned in the ancient sources. Lastly, in the deeper levels (~4m), also at the NW end of the hill, a tripartite apsidal building and a deposit of the EH II-III period were found.

THE EARLY GEOMETRIC DEPOSIT

A homogeneous group of over two hundred open vases, kantharoi and cups was discovered ca. 150 m southwest of the “Sacred House”, in the Kokkinogenis plot (Stavropoullos 1958, 8-9) in what was described by the excavator an extensive sacrificial area (Stavropoullos 1958, pi. 6). Most of the cups are monochrome, with banded rim or with a reserved band on the upper edge of the rim (fig. 4a). Stavropoullos characterized them as Protogeometric, while Coldstream dated them to EG I on the basis of the picture of the vases in situ published in the excavation report (Coldstream 1968/2008, 399; 1977, 347; personal communication- 8/3/2008). The kantharoi, either unpainted or painted monochrome with a reserved band on the upper edge of the rim and one on the lower edge of the foot, offer a better corpus than the cups for dating the deposit (fig. 4b). The kantharoi with the deepest body and highest foot can be placed in LPG or the transition to EG, followed by the rest of the examples in a sequence within EG I and EG II or even possibly MG on the basis of the decreasing foot height and body depth.

The nature of the Academy deposit, though not entirely clear on the basis of the excavation reports, could possibly allow for the accumulation of such vases over a certain period of time instead of a simultaneous deposition, pointing to recurrent visits at this site, where a certain activity, probably related to some kind of ritual drinking, as indicated by the shape of the deposited vases, regularly took place. These shapes might have been produced in rather large numbers for this particular purpose, but it is difficult at this point to firmly define the timeframe within which these vases were produced and deposited at this particular spot.

THE “SACRED HOUSE”

The mud-brick architectural complex of the Geometric period is situated on the northwest slopes of a low hill, at the site of the later Academy of Plato (figs. 5-6: Mazarakis Amin 1997, with earlier bibliography; 1999b, 16; 2004, 139; Deoudi 1999, 66ff; Boehringer 2001, 77). The excavator put forward the idea that this was a complex, where sacrifices were performed and dubbed it a “Sacred House”, on the analogy of the similar “Sacred House” at Eleusis (Mazarakis Amin 1997, 150-154; 1999). He further argued that the cult was addressed to the local hero “Akademos”, after whom the area is named and that the cult was inaugurated, when the EH apsidal house was accidentally discovered and was regarded as the hero’s dwelling.

The complex is composed of at least seven compartments arranged on either side of a corridor. The walls were at places preserved to a height of 90 cm and composed entirely of mud bricks, except for two walls of Room β and the wall of Room δ', which were provided with a stone socle. This technique is highly unusual for southern Greece in the EIA. The building presents at least three architectural phases (figs. 5. The building’s exterior dimensions are as follows: N side: 11.60 m; E side: 14.80 m; S side: 17.70 m; W side: 14.60 m.

4. The deposit was detected between -2.70 and -3.70 m from the surface: Excavation Diary 19.2.1957. For a detailed account of the finds from Kokkinogenis plot, cf. Mazarakis – Livieratou 2010.
for a detailed discussion of the edifice: Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 140-142).

The exploration of the different rooms of the edifice led to the discovery of ashes and charcoal, mixed with fragments of various shapes and spindle whorls, in some cases also including a few calcinated animal bones, as well as sea shells. Stavropoulouς interpreted them as "sacrifices" (θυσίαι). Even though a few clay figures were found at the accumulated strata, they are absent from the pyres. The remains of each pyre were covered with a thin layer of clean earth and in most cases by two or more large unworked stones, often forming a thin wall. Pyres were not only detected in the rooms, but also at the corridor of the edifice (1-13) and southwest of room δ (21-38). In many cases, sacrifices are mentioned in the excavation diary as "unimportant" (άνευ σημασίας), since, although marked with stones, they only contained ashes. Despite the lack of the marking stones or any other finds, remains of pyres, detected especially at the corridor and southwest of room δ were defined by Stavropoulouς as sacrifices. The term "sacrifice" applies better to some well-defined pyres, which revealed a number of vessels, which even though found broken, can be reconstructed, if not entirely, at least to a large extent. However, many of the defined by Stavropoulouς as sacrifices, were simply remains of pyres, not specifically marked, containing non-burnt sherds, while a few revealed only spindle whorls.

The excavator noted at least five superimposed layers of sacrifices inside the building. The lower one continues in certain places beneath the walls, leading Stavropoulouς to deduce that at the beginning the cult was celebrated in the open air. However, this was observed in connection with the walls of rooms δ and δ', as well as ζ, which seem to have been additions to the original unit (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 141).

A large amount of fragments of a variety of shapes come from the "Sacred House". Skyphoi (fig. 9), followed by one-handled cups are the dominant shapes from the pyres. Louteria or khraters (fig. 10), as well as amphorae and oinochoai are also well represented. In some cases, the bottom of the vessels is pierced, probably in order to offer libations. Many amphorae fragments were found, although it is not certain, whether they actually come from the pyres. They are often followed by wash basins decorated with wavy lines. The majority of the amphorae fragments come from the accumulated layers of the rooms, as well as sea shells. Excavation Diary 16-18.10.1958, 323, pyre 12 at the corridor Excavation Diary 16-18.10.1958, 324, pyre 32 of the corridor, Excavation Diary 16-18.10.1958, 326.


7. Sea shells are mentioned in connection with the pyres 13 and 32 of the corridor, Excavation Diary 16-18.10.1958, 325-326.

8. A bird figure was found at the excavated area ν: Excavation Diary 17.4.1958, 168, while a horse and its rider come from the excavated area ξ: Excavation Diary 18.4.1958, 169.

9. ΠΑΕ 1958, 7-8. Pyre α1*3 in room α was marked with a river stone: Excavation Diary 29.9.1958, 299.


11. Pyre α1*2 preserved three complete skyphoi and pyre α1*3 an almost intact plate.


14. Characteristic examples: the plate from pyre α1*3, as well as a one-handled cup from pyre β*3 (Πμβ30), also mentioned in the excavation diary (Excavation Diary 16-18.10.1958, 319).

15. Although many of the stored fragments, as indicated by their tags, have been associated by the excavator with specific pyres, according to the diaries they come from the accumulated layers of the rooms. This is also indicated by their state of preservation; only a single or two joining fragments of the vessel were recovered.
layers of the edifice, where a number of kantharoi, as well as very few fragments of pyxides were found.

Apart from the sacrifices, Stavropoullos explored two parallel channels coated with clay, interpreted as offering trenches (στενά, αύλακες θυσιών) in room ε, which revealed three pyres, river stones and pottery16. The collected fragments belong to skyphoi, one-handled cups, plates and large open vessels, shapes also represented in the pyres of the other rooms. The trench revealed two fragments of a pyxis, shape rare at the pyres (Πγ544). Although Stavropoullos believed that these channels received the blood from the animal sacrifices, according to Lauter they represent the drain of a wine-press (Lauter 1985, 160).

Even though found in layers of ashes, the vases from the pyres do not preserve any signs of secondary burning, suggesting that they were placed there after the fire was put off. The shapes found in the “well-defined sacrifices”, in their majority drinking vessels, could have served for libations and ritual drinking. A similar role can be deduced for the small jugs and the louteria. The hole opened at the bottom of the plate from pyre α1*3 is a clear sign of the vessel’s use for a libation (fig. 12). The fact that the vessels from a number of pyres can be almost fully reconstructed points to intentional breaking. On the other hand, the discovery only of a few joining fragments in other cases might indicate clearing of the pyre layers and removal of parts of the material17. The ritual associated with the pyres, which, although marked with stones, did not contain any ceramic or other finds, apart from ashes, cannot be easily reconstructed. The fire might have simply burnt perishable goods, which did not leave any trace.

The excavation of the edifice revealed many spindle whorls (fig. 13)18. Most of them come from the upper layers of the rooms, suggesting domestic debris. A number of examples were found in the sacrifices. Pyres 33-35 contained only spindle whorls, while in the case of pyre 12, they are followed by a large number of fragments of skyphoi and one-handled cups. Their purpose in the sacrifices is not easily explained. They could assign a domestic character to the pyres and the ritual, while they might also point to female dedications. A similar use might be also possible for the Mycenaean goblet stems, probably used as loom weights too (fig. 14). They were discovered in pyre ϒ*6 and the sacrifice layer χ*’-κ*’-κ*’, explored in room δ19. Although spindle whorls can be placed as offerings to children’s graves (Kerameikos, Grave 3: Kübler 1954, 212-213; Tsikalario, Naxos: Zapheiropoulou 2001, 291), a closer comparison can be drawn with the examples, discovered in association with the circular platforms explored at Mitropolis Square of Naxos, which have been connected with a form of ancestor cult. They were found together with animal bones, sea shells and drinking vessels (Lambrinoudakis 1988, esp. 238). Loom weights are also found in the pyre pits of the Protocyclopean sanctuary at Xobourgo (Kourou in this volume).

The vast majority of the securely dated vessels from the pyres of the “Sacred House” belong to the last quarter of the eighth century or the first quarter of the seventh. According to Stavropoullos, towards the end of the seventh century, at least one sacrifice was performed “upon the walls”. If this date could be confirmed, then sacrifices might have still oc-


17. This might be the case of pyre γ6, which revealed a variety of shapes, of which only a few fragments were found. The remains of the pyre are extensive, composed of several layers.


19. Examples were also found at the Agora: Brann 1961, 125, pl. 22, I 66.
casionally been performed throughout the seventh century. However, the preliminary study of the pottery does not support this view, since no fragments associated with the pyres or the rooms of the edifice date later than the first quarter of the seventh century.

The earliest fragments from the studied material date to the middle of the eighth century. In particular, six joining fragments probably of an amphora from the pyre 38, southwest of room δ, decorated with a row of double axes separated by vertical bands and followed by a row of dogtooth date to MGII (fig. 15: Πγ530)\(^{20}\). A group of fragmentary vessels, found during the construction of the shelter in close proximity to rooms δ and δ′ (IIAE 1961, 8-9), belong to LGIb and LGIa (fig. 16)\(^{21}\). Unfortunately, the fragments cannot be associated with any particular room or pyre, since they are not accompanied by any details defining their context. A fragment of a closed shape (pyxis?) decorated with dogtooth (fig. 17: Πγ568), dates to the MGII period and was found in association with pyre a, when the excavation brought to light the extension of room δ\(^{22}\). The fragment was found together with vessels, which could be also dated early in the eighth century, like a fragmentary skyphos with a chevron frieze (Πγ564)\(^{23}\).

\(^{20}\) The frieze with vertical lines separated by double axes appears in MGI on the rim or belly of neck-amphorae or amphorae with handles on the shoulder: Coldstream 1968/2008, pi. 3a, d and 3l. This type of decoration still appears on all kinds of MGII amphorae (Coldstream 1968/2008, pi. 4a) and can be found during LGIa (eg. Kourou 2002, pl. 22, 1-3). It disappears after the middle of the century (Coldstream1968/2008, 18-19, 24).

\(^{21}\) In particular a fragmentary plate (Πγ835) dates to LGIb (fig. 16: for comparable examples: Kübler 1954, pl. 3a, d and 3l. The fragments of two skyphoi with hatched tongues (Πγ839-840) point to LGIb (cf. Coldstream 1968/2008, pl. 10e). Finally, two joining fragments possibly of a krater (Πγ834) seem to belong to the Sub-Dipylon Group (For a krater decorated with a wheel pattern although without the double axes, cf. Kübler 1954, inv.no. 789, grave 91, pl. 24).


\(^{23}\) The earliest skyphoi with this type of decoration belong to the end of the ninth century (Kübler 1954, pl.91; Xagorari 2005, inv.no. 125, pl. 120d and inv.no. 110, pl. 121d). but there are examples dating to the two first quarters of the eighth or even later (Young 1939, XVII, 1)

PIT AND TOMBS

Stavropoullos argued that the sacrifices encountered within the architectural complex were celebrated in honour of the local hero Akademos (Stavropoullos 1958, 9). According to him, the EH apsidal or oval house, just north of the LG building, was probably discovered by chance and would have been considered as the dwelling of the hero (figs. 3, 5). He based his theory on the “deposit” of ca. 40 LG intact vases, revealed next to the prehistoric house. The vessels were found in a very deep pit (1.20 m in diameter and almost 4 m in depth), which had partly cut through the NW part of the apse of the EH building (fig. 18). They were found usually empty, though some contained earth (sometimes charcoal fragments) towards the bottom. On one occasion bones from within the pit are mentioned\(^{24}\). All vases were carefully set on the side, in nine layers, each separated by a thin fill of “clean” earth, ranging 0.10-0.90 m in thickness. Each layer contained mostly intact one-piece or neck-amphorae with banded decoration (fig. 19)\(^{25}\). In some cases, they are followed by oinochoai\(^{26}\) or skyphoi\(^{27}\). Fragments of skyphoi, one-handled cups, large open vessels and amphorae are associated with this pit, but the excavator does not provide particular information for their exact finding spot. Except

\(^{24}\) Excavation Diary 11.12.1956, 60, where “burnt bones” are mentioned at a depth of -2.60 m from the mouth of the pit (-6.55 m from the surface).

\(^{25}\) In depth of -0.55 m, the two amphorae were found with an oinochoe. A trefoil oinochoe was also found together with four amphorae in depth of -1.75 m. In depth of -3.15 m, three amphorae were found together with an olpe and a one-handled cup.

\(^{26}\) In depth of -1.68 m, the two amphorae were found together with a skyphos.
for clay vessels, a sizeable truncated iron object was found towards the bottom of the pit\(^{28}\), while an iron "fibula" (?)\(^{29}\) and an iron sharp object (knife ?)\(^{30}\) are also reported.

This deep pit was cut through an earlier wider and less deep pit (3.20 m in diameter, and 2 m deep), which contained the neck of a large-sized amphora of the Sub-Dipylon Group, dating to LG IIa (fig. 20: IIAE 1956, pl. 3β-γ)\(^{31}\). It was found together with an intact amphora in the manner of the Athens 894 workshop, with a grazing horse on either side of its neck (fig. 21: Rombos 1988, 441, cat. no. 160)\(^{32}\). A krater, possibly stanced, decorated on both sides with a cross within a circle with white paint, yet unidentified in the storerooms of the Academy, also comes from this pit. Its shape points to LGIIb (fig. 22)\(^{33}\). The sides of the pit were burnt, and it was covered by a burnt layer 25-30 cm thick. A child burial seems to have been placed in the bottom of this pit (Tomb 1), but one wonders whether this burial is related to it or not\(^{34}\).

\(^{28}\) Excavation Diary 19.12.1956, 74-75.
\(^{29}\) Excavation Diary 9.1.1957, 90-91. The fibula is said to have a length of 0.32 m, which seems unlikely for such an item.
\(^{30}\) Excavation Diary 7.1.1957, 86.
\(^{31}\) For a comparable circle motif albeit with short rays around the circle, cf. Brann 1962, pl. 16, 286 (third quarter), pl. 21, 352 (late 8\(^{th}\)) Neck-handled amphorae with circle patterns on the neck are characteristic of the Sub-Dipylon Group. The particular example belongs to the late development with a decoration of one pair of circle metopes. For the Group, cf. Coldstream 1968/2008,55-57; Davison 1961, 22; Rombos 1988,426-432.
\(^{32}\) IIAE 1956, pl. 3β-γ. The horse and the geometric ornaments can be compared to those on two oinochoai from the Agora: Davison 1961, figs. 118 and 120 and an amphora: Brann 1962, pl. 21, 344.
\(^{33}\) Diam. of mouth 0.60 m; pr. h. 0.72 m. Stavr-ppoullos 1956, 52; Excavation Diary 28.12.1956, 82 f., 85, 87, 89. Although with a lower and less vertical rim, compare the shape to: Kübler 1954, grave 6, inv.no.1143, pl. 24, dated to 730 B.C. Compare also to the krater from the Agora, Brann 1961, pl. 17, 119, albeit with handles of different shape placed higher on the body. For comparable decoration, cf. Kübler 1954, inv.no. 789, grave 91, pl. 24.
\(^{34}\) The banded amphora, the two cups placed inside it and the coarse jug could not be detected in the storage room.

Despite the fact that such simple banded amphorae were only sporadically used for burials during the Late Geometric and Early Archaic period (Young 1939, 185; Brann 1962, 34; Koureu 2002, 15), the number of amphorae found in the deep pit and the way of their deposition on the side, suggest burials. The successive layers do not follow a chronological sequence. The first layer contained an amphora (AK 57/A14666) and a trefoil oinochoe (AK 50), which can be placed in the third quarter of the eighth century\(^{36}\). The lower layers preserved amphorae of the late eighth or even seventh century B.C., while the deepest layer, in depth of 3.65 m, contained a one-piece banded amphora (AK 60) of the last quarter of the eighth century\(^{36}\). Although the vessels from each layer are mostly contemporary, there are cases, where a chronological difference is noted. At the depth of 1.75 m, at the third successive layer, a trefoil oenochoe of the early seventh century (AK 58)\(^{37}\) was found together with an LGIIb amphora, which can be securely dated to 720-710 B.C., due to its neck decoration with lozenges and geometric ornaments\(^{38}\).

The chronological differences of the vessels found in the same layers and the lack of sequence between them suggests that the vessels were deposited at the same time, possibly at some point early in the seventh century, as indicated by the latest vessels. The uniformity of this group of vessels could thus be explained as a communal grave for children. The extreme depth of the Academy pit, the bottom of which

\(^{35}\) Compare the amphora to: Kübler 1954, inv.no. 1315, grave 51, pl. 41. For a comparable oinochoe, cf. Brann 1962, pl. 4, 49.
\(^{36}\) The shape stands in the transition from the one-piece rim-handled amphorae and those with the handles attached just below the rim. Compare to the examples from the Agora: Brann 1961, pl. 13, L6 and N1.
\(^{37}\) For the shape compare to: Burr 1933, fig. 59, 211. It seems to be a further development with a more oblong body of the examples from the Agora and the Kerameikos: Young 1939, fig. 127, C123; Kübler 1954, pl. 81, 786.
\(^{38}\) For a comparable arrangement of the decoration on the neck: Geroulanos 1973, pl. 10, Tr80.
was the natural bed rock, may be explained by the large number of burials that it contained. Comparable deep pits are known from Oropos, and despite the fact that bones were absent from most of them, the majority served as child burials (Vlachou 2007). Moreover, the large depth and small diameter of this pit can be explained by assuming that it was a well under construction (or a well which had to be abandoned as the bed rock was reached during its construction), which was turned into a communal burial. A number of burials in wells are known and are associated with the disposal of socially excluded individuals. Only one belongs to the Early Iron Age.

A second pit (5.25 m in depth and 2.20 m in diameter) was excavated 47 m southwest of the Early Helladic edifice, but it has not been published (Excavation Diary 11 and 13.4.1957, 157-162; Stavropoulos 1958, 8, n. 1). The excavator notes the similarities with the deposit with the amphorae next to the EH house, which might have served the same purpose: a communal grave of children. The excavation revealed 12 vessels in different depths, mostly plain one-piece or neck-amphorae with banded decoration. They were almost intact and did not contain earth. Stavropoulos refers to an unburnt bone, charcoal, a spindle whorl and a bronze tool. Fragments of skyphoi, as well as fragments of a large krater with rich decoration, are also mentioned. Most of the amphorae, mentioned in the diary, could not be detected in the storage room. The examples that could be dated based on their shape point to the same chronological range of the amphorae from the other pit, extending from the third quarter of the eighth to the early seventh century B.C.

Immediately on top of the Early Helladic house, seven "cremation" burials were excavated in close proximity to each other (fig. 23: Tombs 2-8). The tombs consisted of a burial amphora, set on its side and oriented to the north or south. With the exception of tomb 2, in all the other cases a coarse jug had been placed in an upright position at the foot of the funerary amphora, a custom attested in Athens during the Late Geometric period (fig. 24). One amphora had a lid, but the rest were sealed with a cup or the broken lower part of another vase. The hole on the belly of the amphora of burial 2 was covered with a large plate. Smaller vessels were placed inside the urn. In the cases of the burials 4 and 7, offerings were also found outside the amphora. Small vessels were discovered between burials 7 and 8. According to the excavator, all the amphorae contained remains of burnt bones of children, except for burial 2, which appears to have contained the cremation remains of an adult.

With the exception of the amphorae of burials 2 and 3, the rest have banded decoration. The amphora of burial 2 is of the SOS type in the transition from LG IIb to Early Archaic, dating at around 700 B.C. The neck of the amphora of the third burial is decorated with a central horse protome flanked by pairs of concentric circles with a central dot (fig. 25: AK 84/A 14618). On the shoulder, a frieze of lozenge and concentric circles appear in a metope. The shape of the body and the thick torus of the mouth point to the transition from the eighth to the seventh century, while the horse protomes, unknown decorative element of geometric vases, to the early seventh. A LGIIb tank-

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40. Excavation Diary 13.4.1957, 161-162.
ard with a male figure, probably ploughing was found inside the urn\textsuperscript{46}. Dating the banded amphorae is difficult and can be based on the vases found together. On this basis, the amphora of the fifth burial is the earliest, dating around 730 B.C.\textsuperscript{47}, as also verified by the one-handed cup with vertical bands formed by dots, found inside it (fig. 26: AK 118/A 14887)\textsuperscript{48}. The amphora of the sixth burial is later and its shape points to the transition from the eighth to the seventh century\textsuperscript{49}. The shape of the banded amphora of the seventh burial is reminiscent of that of the amphora with the horse protomes. Despite its taller neck, the ovoid body tapering to a narrow base can be compared with an example from the Agora\textsuperscript{50}. It was sealed with a LGIIa kotyle (fig. 27: AK 84a/A 14602)\textsuperscript{51}. A secure dating can be provided by the LGIIb skyphos, sealing the banded amphora of burial 8 (fig. 28: AK 105/A 14653)\textsuperscript{52}.

Stavropoullos repeatedly states that the small bones, found inside the vases were burnt or partly burnt. According to him, the "pyres" detected in close proximity to the burials are the cremation remains, which probably took place next to the burials\textsuperscript{53}. Since the bones of these burials were not found, it is difficult to verify, whether the children were actually cremated. However, the published photograph of tomb 8, where the intact scull of a child is clearly visible, despite Stavropoullos’ characterization as «ἡμικεκαυμένον»\textsuperscript{54}, raises further questions on the validity of the excavator’s conclusions on the cremation (fig. 29).

The common burial practice for infants and young children during the Late Geometric period is inhumation inside an urn. In the Early Iron Age, and even later, cremation was confined to adults. The cases of cremated children in graves are rare and cremations inside urns even more unusual. Children are only cremated when they reach the age, at which they are considered actual members of the society, age which varies from region to region\textsuperscript{55}. Some Early Iron Age cases are reported from the area of the Agora\textsuperscript{56}. Two cases of burnt bones of cremated children placed in urns are known from the West Cemetery of Eleusis, dating to the end of the ninth and the middle of the eighth century B.C.\textsuperscript{57}. At the necropolis of Trachones, modern Alimos, the burials, grouped under “Typus II”, dating to the last two decades of the eighth century are urns containing remains of ashes and bones, followed by miniature vessels. Although the miniature vases point to children, there is no reference to the age group of the cremated deceased (Geroulanos 1973). Cremated

\textsuperscript{46} AK111, \textit{ΠΑΕ} 1956, pl. 1β. For a comparable scene, although the male figure rather seems as a shepherd: Athens National Museum, 18518.

\textsuperscript{47} Compare to Kübler 1954, pl. 4, 1315.

\textsuperscript{48} For the shape, compare to Kübler 1943, inv. no.1337, grave 46, pl. 107; Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, inv. no. 231, fig. 28c, pl. 20a. It can be dated at around 730 B.C.

\textsuperscript{49} Compare to: Young 1939, 25, IV 1, fig. 12. The suggested date cannot be verified by other finds of the burial, since the cups that according to the diary followed the burial were not found in the storage room.

\textsuperscript{50} Brann 1961, pl. 13, Q1.

\textsuperscript{51} The round shape of its body points to early dating. The kotyle seems to be the slightly later development of an example from the Kerameikos: Kübler 1954, inv.no. 1355, pl. 132. For comparable shapes, albeit with different decoration, cf. Young 1939, 99-100, XXIII 1, fig. 69.

\textsuperscript{52} Albeit with different decoration, compare the shape to: Coldstream 1968, pl.15f (LG Ila); A4 29, 1973-1974, pl. 83δ and ζ; Kübler 1954, inv.no. 1300, grave 50, pl. 96 (third quarter of the eighth century): Mussche et al. 1984, grave 122, TC 71.1464, fig. 47, although with ribbon handles.

\textsuperscript{53} Stavropoullos 1956, 51.

\textsuperscript{54} Stavropoullos 1956, 51, pl. 2β; Excavation Diary 27.11.1956, 44; Morris 1987, 20.

\textsuperscript{55} Kurtz – Boardman 1971, 55, 71-72; Morris 1987, 20; Pomadère 2005.

\textsuperscript{56} The fetus of the burial H16:6, belonging to the rich Athenian Lady. Cremated remains of a small child of 2-3 years old in tomb deposit F 164: Papadopoulos-Liston 2004, 26, n. 71. Although not in Attika, the Late Geometric cases of cremated fetuses or neonates found together with the skeletons of young adult females at Vronda (Liston 1993, 137-140) and Torone (Papadopoulos 2005, 227-228) should be noted.

bones inside an amphora urn are mentioned to have been found at the cemetery of Palaia Kokkinia, but the age of the deceased is not given (Theocharis 1951, 123). According to Morris, children cremations are also known from Anavyssos (Morris 1987, 20), but the information is not verified by the relevant excavation reports (AA 29, 1973/1974, 108-110). If the possibility of cremation is accepted for the burials of the Academy, then it might have been dictated by the particular circumstances of the children's death, such as an epidemic disease; theory which cannot be sustained by the chronological range of the burials, covering four or more decades.

BURIALS ALONGSIDE THE “TEICHION”

A second group of burials was found further to the E-NE, in the area of the “teichion”. In 1957 two tombs were found northeast of the EH house (at a distance between 38 and 32.60 m from it, respectively). A LG IIb amphora, decorated with a warrior with a Dipylon shield on either side of its neck (fig. 30a-b), as well as amphora of the SOS type with a double triangle with St. Andrew's cross on the neck (fig. 31) served as funerary urns.

Two tombs were excavated in 1958, while between 1959-1960 twelve more were found on either side of the “teichion”. Tombs 4 and 6 belong to the LG period (Stavropoullos 1959, 9-10; 1960, 318, 320). Tomb 12 dates to the seventh century (IAE 1961, 4, pl. 1a), while fewer the sixth. According to the excavation diary, inhumation 4 contained a cup and two glazed skyphoi as grave offerings. However, in Praktika of 1960, three miniature fenestrated kraters with support, a trefoil oenochoe and a tankard are published in association with the grave. Only one of the fenestrated kraters, dated to LGIIb (fig. 32: AK264/A14576) and a cup (fig. 33: AK 270/A14570) could be identified in the storage room.

CONCLUSIONS

It has been suggested that the “Sacred House” served for sacrifices and perhaps ritual meals, celebrated in the honour of the deceased (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 143). Fagerström denies any sacred character of the edifice and identifies it as a farmstead or a “patriarch’s house” (Fagerström 1988, 47). However, he does not discuss the pyres associated with it. According to Lauter, the building served for a burial association, which gathered here to honour a common hero (Lauter 1985, 159-162). Whitley rightly expresses doubts that the cult was directed towards the local hero Akademos (Whitley 1994, 221).

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58. An amphora with the remains of a cremated child of 2-3 years old comes from the Archaic necropolis of Abdera. According to the excavator, the rate of infant mortality was high and the osteological material from the burials point to epidemic diseases, connected with the marshlands of the area. Skarlatidou 1985; 2001.


60. Excavation Diary 18.9.1957, 218. For the motif of the double triangle with St. Andrew’s cross on the neck of amphorae: Pelekidis 1916, 28, fig. 12 (T. 61); Young 1939, 29, VI 1, fig. 16 and 179, C137, fig. 128; Kübler 1954, inv. no. 337, grave 59, pl. 38; Brann 1952, pl. 17, no. 300. The triangle with St. Andrew’s cross can be flanked by circles: Kouros 2002, pl.72, 1-3, with more parallels.

61. Excavation Diary 31.1.1958, 220ff. One contained a krater, the other an amphora.

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63. For the shape compare to: Young 1939, 58-59, XII3, XII4, fig. 39 and Kübler 1954, inv. 1354, pl. 134, although the example from the Academy seems to be slightly earlier than those from the Agora and the Kerameikos. For comparable decoration on the body and the support: Kübler 1954, inv. 1357 and inv. 1359, Opferrinne I, pl. 136. In contrast to these examples, the Academy vessel lacks the plastic snakes attached around the rim.

64. For comparable arrangement of the decoration, as well as decorative patterns, with slight variations, cf. Borell 1978, pl. 17, fig. D4 (LGIIa). The example from the Academy is taller with rounder walls.
The custom of burying children close to habitations in Athens and Attika during the Geometric period (Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008; 2010) and the overall impression gained by the first assessment of the ceramic evidence in combination with the information provided by the excavation diaries questions the sacred character of the edifice. A plausible hypothesis is that originally, in its earlier phase or phases, it was a dwelling, which has been abandoned possibly after its destruction and filled with debris from the area nearby. The shapes, mostly amphorae and drinking vessels, as well as hydriai, wash basins and spindle whorls, found in the layers above and below the pyres can be easily connected with everyday uses. At some point after its abandonment, probably in the transition from LGIIa to LGIIb, as indicated by the examined pottery, it may have begun to serve for rituals involving drinking, libations and perhaps animal sacrifices. This explanation fits also with the observation that most of the recorded “sacrifices”, as well as the excavated trenches of room ε were detected higher than the floor of the rooms, close to the upper level of the surviving walls of the mud-brick complex. In some cases they were even found in layers that extend higher than the preserved height of the walls. The chronological proximity of the finds from the accumulated layers and the pyres suggest that the ritual practices began almost immediately after the abandonment of the edifice. The LGIIb and LGIIa sherds, dating earlier than the vast majority of the excavated material were found in association with the filling over rooms δ and δ' and they cannot form a reliable basis for dating the edifice earlier than the last quarter of the eighth century.

The burials of children, but also of a few adults, scattered in the surroundings suggest that this is not a formal “reserved” cemetery, but several “unreserved” ones, closely associated with habitation areas. Indeed, the ruins of another Geometric rectangular building, Building V, some 30 m east of the “Sacred House” were found. The apparent presence of further stone-built buildings in the surroundings and other clusters of burials of the Geometric period (Stavropoullos 1958, 8, n. 1) could pinpoint towards a loosely inhabited area, in the form of small family clusters.

The practices associated with the “sacrifices” seem to have been addressed towards the deceased of the surroundings, mostly children. The presence of louteria strengthens the association of the pyres with a cult addressed to the dead. The earliest finds from the pyres are contemporary with the earliest children burials, excavated next to the edifice, as well as the earliest amphorae from the deep pit. Yet the bulk of the

65. The filling of the edifice with material from the area is also implied by the fact that in at least one case joining fragments of vessels were found in different rooms. In particular two joining fragments of the same lid come from room β, in particular the upper layers of pyre β'S, and from room δ.

66. This is only deduced by the references of Stavropoullos to animal bones, which are not however numerous and they do not definitely point to animal sacrifices. Moreover, the material has not been found in the storage room to be examined.

67. The floor of room α2 was found in depth of -0.75 cm from the preserved height of the wall, while sacrifice α*2 in depth of -0.27 cm.

68. Pyre β*1, composed of three layers, was detected 30 cm higher than the surface of the wall of the room. That is also the case of the pyre that Stavropoullos placed in the sixth centu

69. The shape has been connected with the funerary bath, the “chtonia loutra” brought to the dead and had the form of a libation: Callipolitis-Feytmans 1965, 42-43. Louteria are found in association with cult activities addressed to ancestors or recently deceased recognised as ancestors. The shape predominates among the finds from the dromos of the Menidi tholos tomb (Wolters 1899, 103-135; Hägg 1987, 96), in the trench associated with Tumulus I at Vani (mostly unpublished). Hägg interprets as louteria the kraters from the Geometric house of the Agora, in particular cat.no. 145 (Burr 1933, 578; Hägg 1987, 96). The discovery of a louterion in the doorway between buildings XXVI and III at Thorikos led to the suggestion that the edifices were related to the cult of dead (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 147 with detailed bibliography)
material from the sacrifices, as well as the majority of the vessels from the pits date to LGIIb and the last quarter of the eighth century.

The question is what might have initiated this cult, since it is highly unusual for children to attract such attention. The circumstances of their death in large numbers within a small time span, possibly due to an epidemic disease, are a possible explanation. In that case, the libations or the ritual drinking over the pyres might have had a purifying character. However, this theory can be sustained, only if we accept that the burial amphorae were removed from their original context and then placed into the deep pits excavated in close proximity to the edifice. And this is due to the fact that, according to the ceramic evidence, the pits were opened at some point early in the seventh century, therefore much later than the initiation of the cult in the edifice. What might have led to the removal of the amphorae and their deposition in the pit at that particular point cannot be deduced. It is interesting that by that time, the ritual activities over the pyres has faded out.

If, on the other hand, the deposition of these amphorae in the pits point to a communal burial of the early in the seventh century, with the use even of earlier vessels, then the sacrifices cannot be associated with the pits and the massive deaths of infants. In this case, the pyres in the Sacred House seem more closely related to the earliest of the echytrismoi, excavated next to the edifice. These burials could belong to one or more family groups sharing the same social status and do not seem to infer to unusual death circumstances, as the pit burials. As discussed above, the theory of the cremation of the bodies, which could indicate an extraordinary situation, cannot be securely sustained. If this scenario is accepted, then the sacrifices, which begin during the early last quarter of the eighth century or slightly earlier, predate the communal burials and point to a cult associated with the echytrismoi, possibly belonging to members of important families.

The random deposition of the amphorae in the pits, without any chronological sequence among the different layers or the vessels of the same layers, and more importantly the lack of any offerings or contents, like small bones, rather supports the theory of the removal of the burial amphorae and the initiation of a cult with purifying character. The chronological span of the finds from the pyres is short, mainly covering the last quarter of the eighth century. Only very few vessels can be dated to the early seventh. Therefore, the hypothesis that the "Sacred House" was a long-living cult place or that it developed in a formal area of cult in honour of the local mythical hero Akademos is excluded. It is rather difficult to argue that the apsidal house of the EH period (if ever recognized by the people of the LG period to have been such) played a part in the initiation of this cult. The fact that the lowest stratum of the sacrifices lay upon a sterile layer, 0.60-0.90 m thick, immediately followed by the EH stratum, indicates that the site had been abandoned during the intervening period. As for the LPG-EG deposit found nearby, in the Kokkinogenis plot, its nature and relation to the origins of the cult in the area of the Sacred House, cannot be assessed at the moment.

The case of the Academy cult shares some common elements with the evidence from the so-called Sacred House of Eleusis, where multiple pyres of comparable character have been

70. The remains of some 450 foetuses, neonates or infants, an adult male and an eleven year-old child were found in a Hellenistic well (Well G 5:3) in the Athenian Agora. They have been associated with animal sacrifices, infanticide or epidemy, famine and siege, although it seems that this way of deposition was destined for members of the society considered unsuitable for receiving normal burial, like stillborn children. The deposition of the amphorae from the Academy has a different character. Moreover, the cult which is possibly linked to the children burials is an indication that they were not considered social outcasts’. For well G 5:3: Little 1999; Rotroff et al. 1999; Papadopoulos 2000, 110-111.

71. Although much later, a well, excavated next to the temple of the Agora at Messene, revealed the bones of a large number of infants together with the burial amphorae: Εργον 2004, 24-32; Themelis 2004.
associated with an inhumation grave. The edi­
fice there was built immediately after the death
of the male deceased and was devoted from the
beginning to these cult practices, in contrast
to the evidence from the Academy (Mazarakis
Ainian 1999a; 1999b, with further bibliogra­
phy). The evidence from Grotta and Mitropolis
Square at Naxos, where veneration of ancestors
from the ninth century B.C. onwards has been
attested can be also compared to that from the
Academy. There, however, the funerary rituals
seem to have gradually evolved by the LG peri­
od into an abstract (?) hero cult. It is worth no­
ting that the LPG burials, dating before the in­
auguration of the cult, belonged mostly to chil­
dren too (Lambrinoudakis 1988).

Despite a number of problems, such as the
inaccuracies in the excavation diaries and the
lack of detailed indications following the stored
material, a number of thoughts have been al­
ready put forward, attempting to clarify the
connection between the burials, the edifice and
its use for cult activities. Further study of the
excavated material and a detailed publication
will further clarify these complex issues.

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THE "SACRED HOUSE" OF THE ACADEMY REVISITED

Fig. 1. Topographical plan of the area of the Academy (Travlos 1971, 50, fig. 62).

Fig. 2. Kokkinogenis plot: deposit of PrG kantharoi and cups (ΙΑΕ 1958, pl. 6α).
Fig. 3. Plan of the excavated area including the "Sacred House" (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, fig. 130).
Fig. 4a-b. Cups (4a) and Kantharoi (4b) from the Early Geometric Deposit.
Fig. 5. View of the 'Sacred House' and the Early Helladic house, from the North (IAE 1958, pl. 2β).

Fig. 6. View of the "Sacred House" from the West (Photo: Archives of the Archaeological Society).
Fig. 7. Plan of the 'Sacred House'. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, fig. 132 (based on ΠΑΕ 1958, 6, fig. 2 and ΠΑΕ 1961, 9, fig. 4).

Fig. 8a-b. Plan and isometric reconstruction of the two first successive phases of the 'Sacred House' (drawings A. Mazarakis Ainian).
Fig. 9. Fragmentary skyphos from a pyre.

Fig. 10. Rim fragment of a krater or a louterion from a pyre.

Fig. 11. Oenochoe from a pyre.

Fig. 12. Plate with pierced bottom from pyre a1*3.

Fig. 13. Spindle whorls.

Fig. 14. A Mycenaean goblet stem.

Fig. 15. Six joining fragments of an amphora from pyre 38 (MGII or LGIa).

Fig. 16. Fragmentary plate of the third quarter of the eighth century.

Fig. 17. Fragment of a pyxis decorated with dogtooth (LGI).
Fig. 18. Section through tombs and pits at the North of the "Sacred House" (ΠΑΕ 1956, 48, fig. 3).

Fig. 19. LG banded amphora from the amphorae-deposit, north of the 'Sacred House'.

Fig. 20. Neck of an amphora of the Sub-Dipylon Group from the pit above the deep pit north of the 'Sacred House' (ΠΑΕ 1956, pl. 3β).
Fig. 21. LG amphora in the manner of the Athens 894 workshop, North of the 'Sacred House' (ΠΑΕ 1956, pl. 3γ).

Fig. 22. A standed krater decorated on both sides with a cross within a circle. (Photo: Archives of the Archaeological Society).

Fig. 23. Child burial north of the 'Sacred House' (ΠΑΕ 1956, pl. 1γ (right). Photo: Archives of the Archaeological Society).
Fig. 24a-b. Coarse jugs, placed at the foot of the urn-amphorae (b: drawing: J.-S. Gros).

Fig. 25. Urn-amphora of burial 3 decorated with a horse protome at the centre of its neck (AK 84/A 14618).

Fig. 26. One-handled cup (AK 118/A 14887).

Fig. 27. LGIIa kotyle (AK 84α/A 14602).

Fig. 28. LGIIb skyphos (AK 1057/ A 14653).
Fig. 29. Tomb 8 with intact scull of a child (ΠΑΕ 1956, pl. 2β).

Fig. 30a-b. A LG IIb amphora, decorated with a warrior with a Dipylon shield (ΠΑΕ 1958, pl. 10α).
The "Sacred House" of the Academy Revisited

Fig. 34. Early Archaic 'sacrifice' upon the North wall of the "Sacred House" (IIAE 1962, pl. 3a).

Fig. 32. An I.Gilb fenestrated krater (AK264/A14576).

Fig. 33. LG cup (AK 270/A14570).

Fig. 35. Building V and its relation to the 'Sacred House', from the NE (Photo: Archaeological Society Archives).

Fig. 31. Amphora of the SOS type.
Τον Ιούλιο του 2004 στο χωριό Νικολαίκα του Δήμου Διακοπτού κατά την εκσκαφή του οικισμού ιδιοκτησίας Αθανασίου Κομνηνού και Παρασκευής Καραχάλιου ήρθε στο φως αψιδωτό κτίριο των γεωμετρικών χρόνων. Η ανασκαφή του από τη ΣΤ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων άρχισε το ίδιο έτος και επαναλήφθηκε τα επόμενα χρόνια, χωρίς να έχει ολοκληρωθεί. Η ερευνή έχει επικεντρωθεί στην αποκάλυψη του κτιρίου, που με κριτήρια τις διαστάσεις του, την απουσία εσωτερικών χωρισμάτων (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 388), την ύπαρξη βωμού σε παλαιότερη φάση κάτω από αυτό, αλλά και τον αριθμό και το είδος των κινητών ευρημάτων, ταυτίζεται με ναό. Εξωτερικά του ναού διανοίχθηκαν κάποιες τομές με σημαντικά ευρήματα, αλλά το μεγαλύτερο τμήμα του χώρου δεν έχει ερευνηθεί ως σήμερα.


που θα ενίσχυαν τους τοίχους του ναού και συγχρόνως θα στηριζόταν τον ξύλινο σκελετό της στέγης (εικ. 3). Όμοιες βασίες θα υπήρχαν και κατά μήκος του βόρειου τοίχου του κτιρίου. Παράτολοι τρόποι στήριξης των τοίχων εσωτερικά έχουν διαπιστωθεί στο νότιο ναό της πρώιμης αρχαϊκής εποχής στο Καλαπόδι (Felsch 1987, 15, εικ. 24), στο ναό του Απόλλωνα στους Αλιείς και στον πρώτο ναό της Αρτέμιδος Ορθιάς στη Σπάρτη (Mazarakis Aïnian 1997, 163, 166). Στο ανέλαιο του ναού βρέθηκαν τρεις τετράπλευρες βάσεις από ψαμμίτη, όπως θα εδράζονταν οι ξύλινοι κίονες της κεντρικής κιονοστοιχίας. Στην πάνω επιφάνειά τους, ιδιαίτερα στην πρώτη από ανατολικά, είναι ορατό αυτό που αποτύπωσε των κίονων διαμέτρου 0,33 μ.

Σύμφωνα με τα δεδομένα της ανασκαφής των ετών 2004-2006 διακρίνονται δύο κατασκευαστικές φάσεις, από τις οποίες η παλαιότερη χρονολογείται στο τελευταίο τέταρτο του 8ού αι. π.Χ. Ο ναός στη φάση αυτή πιθανώς είχε σχήμα Ζ με ανοικτή πρόσοψη, όπως οι σημερινές βάσεις καταπετάσσονται στην περιοδό των αρχαϊκών περιοδών. Το τυπικό μήκος του ναού του Άνω Μαζαράκι ακολούθησε κατά μήκος της εισόδου του κτιρίου τον ευρύτερο νότιο τοίχο του Απόλλωνα και κατά μήκος του νοτιοανατολικού τοίχου του Άνω Μαζαράκι (Πετρόπουλος 1997, 168-169, σχ. Ι, εικ. 8). Σύμφωνα με τα δεδομένα της ανασκαφής, το αρχικό μήκος του ναού του Άνω Μαζαράκι θα ενίσχυαν στην εξωτερική κιονοστοιχία ένα-ένα μ. Ουσιαστικά αυτό θα ήταν και το μήκος της πρώτης φάσης του ναού στη Νικολαίκα. Η δεύτερη ανακατασκευή με την αρχική τάση με την ανάπτυξη της πρώτης φάσης του ναού με το τοξωτό προστύλωμα χρονολογείται στην πρώιμη βασική εποχή του 7ού αι. π.Χ. Ο ναός στο Άνω Μαζαράκι ακολούθησε την ιδιαίτερα εξελικτική περίοδο, οπότε είχε δύο παραλλαγές φάσεις: μία πρωτότυπη πτυχή με ανωτερότερη πρόσοψη και μία μεταγενέστερη, που προκύπτει από παρουσίαση του τοξωτού προστύλου (Πετρόπουλος 1997, 168-169, σχ. 1). Επίσης, στο Άνω Μαζαράκι ο ναός στη δεύτερη φάση επιμεταβάλλει και έφθασε τα 27,90 μ. χωρίς το προστύλωμα, ενώ
ΝΑΟΣ ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΙΚΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΙΙΚΑ ΑΧΑΪΑΣ

δεν έχουμε ενδείξεις για παρόμοια επέκταση σε
μήκος του ναού στα Νικολαίϊκα, ούτε για την
ύπαρξη εξωτερικής κιονοστοιχίας.
Στις δύο οικοδομικές φάσεις του ναού των
Νικολαιίκων ανήκουν αντίστοιχα δάπεδα από
πατημένο χώμα, που σώζονται αποσπασματι­
κά. Οι τοίχοι αποτελούνται από πλακοειδείς ή
ακανόνιστους λίθους σε δύο σειρές. Ανάμεσά
τους υπάρχουν μικρότεροι λίθοι και χώμα (εικ.
4). Το κατώτερο τμήμα του νότιου τοίχου, όπως
και ο βόρειος τοίχος, του οποίου σώζεται μόνο
το κατώτερο τμήμα λόγω της κλίσης του εδά­
φους, έχουν αμελέστερο τρόπο δόμησης: απο­
τελούνται από πρόχειρα τοποθετημένους πο­
τάμιους λίθους και χώμα ανάμεσά τους (εικ.
4). Η ανωδομή του ναού πρέπει να αποτελείτο
από ωμές πλίνθους. Ιδιαίτερα επιμελημένος εί­
ναι ο τρόπος δόμησης του τοξωτού στυλοβάτη
του προστώου από προσεκτικά δουλεμένες λιθοπλίνθους από ψαμμίτη (εικ. 3).
Η ανασκαφή του 2006 έφερε στο φως ένα
σημαντικό εύρημα στο κέντρο περίπου του με­
ταγενέστερου αψιδωτού ναού. Κάτω ακριβώς
από τα δάπεδα, που σε εκείνο ακριβώς το ση­
μείο ήταν υπερυψωμένα, βρέθηκε τετράπλευ­
ρη κατασκευή ύψους 0,53 μ. πλάτους 1,26 μ.
και μήκους 2,45 μ. (εικ. 5). Αποτελείται από 6
επάλληλες στρώσεις ωμοπλίνθων πάχους 0,080,06 μ. καστανέρυθρου χρώματος, που εναλάσσονται με λεπτότερες στρώσεις ανοικτού κίτρι­
νου χώματος (εικ. 5) δημιουργώντας έτσι μία
χρωματική εναλλαγή, που θυμίζει τους τοίχους
από ωμοπλίνθους του νότιου ναού της πρώιμης
αρχαϊκής εποχής στο Καλαπόδι (Felsch 1987,
15, εικ. 22. 1991, πίν. XIII b. Mazarakis Ainian
1997,138). Ανατολικά και βόρειά της αποκαλύ­
φθηκε δάπεδο από καστανοκόκκινο χώμα σύγ­
χρονο με αυτήν που στη συνέχεια είχε καλυφθεί
με κίτρινο αμμώδες χώμα με λίθους. Σε αυτό το
στρώμα δεν βρέθηκαν παρά ελάχιστα όστρακα
και ένας σκύφος τύπου «πρωτοθάψου» (ΑΜΑ
2306) σε μικρή απόσταση νότια της κατασκευ­
ής, τοποθετημένος ανάμεσα σε πέτρες (εικ.
6)1. Ο σκύφος αυτός χρονολογείται γύρω στο
1. ΑΜΑ: Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Αίγιου.

193

760/750 π.Χ. προσφέροντάς μας ένα πολύτι­
μο χρονολογικό στοιχείο για την εναπόθεση
του κίτρινου στρώματος, που κάλυψε το αρχικό
δάπεδο, αλλά και ένα terminus ante quem για
την ανέγερση της κατασκευής, που πιθανότατα
ανάγεται στο α’ μισό του 8ου αι. π.Χ.
Η τετράπλευρη κατασκευή συνέχισε να
χρησιμοποιείται και στο β' μισό του 8ου αι. π.Χ.
έως την ανέγερση του αψιδωτού ναού στο τε­
λευταίο τέταρτο του ίδιου αιώνα. Πάνω από το
κίτρινο στρώμα και σε επαφή με αυτήν βρέθηκε
στρώμα από γκριζόμαυρο χώμα, που εκτείνεται
ανατολικά και δυτικά της, ενώ προς Β. και Ν.
ορίζεται από τους τοίχους του ναού. Το στρώ­
μα αυτό περιείχε έντονα ίχνη καύσης, θραυσμένα οστά ζώων, μαγειρεμένα ή καμμένα και πολ­
λά ευρήματα: θραυσμένα αγγεία και όστρακα,
κυρίως από μαγειρικά σκεύη και αγγεία πόσεως, ειδώλια ίππων, αρκετά μεταλλικά αντικεί­
μενα, αλλά το πιο πολυάριθμο και χαρακτηρι­
στικό εύρημα είναι τα πήλινα ομοιώματα τρο­
χών (εικ. 7). Το γκριζόμαυρο στρώμα περιείχε
μεγάλη ποσότητα λίθων και μάζες πηλού. Η κε­
ραμική χρονολογείται κυρίως στην ΥΓ εποχή,
ωστόσο περιλμβάνει και μεγάλο ποσοστό ΜΓ
οστράκων και μικρότερο αριθμό οστράκων της
ΠΓ και ΠΡΓ εποχής.
Τα οστά ζώων σύμφωνα με τα πρώτα συ­
μπεράσματα από την προκαταρκτική μελέτη
τους από την αρχαιοζωολόγο Ελένη Ψαθή είναι
θραυσμένα σε μικρά κομμάτια, μεγέθους 1-3
εκατοστών και σε μεγάλο ποσοστό απανθρα­
κωμένα, αλλά υπάρχει και μικρότερο ποσοστό
οστών, που δεν είναι καμένα και φέρουν έντο­
να ίχνη διάβρωσης στην επιφάνειά τους. Ίχνη
διάβρωσης σε μικρότερο βαθμό παρουσιάζουν
και τα καμένα οστά, στοιχείο που υποδηλώ­
νει τη μακρόχρονη παραμονή τους στην ύπαι­
θρο μετά τις τελετουργίες. Από τα λιγοστά διαγνώσιμα κατάλοιπα καταρχήν συνάγεται ότι τα
οστά προέρχονται από οικόσιτα ζώα: χοίρους,
αιγοπρόβατα και βοοειδή. Τα παραπάνω στοι­
χεία δείχνουν ότι στο σημείο αυτό τελούνταν
θυσίες, στις οποίες μέρη των ζώων απανθρακώ­
νονταν πλήρως για την τιμώμενη θεότητα, ενώ
τα μη καμένα οστά από τα μαγειρεμένα τμή­

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ματα των ζώων, αλλά και τα μαγειρικά σκεύη αποτελούν ενδείξεις ότι ακολουθούσαν τελετουργικά γεύματα για τους πιστούς. Συνεπώς, τα δεδομένα αυτά, δηλαδή οι καύσεις, οι ευρημάτων, αλλά και η μορφολογία της πλίνθινης τετράπλευρης κατασκευής στο κέντρο περίπου του μεταγενέστερου ναού συνηγορούν υπέρ της ταύτισής της με βωμό.

νάος Γεωμετρικών Χρόνων στα Νικολαικά Αχαίας

μής, από την ανασκαφή του ιερού αποτελεί ένα κλειστό σύνολο που χρονολογείται από την ΠΡΓ έως τις αρχές της ΠΑ περίοδου (950-675 π.Χ)\(^3\). Οι εισαγωγές περιορίζονται σε ελάχιστα δείγματα πρωτοκορινθιακής κεραμεικής. Στα ευρήματα περιλαμβάνονται εκτός από τα αγγεία, ειδολία ζώων, ομοιώματα τροχών αλλά και θραύσματα πέντε ομοιώματων οικίσκων\(^4\).

Η μελέτη του συγκεκριμένου συνόλου είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντική για δύο λόγους. Πρώτον, επειδή αντιπροσωπεύουν όλες τις φάσεις του αχαϊκού εργαστηρίου γραπτής κεραμεικής, το αχαϊκό εργαστήριο εμπίεστης τεχνικής, καθώς και μεγάλος αριθμός αγγείων τύπου «Θάψου». Δεύτερον γιατί προσφέρει τη δυνατότητα να ερευνήσουμε τα είδη των αναθημάτων από πηλό στη διάρκεια τουλάχιστον δυομίσι αιώνων σε ένα ιερό της Αχαΐας που ήταν άγνωστο μέχρι σήμερα και βρίσκεται στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της αρχαίας Ελίκης.

Στην ΠΡΓ περίοδο χρονολογούνται θραύσματα σκύφων, πυξίδων, οινοχοών και κανθάρων με τα χαρακτηριστικά διακοσμητικά θέματα των διαγραμμισμένων και δικτυωτών τριγώνων, της τεθλασμένης γραμμής, και των ομοκεντρων κύκλων, γνωστά και από άλλες θέσεις της Αχαΐας (Coldstream 1968, 221-223, Δεκουλάκου 1982, Γκαδόλου 2008, 151-162, 284-290) ενώ ιδιαίτερα το σχήμα του κανθάρου ευρύ τύπου, γνωστό από το ΠΡΓ ταφικό σύνολο του Δερβενιού (Coldstream 1968, πίν. 48) αντιπροσωπεύεται από ένα όμοιο αγγείο (εικ. 8).


Θα παρουσιάσω μόνο τα δύο, καθώς η συντήρηση των υπολοίπων δεν έχει ολοκληρωθεί.

3. Τα σχέδια των οστράκων και των αγγείων οφείλονται στη σχεδιάστρια-αρχαιολόγο Σοφία Σάκκαρη, ενώ η αποκατάσταση του ομοιώματος έγινε από τον αρχιτέκτονα Διονύσιο Ρουμπιέν.

4. Από τα πέντε θραύσματα που αναφέρονται, εδώ θα παρουσιαστούν μόνο τα δύο, καθώς η συντήρηση των υπολοίπων δεν έχει ολοκληρωθεί.
ΕΡΩΦΙΛΗ ΚΟΛΙΑ, ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΓΚΑΔΟΛΟΥ

30/04/2021 13:35:52 EEST - 54.70.40.11

τα πόδια φαίνεται να πατούν σταθερά στο έδαφος, η συχνότητα εμφανίζεται στο γκρίζομαυρο στρώμα που περιέκλειε το βωμό. Αναγνωρίστηκαν δύο τύποι με βάση το είδος του τροχού. Ο ένας τύπος, που αριθμεί και τα περισσότερα παραδείγματα, χαρακτηρίζεται από το συμπαγή και ενιαίο κυκλικό τροχό που αναπτύσσεται γύρω από ένα διαμετρική άξονα μέσω της οποίας γινόταν η σύνδεση με τον αντικρινό τροχό του όρματος. Ο δεύτερος τύπος αποτελείται από ένα κύκλο από την περιφέρεια του οποίου ξεκινούν μικρά κομμάτια πηλού τετράπλευρης διατομής που ακτινοβολεί σταθερά διαμορφώνοντας τον τροχό. Όσον αφορά στη διακόσμηση, ενώ ο δεύτερος τύπος φέρει απλά κατακόρυφα ή οριζόντια μελανά γραμμίδια, στον πρώτο διακρίνονται δύο διαφορετικά είδη διακόσμησης: επάλληλοι, ομόκεντροι, μελανοί διάκομποι που διατάσσονται σε όλη την επιφάνεια του τροχού ή μελανά γραμμίδα που κάθετα διατάσσονται από την περιφέρεια δύο ομόκεντρων κύκλων μοιάζουν να αποδίδουν σχηματικά τις ακτίνες του τροχού. Οι παραπάνω τροχοί είτε αποτελούσαν αυτοτελή ανάθεση, είτε προέρχονταν από ομοιώματα αρμάτων, κάποια από τα τελούσαν αυτοτελή αναθήματα, είτε προέρχονταν από ένα σφράγισμα στο Παρίσι (Langdon 2006, 211). Ωστόσο, ο συγκεκριμένος τύπος χορευτικής τελετουργικής πομπής μπορεί να συγκρίθει με αντίστοιχες παραστάσεις σε δύο αγγεία. Πρόκειται για πέντε αναφορές στο Tübingen (CVA Tübingen 2, εικ. 14-15) και έναν από της οινοχόης από το Μουσείο Allard Pierson στο Άμστερνταμ (CVA Pays Bas 1, II H b, pl. 1. 1). Στο αγγείο από το Tübingen εναλλάσσονται ανδρικές και γυναικείες μορφές. Το φύλο τους δηλώνεται ακριβώς με τη σχεδίαση των αντιστοιχων ανατομικών λεπτομερειών. Η πρώτη άποψη, τροποποιήστηκε στο τρόπο που θα μπορούσαν να συνδυαστούν με τα ειδικά προστατευτικό στη μορφή ενός χορευτή σε κάτω ή επάνω της οινοχόης από τα Νικολαίκα. Ο τρόπος απεικόνισης και οι στοιχείοι των χεριών συζητήσεων (Papadopoulou 2003). Η πρώτη άποψη, τροποποιήστηκε στο τρόπο που θα μπορούσαν να συνδυαστούν με τα ειδικά προστατευτικό στη μορφή ενός χορευτή σε κάτω ή επάνω της οινοχόης από τα Νικολαίκα. Ο τρόπος απεικόνισης και οι στοιχείοι των χεριών συζητήσεων (Papadopoulou 2003).
ται των χορευτών. Στον αμφορέα από το Μουσείο Allard Pierson η ζώνη με τους άνδρες χορευτές με υψωμένα χέρια, αναπτύσσεται λίγο πιο πάνω από τη βάση του αγγείου.

Το γεγονός ότι στην παράσταση των Νικολαϊκών οι μορφές κοιτούν προς τα πίσω θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί ότι υπονοεί την απουσία κάποιας ηγετικής μορφής, κάποιον υπό την επίβλεψη της θείας θείας. Αδιαφορητήτητα, παντως, παραμένει το γεγονός ότι απεικονίζεται μια τελευταία πυρήνη προς το βωμό στο πλαίσιο κάποιας από τις προγραμματισμένες τυχείς προς τον Νικολαίκη θεότητα.

Σημαντικός είναι ο αριθμός (εβδομήντα μέχρι στιγμής) αγγείων τύπου «προεκστάσιον και «Θάψο». Το πρόβλημα της καταγωγής των αγγείων του τύπου αυτού τίθεται σε νέα βάση μετά τα αποτελέσματα της ερευνών των τελευταίων ετών στην Αχαΐα. Σημειώνουμε εδώ ότι έχει προταθεί η αναγνώριση της Αγίαλειας ως ενός από τα κέντρα παραγωγής της συγκριμένης κατηγορίας αγγείων (Gadolou 2002, 171. 2003, 315. 2008, 313-322). Την παραπάνω απόψεις ενισχύει ακόμη περισσότερο η συγκριτική μελέτη των αγγείων και οστάρων από τα Νικολαϊκά με τα όνειρα γνωστά παραδείγματα από άλλες θέσεις της Αχαίας. Δύο είναι οι βασικά επιχειρήματα της παραπάνω πρότασης, το ένα αφορά στην ομιλούσα της πηλού, που παρατηρείται ανάμεσα στα αγγεία τύπου «Θάψου» που έχουν έρθει στο φως στην Αχαΐα κατά την πρόοδο των εργαστηρίων γνωστής κατηγορίας και το δεύτερο στην ομιλούσα της διακοσμητικής και της γλυπτής τεχνικής, και την διάταξη τους στα αγγεία τύπου «Θάψου» και στα αγγεία του αχαϊκού εργατηρίου εμπίεστης τεχνικής.5

Το εργατηρίο εμπίεστης τεχνικής είναι γνωστό από την ανασκαφή του ερειπίου στο Άνω Μαλαράκι, καθώς και από ταφικά σύνολα στην Αγίαλεια και η αχαϊκή του ταυτότητα έχει ήδη δειχθεί και συζητηθεί (Gadolou 2003). Τα προ-ιόντα του μπορεί να μην είναι τόσα πολλά στα Νικολαϊκά και να περιορίζονται σε κάποιες πεζίδες και το θραύσμα μιας οινοχόης με ζώνη αλόγων, ισχυρείται ότι από τα σημαντικότερα ευρήματα της ανασκαφής είναι προϊόν του συγκριμένου εργατηρίου. Πρόκειται για μια δια­

5. Έχει ήδη έκθεση μια πρόγραμμα αρχαιολογι­κής ανάλυσης σε συνεργασία με το Ινστιτούτο Πολιτιστικής και Εκπαιδευτικής Πολιτικής (ΙΠΕΤ).
φή προς τα αριστερά με το αριστερό χέρι λογισμένο στη μέση και το δεξί προτεταμμένο ίσως σε κάποιο αντικείμενο. Πίσω από την ανδρική μορφή σώζονται τα τέσσερα πόδια και τμήμα του στήθους αλόγου, μεγαλύτεροι σαφώς μεγέθους από τα άλογα των αρμάτων της άλλης πλευράς και ιδιαίτερα ίσως σημασίας για την ερμηνεία της παράστασης. Επομένως στη μία πλευρά της στέγης απεικονίζεται μία αρματοδρομία και στην άλλη η σκηνή, τμήμα της οποίας αποτελεί η καθιστή μορφή και το τμήμα αλόγου, πιθανότατα από άρμα (εικ. 17).

Τα δεδομένα που οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα ότι τα δύο θραύσματα συνανήκουν είναι πρώτον τα τεχνικά χαρακτηριστικά (σύσταση και χρώμα πηλού) αλλά και η ίδια φθορά της επιφάνειας, δεύτερον οι ίδιου πλάτους μελανού γανώματος που ορίζουν την παράσταση και τρίτον το γεγονός ότι τα δύο θραύσματα έχουν ίδια σχεδιαστική τομή. Όσον αφορά στην παράσταση που απεικονίζεται το οποίο μπορούμε να αναφέρουμε με βάση τα μέχρι στιγμής δεδομένα για την ερμηνεία της, είναι δυνατό είτε να ανατραπούν, είτε και να επιβεβαιωθούν με την ανεύρεση και αλλών τμημάτων του ομοιώματος.

Σύμφωνα με την άποψη του Snodgrass (Snodgrass 1964, 160) τα άρματα στα γεωμετρικά αγγεία δεν αντικατοπτρίζουν τόσο μια σύγχρονη πολεμική τακτική η οποία ήταν εκτός των άλλων και πολυδάπανη, όσο αποτελούν ένα εικονογραφικό θέμα εμπνευσμένο από το έπος. Οι περισσότερες απεικονίσεις αρμάτων στη γεωμετρική τέχνη σχετίζονται με πομπές ή αγώνες, δραστηριότητες οι οποίες συχνά εντάσσονται στα ταφικά έθιμα της εποχής. Ο Webster έχει υποστηρίξει ότι αυτές οι απεικονίσεις μπορεί να αντιπροσωπεύουν κρύο και όχι σύγχρονη πρακτική (Webster 1955, 44-47).

Επίσης ο Crouwel (Crouwel 1992, 56) έχει παρατηρήσει ότι τα χάλκινα και πηλικά ομοιώματα αρμάτων που είχαν ανατεθεί στο ιερό της Ολυμπίας αποτελούν μαρτυρία για την τέλεση αρματοδρομιών προς τιμή κάποιου θεού. Παρόλο που το αγώνισμα της αρματοδρομίας είχε στην επίσημη πρόγραμμα των Ολυμπιακών Αγώνων το 680 π.Χ, η Morgan έχει διατυπώσει την άποψη ότι αρματοδρομίες, όχι αρκετά στο πλαίσιο αγώνων, πραγματοποιούνταν στην Ολυμπία (Morgan 1990, 90).

Όπως φανερώνουν τα ευρήματα από το γκριζόμαυρο στρώμα του βωμού, το τελετουργικό της λατρείας περιλάμβανε τελετουργικό χορό με συμμετοχή αρμάτων, αρματοδρομιών και θυσίες ζώων, οι οποίες εκλέκονταν με τελετουργικά γεύματα. Την πραγματοποίηση χορού ή πομπής υποδηλώνουν τα άρματα και τα χορούς, οι οποίες έκλειναν με τελετουργικά γεύματα. Την πραγματοποίηση χορού ή πομπής υποδηλώνουν τα άρματα και τα θυσίες ζώων, οι οποίες έκλειναν με τελετουργικά γεύματα. Το τελευταίο στάδιο της λατρείας επιβεβαιώνεται και από την εύρεση πολλών μαγειρικών σκευών και αγγείων πόσεως αρκετά στο βωμό, για τις οποίες θα χρησιμοποιούνταν τα αντικείμενα και τα χορούς. Το τελευταίο στάδιο της λατρείας επιβεβαίωνεται και από την εύρεση πολλών μαγειρικών σκευών και αγγείων πόσεως αρκετά στο βωμό, για τις οποίες θα χρησιμοποιούνταν τα αντικείμενα και τα χορούς. Το τελευταίο στάδιο της λατρείας επιβεβαίωνεται και από την εύρεση πολλών μαγειρικών σκευών και αγγείων πόσεως αρκετά στο βωμό, για τις οποίες θα χρησιμοποιούνταν τα αντικείμενα και τα χορούς.
πρώτες ενδείξεις και κυρίως τα κινητά ευρήματα, τα πολυάριθμα πήλινοι τροχοί από άρματα, τα ειδώλια ιππών, το ομοίωμα οίκου με παράσταση αρματοδρομίας και καθισμένη ανδρική μορφή με ίππο (εικ. 16-17) και άλλες παραστάσεις με ίππους ή μεμονωμένους τροχούς, οδηγούν στην υπόθεση ότι πρόκειται για ένα θεό, που είχε σχέση με τα άλογα και τις αρματοδρομίες, πιθανώς τον Ποσειδώνα.

Αρματοδρομίες προς τιμήν του Ποσειδώνα αναφέρονται, από τον Πίνδαρο, ότι πραγματοποιούνταν στο ιερό του θεού στην Ογχηστό της Βοιωτίας, βέβαια σε μεταγενέστερη περίοδο (Isthmian 4.19-23) ενώ ο ίδιος αποκαλεί τον Ποσειδώνα «ευεργέταν αρμάτων» (Isthmian 1.53-54). Από τις πηγές είναι γνωστή η πανάρχαια λατρεία του Ελικώνιου Ποσειδώνα στην Ελίκη (Αιλιανός, Περί ζώων ιδιοτ. 11, 19, Διόδωρος, XV, 48, 3-49, 5, Ιλίαδα Θ 203, Υ 404, Παυσανίας VII, 24, 5-6, Πολύαινος, 8, 46, Στράβων VIII, 7, 2). Μάλιστα οι αρχαίοι συγγραφείς παραδίδουν ότι ο Ιωνες, όταν διώχθηκαν από την Ελίκη από τους Αχαιούς, μετέφεραν τη λατρεία αυτή στη νέα τους πατρίδα στην Ανατολική Ιωνία. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψιν τα παραπάνω στοιχεία, ο ναός στα Νικολαίκα θα μπορούσε να είναι ο γεωμετρικός ναός του θεού, μία υπόθεση που ενδέχεται να επιβεβαιωθεί ή να ανατραπεί από τα στοιχεία, που θα προκύψουν από τη συνέχιση των ερευνών.

Ωστόσο, σύμφωνα με τα μέχρι στιγμής δεδομένα, φαίνεται ότι πρόκειται για ένα σημαντικό ιερό της Ελίκης, πιθανώς στα περίχωρα της αρχαίας πόλης, με μακριά ως λατρεία από την ΠΡΓ έως και την αρχαϊκή-κλασική εποχή.

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Εικ. 1. Χάρτης της Αιγάλεως.

Εικ. 2. Αεροφωτογραφία του ναού.
Εικ. 3. Άποψη του νοτιοανατολικού τμήματος του ναού. Διακρίνονται οι βάσεις κατά μήκος της εσωτερικής παρειάς του νότιου τοίχου και ο τοξωτός στυλοβάτης της εισόδου.

Εικ. 4. Νότια παρειά του νότιου τοίχου του ναού. Το κατώτερο τμήμα του αποτελείται από ποτάμιους λίθους και το ανώτερο από πλακοειδείς λίθους.

Εικ. 5. Η ανατολική παρειά του βωμού.
Εικ. 6. Σχύρος Πρωτοθύρου ΑΜΑ 2306.

Εικ. 7. Ομοιώματα τροχών ΑΜΑ 2311, 2169
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Εικ. 15. Θραύσματα ΥΓ σφαιρικής οινοχόης με παράσταση χορευτικής τελετουργικής πομπής ΑΜΑ 1988, 1930, 2304.
Εικ. 16. Θραύσματα ομοιώματος στέγης οικίσκου ΑΜΑ 2018, 2170, 2313.
Εικ. 17. Αποκατάσταση του ομοιώματος.
KALAUREIA IN THE EARLY IRON AGE: EVIDENCE OF EARLY CULT

The Sanctuary of Poseidon on Kalau-reia (fig. 1), the larger of the two islands making up today's Poros, has regularly attracted attention among scholars as this was where Demosthenes, persecuted by the Macedonians, sought asylum and then took poison in 322 BC (FGrHist 156 F9.13; Paus. 1.8.2–3; Plut. Vit.Dem. 29.30; Plut. Vit.Phoc. 26.2 and 29.1; Plut. mor. 846 E–F; Strabo 8.6.14; Ps.Dem. epist. 2.19-20) and where the members of the Kalaureian amphictyony assembled (IG IV 842; Strabo 8.6.14 (374)). In 1894 two Swedish scholars, Samuel Wide and Lennart Kjellberg, uncovered the foundations of a number of buildings (Wide – Kjellberg 1895), which were restudied by the German scholar Gabriel Welter in the 1930s (Welter 1941). The limited archaeological evidence and the meagre written sources have, however, not detracted scholarly attention from the sanctuary (Sinn 1993; 2003; Mylonopoulos 2003; 2006)\(^1\).

The Swedish Institute at Athens under my direction resumed excavations at Kalaureia in 1997 and they are supplying us with material, which can be used to reconstruct various aspects of life in a, to our mind, large Greek sanctuary (Wells – Penttinen – Billot 2003) and also to define more closely the function of the buildings under study. In our first comprehensive programme of 2003-2005 we gathered through water flotation a large amount of information on daily life in the sanctuary by investigating two of the buildings added in what we perceive of as an extensive late fourth-century building programme. These are the Buildings C and D (fig. 2), already investigated by Wide and Kjellberg (Wells et al. 2005; 2006-2007)\(^2\). As a result of two geophysical surveys, in 2004 (Papadopoulos et al. 2006) and in 2006, we are now focusing on areas, which have not been excavated previously and where we expect to be able to investigate aspects, such as the physical relationship between the sanctuary and the polis and the definition of the Agora of the polis\(^3\).

In extending our excavations to areas not previously investigated to the south of Building D and to the southeast of the temple area, our picture of the Early Iron Age Kalaureia, and by extension the western side of the Saronic Gulf, is changing and therefore, my paper will present the evidence for late eighth-century cult in the area of the sanctuary but also raise a question fraught with ambiguities: continuity of cult from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age.

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1. We now know the whereabouts of only a limited portion of what was excavated in 1894. It is true that Wide and Kjellberg in their report in 1895 were surprised at the dearth of material, but considering the fact that the site, at least from the second half of the 18\(^{th}\) century had been utilized as a source for building material (Chandler 1776), this today comes as no great surprise.

2. Building D is often believed to be the temple of Poseidon, as it is the best preserved one at the site and is so presented in tourist brochures and on websites.

3. The present research programme on Kalaureia, *The Sea, the City and the God*, is financed by the National Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, which also provided the grant for the previous programme, during which the material presented here was excavated. For the results of the recent excavation: Penttinen – Wells et al. 2009.
THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE

In the excavations of 1894 Mycenaean material was found in the eastern part of the peribolos area together with a small amount of fragments of Late Geometric pottery (Wide – Kjellberg 1895, 297-302). The Mycenaean material has variously been interpreted as evidence for an early amphictyony (Wide – Kjellberg 1895, 287), as having cult significance (Hågg 2003, 333-335) or as originating in a robbed tomb (Welter 1941, 47). Some objects are exhibited in the Poros Museum and some are kept in its storerooms4.

Scattered fragments of Mycenaean pottery has been found in the area of Buildings C and D since excavations were resumed there in 1999, but so far, no archaeological contexts have been identified. However, in our investigations of 1997, we discovered, and partially excavated, the remains of a Late Helladic III C Middle to Late building west of the peribolos (fig. 3). In the corner of one of the rooms we came upon a large boulder, propped up with smaller stones in order obviously to create as even a surface as possible for the top of the boulder. The soil at the base of the boulder, i.e., on the floor of the room, had a substantial admixture of organic remains, among them bones. No analysis of the soil was done at the time and therefore we do not know what else it contained. In the floor layer associated with the boulder, fragments of a number of drinking vessels were found, all datable to LH IIIC Middle to Late, i.e., to the very end of the Bronze Age (Wells – Penttinen – Billot 2003, 41-49)5.

The similarity of the Kalaureia context with the cult installations excavated by Åke Åk-erström in the Potter’s Quarter at Berbati (Åkerström 1986, 201-209) is striking and allows me to suggest a specific function for the boulder in its environment. The presence of organic remains, the manipulated boulder-table and the drinking vessels fit with ritual behaviour in a cult situation.

The earliest phase of the Early Iron Age is represented in the sanctuary area by at least two small fragments of Protogeometric skyphoi, recognizable due to their decoration with sets of compass-drawn circles. They were found within the foundations of Building D in a stratum with Late Geometric to sub-Geometric pottery, overlying the deposits discussed below.

Already in 1999, the presence of Middle Geometric pottery was noted in a trench opened up in the north-eastern corner of Building D and possibly also in a trench close to its southern wall towards its courtyard (fig. 2: Wells – Penttinen – Billot 2003, 60-63). Some of the pottery found in the fill beneath the late eighth century structure (see below) can also be defined as MG. Although the above is a trickle of material, its presence is eloquent enough and the obvious gap in the sequence, i.e., pottery defined a stylistically as Early Geometric, was actually filled during the field season of 2007, when a fairly large neck fragment of an EG amphora, decorated with a window-panel complete with a meander was discovered just south of Building D. Admittedly, the early EIA material is limited but it cannot be ignored and it serves as a backdrop to the next chapter in the history of the area.

Of the Late Geometric pottery found within the peribolos in 1894, one fragment from a large krater survives (no inv.no.). Extant are also two bronze votive figurines, now in the bronze collection of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens6. One of them is an image of a man of possible, late eighth-century

4. MPo 515 (fragment of kylix), MPo 516 (fragment of deep bowl), MPo 528a–δ (spindle whorls) and 2 beads, one of rock crystal and one of faience.
5. Excavations in this particular LH IIIC context continued in 2010, and will be reported on through the program’s web site www.kalaureia.org. The information was provided by Arto Penttinen, the present director of the Kalaureia Research Program.
6. The following bronze objects are in this museum: EAM 11461 (griffon protome), EAM 11462 (bull figurine), EAM 11463 (horse figurine), EAM 11464 (bull figurine), EAM 11465 (male figurine), EAM 11466 (trident) and EAM 11469 (lance head).
date; the second one is a horse of late eighth-century date. However, in the area of the later Building D we have identified considerable activity during that time, which leads us to the deposits excavated during the 2003-2005 programme.

STRATIFIED LATE EIGHTH-CENTURY HORIZONS

In the general area, where Building D was erected at the end of the fourth century BC, three pits, Features 07, 08 and 09, were found dug into bedrock and filled with material datable to the third quarter of the eighth century (fig. 4: Wells et al. 2005, 150-159; 2006-2007). On top of Feature 07 a levelling fill had been created in preparation for the construction of a building. The pits and the fill constitute the earlier of two late EIA chronological horizons; the structure (Wall 09) with its associated stamped earthen floor (Stratum 6) the second, late EIA horizon (for the stratigraphy see fig. 5).

Feature 07 had been carefully sealed with fieldstones among which rested a large boulder (fig. 6). Features 08 and 09 had probably been closed in a similar manner, but their covers were more than likely obliterated by the later, very massive activities in that specific area. The fill of the three pits consisted of soil mixed with stones, pottery fragments and bones. Our bone specialist, Dimitra Mylona, has noted a similarity between the bone assemblages found in Features 08 and 09 in that they contain abraded bones, which indicate that they were an integral part of the fill dumped into the pits. The pit Feature 09 additionally contained a group of non-abraded bones from medium-sized mammals and fish, the latter burnt. These bones Mylona interprets as having ended up in the pit at the time of deposition. A similar deposition of bones had been made before the closing of Feature 07. A goat horn core and several pieces of its skull were found at the top of the pit.

The fill in the three pits and the fill underneath the building show explicit signs of having the same origin. With some important exceptions the pottery can be dated to a narrow time span from c. 750 to 735 BC. The exceptions are the fragments of six large Late Helladic IIIC Late kraters, the smallest of which has a diameter of 29 cm and the largest of 54 cm (fig. 7). Moreover, some of the Late Geometric vessels and of the LH IIIC Late kraters fragments turn up in the pits, the fill underneath the building and even in its floor (fig. 8). The pottery is in mint condition and therefore should have originated close to where it was re-deposited. Therefore it should represent earlier activity in the same general area as the later depositions in the pits.

The evidence allows us to reconstruct a series of events in the area, where the fourth-century Building D was to be built hundreds of years later. These events can be seen as a set of rituals performed to create a sacred space. In preparation for the construction of the building the area was cleaned down to bedrock, but as the accumulated material obviously was of importance, those who commissioned the building did not remove the earlier cultural material from the location but re-deposited it in pits dug into bedrock and incorporated it into the fill to prepare level ground for the structure. For good drainage the upper part of the fill was covered by large fieldstones. Then a goat was sacrificed, as evidenced by the fragmentary goat skull in the pit, Feature 07, under the construction fill and the bones of ovicaprids in Feature 09 to the west. The burnt fish bones in Feature 09 perhaps indicate the sacrifice and consumption of fish, whose bones may have ended up in a fire to get partly burnt. Sacrifices as preambles to construction, so-called building sacrifices, is a well-known phenomenon all over the world, and it is known also to have been practised in both prehistoric and later Greek societies, also at sites contemporary with the late eighth-cen-

7. Thanks to Dimitra Mylona who discussed the bones with me.
An enigmatic group of vessels are the LH IIIC Late kraters. With one exception found in the floor layer of the building, they were retrieved from the fills underneath the building, from Feature 08 and from trenches in the immediate vicinity. The sizes of the kraters are as remarkable as is their presence. No other prehistoric fine ware was found throughout the Late Geometric deposits. More than likely they were therefore an integral part of the material cleared away at the beginning of the suggested process of events reconstructed above, which ended with the construction of the late eighth-century building. Two of the kraters had mending holes indicating that they were at some point considered too valuable to be discarded when broken. Their presence in the late eighth-century context cannot be random but should testify to a consciousness of the past and thus be an effort to link the present to that past.

The Late Helladic IIIC Middle to Late building west of the peribolos with its supposed house cult, the trickle of material from the intervening periods and the late eighth-century assemblage suggest some kind of continuity at the site from the very end of the Bronze Age until late in the Early Iron Age. Whether or not this continuity implies continuance in cult is another matter, of course, but I should like to think so in view of the fact that the very large kraters had such a long life history and were revered for some reason or other. Kalaureia would not be the first and only example as C. Morgan has shown for Isthmia (Morgan 1999) and K. Pilafidis-Williams (Pilafidis-Williams 1998) for Aigina.

Figure 8 also illustrates how fragments of a number of very large Attic amphorae occurring in several of the deposits described. It is generally contended that these vessels were solely made as prestigious grave markers for the Athenian élite; here, however, we have unequivocal evidence that they did travel across the Saronic Gulf to Kalaureia. At the conference it was suggested that our vessels may have served as grave markers on Kalaureia too. However, there are no signs of tombs in the area of what was to become the Sanctuary of Poseidon. Moreover, organic residue analysis of a small fragment of the body of a Hirschfeld amphora (fig. 9: Wells et al. 2006-2007), showed that at some point in time it contained legumes, which would mean that this particular vessel during a period of its life was employed for storage. I would therefore like to suggest that the Attic amphorae came to Kalaureia fulfilling other purposes than they did in Athens.

The Attic amphorae may have been transported to Kalaureia for their own sake to be set up by Athenians in a cult place of some importance to them or the Kalaureians may have acquired them in Athens as their own prestigious contributions to their local cult place. Whether or not the vessels came filled with food stuffs from the beginning, we may surmise that the ultimate intention was to celebrate a feast in honour of the deity. If the votary was an Athenian, this would perhaps imply official Athenian involvement of one kind or another on the western side of the Saronic Gulf in the second half of the eighth century BC, but to speculate further on that subject is somewhat premature.

Amphorae or pyxides of very large proportions actually occur both in Athens and outside of it in contexts other than burial environments. From the Athenian Akropolis one fragment has been reported (inv.no. 293, Graef – Langlotz 1909, pl. 10). At Asine in the Argolid fragments of several such contemporary large vases were found in a deposit in the Sanctuary to Apollo Pythaicus on the Barbouna Hill (Wells 1987-1988) and one was found at the main entrance to the Akropolis of Asine in the excavations of 1922–1930 (Persson – Frödin 1938, 330 and fig. 223. 1). Typical for the Asine sanctuary examples are the loop legs, which are also

8. The analysis was carried out by Sven Isaksson at the Archaeological Research Laboratory, Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies, Stockholm University.
found at Argos, where we know that two vessels were used as burial urns but there are further examples (Courbin 1966, 246 and pls. 100-105). A number of amphora fragments found in the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea are of such a thickness and display motifs of a kind that certainly are suggestive of very large vessels, indeed (Voyatzis 1990, 287, possibly P25, very likely P26, P27, P28 and P29, pls. 11-13). In my opinion we can probably find more parallels in other sanctuaries.

Together with a range of other vessels from near and afar (Southern Argolid, Athens, Corinth, the Cyclades, Rhodes), the Attic amphorae at Kalaureia give evidence of an island within a larger network of the Aegean and beyond. Kalaureia could provide good anchorage in several of its small bays with Vayionia being the most accessible on its northern coast. The island’s obvious attraction to non-islanders can be explained against the background of increased communication and commercial links in the eighth century BC. However, the cult place in the centre of the island was seemingly also of interest to more than the locals. The acquisition of the large Attic amphorae and their transportation across the gulf and up the hillside to our site was no doubt very costly and only possible for the truly rich in society. At the same time, the costs dispensed and probably also the journey to the island, lent prestige and added status to the giver. We may imagine that people had assembled at the cult place and that they feasted together under the auspices of the deity, whose identity we do not know. Of importance, at least to the locals, were the Mycenaean kraters, which were revered objects and which linked them to their ancestors and memories of a distant past.

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Fig. 1. The Sanctuary of Poseidon from the west with the island of Aigina and the coast of Attica in the background (B. Wells).

Fig. 2. Plan of the Sanctuary of Poseidon with dots indicating the spots where EIA material has been found (E. Savini).
Fig. 3. Plan of the Late Helladic IIIC Late remains excavated in 1997 west of the temple area. In the southwestern corner, the boulder interpreted as a place for a house cult (G. Söderberg & B. Ask).

Fig. 4. Plan showing the two EIA horizons in the area of the later Sanctuary of Poseidon (E. Savini).
Fig. 5. The stratigraphic sequence in the area of the late eight century BC building. Above the closed pit, Stratum 9 or Feature 07, lies the fill, strata 8 and 7 and above these the floor of the building, Stratum 6, with its associated Wall 09 (E. Savini).

Fig. 6. The sealed Feature 07, a pit cut into bedrock, with the boulder in the centre. View from the northeast (B. Wells).
Fig. 8. Distribution of Late Helladic IIIC krater fragments and of fragments of large Attic amphorae throughout the late eighth century contexts (E. Savini).

Fig. 7. Late Helladic IIIC krater.

Fig. 9. Fragments of a large Attic amphora by the Hirschfeld Painter (C. Mauzy).
Lesley A. Beaumont

CHIOS IN THE “DARK AGES”: NEW EVIDENCE FROM KATO PHANA*

“From Chios there is no Geometric pottery known to me which need be earlier than 800 BC”. So in 1971 wrote Antony Snodgrass in his seminal work on The Dark Age of Greece (Snodgrass 1971, 132). Since these words were written, the last three-and-a-half decades have, however, brought to light new archaeological evidence for the Early Iron Age phase of the island’s history. It is the aim of this paper to summarise our resulting current state of knowledge of the occupation of Chios during the Dark Ages, and in particular to present significant new evidence produced by recent excavations undertaken at Kato Phana. The paper will conclude by advancing some preliminary suggestions concerning the early nature and development of the cult site at Kato Phana, the identity of the Early Iron Age population of Chios, and the external contacts sustained by the island during the Dark Age phase.

We begin with a brief survey of the evidence so far uncovered for the occupation of the island from the LHIII to Late Geometric periods (fig. 1). Mycenaean settlement is best known from Emporio in the southeast, where a sizeable community flourished until fire resulted in abandonment of the site at the end of LHIIIC (Hood 1981; 1982). In the northern half of Chios, it seems likely from surface finds of Mycenaean ceramics that Leukathia and Nagos were also home to Late Bronze Age settlers (Hood 1981, 7-8; Yalouris 1986, 154-157). In the centre of the island it would be surprising if Chios town, given its later prominent settlement history, had not also been home to Mycenaean occupants. As yet, however, only a single Mycenaean kylix foot has been found here, though in view of the presence of the large, well-developed modern town atop the site of ancient habitation, this is perhaps only to be expected (Hood 1981, 7). The most recently discovered finds of Late Mycenaean date and character come from excavations at Kato Phana on the southwest coast of Chios and from the archaeological exploration of a Mycenaean cist grave cemetery at Archontiki on Psara, the little islet positioned just off the northwest coast of Chios not far from Leukathia (Mountjoy 1999, 1156; Merousis 2002, 82-87; Beaumont – Archontidou-Argyri 2004, 213-216; Archontidou-Argyri 2005, 136-139).

The Protogeometric period is as yet sparsely represented. Until the recent excavations on Psara and at Kato Phana, Protogeometric finds were known only from Chios town, where rescue excavations in the 1980’s in the Agios Isidoro and Agia Anna Kapella districts unearthed two enchytrismos burials dating to the first half of the ninth century. The burials produced a one-handled cup, two belly amphorae, a wide-mouthed amphora, an amphoriskos, two pyxides and an oinochoe, as well as three pendent semi-circle skyphoi, indicating the island’s early contact with Euboia (Zacharou-Loutrari 1984, 108-109; Archontidou-Argyri 1989, 397; 2004,

* The author’s attendance at the Volos ‘Dark Ages’ conference, and presentation of this paper, was made possible thanks to funding received from the University of Sydney and to the generous hospitality of the conference organisers and their sponsors. My thanks go to them, and also to Camilla Norman for her assistance in the scanning of the images which appear in this paper.
In addition, the burial unearthed in the Agia Anna Kapella district contained three bronze fibulae, six bronze rings, and gold wire (Archontidou-Argyri 1989, 397). Archaeological Reports of 1938-1939 also report the finding at Agio Gala of stratified Protogeometric pottery by Edith Eccles, though this has since disappeared from view probably as a result of the moving of finds from Chios to Athens during the Second World War (Robertson 1939, 203; Yalouris 1976, 78). As yet, the recently reported discovery of tenth to ninth century graves at Archontiki on Psara awaits publication (Archontidou-Argyri 2005, 137).

Evidence for the occupation of Chios during the later part of the Geometric period is more plentiful. The Late Geometric to Archaic occupation of Emporio is well documented, as also that uncovered at Kato Phana in the early twentieth century of our era by Konstantinos Kourouniotis and Winifred Lamb (Kourouniotis 1915, 72-85; 1916, 190-212; Lamb 1934-1935, 138-164; Boardman 1967). Late Geometric finds from the area of Chios town are by contrast far sparser and available only from rescue excavations due to the presence of the extensive modern chora; in recent years the discovery of a wall associated with Geometric pottery has been reported in the district of Agios Loukas Leivadiou (Acheilara 1998, 766), while in the vicinity of Agios Ioannis Prodromos Late Geometric burials have been recorded (Tsaropoulou 1983, 96-97). A further Geometric vessel, now in the Chios Archaeological Museum, is reported to have been found at Milinagas, north of Chios town (Yalouris 1986, 157-158). In addition, Late Geometric occupation of Psara is attested by recent discoveries of a cult site at Archontiki and a settlement at Mavri Rachi (Merousis 2002, 124; Archontidou-Argyri 2005, 136).

From this brief survey, it is clear that the study of the new finds from Kato Phana and Archontiki, spanning the Late Mycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric periods, has significant potential to illuminate our understanding of the “Dark Age” on Chios and Psara. While further consideration of the material from Archontiki lies beyond the scope and authority of this paper, I will now present a summary of the LHIII to Late Geometric finds excavated at Kato Phana between 1999 and 2005 by a collaborative field project, undertaken by the British School at Athens and the K’ Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (Beaumont – Archontidou-Argyri 2004).

Prior to the recommencement of excavations in 1999, it was commonly held that the sanctuary at Kato Phana, ancient Phanai, had been established in the Late Geometric, or perhaps Middle Geometric, period (Lamb 1934-1935; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 331; Coldstream 2003, 257). The earlier work, conducted by Kourouniotes and Lamb, revealed rich Late Geometric votive offerings, finds which have been further enriched by our new excavations in the southwest quadrant of the area later occupied by the Archaic sanctuary (fig. 2). What, however, we have now also brought to light is pottery and small finds of the Early and Middle Geometric periods, as well as material of Protogeometric and LHIII date. The findspots for these artefacts are restricted to Trenches I and V and the lowest levels of Trench II (fig. 3). The deposits here are, however, mixed fill associated with the construction of an eight-stepped limestone staircase flanked by adjoining terrace walls during the seventh century BC, a feature which constitutes the earliest surviving evidence for the architectural elaboration of the sanctuary via the erection of a peribolos wall and stepped entrance approached from the direction of the sea. Nevertheless, in spite of their disturbed depositional context, the votive character of the finds together with their association with much highly burnt animal bone and ash, make it clear that this early material originated close by on the site, which in this paper I will suggest possessed a sacred identity already since LHIIIIC.

The Late Geometric phase of the site is already well known, and has produced rich finds...
in ceramic, metal, amber and other materials. Most plentiful are remains of pottery vessels and bronze fibulae (Kourouniotis 1915; 1916; Lamb 1934-1935; Beaumont – Archontidou-Argyri 2004). A large number of the ceramic sherds belong to kraters and drinking vessels, and find their closest parallels in the assemblages of Old Smyrna and Samos (fig. 4b: Walter 1968; Ozgünül 1978; 2003). Figured Geometric scenes appear in addition to abstract decoration, and our recent excavations have added a scene with the upper part of a figure of a hel­meted warrior and a fragmentary ship scene to the remains of six more vessels with anthropomorphic decoration, already known from the earlier work of Winifred Lamb (figs. 4a-b).1 Among the numerous Late Geometric metal votives, bronze fibulae are especially popular (fig. 5). Other notable Late Geometric small finds include a number of finely wrought seals in a variety of materials, such as ivory and ste­statite (Lamb 1934-1935, 151, pi. 31.39, 153, pl. 33.1-4; Archontidou – Grigoriadou 2000, 18, 282-287).

In contrast to this rich mix of Late Geometric artefacts deposited at the site, the Proto­geometric, Early Geometric and Middle Geometric periods are represented only by pottery (figs. 6-7). It is, however, significant that where vessel shapes may be determined, the early ceramic evidence repeats the pattern seen already for the Late Geometric phase of a preponderance of kraters and drinking cups, suggesting the early practice at the site of ritual wine consumption and the subsequent deposition of the containers as votive dedications. While our pottery finds from these earlier periods occur in far lesser quantities than those dating to the Late Geometric period, it should be noted that, as Vincent Desborough and Nicola Coldstream earlier pointed out, the material published by Winifred Lamb from her excavations of 1934 included additional sherds of Early, Middle and Proto-Geometric date, which were not however at the time of their discovery recognised as such.2

Analysis of the pottery from Kato Phana thus permits us to claim an unbroken ceramic sequence stretching from the Proto­geometric to Late Geometric, and subsequently to the Archaic periods; a significant finding so far unparalleled at any other individual Chian site. This as yet sparsely populated Chian Dark Age pottery sequence will, however, hopefully also in due course be further elaborated by publication of the material from Archontiki.

Like Archontiki, Kato Phana also presents evidence of earlier occupation stretching back to the LHIII period. At this date, the artefacts exhibit a marked variety of materials and types, comprising decorated pottery, terracotta bovine figurines, marble sword and dagger pommels, and a faience scarab seal (fig. 8).3 The ceramic sherds, of LHIIIC date, are comparable with the material found at Emporio and seem to be of local manufacture (Hood 1981; 6; Beaumont – Archontidou-Argyri 2004, 213-215). The shapes represented are the kylix, ka­lathos, krater and amphora (fig. 8b). Like the later ceramics from the site, these shapes indicate the preparation and drinking of wine, while a handle which probably belonged to the relatively rare multiple or composite vase form possesses ritual associations (fig. 8a, top left). Finds of terracotta bull figurines of late LHIIIIC date, also further suggest ritual activity (fig. 8a, bottom left: Beaumont – Archontidou-Argyri-

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1. These earlier excavated figure decorated fragments variously show warriors (Lamb 1934-1935, pl. 35, nos. 28-30), a lion fighter (Lamb 1934-1935, pl. 35, no. 33), a robed figure (Lamb 1934-1935, pl. 35, no. 35), and a ship with a warrior (Boardman 1967, 108, fig. 64x).

2. Desborough 1952, 217 suggests that the decorated fragments illustrated in Lamb 1934-1935, pls. 35, nos. 24, pl. 36b-c may be Proto­geometric. Coldstream 1968, 294, n. 5 assigns Lamb 1934-1935, pl. 35, no. 5 to the Early Geometric period, and the following fragments to the Middle Geometric period: Lamb 1934-1935, pl. 35, no. 1, pl. 34, nos. 20, 24, 26-28, 31, 34-35.

3. Lamb also records the discovery of bronze tweezers of Mycenaean form and a bronze fibula of Submyce­naean type: Lamb 1934-1935, 151, pl. 32, no. 29, pl. 152, pl. 31, no. 15.
ri 2004, 214-216). The presence of two earlier marble sword and dagger pommels, of LHIIIA (fig. 8a, bottom right) and LHII date respectively (Hood 1981, 6; Beaumont – Archontidou–Argyri 2004, 213-216) together with a thirteenth century faience scarab seal bearing a hieroglyphic inscription that appears to give the name of the Nineteenth Dynasty Pharaoh Ramses II (Lamb 1934-1935, 163-164; Archontidou – Grigoriadou 2000, 284), may perhaps best be explained as valuable heirlooms deposited on the site as votives in the LHIIIC period. Thus the evidence, though at best fragmented, does allow us reasonably to propose that cult worship had already been established at Kato Phana by the final stages of the Aegean Late Bronze Age.

At this same time in LHIIIC there existed a flourishing settlement at nearby Emporio. When, however, this settlement was destroyed by fire and abandoned in late LHIIIC, our newly recovered evidence suggests that occupation at Kato Phana continued. It may well be that over the next two or three centuries, Kato Phana functioned as a common site of religious observance and interaction for the now dispersed inhabitants of the surrounding region. Situated on the southerly tip of Chios, at the head of a deep and sheltered natural harbour, the site was ideally placed to facilitate trade, communication and exchange, both among the island's population and with its neighbours. Certainly by the Protogeometric period, Chios appears to belong to an Aegean koine, which Irene Lemos identifies as linking Euboia and Thessaly, among others, to Chios, Lesbos, Old Smyrna and Troy (Lemos 2002, 212-217): the finds of pendent semi-circle skyphoi at Kato Phana, Chios town and Emporio would seem to support this observation (Boardman 1967, 117, no. 157). Mythological tradition, too, concurs in pointing to a particular connection of the island populations of Chios and Euboia (Hood 1984, 179-180; Merousis 2002, 88-89; Yalouris 1976, 56-66). By the Middle Geometric period, the finds indicate an intensification in the use of the Phanai cult site, an intensification which culminates in the Late Geometric explosion of rich and varied votives in the sanctuary, a period which surely not coincidentally also sees the re-establishment of settlement and central authority at nearby Emporio. By the late eighth century Kato Phana may be identified as an important extra urban sanctuary, serving the needs of both local and regional populations while also, as evidenced by the finds at the site of materials such as faience, amber and ivory, providing a stopping off point for sailors plying the rich trade routes north and east. Beginning in the late eighth century, and continuing into the seventh, it would furthermore seem from the ceramic and bronze votives deposited at the site, that the strongest cultural links now point north to Samos and east to Old Smyrna and Phrygia. This is also borne out by contemporary finds from Emporio.

Lastly, what may be said about the identity of the Chian population during the Dark Ages? The traditional view would advocate that sometime following the destruction of Mycenaean Emporio at the end of LHIIIC, the pre-existing inhabitants of Chios were largely replaced by Ionian migrants. But this long established hypothesis deserves re-examination (Lemos 2007). While it is almost certainly true that the Dark Ages saw the arrival of some Ionian settlers on Chios, the new evidence emerging from Kato Phana and Archontiki seems increasingly to point to an essential continuity of pre-existing population on these islands, population.
groups into which the newcomers now quickly became incorporated. The survival of local Late Mycenaean ceramic decorative motifs in Chian Archaic material culture has previously been noted by a number of scholars, including John Boardman and Anna Lemos (Boardman 1967, 105, n. 2, 188-189; Lemos 1997, 81-82). In the light of the ongoing study and publication of the new material from Phanai and Archontiki, their observations deserve to be revisited and a reassessment made concerning the identity and heritage of the Early Iron Age folk who inhabited Chios and Psara.

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Fig. 1. Map of Chios marked with the location of the sites discussed

Fig. 2. Kato Phana. Actual state plan of the sanctuary of Apollo Phanaios (drawn by N. Fradgley). The area excavated between 1999 and 2005, located in the south-west quadrant of the sanctuary, is indicated by hatching.
Fig. 3. Kato Phana. Plan of trenches excavated between 1999 and 2005 (drawn by M. Christeli). Trench numbers are indicated by ‘TOM,” followed by the appropriate Roman numeral. Wall numbers are indicated by Tx. followed by an Arabic numeral. ‘Σ’ indicates the seventh century BC staircase.
Fig. 4a. Drawing of a Late Geometric krater fragment from Kato Phana, preserving part of a ship scene (Scale 1:2).

Fig 4b. Selected fragments of Late Geometric pottery from Kato Phana: oinochoai, kantharos and krater handles, as well as krater sherd depicting a helmeted warrior.

Fig. 5. Selected Late Geometric bronze fibulae from Kato Phana.
Fig. 6a. Fragmentary Middle Geometric krater pedestal from Kato Phana.

Fig. 6b. Selected Middle Geometric pottery from Kato Phana. Left: fragment from unidentified MG open vessel. Right: two fragments from unidentified MG/LG drinking vessels.

Fig. 7a. Selected Early Geometric and Protogeometric pottery from Kato Phana. Left: fragment from EG/MG pendent semi-circle skyphos. Right: fragmentary EPG/MPG krater bowl.

Fig. 7b. Drawing of a fragmentary LPG/EG skyphos from Kato Phana (Scale 2:3).
Fig. 8a. Selected LHIII pottery and small finds from Kato Phana. Top row, from left to right: handle from a LHIIIIC multiple/composite vessel, LHIIIIC amphora handle, fragment of a LHIIIIC kalathos. Bottom row, from left to right: three LHIIIIC terracotta bovine figurines, LHIIIIA marble sword pommel.

Fig. 8b. Drawing of two LHIIIIC conical kylix feet from Kato Phana (Scale 1:1).
THE EVIDENCE FOR THE WORSHIP AND PERCEPTION OF ZEUS DURING THE LATE PREHISTORIC-EARLY HISTORIC PERIODS

This paper intends to present in outlines the worship of Zeus during the EIA, such an important aspect of the early Greek religion as paying regard to its forms and conceptual contents.

At the beginning of the historic times, Zeus appeared in the Homeric poems as the central divine figure. He already had a well-defined image, which since then became dominant: a victorious storm-god, a god of rain and thunder, the main god of all the Greeks, the father-patbls and the all-mighty ruler-anax of gods and men, protecting the earthly royal power, the all-knowing creator of being, enthroned on the top of a mountain with the attributes of his power. Despite his role as a father-god, Zeus had been introduced in the Homeric epics as the son of elder deities, – Kronides. According to Homer, on the top of mount Olympos there was the “stout-built home” of Zeus, recalling, as it might be supposed, the god’s temples. Homeric Zeus shared his magnificent house with his official wife, the goddess Hera.

It needs to be stressed that the related studies have sufficiently shown that Greek Zeus was a direct continuation of the supreme Proto-Indo-European God of the clear sky and sun *t’yeus/*teiw(o)-s (< PIE root *t’y-//*t’ei/*t’iu- “to shine”, “to be shining white”) - the head of the PIE pantheon, old and passive father-god *tyeus-pʰHtʰer (> Zeús patßr), progenitor of everything, unconnected with the ruling functions. This god was definitely distinct from another important deity, the Indo-European Storm-god, who was worshiped under various names, was younger and more active in relation to the God of clear sky, but remained subordinate to him. The established direct origin of Greek Zeus from the PIE God of the clear sky indicates that originally Zeus was the deity personifying the daylight and not the cloudy, stormy weather, as his Homeric image might suggest. Another striking peculiarity of the Greek religion and mythology is that the original Greek storm-god had completely disappeared from the Greek pantheon before the beginning of the historic period (Gamkrelidze – Ivanov 1995, 196, 692-700).

The name of Zeus is securely identified in the Mycenaean texts in the form *Diweus = ΔίFeύς = Ζεύς. Although the actual concept, exact role, position and functions of Zeus – *Diweus in the Mycenaean religion are not known, it is certain that he was not the main deity in the Mycenaean pantheon. However, his immediate relation to both the PIE God of the clear sky *tyeus and Homeric Zeús, due to the stem di- of his name, suggests that through him the basic characteristics of the former must have been transferred to Zeus of the historic time.

Did the image of Zeus as presented in the Homeric poems correspond to the god who was actually worshiped as Zeus during Dark Ages? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to sum up and interpret the available archaeological evidence related to the worship of Zeus during the late prehistoric and early historic time.

The following sites were or may have been connected with the worship of Zeus during the EIA:

1. Site A
2. Site B
3. Site C
4. Site D
1. *Dodona* (Epirus)
2. *Pherai* (Thessalia)
3. *Halos* (Pthiotis, Thessalia)
4. *Mt. Laphystion* (Boeotia)
5. *Mt. Helikon* (southwestern Boeotia)
6. Olympieion in Athens
7. Mt. Hymettos (Attica)
8. Mt. Parnes (Attica)
9. Mt. Tourkovounia (Attica)
11. Sta Marmara (Megara)
12. Mt. Oros (Aegina)
13. Mt. Phoukas-Apesas (Korinthia)
14. Nemea
15. Mt. Arachnaion (Argolis)
16. ? Larisa hill (Argos)
17. Olympia (Elis)
18. Mt. Lykaion (Arkadia)
19. Mt. Ithome (Messenia)
20. Tsakona hill, Aphysou (Lakonia)
21. ? Kenaion Cape (Euboea)
22. Mt. Atavyros (Rhodes)
23. ? Mt. Mesavouno (Thera)
24. *Psycho (Diktaean) Cave* (Crete)
25. Idaean Cave (Crete)
26. Amnisos (Crete)
27. Agia Triada (Crete)
28. Praisos (Crete)
29. Palaikastro (Crete)
30. *Gargaron, Mt. Ida* (Troas, Asia Minor)
31. ? Heraion in Samos
32. ? Heraion at Perachora
33. ? Heraion at Argos

* undetected cult-place
? practice of the cult of Zeus during the early historic time is not certain

The evaluation of the evidence related to the worship and perception of Zeus during the early historic time leads to the following conclusions:

- in terms of statistics: the identified and possible cult-places dedicated to Zeus so far during the late prehistoric/early historic times, including the beginning of the Archaic period, are 22 (+ 5?) of those found in mainland Greece and the islands except for Crete. The catalogue includes Olympieion in Athens (Amandry 1940-1941, 237-238; Vanderpool 1960, 267-268, plan 3), Nemea (Miller 1976, 178-180, pl. 31d; 1979, 82; 1980, 178, 180-181; 1982, 23, pl. 9e, g, h; 1990, 51), Mt. Lykaion (Zolotnikova 2005, 106-107), Kenaion Cape (Sackett – Hankey – Howell – Jacobsen – Popham 1966, 37, 111), and Mt. Atavyros (Heilmeyer 1979, 32-33; Sorensen – Pentz 1992, 55, 141, fig. H.2), where the EIA cult activities are insufficiently evidenced, as well as both undetected sanctuaries of Zeus Laphystios, in Boeotia (Schachter 1994, 108) and Thessaly (Giannopoulos 1925-1926; Malakasioti – Mousioni 2004), and a possible sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Helikon, on its easternmost peak Zagaras, mentioned by Hesiodos (Hes. Theog. 4; Langdon 1976, 109); 5 EIA cult-places in Attica dedicated to unknown deities (no. 10) have been associated with Zeus by M.K. Langdon (Langdon 1976, 102-106), without, however, support from other scholars. There may have been a sanctuary of Zeus Idaios on Gargaron in Troas during the Homeric period (Hom. II. 8.48, 16.604-605), but it is known only through literary tradition. 6 Cretan cult-places could be related to Zeus at that time. The presence of Zeus as a minor partner of Hera in the Late Geometric – Early Archaic periods might be supposed for the two mainland Heraia (those in Perachora and Argos) and that on Samos. It
should be noted that to this point the recorded EIA cult-places are over 300, while most of them were connected with the worship of Apollo, Athena, and Artemis (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 420-424).

- **in geographical terms**: the geographical distribution of Zeus' cult-places demonstrates that at the beginning of the historic period the god was mainly worshiped in the Peloponnese (9 sites counting also Mt. Oros in Aegina) and Attica including Megarid (5 and 5? sites); only 5 EIA cult-places related to Zeus are identified or expected to be found in the extensive area of northern and central Greece (Dodona in Epirus, Halos and Pherai in Thessaly, Mt. Laphystion and Mt. Helikon in Boeotia). Beyond the mainland territories, Zeus seems to have received limited worship in Rhodes, Thera, possibly Euboea and Troas (correspondingly 1 site in each named territory). 6 EIA Cretan cult-places, possibly connected with Zeus, constitute evidence for a relative significance of the god on the largest of the Greek islands during the early historic time.

- **in relation to the evidence of the prehistoric period**: prehistoric human activities, prevalently those related to habitation, have been attested in the territory or in close vicinity of most of the EIA sanctuaries of Zeus in the mainland and the islands except for Crete; such cult-places are: Dodona, Halos, Pherai, Olympia in Athens, Mt. Hymettos, Mt. Tourokovounia, Mt. Oros, Nemea, Mt. Arachnaion, Larisa hill, Olympia, Mt. Ithome, possibly Mt. Lykaion, Kenaion cape, Mt. Atavyros, and Mt. Gargaron. The emergence of the sanctuaries of Zeus in those places during the EIA may have been a result of the development of the worship practices of previously existed there or near by LBA settlements. Perhaps, the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia in Elis is the most probable of these cases, since the beginning of the cult goes back to the LH III C/Sub-Mycenaean period (Philipp 1981, 9-10, 34, 36 (nos. 1-2: Sub-Mycenaean pins), 261-262 (nos. 984-985: Late Mycenaean fibulae); Eder 2001a, 103-104; 2001b, 205, 206-208; Kyrieleis 2006, 215, nos. 1-4, fragments of LBA kylīkes, pl. 52), while the Mycenaean activities identified on and around the Kronion hill seem to point to the existence of a LBA settlement, either on the hill or even in Altis. The sanctuary in Dodona, which had evidently become a respected cult-place during the transitional phase from LBA to EIA, was based on the religious concept originating in the primitive beliefs of the indigenous non-Greek population, which continuously inhabited the site from the Early Helladic until the Late Helladic period and mixed with the Mycenaean colonists during the Mycenaean time (Euagge- lidis – Dakaris 1959, 143-144, 150; Hammond 1967, 299-313; Desborough 1972, 97): as the etymology of the place-name indicates, the particular territory was in some way associated with a Balkan thunder-god (Pokorny 1959, 264-265) from the Early Bronze Age, while certain elements of the Dodonian cult attested in the historic times (Hom. Il. 16.233-235, Od. 327-328) obviously go back to the traditions of the Indo-European religious unity (Gamkr- lidze – Ivanov 1995, 694-695, 2: 127-128; Chadwick 1900; Evans 1974). In Crete, the Middle Minoan origins of the cult activity are traced in the Idaean and the Diktæan (Psychro) Caves, but the question, whether the EIA cult at these sanctuaries continued or replaced the Bronze Age cult originally practiced there, remains. The sites of Amnisos, Agia Triada, Praisos, and Palaikastro, which were occupied by the Minoan settlements and abandoned towards the end of the Bronze Age, seem to have been ritually re-used for the worship of Zeus from the EIA.

- **in relation to the urban and political system of the early historic time**: almost all the known EIA cult-places of Zeus were extra-urban; possible exception is the joined sanctuary of Athena and Zeus on the akropolis on the Larisa hill in Argos (Hägg 1992, 11).

- **in terms of landscape setting**: the worship of Zeus in the mainland and the islands, except for Crete, during the early historic period was
prevalently taking place on high places, such as mountain-tops (Hymettos, Parnes, Oros, Phoukas, Arachnaion, Lykaion, Ithome, Atabyros, probably Mesavouno and Laphystion, possibly Helikon and Gargaron) and hills (Tourkovounia, Sta Marma, Tsakona, possibly Larisa and Kenaion); the Cretan sanctuary of Zeus Dictaion at Praisos was likewise set on the top of a hill. It is noteworthy that some of the sacred places of Zeus located on the mountain tops can be approached with difficulty. Their choice must have been deliberate and, perhaps, conceptually subject to a special link of the god with the notion of height. Three early historic cults of Zeus may have been practiced within caves: in the Idaean and the Diktaean (Psychro) Caves in Crete as well as in a small cave on Mt. Parnes in Attica;

- in terms of the organization of the cult in relation to the environment / architectural arrangement of the sanctuaries: most of the identified EIA cult-places of Zeus, including those at Amnisos, Praisos, Palaikastro, and Agia Triada in Crete, were simple, completely or basically open-air sanctuaries; architectural remains of the early historic time in the sanctuaries of Zeus have been identified at Hymettos (Langdon 1976, 1; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 143-144, 315) and Tourkovounia in Attica and possibly at Olympia and Dodona; in three of these sanctuaries, at Tourkovounia (fig. 4), Olympia (fig. 2) and Dodona, the EIA sacred architecture appears to have been represented by the so-called “oval houses” (for Tourkovounia: Lauter 1985, 122-134; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 87-88; for Olympia: Rambach 2002, 127, 130-131, figs. 6, 7; Whitley 2003, 36; for Dodona: Euaggelidis – Dakaris 1959, 24-30; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 309, n. 365), but their exact function has not yet been established. However, it may be observed that in Olympia the god’s “sacred house”, later represented by his temple, never appeared as the focus of Zeus’ cult (Paus. 5.13.8-11, 14.8). In addition to a sacred building, the EIA sanctuary at Tourkovounia and possibly that in Olympia also comprised a mound, but its role in cult at that date is uncertain (Lauter 1985, 48-49; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 87-88; Eder 2001b, 205). The sacred buildings in the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus at Tsakona date to the Early Archaic period (Catling 1990, 23-29). In relation to this, it may be observed that many male and female divinities (as Poseidon, Apollo, Dionysos, Athena, Hera, and some other) had received their earliest temples during 1100-750 BC (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 425, map 4), while the actual building of the temples of Zeus in the Greek world started only in the first half of the 6th century BC. Perhaps, a sort of purposeful persistence to venerate Zeus under the open sky should be recognized in this situation. On the other hand, a question emerges regarding the prototype of the Homeric picture of the “house of Zeus” on Olympos. The arrangement of Zeus’ cult-places and practice of the god’s cults inside the caves were necessarily subject to the particular interior conditions inside each of them: thus, in the EIA cult in the Diktaean (Psychro) Cave, the Upper Chamber was used with those limited architectural adjustments, which had been made to it during the BA phase and probably consisted of a built altar and a temenos with the paved floor, surrounded by a stone wall (Prent 2005, 168); in the Idaean Cave, the EIA cult was carried on not only inside the cave, but also outside it, around the large rock-cut altar (Prent 2005, 315).

- concerning cult activities in the sanctuary:
  1. sanctuary focal point: the religious activities in the EIA sanctuaries of Zeus at Hymettos, Parnes, Oros, Phoukas, Arachnaion, Olympia, Lykaion, Amnisos, Praisos, Palaikastro, probably at Nemea, presumably on Gargaron and Helikon focused on ash altars. In relation to the altar of Zeus in Olympia, it might be possible that the highly venerated Great Ash Altar, despite its persistently maintained primitive shape imitating a mound (fig. 3), was not the original altar of Zeus in Altis, but replaced an earlier ash altar, which may have been located at the northwestern edge of the later Pelopion and was in use until c.600 BC (fig. 1: Kyrieleis 2006, 49,
51). A sacred oak, presumably surrounded by tripod, was mentioned as the center of Zeus’ sanctuary in Dodona (fig. 5: Hom. Od. 14.327-328; Euaggelidis – Dakaris 1959, 151). The worship of the god(s) inside the Diktaean (Psychro) Cave was, probably, accumulated on the stone-built altar used from the Bronze Age (Prent 2005, 168). The EIA sanctuary in the Idaean cave seems to have had two focuses of worship: one represented by the ash altar inside the cave (Sakellarakis 1988, 191-193), and another one identified with the open-air altar cut out of a rock near it (Prent 2005, 315). The pivotal points in the sanctuaries at Pherai, Tourkovounia, Larisa, and in the “Piazzale” in Agia Triada in Crete are not identified with certainty. The EIA forms of the cult of Zeus at Halos, Olympieion, Sta Marmara, Ithome, Tsakona, Kenaion, Atavyros, and Mesavouno are not known.

2. sacrifices and offerings: the ash altars identified in the sanctuaries of Zeus indicate an extremely common EIA practice of honoring the god with burnt sacrifices of animals. Birds seem to have been sacrificed together with animals to the god of the Idaean cave on the interior ash altar (Sakellarakis 1988, 191-193). Ritual drinking, ritual libations and ritual meals in honor of Zeus are normally inferred from the shapes of vessels discovered in association with his altars or within the sanctuary areas. In particular, ritual drinking represented by a high percentage of the discovered kantharoi and kylikes probably formed an important part of the religious festivities in Olympia during the Sub-Mycenaean – Early Iron Age phases of the cult, with the secure extension into the early Archaic time (Eder 2001b, 204-208); the same situation is clearly observed in the sanctuary on Hymettos from the PG time and in that at Tourkovounia from the LG period; ritual drinking, in association with pouring of wine, may also be traced in the EIA sanctuaries on the Larisa hill, in the Diktaean (Psychro) Cave, and in Amnisos; the ceremony of libation of wine for Zeus is known from Homer, who described it in association with Zeus Dodonaids and Idaios: after the ritual of purification, a prayer poured the wine, staying under the open sky and looking up to heaven, while invoking the god by his specific divine names and addressing to him praying words (II. 16.225-248, 24.301-309). Common ritual meals, perhaps, took place at the sanctuaries at Tourkovounia, Parnes, Oros, and Larisa. The practice of oil offerings, possibly indicated by the significant amount of aryballoi, may be inferred in the cave sanctuary on Parnes and in the Diktaean (Psychro) Cave, as well as in the mountain-top sanctuary at Mt. Phoukas (Wright et al. 1990, 647, fig. 22d, e). Fist fruit offerings to Zeus are traced in the Idaean Cave (Sakellarakis 1988, 189-191). Various votive offerings, as clay and bronze figurines, tripods, symbolic weaponry, jewelry, etc., are widely attested in almost all the sanctuaries of Zeus, as well as in those of other gods in that time; dedications of weapons to the sanctuaries of Zeus have been observed at Dodona, Parnes, Diktaean (Psychro) Cave, Idaean Cave, Praisos, and Palaikastro. Since the late 8th century BC / Sub-Geometric period and until the early 6th century BC, the worshipers of Zeus Σημίος at Hymettos dedicated to the god graffito inscriptions incised on the fragments of deliberately broken drinking vessels, especially one-handed cups and skyphoi (Langdon 1976, 10-50). Human sacrifices, according to later tradition, were offered to the god at Lykaion, on the altar of Zeus Lykaios (Paus. 8.2.3; Porph. Abst. 2.27; Euseb. Praep. evang. 4.16.10), and in both sanctuaries of Zeus Laphystios, in that in Halos even in the time of Herodotos (Hdt. 7.197; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 10-13, frgs. 1, 2); but relevant physical evidence is lacking.

3. main ceremony(-ies) in the sanctuary: is (are) hardly traceable during the initial phases of the cult. However, based on the later tradition, it may be assumed that in the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia the main ceremony from the earliest period was the Annual Renewal of the Great Ash Altar of Zeus performed some days after the spring equinox: the altar was daubed with paste made of the ash from the prytaneion and the water of Alpheios (Paus. 5.13.11). Es-
sentially analogous ceremonies intended to revive the divine power of god’s altar must have been carried on in other sanctuaries of Zeus focused on ash altars. The periodical sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera was possibly celebrated in the EIA in the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia (Zolotnikova 2004, 65), as well as in the Heraia in Samos (Zolotnikova 2004, 64), Argos (Zolotnikova 2004, 63-64), and Perachora.

4. ritual athletic competitions in honor of the god: are the widely attested practice of the historic times, known in association with the sanctuaries of Zeus at Olympia, Nemea, Lykaion, and Ithome; this practice may go back to prehistoric religious customs (note Paus. 5.8.1-4). The beginning of the Olympic Games may be placed the Dark Age, as indicated by the epic/mythic traditions (Strabon 8.30.30) as well as the discovered terracotta votive figurines and bronze figured attachments of tripods representing charioteers (Heilmeyer 1972, nos. 117, 133-162; Kunze 1940-1941, 109, 111, 129, figs. 90, 91, 99-100, pls. 34, 35, 47-50; 1961, 142-145, fig. 84, pl. 58): the initial festival possibly comprised of a chariot-race (Il. 698-701) and a foot-race (Paus. 5.8.6). However, the organization of a special space for regular competitions (the Hippodromos and the Stadium) should be placed in the early 7th century BC. The Lykaean games may have started in the early historic time (Paus. 8.2.1), but it is not confirmed. According to the tradition, the Nemean games began in 575 BC, but may have had an unofficial precursor. The Messenian festival Ithomai, originally accompanied by a musical contest (Paus. 4.33.2), may have been instituted as a reminiscence of some old local celebration, which would have been held in honour of Zeus Ithomatas before the 1st Messenian war.

5. prophecy: the epic tradition, in combination with the literary and archaeological evidence, gives grounds to date the establishment of the oracle of Zeus in Dodona before the time of the composition of the Homeric poems (note Il. 16.233-235; Od. 14.327-328) that is, at the very end of the prehistoric, beginning of the historic periods. Zeus’ oracle in Olympia may have been instituted in the Late Geometric - Early Archaic time (Parke 1967, 183). The divine decisions were delivered in Dodona from the sacred oak of Zeus, while in Olympia the will of the god was revealed on the top of his altar. Despite the traditional view (Euaggelidis – Dakaris 1959, 150; Parke 1967, 180-181), there is no actual evidence that the oracles of Zeus at these sites originally belonged to female chthonic deities. The practice of divination, though in unknown forms, may have taken place in the sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios (Arkadia) and Zeus Σημίος (Hyemtos): in the former case it might be indicated by the remarkable presence of figurines of Hermes, the god’s messenger, among the votives (Kourouniotis 1904, figs. 20-23, pls. 9-10), and in the latter one it is implied in Zeus’ epithet formed on the basis of the theme σήμα, “sign”.

6. priesthood: there is not a lot of evidence regarding the attendance of the early sanctuaries of Zeus. However, according to Homer, a special group of priests called Selloi or Helloi served Zeus in Dodona (Il. 16.233-235): they represented one of the most primitive categories of the Indo-European priests completely devoted to the worshiped god and denying normal human way of life ("men with unwashed feet that couch on the ground"). Perhaps, the priests of Lykaean Zeus in Arkadia also formed a very old religious association going back to the specific Indo-European category of priests-werewolves and rain-charmers (Zolotnikova 2005, 113-115). According to Homer, the people of epic Ilion, or most probably of a Dark Age Aeolic settlement in the area of legendary Troy (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 332; Lemos 2002, 211, 240), appointed a special priest, who held a highly respected position among them, to serve Zeus Idaios on Gargaron (Il. 16.604-605). In Olympia, two priestly families, Iamides and Klytides, were known to be in charge of the oracle of Zeus from the Archaic period (Parke 1967, 173-178), while the priests called Basilai offered sacrifices on the Kronion hill in the day of spring equi-
nox (Paus. 6.20.1). The cult of Zeus Atabyrios in Rhodes was attended by a special religious association of Atabyriastai during the historic times (IG 12.1.31.1, 12.1.161.5), but there is no certain evidence to date their origin.

- **concerning the religious concept underlying the cult:**

1. **the epithets:** Homer’s references may suggest that already in his time Zeus was worshiped under the epithet Dodonaios in Dodona and referred to as Idaios in association with Mt. Ida in Troas (ll. 16.233, 604-605). Furthermore, based on later evidence, it seems probable that as early as in the EIA Zeus may have been designated as Thaulios in Pherai, Laphystios in Halos and at Mt. Laphystion, Olympios in Olympia and presumably in the area of Olympia in Athens, Σημιος at Mt. Hymettos, Απρόσιον at Mt. Parnes, Αρέας at Sta Marmara, Ελλάνιον at Mt. Oros (Aegina), Απαινός at Mt. Apesas (Phoukas), Νεμιαν in Nemea, Λαρισαεαν in Argos, Λυκαίος at Mt. Lykaion (with a possibility of the prehistoric origin of the epithet, Zolotnikova 2005, 110-111), Ιθοματα at Mt. Ithome, Μεσσαπεύς at Tsakona, Αταβυριος at Mt. Atavyros, Δικταεαν in the Diktacean (Psychro) Cave, at Praisios, and Palaikastro, Ιδαεαν / Ιδαιος in the Idaean Cave in Crete, Θηνατας in Amnisos, and Βελβανος in Agia Triada. These epithets are clearly divided into two groups: those expressing the god’s functions and nature and those formed on the basis of a place-name.

2. **the nature of the god** during the EIA should be inferred specifically for each particular cult from the character of the cult setting, the symbols represented on the objects discovered in the sanctuaries, certain basic elements of his cults attested for later periods, and the most primitive motifs in the myths associated with his sacred places. Thus, it appears highly likely that the initial worship of Zeus in Olympia and on Mt. Lykaion was linked to the clear sky and sun; there are grounds to presume that the initial cults of Zeus at Halos, Mt. Hymettos, Nemea, Mt. Atavyros, as well as his possible EIA cult in the Samian Heraion were also oriented towards the clear sky and sun. Solar elements may be recognized in the cult of Zeus Laphystios in Boeotia, which was probably very old, but has not been identified archaeologically yet. The concept of Zeus as a storm-god during the EIA may be attested with a degree of certainty only in Dodona, which was initially associated with some Indo-European storm-deity. The references of the Homeric poems make it possible to suppose that during the late prehistoric – early historic time Zeus appeared as a storm-god in whatever association with two other places, both in the Aeolian cultural zone: Mt. Olympos in Thessalia and Mt. Ida in Troas, but no EIA sanctuaries, which may be related to Zeus, have been discovered there so far.

3. **functions/concerns:**

- **relation to the idea of power:** the fact that almost all the early historic sanctuaries of Zeus were located outside the EIA urban centers suggests that during EIA Zeus was actually not associated to the concepts of authority and monarchical power, concentrated during that time in the cities. A possible exception is Argos, where Zeus may have been regarded as the protector of the local royal family from the Mycenaean time [note the name of the mythic king of Argos Diomedes (II. 2.559-568), which is formed on the basis of the name of Zeus: Ζεύς, Δίος, etc.]. Thus, in the perception of the early historic time, the god must have been seen unrelated to state, society, and urban (polis) life in general;

- **relation to fertility:** as a non-city god, EIA Zeus seems to mostly appear as a nature deity, associated with harvest, fertility of lands, people, and domestic animals; these functions may have been reflected in the votive figurines representing males and females, oxen, horses, sheep, dogs, dedicated to his sanctuaries. The responsibility for the growth of vegetation was,
perhaps, attributed to Zeus worshiped as Velh-anos at Agia Triada in Crete (Chantraine 1968, 343);

- **relation to wild nature:** it is probable that in Pherai, Zeus originally had strong connections with the world of wild animals and may have been even initially worshiped in a form of a tailed beast; this may be inferred from his local epithet *Thaulios*, which seems to imply a wild aggressive animal (Pokorny 1959, 1: 235).

- **relation to warfare:** according to the votive evidence, Zeus of the early historic time, similarly with a number of other EIA gods, must have been regarded as the protector of warriors. Perhaps, in certain cases, as in the Attic cave-sanctuary on Parnes, where about 3000 votive iron daggers have been found (Langdon 1976, 100), and especially in Crete, where Zeus appeared as “*Megistos Kouros of Dikte*” at Palai-kastro (Murray 1908-1909, 356-357), Prai-sos (Strabon 10.4.6), and Dikttaean (Psychro) Cave (Hes. *Theog.* 477-484; Watrous – Widenor 1996, 19), the god was seen responsible for the passage of young men into the category of adult warriors;

- **relation to territories where his cults were located:** it is possible that in the area of the Olympieion in Athens, in Nemea, Olympia, at Ithome, Praisos, and Kenaion Zeus was originally seen as the guardian of local rustic settlements. Given the extra-urban location of most of the EIA sanctuaries of Zeus, each of them in that time may have played the role of a central regional sanctuary for a number of neighboring communities, what would eventually cause the acknowledgment of the god’s patronage over larger territories;

- **relation to the intellectual sphere:** it seems that the oracle activity practiced at some early cult-places of Zeus echoed the old belief in his omniscience reflecting the Homeric characteristics of Zeus as μητίετα “all-wise” (*Il.* 1.507, and often) and τά δόξητα Μηδεα ειδώς “the one who knows the eternal values” (*Il.* 24.88). Following Homer, it may be presumed that the idea of Zeus’ omniscience, as occurred in the religion of the early historic time, implied the perception of him as the eldest god (*Il.* 13.355). The prophetical aspect in the religious concept of Zeus would have derived from the traditional Indo-European worship of a “wise god”, who knows all the predestined, but does not predestine himself;

4. **Zeus as a young god:** the cults of Zeus practiced in the Dikttaean (Psychro) and the Idaean Caves originated in the worship of the indigenous Minoan deities; as inside-cave cults, they virtually must always have been based on the idea of the mysterious birth and rebirth of life. Therefore, the male deity worshiped in each of the caves could not be comprehended otherwise than a divine child of the Great Mother-Goddess. His identification with Zeus cannot be dated with certainty, but it may go back to the period of the Mycenaean presence in Crete, given that it was already known to the epic/mythic tradition of the early historic time. Correspondingly, during the Dark Age - Geometric period Zeus of the Dikttaean and Idaean Caves appeared not as a father-god, but as a periodically reborn divine son. The same concept is traced in the Cretan sanctuaries of Zeus at Am-nisos, Praisos, and Palai-kastro, which were established in the EIA. As far as the cult of Zeus in the cave on Mt. Parnes in Attica is concerned, it is not certain whether it should be interpreted in the context of the birth/rebirth concept, though this possibility should not be completely dismissed. A large number of the EIA votive figurines of *kouros* discovered in Olympia (Heilmeyer 1972, nos. 163-171) might indicate some association of the concept of youth with Zeus in that sanctuary during the early historic time.

5. **hierarchical position of Zeus in the EIA pantheon** is uncertain, however the quantitative distribution of the recorded cult-places between the worshiped deities does not really point to the supreme position of Zeus in the divine structure of the EIA religion.

- **concerning the visual concept of the god:** votive figurines dedicated to the sanctuaries, if
accepted as a sort of evidence for the visual comprehension of the god by his worshipers, might indicate the development of the anthropomorphic image of EIA Zeus in Olympia (Heilmeyer 1972, 65-77, 123, nos. 172-191, 193-204; Tiverios 1997, 316, no. 7), Halos (Giannopoulos 1925-1926, 183-185; Tiverios 1997, 316, no. 10), probably Samos (fig. 6: Jarosch 1994, 157-160, nos. 540, 860-888) and Dodona (Dakaris 1986, 101, pls. 24-25; Casson 1922, 211-213, figs. 4b, 7c; Tiverios 1997, 316, no. 9): the god appears with emphasized characteristics of the male gender and sometimes bears signs of maturity; perhaps, he was perceived as a warrior or warlike; it is possible that in Olympia he also occurred in the guise of a charioteer and as a kouros. However, this visual concept was quite universal during the early historic period and may be recognized in the contemporary representations related to other male deities. There are no EIA representations which, under certain conditions, might have been related to Zeus and shown him with attributes of a storm-god. No secure seated representations of Zeus are known prior to the beginning of the 6th century BC.

- relationships with other deities: the worship of Zeus in pair with the goddess Hera may be attested from the Geometric period in Olympia (Heilmeyer 1972, 123, nos. 205-208 – LG/SG female terracotta figurines) and at Arachnaion (Rupp 1976; Paus. 2.25.10); however, these two deities seem to have originally been honored on separate altars in both places (Paus. 5.14.8 – for the altars of Zeus Olympios and Hera Olympia), while in Olympia eventually received separate temples. According to Homer, Zeus Idaios, worshiped on Gargaron, was considered Hera's husband (Iliad 14.292-353).

There are grounds to believe that Zeus appeared as a minor partner or a sort of “visiting husband” of Hera in her main EIA sanctuaries, especially in the Samian Heraion. It seems possible to presume that Zeus at Dodona was initially paired with a female deity, whose nature was either stormy or chthonic (Paus. 10.12.10). In the early historic sanctuary on the Larisa hill in Argos, Zeus was probably associated with Athena, though in an unknown way. In the sanctuary on Mt. Hymettos in Attica, Zeus Σήμιος shared the sacred place with Gaia and Herakles in the Early Archaic time (Langdon 1976, 15, nos. 9, 10, 41, no.173, 97-98). Apollon seems to have hosted Zeus in his EIA sanctuary on the top of Mt. Mesavounou, in Thera (Powell 1991, 129-131, no.15). In Pherai, during the Geometric period, Zeus Thaulios may have appeared as a minor beast-like partner of an old nature goddess worshiped as Artemis En(n)odia in the historic time. Zeus could be associated with some female divinity in the Idaean and the Diktaean Caves, during the early historic time (Sakellarakis 1988, 193 – fragments of a votive necklace composed of gold beads and pomegranates, from the Idaean Cave; Boardman 1961, 9, pl. 5, no. 32, pl. 6, no. 33 – bronze female figurines from the Diktaean Cave), but the character of the relationship in which he might be involved – whether as that between a sonanda mother or as that between divine consorts – is not known in any of the cases.

- original myths as they can be reconstructed: mainly Pausanias, but also earlier authors mention the myths related to almost all the cults and sanctuaries of Zeus. However, their accounts are not only quite late, but also deliberately elaborated, and should not be automatically used for the EIA mythology. In fact, it seems likely that the original myths, which explained Zeus' epithets, the initial forms of his cult and had been linked to his sanctuaries at the beginning of their activity, were gradually forgotten or reached Classical period in a different form. Hence, their restoration may only be tentative and presumptive. Thus, it may be

3. In fact, the earliest secure representation of Zeus as a storm-god is attested in the Greek art, in a scene on the body of a Proto-Korinthian aryballos dated to c.680 BC, which shows Zeus fighting with the thunderbolt against a Centaur, while holding the scepter (Tiverios 1997, 317, no. 16); the earliest known votive representation of Zeus as a storm-god is a bronze figurine from Lykaion, dated to 620-610 BC (Tiverios 1997, 319, no. 27).
supposed that the appearance of Zeus in pair with Hera at Olympia, Arachnaion and Samos was accompanied by the composition of stories concerning the relationship between these two deities (as love-stories, hiers gamos, and the like) similar to those found in the Homeric poems. In particular, at Olympia an early local myth about the love and wedding of young Zeus and Hera seems to have been remembered in later times (Zolotnikova 2004, 65) and even reflected in the EIA figurines coming from the sanctuary (e.g. Tiverios 1997, 317, no. 18). An analogous myth might be traced in the EIA Samian Heraion (Jarosh 1994, 179, pl. 33, no. 1177; Zolotnikova 2004, 64). Stories of another kind, which would have treated Zeus as a father, could have emerged in the cult-places, where Zeus was associated with Athena, Artemis, Herakles or Apollon (correspondingly in Larisa, Pherai, Hymetos, and Mesavouno). The warlike appearance of Zeus in Olympia, Halos, Samos and, probably, Dodona suggests circulation of the stories about the god’s combats, which would necessarily have been victorious. If Zeus indeed appeared in Olympia as a charioteer, that could be accompanied by the descriptions of the god’s rides in the chariot similar with one described in the Iliad 8.41–46. Perhaps, a myth from the circle of those describing a duel between Zeus and a centaur-like creature (e.g. Tiverios 1997, 317, no. 16) was current in Olympia in EIA (Tiverios 1997, 317, no. 14). The oracular activity in the sanctuaries of Zeus may have been commented in the legends about the beginning of giving prophesies by the god at the particular places and would also have contributed to the emergence of stories about his miraculous oracle responses to various local and pan-Hellenic heroes. The worship of Zeus as a divine child in Crete must have been followed by the creation of stories about his birth and childhood in the island. However, the poor evidence for the original local myths about Zeus permits only approximate comparison between them and the Homeric interpretation of the god.

Concluding, the worship of Zeus during the early historic time was apparently concentrated in the Attic-Peloponnesian area, where prehistoric religious traditions were quite strong; according to them, Zeus probably appeared as the old and passive god of the clear sky and generalized progenitor, whose actual significance would have declined even before the Mycenaean period. That limitedly worshiped deity obviously did not resemble epic Zeus, the greatest and most powerful god of the Homeric poems. However, the fact is that the since the Late Archaic period and especially during the Classical - Hellenistic periods, Zeus dominated in Greek religion, being widely comprehended as a storm-god, the glorious king of gods, son of Kronos and Rhea. The following circumstances must eventually have contributed to that: 1. the obscurity of the original Greek storm-god responsible for rainy weather, highly important for Greek agriculture, 2. the identification of old and passive Ζεύς πατήρ with active and victorious storm-god, which appears to have started, for unknown reasons, during the Late Mycenaean – Dark Age period, first in the Aeolic Greek epic and subsequently in some northern Greek cult-places, 3. the assimilation of Zeus with an indigenous Cretan young god within the context of the Mycenaean and then Dorian occupation of Crete, and 4. the enormous influence of the Homeric epics, in which Zeus was treated as a major and all-mighty god, Kronides, the lord of storm and thunder.

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THE WORSHIP OF ZEUS DURING THE LATE PRE HISTORIC-EARLY HISTORIC PERIODS

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THE WORSHIP OF ZEUS DURING THE LATE PRE HISTORIC-EARLY HISTORIC PERIODS

Fig. 1. The area of the so-called "Black level" in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia (Kyrieleis 2006, Beilage 12).

Fig. 2. The foundations of the House 7 as appear after the re-examination of the building in 2001 (Rambach 2002, 123, fig. 3).

Fig. 3. The view of the Great Ash Altar of Zeus at Olympia as it may have been seen in the time of Pausanias.
Fig. 4. The foundations and graphic restoration of the “Sacred House” at Tourkovounia, Athens (Lauter 1985, 124, fig. 20).

Fig. 5. The Sacred Oak in the sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona, imaginative view (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, fig. 34).

Fig. 6. Various EIA male terracotta figurines (Zeus?) found in the sanctuary of Hera in Samos (Jarosch 1994, Taf. 43).
In his academic testament, *The Greek Dark Ages* William Coulson stresses with obvious agony that «the study of the architecture of the period is perhaps the one area of research that needs the most urgent attention» (Coulson 1990, 19). He further notes that «Ethnographic studies are also useful in providing modern parallels for ancient practices. But, in the rapidly changing life style and environment of present day Greece, unless such ethnographic studies can be carried out within the next five years or so, all the available evidence and documentation will have disappeared» (Coulson 1990, 23). These five years have long passed. The development of Early Iron Age Archaeology in Greece continues to be based principally on archaeological field research. On the other hand, the advance in Ethnography of traditional pastoral groups in Greece presently seems condemned to turn into an armchair academic activity limited to the principally Athenian libraries specialising in book-collections dedicated to the dated Greek Folklore (“Hellenike Laographia”).

In our days, the research of Early Iron Age Archaeology provides the study of Architecture with new material. In contrast, the Ethnography of traditional pastoral groups does not offer new architectural documents since traditional life and its products, the traditional pastoral structures have disappeared. Research in archives or studies based on individual interviews of the last surviving ex-nomads-usually out of their traditional context-offers new elements concerning the social and ethnic character of several pastoral groups of the past (Exarchos 2001; 2005; Giollias 2004; Kalodemos 2006; Koukoudis 1999, 2001a; 2001b; Makris 1997; Mavrogiannis 1998-1999) while the ethnographic fieldwork offers the final papers referring to pastoral communities and describing the social and economic change in the past continuous and the past perfect tenses. (Some examples: Alexakis 2003; 2007; Kahl 2009, see especially pp. 348-349, for the previous bibliography of the last author; Nitsiakos 1995; Oikonomou 2001; Psychoyiou 2000). Consequently, the general characteristics of research are progress on one part (Archaeology) and stagnation, stability and repetition on the other (Ethnography). I leave aside the issue «Pastoralism during the “Dark Ages”» from the historical or protohistorical point of view.
the absolute recycling of a tenuous philological documentation (Hodkinson 1990, 142-145). What remains of the old questioning which persists to our days and concerns the fruitful discussion about "Archaeology [as] [beyond] [and] Anthropology ?", (in correspondence to the brackets: Binford 1962; Gumerman-Phillips 1978; Gosden 1999; Renfrew 1980)? What remains in respect of the ethnographic contribution in archaeological research in the territory of the Modern Greek state? Perhaps a new point of view though not always innovative on the old material offered by the studies of reference on traditional pastoral architecture ("The classics": Weigand 1895; Höeg 1925-1926; Hadjimichali 1957; Campbell 1964; Kavvadias 1965) or by paraphrasing Paul Halstead, the use of a better understanding of the present in order to ask more perceptive questions about the past (Halstead 1990, 62).

In spite of this, the objective of my paper2 is an attempt to answer the following two questions:

— In what ways has ethnographical research in Mainland Greece contributed towards the resolution of problems concerning Early Iron Age architecture?

— What is the contribution of archaeologists, who have brought forward observations of ethnographical content, for the resolution of problems concerning understanding and reconstruction of Early Iron Age architectural forms?

In order to answer the above questions and before proceeding with the analysis, it is customary to mention the studies representing the current state of research on pastoralism in the common field of Archaeology and Ethnography in Mainland Greece. This research has a short history (Cherry 1988; Chang 1996) and the starting point concerning the use of nomadism and transhumance as an interpretative key for the Early Iron Age artefact distribution in Albania and Northern Greece is represented in the condensed publications of Klaus Kilian (Kilian 1972; 1973). In the present paper I focus mainly on pastoral structures. Regarding current research, I will not be referring to the most recent paper by Demetris Agnousiotis and Gregoris Stournaras (Agnousiotis – Stournaras 2005), since it deals with the analogical comparison between a pastoral structure of the twentieth century and structures of the Neolithic period in Mainland Greece. Despite the passage of time, I consider as representative of this kind of study the synthetic work by Nicholas Hammond and his effort to combine old and new material concerning migrations and invasions in Greece and adjacent areas. I especially underline his reference to the folklorist Angeliki Hadjimichali and the «Dark Age» period of Ancient Greece (Hammond 1976, 137)3.

As far as methodology is concerned, my research is based on three well-established tools: similarity, parallelism and analogy. In addition, for purposes concerning this paper, I propose a rather controversial method, the use of example. I will therefore present examples of constructions chosen to serve the objectives of this research, taken from both ethnographical and archaeological studies.

2. This paper is an offspring from my old "back pages", that means from my French "travail personnel" (: diploma dissertation) entitled Discours et dessin: l'approche folklorique dans l'étude de l'architecture populaire et de l'urbanisme vernaculaire de la Grèce (Paris 1982) submitted in the ex-Unité Pédagogique d'Architecture No 6 (now: École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Paris-La Villette), under the direction of professor Yannis Tsiomis, to obtain the French "diplôme par le gouvernement" (D.P.L.G.) for architects.

3. "In her special study of Sarakatsani Mrs Hadzimichalis described their sense of design as 'simple, static and geometric', and she saw a close similarity between it and that of the Geometric style in Greece c. 900 to 700 B.C. She was not aware at that time of the 'northernwestern geometric style', which has a closer similarity still. It seems highly probable that the origins of both these styles are to be found in the practice of nomadic pastoralism and in the transference of woven designs to become painted designs on pottery."
I bring forward side by side two specific examples, one from each field of study. I shall further present the twentieth century pastoral structure of the sarakatsanian Antonis Koutras at the site of Loupaki on Mountain Oeta, as it was drawn by Angeliki Hadjimichali -the researcher par excellence of the nomadic ethnic group of the Sarakatsani- (fig. 1) and the two ellipsoid (or oval) structures (structures Θ and IA) within the Late Geometric enclosure at Oropos (fig. 2). It should be noted that these two parallel examples are relatively similar in form but quite different in construction and function as well as in the social status of their users.

Concerning the general similarities, I draw attention to:

— The use of enclosures.
— The pattern of the “two by two” curvilinear structures in the architectural synthesis of the sarakatsanian and the oropian settlement.
— The use of benches both in the interior of the Geometric house and in the twentieth century hut, the so-called krevataries4.
— The existence of children's burials in relation with the dwellings in both cases.

Equally obvious are the differences:

— Different function and structure: in the case of the sarakatsanian enclosure, its construction does not present an independent function which means that parts of the exterior walls of the huts function as parts of the enclosure wall. In the case of the oropian ensemble, from the functional -and consequently- the structural point of view, the enclosure is completely independent. Furthermore, in the case of the sarakatsanian second apsidal structure, this has a secondary function as a warehouse, while in the oropian case the second ellipsoid structure, structure IA, seems to keep a residential function.
— Different form: the sarakatsanian enclosure has an abnormal curvilinear plan, the oropian a nearly regular four-sided plan.
— Different materials and techniques of construction: in the case of the sarakatsanian enclosure, the foundations, substructure and superstructure are composed of the same organic materials (branches, reeds). In the case of the oropian structures, the foundations and substructure are composed of inorganic materials (stones and -as binding material- earth); the superstructure is made principally of inorganic materials (mud-bricks containing, however, straw) but the roof is made of organic materials (possibly reeds or branches) supported by independent vertical wooden supports based on slabs along the interior face of the wall (structure Θ).
— Differences in the socio-economic status of the users: in the first case we have a pastoral habitation. In the second case it is certain that the oropian structure houses inhabitants, who probably fish, are occupied with metallurgy, use ceramic kilns and store products of agriculture. Concerning their principal work, the only uncertain occupation is stock-breeding (Gounaris 2007, 102-104).
— If we examine in more detail the places of burial, in both cases we will note the existence of burials of unborn infants (miscarriages or stillbirth) under the protective stone of the hearth, the pyromachos, in the interior of twentieth century pastoral huts (Tsaousis 2007, 138) or in a corner of the hut (Hadjimichali 1957, ρξη'). At Oropos, children's burials have been found within the residential quarters but «in the periphery of the dwellings, at some distance from them and always outside the areas enclosed

4. This architectural element is absent in fig. 1 but it is drawn, photographed and described in other paragraphs of Hadimichali's text.
by the enclosure walls» (Vlachou 2007, 221-222).

These differences, however, become much less striking when further examples of houses, dating both to the Early Iron Age and to the Twentieth century of our Age are taken into consideration. For instance, examples of the “two by two” architecture (figs. 3, 4). Before, however, reaching any hasty conclusions regarding these similarities and differences, I shall present how these two approaches, the ethnographic and the archaeological, developed in the course of time. Firstly, let us follow the path of Ethnography.

THE PATH OF ETHNOGRAPHY

I preliminarily note that the pastoral structures which can be of interest, belong mostly to pastoral groups which can be dissociated from each other on the following criteria: the economy in which they are embedded (specialised pastoralism, diversified pastoralism, mixed farming), the nature of their movements (nomadism, transhumance, sedentarism), the language or the languages which they speak (Greek, Latin, Albanian) (Psychoyios - Papapetrou 1984; Halstead 1990, 62-65). It is surprising, but the criteria of (geographical) space and (historical or every day) time of their life cannot be easily used for the distinction of the two principal pastoral groups (Sarakatsani - Vlachs) in the research (Avdikos 2000).

From the end of the 19th century, I single out the research by Gustav Weigand, who has studied the permanent structures of the Arumani, shepherds, speaking the arumanian language (a Rumanian dialect closer to Latin), exercising transhumance embedded in the economy of diversified pastoralism. He describes their winter-houses as two-storied and even three-storied, stone made, rectangular structures. On the ground and first floor plans, a corridor separates the household activities. In this case, he pictures his description by presenting a down floor plan of a house at Neveska (Nymphaum) in the region of Florina (fig. 5). Their summer-houses vary: they built huts using interweaving straws for temporary residence or houses made of interweaving willow-tree branches or mud bricks or bricks, foliage and reeds of rye, but they might also use stones without mortar, similarly to the one-storey summer-houses at Xerolivado of mount Vermion (Weigand 1895, 18, 40-41, 217, 268-270).

In 1914, Alan-John Wace and Maurice Scot Thompson -archaeologists but in this case working as ethnographers- narrow their study to the description of a permanent summer-house of Vlachs in the settlement of Samarina on Pindos mountain. This has a garden, a shed for cooking and a stove outside the house. An interior corridor on the ground floor functions as a stable and there is also a wooden balcony on the first floor. The houses are built of stone connected with mortar, while the walls also have a timber framework. An interesting point in their study is the description of a tent used by Vlachs while traveling and of course the information that the builders of these permanent houses were not Vlachs (Wace – Thompson 1914, 15-16, 72, 94-99).

Passing on from Latin-speaking to the purely Greek-speaking shepherds, the Sarakatsani, who exercise nomadism embedded in the economy of specialised pastoralism, I note the remarks made by Carsten Höeg: every year the Sarakatsani built their summerhouse as well as their winter-house ex nihilo. Taking into account certain criteria such as the time of construction, the form, the region of construction Höeg distinguishes (Höeg 1925-1926, 3-5, 59-60):

- a structure, the tent, that the Sarakatsani make off-hand while traveling and a house, the hut, they make at the end of their travels.
- the circular from the square hut.
- the house of the Sarakatsani in Epirus from that in Thessaly, taking into account
the geography of each area as well as the construction materials. In Epirus the summer houses are made of thatch and rushes (σχοινά), while in Thessaly of wood.

I leave aside the research of Demetris Loukopoulos on pastoral houses in Roumeli. Several factors which he fails to describe in order, can be found explicitly presented in the systematic study of Hatzimichali. I have chosen to refer only to the presentation of a unique example of huts, which he mentions and draws, found on the crest of Migdou at Agrafa mountains: These two-roomed structures have a rectangular ground plan. The entrance hall is unroofed, while the room that follows is roofed (fig. 6: Loukopoulos 1930, 7-8, 26-33).

In 1946, Georgios Megas presents the architecture of the Karagouni. The Karagouni are primarily farmers and secondarily cattle-breeders in Western Thessaly (Kavvadias 2005, 30). Their huts are oval, divided in three parts: a barn, a stable and the main dwelling (fig. 7). The timber-framed walls are filled with reeds, straw and mud. The roof is made of aquatic plants. In the course of time this form changes: it becomes either divided in three independent structures within the same enclosure (fig. 8), or is transformed into a rectangular house with stone infrastructure, bricks in the superstructure and tiles on the roof (fig. 9: Megas 1946, 11-16, 22).

In 1950 Vassilios Skafidas explicitly describes how the conical hut of the Sarakatsani is constructed. He distinguishes the vertical part, which consists mainly of vertical posts arranged in a circle and the truncated cone made from forks on top of the posts. He reports that each family has always two huts, one for living and sleeping and another one, smaller, for storage. Actually, when a youth gets married they make for the newly wed couple a separate small hut (Skafidas 1950, 361-366).

I will simply mention the short study of Maria Ioannidou-Barbarigou regarding the houses of the Sarakatsani at the site of Lakkos Pisoderiou in Florina and Ampelakia Mantoudiou in Euboia (Ioannidou-Barbarigou 1950-1951, 231-244) in order to proceed to the publication of Angeliki Hadjimichali (Hadjimichali 1957). It comprises the most thorough study based on primary evidence regarding houses of Greek-speaking shepherds, the Sarakatsani. According to Hadjimichali their dwellings developed over a long period of time:

— Their dwellings have developed in accordance to their specific location: each year, in winter and in the summer the Sarakatsani build their houses in different areas. As time passes one of the two, the winter-house, remains in the same spot and is repaired every year.

— They develop in relation to the constructors: in the beginning the Sarakatsani women undertake the construction. In the course of time, however, as timber is replaced by stone men gradually become more involved in this work.

— They develop as far as material and related techniques are concerned: in the beginning they use organic materials, both reeds and timber, while at the same time they make limited use of clay materials; gradually, stone is introduced for the infrastructure, while during the latest stage of development the roof is made of laminated sheets of metal.

— Hadjimichali distinguishes two principal forms of sarakatsanian dwelling, the shelters (in Modern Greek introduced by Hadjimichali: stegastra, in Sarakatsanian: chalatzoukes) and the huts (in Modern Greek and Sarakatsanian: kalyvia). They develop, as far as form is concerned, according to the following scheme:

5. Hadjimichali explicitly distinguishes the two categories, stegastra (Hadjimichali 1957, 171-181) and kalyvia (182-192) but in the interior of the first category (stegastra) she repeats the term kalyvia to determinate the three types of shelters (stegastra): the circular shelter, the oval and the bigger oval shelter.
The circular shelter constitutes the starting-point for all the types. It becomes an oval shelter, this develops into a larger oval shelter and then after the elevation of a vertical wooden "wall"\(^6\), the larger oval shelter is transformed into the double apsidal hut. Directly from the circular shelter appears the circular hut by the elevation of a vertical wooden circular "wall" (Hadjimichali 1957, 171-181).

— There is however one factor that always remains unchanged: the function of these structures as accommodation for shepherds.

From an archaeological point of view, what is rather interesting is how the area around the base of a sarakatsanian house is being shaped. This demonstrates its relation to Protogeometric and Geometric houses. We refer to constructions that have been traced on the ground, inside and outside the wooden wall made of posts and branches surrounding the house:

— In the interior, there is an elevated clay bench, the \textit{ochtos}, on top of which a twig-woven bed, the \textit{krevataria}, is placed. All household vessels and food are stored on top of the \textit{krevataria} which is also used as a seat and a bed.

— On the outside the \textit{avlaki}, a small open trench protects the house from rainwater.

— The soil from the trench is then used all around the hut's base. In rare instances they build using only mud, instead of a trench, an exterior small bench called \textit{ochtos} too.

Consequently the overall ground plan may be as follows: clay bench (\textit{ochtos})-wooden wall-clay bench (\textit{ochtos}) (Hadjimichali 1957, 208).

\[\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
[a] \text{Circular shelter} & \rightarrow & [b1] \text{Oval shelter} & \rightarrow & [b2] \text{Larger oval shelter} \\
\rightarrow & & & \downarrow & \rightarrow \\
[a'] \text{Circular hut} & & & [b'] \text{Double apsidal hut} & \\hline
\end{array}\]

From an archeological point of view this can be observed as: ruined clay wall (from the interior bench) - post-holes (from the wooden beams) - ruined clay wall (from the exterior bench).

In the mid 1960's, John Kennedy Campbell and Georgios Kavvadas approach the Sarakatsani, the first as an anthropologist, the second as a sociologist, by briefly presenting the architectural evidence. Campbell accepts the "two principal kind" of huts proposed by Hadjimichali: circular and domed (τουρλωτά) or rectangular and 'arched' (αψιδωτά) (Campbell 1964, 33). Kavvadas suggests a slightly different typology (: the circular hut and the parallelogram hut) and disputes the development from one structural solution (bending of wood: shelter) to another (: compression of wood: hut) proposed by Hadjimichali (Kavvadas 1965, 59-82).

Long before the end of the twentieth century, when new economies and institutions prevail, the Sarakatsani cease to exist as nomads and are integrated in other sectors of modern life. What happened to their houses? Architect Kostas Kouremenos in a brief but extremely useful publication with unique coloured photographs and most instructive drawings, presents a distinctive sarakatsanian house at Ayios Vlassis in Phokis. In this case the Sarakatsani are no longer nomads. The house is rectangular, made of bricks and tiles and divided into several parts while next to it coexists the old circular hut (fig. 10: Kouremenos 1985, 29). The most useful element, however, that Kouremenos offers is another drawn version of the supporting structure in connection with the sarakatsanian \textit{kalyvi}: he renders the secondary beams in the interior of the sarakatsanian \textit{kalyvi} that support the wooden walls at the point where they start to slope. If one could imagine the eventual plan after the abandonment of this structure, one might perhaps draw some fruitful conclusions: the exist-

6. \text{The wooden "wall" is composed by a frame made of logs and a fill-cover made of branches.}
ence of a composite supporting structure which would not be limited to the peripheral beams of the wooden wall (fig. 11).

THE PATH OF ARCHAEOLOGY

We consider research that has been carried out on Early Iron Age houses that attempts to draw elements from twentieth century pastoral structures. Such studies have as their main objective to formulate proposals for reconstructing the superstructure, and primarily the roof of Early Iron Age constructions.

I believe that in 1909 Georgios Soteriadis makes a breakthrough with his study on the Thermos complex and should be considered as a pioneer of similar approaches put forward by archaeologists who take into account Ethnography. In the field of Ethnography, Soteriadis is proven to be a strong supporter of the theory of Evolutionism in Anthropology. He observes that if a peasant from Aitolia, needs more space in his barn, he builds an oval one next to his circular hut. If he also adds a pen to keep his animals, the oval hut obtains a facade. Consequently, he might at the same time create a makeshift quadrilateral building. Thus results the coexistence of various shapes in one architectural synthesis both in modern (Soteriadis 1909) and ancient times: the Thermos complex, regardless of when each structure was built (Soteriadis 1909, 27-28).

Georgios Oikonomou reaches a parallel conclusion, concerning the possibility of various architectural shapes to coexist in the same geographical region, when he studies the well-known house model with the straight pitched roof of the Geometric period from the Argive Heraion. In contrast, however, to Soteriadis, in order to justify the distribution of the saddle-shaped roof in southern mainland Greece, he does not accept Evolutionism but the Theory of Diffusion in Anthropology: observing the warm climate in the Argive plain he acknowledges that the saddle-shaped roof forming a tall convex vault (σαγματοειδής στέγη) prevails because its use originated from a strong building tradition coming from the North and mirroring a popular conservatism (Oikonomou 1931, 32-34, 36).

The ethnography of Northern areas has affected Bagenal's interpretation, the architect and collaborator of Humphrey Payne, when he studies the other well-known Geometric model from Perachora. In order to justify forms and mainly construction techniques, he uses examples from Yorkshire (North Riding) (Bagenal 1940, figs. 6b, 6e, 9a, 42-43, 47), Ireland (County Kildare) (Bagenal 1940, fig. 6c, 45), Skandinavia and Hungary (Bagenal 1940, figs. 10, 47) and of course from Greece (Rhamnous) (Bagenal 1940, figs. 9b, 47) and Cyprus (Bagenal 1940, figs. 6a, 42).

Ejnar Dyggve, in his attempt to illustrate the roof of the Archaic apsidal structure D in Kalydon (Dyggve 1948, 271-275), resorts to evidence presented in the ethnographical study of Danish architect Mogens Clemmensen on pastoral structures of Aetolia (Dyggve 1948, 324-329).

William Coulson draws elements from «sheep huts» in Attica (Marathon) and Boeotia (Coulson 1983, 443, pl. 2-33, 2-34, 2-35), in order to formulate suggestions on how the superstructure was made in constructions at Nichoria. Coulson makes the following observations:

— The analogy of modern shepherds’ huts, as that of Marathon shows that very heavy foundations from stones may be used with much thinner and lighter materials as wattle-and-daub in the upper structure. (Coulson 1983, 31)

— In the case of Unit IV-1 the presence of good-sized wooden posts proves that the walls were vertical unlike the modern examples (Coulson 1983) For this reason, the lateral walls in Marathon, lacking any vertical supports, have taken this inclination. As for the questions drawn in this paper, I underline a remarkable difference between state plans of Unit IV-1:
— In the preliminary publication the text mentions ten (10) post-holes (A?, B, C, D, E, F and a, b, c, e) found during the excavations (Coulson 1975, 88-92), while the applicable drawing shows eleven (11) (A?, B, C, D, E, F and a, b, c, d, e) (figs. 12a, 12b: Coulson 1975, 86-87, fig. 4). We can ignore the difference of the one (1) post-hole (d), but:

— In the final publication we can see eight (8) post-holes in the drawing (C, D, E, and a, b, c, e, f), (fig. 13: Coulson 1983, 22, fig. 2-11) which means that from the eleven (11) post-holes of the preliminary drawing, four (4) (A?, B, F and d) have been omitted, while one (1) post-hole f, has inexplicably been added in contact with the northern wall.

I believe that this inconsistency occurred when the scholar attempted to apply upon the reconstruction the idea that the walls were braced with pairs of posts, following the Eretrian example. This idea erased post F - inside the northern wall- from the drawing plan in the final publication, while, at the same time «forced» post E outside the northern wall and towards the building's interior, whereas in the preliminary publication post E is drawn inside the northern wall.

The excavators of Asine, Søren Dietz and Berit Wells hold opposing views regarding the superstructure of «two protogeometric apsidal houses», a term used in the official publication of the well known complex of structures in the Karmaniola plot at Asine (fig. 14: Dietz 1982, 43-45, 51-53, plan IV). According to Dietz, the superstructure was made of wattle-and-daub (Dietz 1982, 51-52), while according to Wells it was made of mud-bricks (Wells 1983, 89). To support their arguments both also use evidence from the field of Ethnography. Dietz revises elements published by Clemmensen in his study on pastoral structures of Aetolia, mentioned above (Dietz 1982, 53). Wells has observed modern mud-brick walls in the Argolis in order to strengthen her view that the superstructure was made of mud-bricks. She thus discovers that mud-brick walls without any protection lose their shape after one or two rainy seasons. That is why mud-bricks cannot be found in any excavations, which, of course, does not mean that they did not exist in antiquity (Wells 1983, 89). In the discussion on whether the superstructure was made of bricks or reeds, both excavators admit that they are dealing with two and not only one construction. In this case, some elements of the pastoral structures of the Sarakatsani could prove to be useful.

Ioulia Vokotopoulou, in her study on the ancient settlement of Vitsa, argues that its inhabitants were shepherds who were living as nomads, were organized in phratries and were roaming around the area between Pindos and the coastal regions, where colonies of Corinth and Elis have been found. She bases her arguments on evidence related to zooarchaeology, pottery, burials and architectural remains. From the field of Ethnography she unconditionally adopts the model of transhumance established by the Sarakatsani (Vokotopoulou 1986, 340-348) and she attaches an extract from the well-known map presented by Hadjimichali showing the itineraries of the Sarakatsani in parts of Greece (Vokotopoulou 1986, 345, fig. 35). Her view has been criticized by Catherine Morgan (Morgan 1988, 319-320) and has provoked the skepticism of Paul Halstead (Halstead 1996) who accepted that prehistoric Vitsa is more convenient for sedentary mixed farming than transhumant diversified pastoralism.

At this point we stray from the field of

7. In the case of the Eretria parallel building Coulson 1983, 39, does not accept that walls of wattle and daub stood between the outer and inner support, because a light wall could never occupy the full space between the posts. Consequently, he proposes for the Phase 2 of the Unit IV-1, as wall material the mud-brick.

8. Different questions concerning the plan and its evolution of Unit IV-1 are discussed by Fageström (Fageström 1988) and Mazarakis Ainian (Mazarakis Ainian 1992; 1997).

architecture and pass to the field of pastoral "settlement patterns" as well as to the use of pastoral life, with its various expressions, as a tool for interpreting the community's development during this period. Regarding this latter, I underline Anthony Snodgrass's proposition which was introduced (Snodgrass 1971, 389), developed (Snodgrass 1980, 35-36) and determined by him as a "minimal hypothesis": Early Iron Age society is marked by a temporary increase in the proportion of its resources that were given over to a pastoral economy (Snodgrass 1987, 194).

CONCLUSIONS

The negative points of the criticism concerning the encounter of Ethnography and Archaeology in the field of pastoral architecture coincide with the general points of the criticism concerning the Ethnography and Archaeology considered as committed "sciences" from the ideological and political point of view. More precisely:

— It has been discerned that in the newly founded Balkan states, ethnographical research is placed at the service of ideological and political objectives (Jacobsen 1985, 94-95). In particular for Mainland Greece scholars tend, to a great extent, to interpret the typology and the function of houses of Greek-speaking shepherds by using formalistic parallels from ancient architecture, even from the architecture of the Classical period (Moutsopoulos 1985). Since the idea of absolute continuity has become an obsession, they base the understanding of architectural shapes and even of their nomadic and pastoral social context, on parallels from the Neolithic period (Hammond 1976, 102) even from the Paleolithic period (Higgs 1968, 296) and not only from Geometric structures, considering the latter as intermediate stages of an uninterrupted process.

— In the field of Archaeology, the application of ethnographical analogies by archaeologists is not always turned towards the use of parallels from the same region: Someone studying archaeological finds from Messenia may use ethnographical examples from Attica, and someone who focuses on research on the Argolid may use examples from Aitolia.

— Occasionally, in archaeological and ethnographical approaches several questions in one field (: Archaeology) are taken for granted by the other (: Ethnography).

I would consider as positive points for the research the incessant enrichment of house typology, a contribution made by Archaeology, as well as the documentation of sufficient types of pastoral structures associated to different pastoral groups, a contribution made by Ethnography. A great variety of types has been documented in both the fields of Archaeology and Ethnography. This operates as a protecting shield for the research against the tendency to convey simplified interpretations, at least on matters concerning typology. Unfortunately, as I noted in the first lines of the paper, Ethnography regarding this particular matter which concerns us is no longer «Living Ethnography» or «Rescue Ethnography». Despite this, its contribution in shedding some light on post-based architecture, which unfortunately cannot by easily traced in excavations, has an absolute impact. In addition, it is also significant that Ethnography underlines the great variety of functions, techniques and materials used for building pastoral structures, while at the same time it demonstrates the diversity of pastoral travels and the cultural identities of the users of such structures. Specifically in the narrow field of architecture and as a lesson of Ethnography, I would like to point out that there is no linear development from the simplest architectural forms to complex structures. Two-storied, stone built summerhouses of semi-nomadic shepherds demonstrate that History (Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman) is present in the field of architectural tradition. The architecture
of shepherds belonging to several ethnic identities moving in the South-East Balkans does not begin ex nihilo.

Finally, from the above discussion we may conclude that simple ethnographical observation of an ethnographic character does not suffice. What is certainly required is the systematic and regular research of ex-Rescue Ethnography to evolve into an “Archaeology of modern times”, in cases where archaeologists with an ethnographical background and education -and vice versa- can still carry this out. I refer of course to Ethnoarchaeology and Experimental Archaeology which aim to resolve questions on evidence dating back even to the Early Iron Age (Efstratiou 1993). In the field of pastoral structures, research on these sectors (Efstratiou 2002, see especially 301-302, for the previous bibliography of the author) and modern archaeological applications (Acovitsioti-Hameau et al., 1998-1999) have already begun to present interesting results.

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Fig. 1. Loupaki (Oeta Mountain): Sketch of the sarakatsanian pastoral structure of Antonis Koutras (Hadjimichali 1957, 261, fig. 146).

Fig. 2. Skala Oropos: Ω.Σ.Κ. Plot. Central Quarter. Plan of the Structures ΙΑ and Θ (Mazarakis Ainian 2002, 191, fig. 4).
Fig. 3. Assiros (Toumba). Plan of the architectural remains in Phase 1 (c. 700 BC) (Wardle 1987, 316, fig. 1).

Fig. 4. Eretria. Plan of the buildings B and C (c. 700 BC) (Auberson-Schefold 1972, 108, fig. 19).
Fig. 5. Neveska (Nymphæum): Plan of an aromounian house (down floor) (Danos property) (Weigand 1895, 270, fig. 18).

Fig. 6. Elsani (Mavromata) (Agrapha Mountain). Site of Midou: Sketch of a pastoral installation (Loukopoulos 1930, 27, fig. 6).
Fig. 7. Kaminades Karditsas: Plan of a karagounian hut (Nik. Soliotis property) (Megas 1946, 11, fig. 2).

Fig. 8. Environs of Kaminades Karditsas: Plan of a karagounian hut and enclosure (Pallaras property) (Megas 1946, 13, fig. 4).

Fig. 9. Kourtesi: Plan of a karagounian house (St. Arabatzis property) (Megas 1946, 22, fig. 14).
Fig. 10. Ayios Vlassis-Trisbei (Phokis): View of a permanent sarakatsanian settlement (Kouremenos 1985, 29, fig. 48).

Fig. 11. Plan and section of a-dipla hut (Kouremenos 1985, 25, figs. 33-34).
Fig. 12a. Nichoria. Area IV NW 1974. Plan of the Unit IV-1 (Coulson 1975, 86, fig.4).

Fig. 12b. Nichoria. Area IV NW 1974. Plan of the Unit IV-1 (Coulson 1975, 87, fig. 4).

Fig. 13. Nichoria. Area IV NW 1974. Plan of the Unit IV-1 (Phase 1&2) (Coulson 1983, 22, fig. 2-11).
Fig. 14. Asine. Karmaniola plot. Plan of the protogeometric apsidal constructions (Dietz 1982, plan IV).
Περίπου ογδόντα χρόνια μετά, η Προϊστορική Ήπειρος εξακολουθεί, δυστυχώς, σε μεγάλο βαθμό να παραμένει terra incognita για τους ερευνητές. Το γεγονός αυτό οφείλεται τόσο στην απουσία έργων υποδομής που θα επέτρεπαν την ανάληψη μεγάλης έκτασης ανασκαφικών δραστηριοτήτων, όσο και στην έλλειψη συστηματικής αρχαιολογικής έρευνας. Επιπρόσθετα, το έντονα ορεινό ανάγλυφο της περιοχής, σε συνδυασμό με τις μεγάλου πάχους επιχώσεις, καθιστούν ακόμη πιο δύσκολο τον εντοπισμό λειψάνων της μακρινής εποχής της Προϊστορίας. Ωστόσο, τα τελευταία χρόνια, η κατασκευή μεγάλων οδικών αρτηριών, όπως η Εγνατία Οδός, συνέβαλε σημαντικά στον εμπλουτισμό του καταλόγου των θέσεων της Υπότετης Εποχής του Χαλκού-Πρώιμης Εποχής Σιδήρου (Πλιάκου 2007, 226).

Η Ήπειρος, συχνά περιγράφεται ως μια ορεινή, δύσβατη περιοχή, φτωχή σε γεωργικά προϊόντα, και απομονωμένη λόγω των υψηλών βουνών που την περιβάλλουν, με κατοίκους κλειστούς και συντηρητικούς. Από την Παλαιολιθική Περίοδο έως και την Εποχή του Σιδήρου οι κάτοικοι ασχολούνται κυρίως με την κτηνοτροφία και δευτερευόντως με την γεωργία, μετακινούμενοι το χειμώνα στα πεδινά και το καλοκαίρι στα ορεινά με τα κοπάδια τους (Γραβάνη 2007, 235). Κατοικούν σε μικρής έκτασης ατείχιστους οικισμούς, κατοικούν σε μικρές καλύβες αγνώστου σχήματος με ξυλόπλεχτους τοίχους και λίθινη κρηπίδα συνήθως από ποταμίσιες κροκάλες.

Η ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΗ

Η ΚΕΡΑΜΙΚΗ

Η μελέτη της κεραμικής, η οποία βρίσκεται σε προκαταρκτικό στάδιο, οδηγήθηκε στην εμπειρική παρατήρηση του φυσικού και της επιφάνειας των αγγείων και οδήγησε στη διά-
κριση της σε δύο μεγάλες ομάδες την τροχή-
λατή και την χειροποίητη. Η τροχήλατη κερα-
μική αντιπροσωπεύεται από ελάχιστη ποσότη-
τα οστράκων των μυκηναϊκών, γεωμετρικών και κλασικών χρόνων. Η δε χειροποίητη στην
οποία ανήκει η πλειονότητα των οστράκων δι-
ακριβείται στις ακόλουθες κατηγορίες:

1. Άβαφη χονδροειδής διακοσμημένη με εμπί
έστες ή εγχάρακτες ταινίες σε συνδυασμό με επίθετα δισκάρια, ελλειψοειδούς σχή-
ματος (Δάκαρης 1951, 178-179, 1952, 368-
369)

2. Ημιχονδροειδής με αδρά λειασμένες γκρί-
ζες, μαύρες και καστανές επιφάνειες (Δάκα-

3. Αμαυρόχρωμη κεραμική τύπου Μπουμπού-
στι και Βορειοδυτικής Ελλάδας (Δάκαρης

4. Άβαφη πορτοκαλιόχρωμη κεραμική (War-
dle 1977, 180-181) και

5. Χονδροειδής κεραμική με επιφάνειες ερυ-
θρούχρωμου χρώματος
Αναλυτικότερα:

Στην πρώτη κατηγορία (εικ. 4) ανήκουν
αγγεία λεπτότοιχα (πάχος τοιχωμάτων
0,006-
0,010μ.) και χονδρόστοιχοι (πάχος τοιχωμάτων
0,008-0,016μ.) με διακόμηση εμπίστευστων ή εγ-
χάρακτων ταινίων, ερυθρού και ερυθροκάστανο
, είναι στην πλειονότητα τους άδρα λειασμέ-
νες. Ο πληθυσμός του πυρήνα με μι-
kρή περιεκτικότητα σε ασβεστολιθικά εγκλε-
σματα. Αγγεία οικιακής χρήσεως όπως πίθω-
δη και βαθιές φιάλες συνήθως σχηματο-
λογο της κατηγορίας αυτής

Στην Κρύα η κεραμική αυτή εμφανίζε-
tαι σε μικρό σχετικά ποσοστό από τα βαθύτε-
ρα εκατέρωτα στρώματα. Αποτελούσε πί-
θονοι προϊόν οικοτεχνίας προορισμένο με εμπίστευμα τα καθημερινές ανάγκες των κατοι-
κών του οικισμού.

Ο ακριβής χρόνος έναρξης και λήξης της
παραγωγής της κεραμικής με πλαστική διακο-
mική, ο τόπος προέλευσης και οι φορείς της
ώδη μελέτη των ευρημάτων των δύο νεκροταφείων της Βίτσας Ζαγορίου (Βοκοτοπούλου 1986, 258-272).

Στην πρώτη ομάδα (κατηγορία 3α) (μέσα 12ο-αρχές 9ο αι. π.Χ.) (εικ. 6) ανήκουν αγγεία με πορτοκαλέρυθρη ή ανοιχτάκαστανα σπλα-βωμένη εξωτερική επιφάνεια πάνω στην οποία αναπτύσσεται η καστανομελένια θαμπή διακό-σμηση, η οποία είναι προγενέστερη της όπτης του αγγείου. Ο πλούς είναι πορτοκαλέρυ-θρος, σχετικά καθαρός. Τα διακοσμητικά θέ-ματα περιλαμβάνουν ενθέσεις τανίνες, διαγραμ-μωμένα τρίγωνα, ζηγ ζαχαιρετικά. Τα σχήματα είναι στη πλευρότητά τους ανοιχτά (φιάλες, κάνθαροι) με λεπτά τοιχώματα (0,003-0,009μ.)

Και στη δεύτερη ομάδα (κατηγορία 3β) (μέσα 9ο αι. π.Χ.- 8ο αι. π.Χ.) (εικ. 7) οι επι-φάνειες των αγγείων είναι πορτοκαλέρυθρες. Πάνω σε αυτές αναπτύσσεται η καστανοχρω-μή βαμπή διακόσμηση χωρίς την προσθήκη επιχρύσιμος με αποτέλεσμα να αποτελείσται πολύ εύκολα. Ο πλούς είναι πορτοκαλέρυ-θρος, σχετικά καθαρός. Τα διακοσμητικά θέμα-τα είναι κυρίως ενάλληλες γωνίες και διαγραμ-μωμένα τρίγωνα. Το σχηματολόγιο εξακολου-θεί να αποτελείται από λεπτά σχήματα με λε-πτά τοιχώματα (0,005-0,008μ.) ενώ αρχίζουν να κάνουν διέλευθη την εμφάνισή τους και τα πρώτα κλειστά αγγεία, με αντιπροσωπευτικό την ραφιόστομη πρόχογ.

Η ΜΕΤΑΒΑΣΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΧΑΛΚΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΠΟΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ ΣΤΗΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΟ

οποία ως προς την σύσταση του πηλού παρουσιάζει μεγάλη ομοιότητα με την αμαυρώχρωμη. Η κατηγορία αυτή περιλαμβάνει λεπτότοιχα σιάζει μεγάλη ομοιότητα με την αμαυρόχρωμη. Τα συνηθέστερα χρώματα είναι φιάλες με κάθετες ή οριζόντιες λαβές και υψωμένες κύλικες τύπου του τύπου του Νέο φιάλης, είναι εύθρυπτα, σχετικά καθαρά. Εξαιτίας της ευαίσθητης φύσης του πηλού από τον οποίο κατασκευάζοντας, τα αγγεία αυτός της κατηγορίας εντοπίζονται συνήθως θρησκευτικές και πολιτικές σχέσεις. Τα συνηθέστερα χρώματα είναι φιάλες με κάθετες ή οριζόντιες λαβές και υψωμένες κύλικες τύπου του τυπού του κυπέλου του Νέο φιάλης, είναι εύθρυπτα, σχετικά καθαρά. Ο πηλός πορτοκαλέρυθρος με γκρίζα λαβές κυρίως μιμούνεται τις αντίστοιχες των παραλίων (Hammond 1967, 410). Σουέρφ νεί ότι πρόκειται για προϊόν των εγχώριων ερευνητών του Σιδήρου. Το γεγονός αυτό υποδηλώνει ότι η Ηπείρο ήδη από την Πρώιμη εποχή του Χαλκού γνώριζε ήδη από την Πρώιμη εποχή του Χαλκού (Παπαδέα - Γεωργίου 2007, 138).

Η άβαφη ερυθρης κεραμική αποτελεί κυρίως από αποθετικούς συγκεκριμένους, οι επιφάνειες των αγγείων είναι ερυθρες και τα τοιχώματα έχουν αρκετά μεγάλο πάχος (0,014-0,028μ.). Ο πηλός, ερυθρός χρώματος, περιέχει μεγάλη ποσότητα εγγελεικά. Συνηθίζεται ένα όστρακο με έξοχής πλατεία ταινιά, διακοσμημένη με εγχώριες διαγραφές ή διακοσμήσεις πρίγκης (εικ. 9), το οποίο συγκρίνομε να με τυπολογικά παράλληλα από την Βαρδάρωστο (Heurtley 1939, 232, fig. 105a) και τον Καστανά (Hochstetter 1984, taf. 99. 2) χρονολογείται στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου.

ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Τα πρώτα δεδομένα από την μελέτη της κεραμικής, και κυρίως η παρουσία δειγμάτων της αμαυρώχρωμης και πορτοκαλέρυθρης κεραμικής σε συνδυασμό με τον εντοπισμό της παρουσίας της νεοφαρμακείας χάλκινης περόνης, διαλέχθηκε τον όρο μετάβαση, καθώς όταν έγινε πολύ ομαλά σε υποβάθρου. Ωστόσο, τα δεδομένα από την Κρύα δείχνουν ότι υπήρξε αποτέλεσμα εσωτερικών μηχανισμών εξέλιξης.
Τα τελευταία χρόνια έχουν εντοπιστεί αρκετές θέσεις της λεγόμενης μεταβατικής περιόδου από την Ύστερη Εποχή του Χαλκού στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου στην Ήπειρο. Ελάχιστες ομώς έχουν ενεργηθεί συστηματικά. Σε κάθε θέση δεν έχουν εντοπιστεί έως σήμερα εκτεταμένα οικοδομικά λείψανα που να επιτρέπουν την συναγωγή συμπερασμάτων για το μέγεθος και τη μορφή των οικισμών της υπό εξέταση περιόδου, καθώς και για τη μεταξύ τους σχέση και ιεράρχηση (Ζάχος 1997, 163. Γραβάνη 2007, 231). Γεγονός που, όπως υποστήριξε η πλειονότητα των μελετητών, οφείλεται στον νομαδικό χαρακτήρα της ζωής των Ηπειρωτών.

Η σημασία του οικισμού της Κρύας έγκειται κυρίως στο γεγονός ότι παρέχει στρωματογραφικά στοιχεία για την έναρξη της Υπομυκηναϊκής περιόδου στην Ήπειρο.


Εντύπωση προκαλεί η έλλειψη σιδηρών και χάλκινων εργαλείων και όπλων, η οποία ισώς οφείλεται στην προγραμματισμένη εκ μέρους των κατοίκων του οικισμού εγκατάλειψη του. Για την ταυτότητά τους, το μόνον ίσως που μπορεί να υποστηριχθεί με ασφάλεια είναι ότι συνέδρεσαν με ιδιαίτερους δεσμούς με τις γειτονικές περιοχές της Μακεδονίας και της Θεσσαλίας. Οι Θεσσαλοί εξάλλου θεωρούνταν φύλο των Θεσπρωτών, του πρώτου Ελληνικού φύλου που κατοίκησε την Ήπειρο γύρω στο 2.000 π.X. (Hammond 1932, 149, 151-152, 163. 1976, 135, 141. Θεοχάρης 1968, 289-294. Ευαγγελίδης 1935, 209-210). Η γεωγραφική θέση της Ήπειρο βοήθησε μέσω των ορεινών περασμάτων στην ανάπτυξη πολιτισμικών επαφών με τις γειτονικές περιοχές. Αναμφίβολα η συνέχιση της έρευνας και η τελική δημοσίευση του υλικού που βρίσκεται ακόμη σε πρώιμο στάδιο θα οδηγήσει σε ασφαλέστερα συμπεράσματα σε συνδυασμό και με την μελέτη του υλικού από τις άλλες θέσεις της μεταβατικής περιόδου από την Ύστερη Εποχή του Χαλκού στην Εποχή του Σιδήρου, που πρόκειται να αποτελέσουν το αντικείμενο διδακτικής διατριβής από την υπογράφουσα.

**ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ**


Η ΜΕΤΑΒΑΣΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΧΑΛΚΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΠΟΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ ΣΤΗΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΟ

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Εικ. 1. Χάρτης της κεντρικής Ηπείρου όπου σημειώνεται η θέση της Κρύας (σχεδίαση: Δ. Καλπάκης).

Εικ. 2. Κάτωψη του οικισμού της Κρύας.
Εικ. 3. Χάλκινη περόνη υπομυκηναϊκού τύπου.

Εικ. 4. Όστρακα κατηγορίας 1.

Εικ. 5. Όστρακα κατηγορίας 2.

Εικ. 6. Όστρακα κατηγορίας 3α.
Η ΜΕΤΑΒΑΣΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΧΑΛΚΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΠΟΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ ΣΤΗΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΟ

Εικ. 7. Όστρακο κατηγορίας 3β.

Εικ. 8. Όστρακα κατηγορίας 4.

Εικ. 9. Όστρακο αποθηκευτικού αγγείου με εγχάρακτη διακόσμηση ενάλληλων διαγραμμισμένων τριγώνων.
Η ΑΙΑΝΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΠΟΧΗ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ

ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ


Από την αρχή διαπιστώσαμε ότι η σημασία της Αιανής έγκειται στην πρωιμότητα και διαχρονικότητα των ευρημάτων της, μνημεία ενός λαμπρού πολιτισμού από τα προϊστορικά ως τα ρωμαϊκά και βυζαντινά χρόνια και συμπερασματικά μπορούμε να πούμε ότι στην Αιανή αποτυπώνεται η διαχρονία του μακεδονικού ελληνισμού. Στην Αιανή, συνεπώς, γνωστή κυρίως για τις αρχαιότητες των αρχαϊκών-κλασικών και γενικώς των ιστορικών χρόνων, έχει διαπιστωθεί η ανθρώπινη παρουσία από την Αρχαιότερη Νεολιθική Εποχή που συνεχίστηκε αδιάλειπτα σε όλες τις προϊστορικές και ιστορικές περιόδους.

Μέσα από τα στοιχεία που αποτυπώνονται στα ευρήματα της Αιανής φωτίζοντας πολλές εποχές με συνεκόλουθη την τεκμηρίωση και ανάδειξή της νέας ιστορικής φυσιογνωμίας όλης της Αιωνόβιας Μακεδονίας. Έτσι διαπιστώνονται: α) Η εγκατάσταση των πρωτοδωρικών, δηλαδή μακεδονικών φύλων κατά τη 2η χιλιετιά π.Χ. Στην Ύστερη Εποχή του Χαλκού την Αιανή υπήρχε αξιόλογο κέντρο παραγωγής της λεγόμενης μακεδονικής αμαυρόχρωμης κεραμικής. Η καταγωγή της ανάγεται σε μεσοελλαδικό (1900-1600 π.Χ.) πρότυπα της νότιας Ελαδος και φορείς της θεωρούνταν τα βορειοδυτικά ελληνικά φύλα, στα οποία ανήκαν και οι Μακεδόνες. ΟΙ Μακεδόνες αυτοί, σύμφωνα με τον Ηρόδοτο, μετέβησαν από την Πίνδο στη Δρυοπίδα και την Πελοπόννησο, όπου ονομάστηκαν Δωριείς, β) Το όριο του μυκηναϊκού κόσμου (1600-1100 π.Χ.) μετατίθεται βορειότερα από τη Θεσσαλία προς τη Μακεδονία, αφού τα ευρήματα δηλώνουν κάποιας μορφής εγκαταστάσεις μυκηναϊκών και πλούσιες επαφές, γ) Η ακμή στα αρχαϊκά και κλασικά χρόνια και η υπάρξεια οργανωμένων πόλεων με δημόσια κτήρια, εκατά και πλέον χρόνια πριν από τον Φίλιππο Β, στον οποίο οι ιστορικοί απέδιδαν την άποψη περί πολιτισμικής απομόνωσης της Αιωνόβιας Μακεδονίας, δ) Το υψηλό βιοτικό και πολιτιστικό επίπεδο που προβάλλει ανάγλυφο μέσα από τα αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα, τα οποία μετατρέπονται σε ιστορικό λόγο και εντάσσουν την περιοχή στην πολιτιστική «κοινή» του υπολοίπου ελληνισμού, ενώ παράλληλα ο εντοπισμός υπόβαθρων και κλασικών επιγραφών (από τις πρωιμότερες όλης της Αιωνόβιας Μακεδονίας) αποδεικνύει ότι η Μέχρι...
त्वरा ἐλλείψῃ τοὺς οφειλότας στὴν περιορισμένη καὶ μὴ συστηματικὴ ἀνασκαφικὴ ἐρευνὴ.

Ἡ Ἐποχὴ Σιδήρου στὴν Αἰανῆ καὶ τὴν περιοχὴ τῆς ἀντιπροσωπεύεται μὲ πολλὰ εὐρήματα, προερχόμενα ἀπὸ ἀντίστοιχες θέσεις, που ἀποκαλύφθηκαν κυρίως τυχαίᾳ, ἀφοῦ ἡ εφαρμογὴ συστηματικοῦ προγράμματος ἐρευνῶν ἀντίς τῆς ἐποχῆς, καθὼς καὶ τὴς Ὑστέρης τῆς Χαλκοῦ, παραμένει ἀκόμα ἀπραγματοποιητὸς στόχος μας. Εὐρύτερα στὸν Νομὸ Κοζάνης ἡ Ἐποχὴ Σιδήρου εντοπίζεται σὲ δεκάδες θέσεις, που ἐξερευνῶν τὶς 80, εἶναι τὰ περισσότερα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν πολιτιστικὴ φυσιογνωμία τῆς περιόδου ἀντίς ἀντλούμε ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνασκαφή τἄφων καὶ τὰ εὐρήματα παραδοσῶν καὶ περισσολύκων.

Ἡ διάρκεια τῆς λεγόμενης Ἐποχῆς Σιδήρου ἢ μάλλον Πρώιμης Ἐποχῆς Σιδήρου, σύμφωνα μὲ τὸν όρο που ἔχει εἰκοτύπωσε καὶ αναφέρεται κυρίως στὸ χώρο τῆς Μακεδονίας, ὑπολογίζεται ἀπὸ τὸ 1100-1050 ὡς τὸν 1000 π.Χ. καὶ λίγο ἀργότερα (Καραμήτρου-Μεντεσίδη 1999α, 143, σημ. 435).

ΘΕΣΕΙΣ-ΕΥΡΗΜΑΤΑ

1. Ἀρχίζουμε τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν ἀπὸ τὴν καθαυτὴ θέση τῆς ἀρχαίας Αἰανῆς, ἀφοῦ εἰσπράμανομε ὅτι στὸ πλαίσιο αὐτῆς τῆς μελέτης δὲν εἶναι δυνατὴ η πλήρης καὶ ἀναλυτικὴ ἀναφορά σὲ ὅλα τὰ εὐρήματα τῆς Ἐποχῆς Σιδήρου καὶ τοὺς αντίστοιχοὺς χώρους προέλευσής.

Στὸ λόφο τῆς Μεγάλης Ράχης, στὰ αλλεπάλληλα πλατάματα τοῦ ὅπου ἀναπτύσσεται ὁ οἰκισμός, ἡ Ἐποχὴ Σιδήρου ἀναγνώρισε καὶ ακέραιο τὸ κεραμικό τοῦ τοπίου τῶν ἡσυχαστικών και μήκους προέλευσης, προκειμένου ἀνακάλυψης αὐτῶν καὶ κεραμικῆς προέρχεται μὲ πολλὰ εὐρήματα, ποὺ φέρουσι τὴν καθαρή καὶ ἀνασκαφή.

2. Κατὰ μήκος του εωστερικοῦ τῆς κατώτητος τῶν δώματος στὸ πλατάμα ἐποχῆς Σιδήρου καὶ μικροὶ ἀμφορεῖς καὶ ακέραιος χειροποίητος ἀμφορέας, τῶν Μεγάλων Δόμων (εἰκ. 2). Κατὰ μήκος του εωστερικοῦ τῆς κατώτητος τῶν δώματος στὸ πλατάμα της Ἐποχῆς Σιδήρου καὶ μικροὶ απόσχημοι πίθου, που φέρουσι τοῦ αμφορέας ἀμφορέας, τῶν Μεγάλων Δόμων (εἰκ. 3: αρ. κατ. 15527). Ο οἰκισμός, που ἐχεῖ σφαιρικὴ σχήμα καὶ ἀφήνει δύο λοξὲς λαβές καὶ ενδιάμεσα κεραμικῆς αποφύσεις, εἶναι παρόμοιος μὲ τὸν οἰκισμὸ ἀρ.


2. Ο οἰκισμός, που ἔχει σφαιρικὴ σχήμα καὶ ἀφήνει δύο λοξὲς λαβές καὶ ενδιάμεσα κεραμικῆς αποφύσεις, εἶναι παρόμοιος μὲ τὸν οἰκισμὸ ἀρ.
Η ΑΙΑΝΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΠΟΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ

κατ. 41 από τη Ράχη Κομμένοι, ο οποίος φέρει αμαυρώχρωμη διακόσμηση (Ανδρεωμένου 1968, 245, Romiopoulos 1971, 353, 356)2.

2. Από τη θέση Λειβάδια, 700 μ. περίπου βόρεια από την αρχαία Αιανή, όπου βρίσκεται η βασιλική νεκρόπολη αρχαίων και κλασικών χρόνων, με τους χτιστούς δαλαμωτές και κι

ητική αγέλη κορώνων, τους λακκοειδείς που εκτάκτων από την Αρχαϊκή έως και την Ελληνιστική Εποχή, το νεκροταφείο της Έποχος Ερυθρίων με μυκηναϊκό χαρακτήρα και την κατοικία στη Νεότερη Νεολιθική και την Πρώιμη Εποχή Χαλκού, η Εποχή Σιδήρου αντι
προσωπεύεται από ελάχιστα ευρήματα (ΑΔ 45, 1990, Χρονικά 353. Καραμήτρου-Μεντεσίδη 1990, 77 με αναφορά στη σποραδική εμφάνι

ση ευρετήριας της Μαυροπήγης Β. Καλλιπολίτης, ΠΑΕ 1950, 289 (τάφος VIII, αρ. 2 χωρίς εικόνα). Καραμήτρου-

μεντεσίδη 1999β, 355-356], ενώ ευρύτερα εί

ναι γνωστό από την Αγία Παρασκευή Θεσσαλίας, τις Φερές και τη Φιλία στη Θεσσαλία, την Πελοπόννησο, και στα βόρεια από τα Σκόπια και τη Σερβία με χρονολόγηση από τα μέσα του 7ου ως τα μέσα του 5ου αι. π.Χ. (Kilian 1975, πίν. 74, 29-32, πίν. 75, 1-2. Μισαηλίδου-

Δεσποτίδου 2003, 74-75, πίν. 122, 80).

Η ταφική χρήση του ίδιου χώρου μαρτυ

ρείται από τις ταφές που έντοπιστήκαν σε δύο κύρια σημεία. Στον αγρό με αρ. 153, ιδιοκτησία Γκουλιάφα Νικ., λίγες δεκάδες μέτρα από το σημείο εντοπισμού της παραπάνω στήλης, αποκαλύφθηκε ασύλητο κιβωτιόσχημο τάφο στον άξονα δύσης-ανατολής, μήκους 2 μ. και πλάτους 0,50 μ. με κτερίσματα πρόχου, κάνθαρο και σιδερένιο μαχαίρι (αρ. κατ. 15166, 15167, 13395), ενώ εξωτερικά υπήρχαν δύο 


Βορειοανατολικά των μεγάλων χτιστών
dalas τών τάφων της καθαυτού νεκρόπολης

στο χέρσο κοινοτικό χώρο αποκαλύφθηκαν 5

tαφές, σχεδόν αδιατάρακτες, λακκοειδείς τα

φές πάνω στο φυσικό χώμα και σε πυκνή δια-

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τάξη, μάλιστα οι νεκροί των ταφών 4 και 5 είχαν τοποθετηθεί στο ίδιο ρηχό σκάμμα (Γ. Καραμήτρου-Μεντεσίδη, ΑΔ 42, 1987, Χρονικά, Β2, 424). Εντύπωσε προκαλεί το γεγονός του εντοπισμού πολλών μεταλλικών αντικειμένων στους τάφους αυτούς, ορισμένα από τα οποία ανήκουν στην κατηγορία των χάλκων μακεδονικών, ενώ τα πλίνη αγγεία ήταν μόνο δύο, τροχήλατε οινοχόη στον τάφο 5 (εικ. 5β: αρ. κατ. 3317) και κάνθαρος στο τάφο 2 (εικ. 5γ: αρ. κατ. 3315) τροχήλατος από γκρίζο πηλό με στιλβωση στην εξωτερική επιφάνεια, τα οποία δίνουν και το χρονολογικό πλαίσιο της ένταξης τροχήλατη οινοχόη στον τάφο 5 (εικ. 5β: αρ. κατ. 3317) και κάνθαρος στο τάφο 2 (εικ. 5γ: αρ. κατ. 3315)

Εκτός από τα σιδερένια μακαρία, τις αιχμές και το σιδερένιο ξίφος (τάφου 3), τους σιδερένιους και χάλκινους κρίκους-δακτυλίδια, στους τάφους 1 και 2 υπήρχαν χάλκινοι σφηκωδείς και χάλκινους κρίκους-δακτυλίδια, στον τάφο 5 και γκρίζο πηλό με κατ. 3317, δύο χάλκινες οκτώσχημες από σύρμα ρομβοειδούς διατομής (αρ. κατ. 3287, 3288) και μία χάλκινη αγγείο με δύο κυκλικές ταινιωτές και υπερυθρία. Εντοπίστηκαν εκτός από διαλυμένη ανακόπητη πλάκα κάτω από το κεφάλι του νεκρού, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6, είχε παρασυρθεί μόνο το κεφάλι του νεκρού6.

2. Εικ. 5: Αρ. κατ. 5β: αρ. κατ. 3317, κάνθαρος στον τάφο 2 (εικ. 5γ: αρ. κατ. 3315).

3. Προς κατασκευαστή 3 της άνοιξης εντοπίστηκε μία χάλκινη αγγείο εκτός από τον τάφο 5 (εικ. 5γ: αρ. κατ. 3315).

4. Εικ. 5: Αρ. κατ. 176.

5. Γ. Καραμήτρου-Μεντεσίδη, ΑΔ 42, 1987, Χρονικά, Β2, 424.

6. Η πόρπη παραδόθηκε από τον αγροφύλακα Ζαχάρια Κομμένο, βλ. παρακάτω.

7. Ο Καλλιπολίτης (ΑΕ 1973, 137-138), χρονολογεί το παραδείγμα της Κοζάνης στις αρχές του 4ου αι. π.Χ., όμως κατά τη γνώμη μας, δεδομένου ότι συμπεριέχει την κρόνολογης από το ριζοστόμιου ταφού και τόσο έχουμε επισημαίνει ότι αφορά και σε άλλους τάφους της νεκρόπολης Κοζάνης (βλ. π.χ. ΠΑΕ 1950, 284, τάφος XIV), που ισχυροποιήθηκε διαχρονικά για πολλούς αιώνες, από την εποχή Σιδήρου ως την ελληνική κράνια.

Εκτός Νομού Κοζάνης παρόμοια πόρπη είναι γνωστή από τον Άγιο Παντελεήμωνα-Πάτελι, ενώ για άλλες πάντες, που βρίσκονται σε ιδιωτικές Συλλογές και Μουσεία, πιθανολογείται η πρόελευση τους από τη Μακεδονία και συγκεκριμένα τη Δυτική Μακεδονία (ΑΕ 1937, 513-515, πίν. Βιγ). Τέλος, θεωρούμε πιθανή την ερμηνεία της ερμηνεία του ευρήματος ως «τοπικήν ιδιομορφία ταφικού εθείου ενός αυτοτελούς φυλετικού κλάδου ή ακόμη διάκριση εξεχούσης κοινωνικής τάξεως, εις ην ανήκον αιτίας αυτής» (Καραμήτρο-Μεντεσίδη 1993, 142).

3. Θέσεις Κοντουσιάς. Προέκυπτε για χώρο μόλις 250 μ. ανατολικά από τους πρόποδες του λόφου της Μεγάλης Ράχης με τον οικισμό της Αρχαίας Αιανής, όπου στον ηγό με αρ. 498, ιδιοκτησία Καρακούλα Κων/νου, εντοπίστηκαν και ανασκάφηκαν το 1988 τρεις κιβουρίς τάφοι που ανήκαν σε συστάδα που είχε διαλυθεί από τις αρόσεις (ΑΔ 43, 1988, Χρονικά, Β2, 399, πίν. 235β, 236α-β. Καραμήτρο-Μεντεσίδη 1989α, 46, εικ. 2-4. 1993β, 120, αρ. 66. 1999α, 135). Στον τάφο 1 τα κτερισμάτα αποτελούσαν μικρή πρόχορος (αρ. κατ. 15172), ύψους μόλις 0,128 μ., με αμαρέωρεξη διακόσμηση από οριζόντιες γραμμές, που αρχίζουν από το χείλος, και ταινίες με κάθετες δέσμες γραμμιδιών και στο κάτω μέρος κρεμαστά ημικυκλία10, σιδερένια όπλα, δύο ασφαλές καν και ανασκάφηκαν το 1988, και ανασκάφηκαν το 1988 τρεις κιβώτια (αρ. κατ. 15228, 15229), και δύο μαχαίρια (αρ. κατ. 15225α-β). Προβληματική είναι η παρουσία χάλκινης τριχολάβιδας (αρ. κατ. 15226, Kilian 1975, πίν. 88.14) εσωτερικά του αριστερού χείλους που πιθανότατα ανήκε η διαγωνιμή ταφή βόρεια και εξωτερικά του τάφου, απ’ όπου περισυλλέξαμε επίσης η καμφή τριχολάβιδα (αρ. κατ. 15227) και τμήμα σιδερένιων μαχαίρια, ενώ δεύτερο παρόμοιο τμήμα (αρ. κατ. 15224α-β) υπήρχε στην επίχωση της ταφής στο ύψος των ποδιών. Επιπλέον από την επίχωση του τάφου περισυλλέξαμε οστέια στον εσωτερικό της ταφής στο ύψος των ποδιών. 

8. Βλ. σημ. 15. 10. Πρβλ. πρόχον με περίπου όμοια διακόσμηση από τον τάφο VI της νεκρόπολης Κοζάνης: ΠΛΕ 1950, 287, εικ. 4. Καλλιπολίτης 1973, 130-142, πίν. 69α-β (με λάθος ένταξη στις αρχές του 4ου αι. π.Χ., βλ. και παραπάνω). 1977, 123-123. Καραμήτρο-Μεντεσίδη 1993α, 4-43, εικ. 18 και πρόχον από Βίτσα, Βοκοποτούλου 1986, 80, 124, αρ. κατ. 5411/Γ172 και 2068/Ξ11, πίν. 114α, σχ. 21α-β και 259, εικ. 14 με διακοσμητικά μοτίβα του 8ου αι. π.Χ.

Ο τάφος 3, μολονότι είχε επηρεαστεί περισσότερο από τις αρόσεις, δεν διαλύθηκε στο εσωτερικό του, είναι υψίμοτερος (75 πιθανόν και 60 αι. π.Χ.) και ανήκε με βεβαιότητα σε γυναίκα. Το πήλινο αγγείο του τάφου ήταν μία πρόχος (αρ. κατ. 15179), ελλιπής στο χείλος, από μαύρο πηλό, η οποία ήταν τροχήλατη, όπως διακρίνεται από το εσωτερικό αλλά εφεξής επιμελημένη στην εξωτερική επιφάνεια. Στον δεξιό ώμο έφερε χάλκινη οκτώσχημη πόρτα από ακριβεία κυκλικής διαμόρφωσης (αρ. κατ. 13479) και στο αριστερό της εντοπίστηκε οστείνη στην εξωτερική στήλη (αρ. κατ. 13478α) που σώζεται κατά το μήνα περίπου τον 6ο αι. π.Χ. (εικ. 9). Στο μέσον διακρίνεται εγχάρακτος μικρός ρόνεια. Στον δεξιό ώμο έφερε χάλκινη οκτώσχημη πόρτα από σύρμα κυκλικής διαμόρφωσης (αρ. κατ. 13479) και στο αριστερό της εντοπίστηκε οστείνη στήλη (εικ. 10).

11. Για τον τύπο του χαμάρον, χωρίς ιδιαιτέρα διαμορφωμένη βάση, με χιλιοπηγή κολάτη και γωνιώδη μετάβαση σε κυλινδρικό ύψος, κάθως και δύο αναδιπλομένες υπερψυμφερόμενες ταυτοποιήσεις λαβές με εντάξει τον 11ο αι. π.Χ.: Heurtley-Skeat 1930-1931, εικ. 5-7, 12 και π. 6. Προβλ. και κάθαρο από το νεκροταφείο των τύμβων στο Νομό του Διον Πουλάκη-Παντερμάλη 1993, αρ. 86 και από Βεργίνα Ανδρόνικου 1969, 211, π. 47, Ε3 (με χρονολογήσεις των τύμβων στα τέλη 10ο αι. 9η αι. π.Χ.).

12. Οτιστές κλειστές πόρτες έχουν εντοπιστεί σε χώρος της νότιας Ελλάδας αλλά και στην Βίτσα με εντάξει στο β’ μισό του 8ου αι. π.Χ. Βλ. σχετικά από Βοκσάκο-Θεσσαλίας, Ιερό Αρτέμιδας Ορθίας, Αίγινα, Αετό Ιθάκης, Εμπορικό Χίου, Περαχώρα, Δικταίο Άντρο.

ψήφιο ήταν το δίωτο φιαλόσχημο με επίπεδο χείτου παραπάνω συνόλου κλίνουμε περισσότερα την ότι ανήκαν σε ταφές που διαλυθηκαν, χωρίς να μπορούμε να αποκλείσουμε νήθεια που έχει καταγραφεί και σε ταφές της χομένως αγγεία προσφοράς εκτός ταφών, συνήθεια που έχει καταγραφεί και σε ταφές της ιδιαίτερης δια τη καθαυτό είχαν κτερίσματα, ενώ στην τρίτη του αγρού με αρ. 548, ιδιοκτησίας Πελέκα Στέργου, οι ταφές ήταν κλασικών και ελληνιστικών χρόνων. Ο τάφος 5 έσωζε την μονοκόμματη καλυπτήρια πλάκα με αποτέλεσμα να μην εισχωρήσει χώμα στο εσωτερικό, ενώ ότι πάνω στις πλάκες του δαπέδου του τάφου υπήρχε στρώση καθάρου χώματος. Διαλυμένα στατίστικα στο ανατολικά στενό άκρο ανήκαν σε προγενέστερη ταφή και στην καθαυτό είχαν τοποθετηθεί τέρα την τρίτη του αγρού με αρ. κατ. 7472 από τη θέση Κουπουτά. Οι αμφορείς (αρ. κατ. 3040, 3249) είχαν του ιδίου τύπου άλλα μόνο ο πρώτος φέρει αμαυρόχρωμη διακόσμηση. Στην τρίτη τοποθετήθηκαν τέσσερα πήλινα αγγεία, δύο πρόχους και δύο αμφορείς. Η μια πρόχους (αρ. κατ. 3248) ήταν και τής δευτερεύοντα. Οι πρόχους (αρ. κατ. 55 από Ράχη Κομμένοι και 301 από Αη-Ταξιάρχη, βλ. παρακάτω), ένας στην Κερασοια (εικ. 13) και ένας στο Φρούριο, καθώς και άβαφος από το Ρύμνιο (Καραμήτρου-Μεντεσίδη 1999α, 138, 140 και για το Ρύμνιο και 33). Ρωμιοποιούλα 1971, 357, αρ. 26, εικ. 3, πίν. 61). Ο τύπος του αμφορέα ακολουθεί τη μικηναϊκή παράδοση και παραπέμπει σε πρωτογεωμετρική πρότυπα (βλ. όμοιες απόψεις για πρωτογεωμετρική και μικηναϊκή καταγωγή Ανδρόνικος 1969, 204-207; Bouzek 1969, 48; Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1993, 696, 1992, 539). Η πρώιμη χρονολόγηση της συνάγεται βεβαιωτέρας και από συνευρήματα των ανασκαφικών μας δεδομένων σ' αυτή και στην προηγούμενη θέση και χρονολογείται, όπως άλλωστε και η πρόχους αρ. κατ. 3041, στα πρωτογεωμετρικά χρόνια, 116 αρ. π.Χ.

Ο τάφος 6 περιέχει μόνο ένα αγγείο, τον

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14. Για Σέρβια με απλή μνεία σε κιβωτοσχήμους τάφους στην θέση Τούμσι Μπάρ αναφέρουμε στον κάτοχο του τύπου Μαρμάρας, αρ. ΒΕΚ 1601 εκτός του τάφου Ι. Σχετικά, από τις πρόχους του νεκροταφείου των τύμβων της Βεργίνας, που εντοπιστηκαν στην περιοχή, έχει υπάρχουσε γεωμετρικά πρότυπα (βλ. άλλες απόψεις για ανασκαφή της ήπειρου των Βεργίνας, που εντοπιστήκαν στην περιοχή, έχει υπάρξει η χρήση τους για τέτοια χώρους: Andronikos 1969, 165.

15. Ένας «τοίχος» μήκος 10 μ. στα βορειοδυτικά των τάφων απέχει μόλις 20 μ.

16. Η θέση Πανάνων Βρύση αναφέρεται και ως Δυτικό Νεκροταφείο.
κύαθο αρ. κατ. 3250 και ο τάφος 7 με όμοια κατεύθυνση περιείχε μία πρόχο και ένα φιαλόσχημο αγγείο (αρ. κατ. 3252, 3251), με μία καθετή λαβή που δεν υπερέχει τον χείλος και μικρή μαστοειδή απόφυση. Έχει το σώμα του κυάθου 15178 από τη συστάδα της θέσης Κουπουτσίνα, δηλαδή παρόμοιο με των κανθάρων θεσσαλικού τύπου, και λαβή παρόμοια με των φιαλόσχημων, όπως π.χ. του αρ. κατ. 48 από τον Αη-Γιάννη Πρόδρομο (βλ. παρακάτω).


Εξετάζοντας την παλαιότερη έρευνα διαστώσαμε ότι σε τρεις, κυρίως, αγρούς διαλύθηκαν τάφοι από τις αρόσεις και προήλθαν αγγεία και μεταλλικά αντικείμενα με ένταξη στην Εποχή Σιδήρου και ορισμένα στην πρωτογεωμετρική ως "Υστερη Εποχή Χαλκού (Ανδρειωμένου 1968, 244-246. Romiopoulou 1971, 353-358. Σιαμπανόπουλος 1974, 166-167. Καραμήτρου-19. Από την έρευνά μας στους καταλόγους καταγραφής αρχικά της Κοζάνης, όπου καταγράφηκαν, και μετά στην Αιανής, όπου μεταφέρθηκαν (δυστυχώς ημερολόγιο δεν εντοπίσαμε), προκύπτει ότι τα αγγεία με αρ. κατ. Αιανής 35-40 παραδόθηκαν στις 15-7-1967 από τον υιό του Ηλία Πελέκα και τα αρ. κατ. 41, 57-59, 81 προήλθαν από την ανασκαφή της Α. Ανδρειωμένου στις 29-10-1967, βλ. ΑΑΑ 2, 1968, 244-245, όπου αναφέρεται ότι οι τάφοι 1-3 ήταν ακτέριστοι και τα χάλκινα κοσμήματα της εικ. 3 προήλθαν από τον τάφο 6. Τα αγγεία με αμαυρόχρωμη διακόσμηση είναι τα υπ. αρ. 1, 3 και 13, Romiopoulou 1971, 353, 354 και 356 αντίστοιχα. Σχετικά με τα χάλκινα κοσμήματα αναφέρονται στον Κατάλογο της Αιανής με αρ. 127 αντίστοιχα με της εικόνας 3 των ΑΑΑ, χωρίς παράδειγμα.

20. Αναφέρεται ότι βρέθηκαν σε ένα τάφο στις 10-3-1960, βλ. Σιαμπανόπουλος 1974, 171.
Όπως αναφέραμε ο τύπος του αμφορέα αυτού, χρονολογείται στα πρωτογεωμετρικά χρόνια (11ος αι. π.Χ.) και παρόμοια χρονολόγηση μπορούμε να προτείνουμε και για το συνεχήμα του, το κύπελλο αρ. κατ. 56, το οποίο είναι ύμιν μέσο προς το σχήμα με το κύπελλο αρ. κατ. 15177 από τη θέση Κουπουτσίνα. Εξίσου πρώτων θεωρούμε τον αμφορέα αρ. κατ. 41 με τις δύο λοξές λαβές και ενδιάμεσα τις κομβίσματα αποφύσεις, που φέρει αμαυρώρχωμη διακόσμηση και ως προς το σχήμα μοιάζει με τον αρ. κατ. 15527 από την αρχαία πόλη της Αιανής (βλ. παραπάνω υπόψηση 5).


6. Θέση Αη-Πανύς Πρόδρομος. Πρόκειται για το λόφο με την εκκλησία του Αγίου Ιωάννη του Προδρόμου αριστερά του δρόμου Αιανής-Καισάρειας και απέναντι από το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, όπου κατά τη διαπλάτηση του χωματόδρομου στις 20-8-1968 εμφανίστηκαν πέντε κιβωτίσχημα τάφοι, από τους οποίους παραδόθηκαν 9 αγγεία (αρ. κατ. 46-54), σύμφωνα με τις μαρτυρίες (Ι. Τουράτσογλου ΑΔ 24, 1969, Χρονικά, B2, 332, πίν. 341). Τρία αγγεία, ο κύαθος-αρύταινα αρ. κατ. 50, ο κάνθαρος αρ. κατ. 47 και το μόνωτο φιαλόσχημα αρ. κατ. 48, φέρουν αμαυρώρχωμη διακόσμηση (εικ. 16). Πρωτομέτρησε εντάξει στην Ύστερη Εποχή Χαλκού έχουμε προτείνει για το ιδιομορφό αγγείο-αρύταινα, αρ. κατ. 50, που αποδίδει ξολίνα πρότυπα, κρίνοντας από την τυπολογία της διακόσμησής του, η οποία συγκρίνεται με τα αγγεία από την Δεμπάδα (Καραμήτρου-Μεντεσίδη 1993α, 120, αρ. 68. 1999α, 136-137).

7. Θέση Αη-Ταξιάρχης. Πρόκειται για τη θέση αμέσως νότια από το σύγχρονο οικισμό της Αιανής και οφείλει το τοπωνύμιό της στο μεσοβασιλεύτικο ναύστο των Αγίων Ταξιαρχών. Με δήλωση προέλευσης το χώρο αυτό παραδόθηκαν το 1983 τρία πήλινα χειροποίητα αγγεία, μια αμφωρία, κύαθος και μόνωτο (αρ. κατ. 3253, 3254) από αμαυρή μακριαίρες κατά μέγαρο των αγγείων αυτών, ενώ από την τύχη της ανασκαφής προκύπτει το πρώτο συνολικό τμήμα πεζού (αρ. κατ. 3253, 3254) από αμαυρή μακριαίρες κατά κανάβαδα στη μέση του σώματος, ενώ από την πεζόμονη διακόσμηση της πρώτης εποχής του Ευριπίδου (εικ. 18: αρ. κατ. 299, 300, 301. Γ. Καραμήτρου-Μεντεσίδη, ΑΔ 38, 1983, Χρονικά, Β2, 311) κατά τη σωστική ανασκαφή του 1988, που προκύψει από την αναανασκαφή του συνολικού του δρόμου εκεί κοντά, οι επιτα κιβωτίσχημα τάφοι που


25. Παραδόθηκαν από τον Πελέκα Βασάτη.
αποκαλύφθηκαν στην άκρη του αγορού Καραμήτρου Ευάγγ., με αρ. αγροτ. 1152, ήταν ακτέριστοι, χριστιανικοί χρώνων, με προσανατολισμό (Γ. Καραμήτρου-Μεντεσίδη, ΑΔ 43, 1988, Χρονικά, B2, 401).  


Το 1988 διαπιστώσαμε ότι οι καταστροφές από τις βαθιές αρόσεις ήταν μεγάλες και διευρυγάστηκε σωστική ανασκαφή στους αγρούς με αρ. αγροτεμαχίου 3468 ιδιοκτησίας Μαλλίων και 3466 ιδιοκτησίας Κόρινα Χαρισίου, στους οποίους αποκαλύφθηκε τέτοια κιβωτίσχημοι τάφους αντίστοιχα. Μερικοί απ’ αυτούς είχαν αναμολευτεί-συλθεί και οι αδιατάρακτοι ήταν ακτέριστοι ή έφεραν πήλινα αγγεία. Διέφεραν οι τάφοι 4 και 13, στους οποίους διαπιστώσαμε από δύο ανακυμές και περισσότερα κτερισμάτα από τον τάφο 4 περισυλλέξτηκαν χάλκινο κουμπί, χάλκινος κρίκος και τμήμα σχεδόν μαχαιριού, πρόχος και τμήμα πήλινου αγγείου, κυλινδρικές χάντρες από υαλόμαζα και (αρ. κατ. 5628 ως και 5632) και (αρ. κατ. 3046, 9193, 3045) και δύο να αγγεία, όπως δίωτο φιαλόσχημο, δύο πρόχοις και κύαθος, ενώ εκτός υπήρχε κάνθαρος. Είναι πιθανή η ύπαρξη οικισμού σύγχρονου αλλά και μεταγενέστερου του νεκροταφείου.

Στη θέση Ισώματα επανήλθαμε το 1995, στο πλαίσιο πάντα των μικρών σωστικών ανα­

σκαφών που επιχειρούμε σε χώρους που κινδύνευσαν, και ερευνήσαμε τον αγρό με αρ. 1824 ιδιοκτησίας Κολοβού Νικολάου του Αργυρίου, στον οποίο είχαν εμφανιστεί μετά από βαθιά άροση πλάκες από κυβωτίσχημους τάφους. Δυστυχώς οι λαθρανακαφείς, πρόφαστα η παλιότερα, είχαν διαλύσει εντελώς τις ταφές. Σε γειτονικό χέρσο σημειώνουμε η επιχειρήσαμε τομείς σε υπερυψωμένο χώρο με όψη λιθοσωρού. Η εργασία ήταν επίπονη και ορφανοφόρα διότι η ποσότητα των λίθων, χωρίς ιδιαίτερη διάταξη, ακανόνιστες και μικρές σε μέγεθος, ήταν τεράστια ανάμεσά τους υπήρχαν κεραμίδες, κομματιά πίθων, οστρακά χειροποίητα και λίγα τροχήλατα. Εγκαταλείφθηκε η προσπάθεια χωρίς να είμαι απολύτως βέβαιος ότι πρόκειται για συναφείς υλικούς από καθαρισμό των γειτονικών αγρών.

ΧΩΡΟ ΤΗΣ ΣΗΜΕΡΙΝΗΣ ΑΛΒΑΝΙΑΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΣΣΟΤΕΡΕΣ (PRENDI 1982, 221. KOKA 1985, ΑΡ. 69 ΑΠΟ ΜΠΑΡΤΣ, ΚΟΡΥΤΣΑ).

ΣΧΟΛΙΑΣΜΟΣ

Όπως φάνηκε από την πραγμάτευση των ευρημάτων της Εποχής Σιδήρου στην Αιανή, οικιστικά κατάλοιπα έχουν ανιχνευθεί ελάχιστα και τούτο λόγω της περιορισμένης και μη συστηματικής έρευνας, γεγονός που ισχύει δυστυχώς και για τον υπόλοιπο Νομό Κοζάνης. Όπως, αναφέραμε παραπάνω τον εντοπισμό τους σε τρία σημεία στο χώρο της αρχαιότητας πόλεως, ενδείκνυται στη θέση Ισιώματα, ενώ παράλληλα εντοπίσματα δεν λείπουν από γειτονικούς χώρους, όπως το Ρύμνιο (Γ. ΚΑΡΑΜΗΤΡΟΥ-ΜΕΝΤΕΣΙΔΗ, ΑΔ 39, 1984, ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ, Β2, 256. ΑΔ 45, 1990, ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ, Β2, 355), τα Σέρβια (Γ. ΚΑΡΑΜΗΤΡΟΥ-ΜΕΝΤΕΣΙΔΗ, ΑΔ 42, 1987, ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ, Β2, 419), το Βελβεντό (HEURTLEY – SKEAT 1930-42-43, 74), στη θέση Κρυοπήγαδο Αλιάκμονα (ΓΙΑ ΤΙΣ ΔΥΟ ΜΟΛΙΣ ΨΗΦΙΑ ΚΑΤΑΤΑΜΗΣΗΣ ΕΥΡΕΘΗΚΑΝ, ΑΜΑΥΡΟΧΡΩΜΑ ΔΙΑΚΟΣΜΗΜΑΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΙΜΟΝ ΠΟΥ ΓΕΡΝΕΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΙΣΩ ΠΟΥ ΕΝΤΟΠΙΣΤΗΚΑΝ ΜΙΑ ΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΗ ΚΟΥΠΟΥΣΤΟΙΝΑ (ΑΠΟ ΣΥΣΤΑΔΑ ΕΚΤΟΣ ΤΑΦΩΝ, ΑΡ. ΚΑΤ. 7472) ΚΑΙ ΜΙΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΘΕΣΗ ΠΑΝΟΥΡΙΚΑ ΒΡΔΟΥ (ΤΑΦΟΣ 5, ΑΡ. ΚΑΤ. 3041) ΚΑΙ ΓΙΑ ΤΙΣ ΟΙΚΟΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΕ ΣΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΑΦΟΥΣ ΝΟΜΟΚΟΣΜΗΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΙΜΟΝ ΠΟΥ ΓΕΡΝΕΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΙΣΩ

Η ΑΙΑΝΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΠΟΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ


29. Τάφοι κιβωτοσκήμων της ΥΕΧ με μυκηναϊκά αγγεία έχουν εντοπιστεί και στον τύμβο Α του Ρυμνίου (ΠΙΝ. 1). Μεντέσιδη Θώμα, ο οποίος δήλωσε ότι ο χώρος προέληφσης είναι τα Ισιώματα και όχι ο Αλ-Ταδάρχης.
θέση Ράχη Κομμένοι, η οποία μπορεί να συγκρίθει με την αρ. κατ. 73, (εικ. 21), με άγνωστη την ακριβή προέλευση, ενώ επισημαίνουμε ότι και η αρ. κατ. 35 από τη θέση Ράχη Κομμένοι φέρει αμαυρόχρωμη διακόσμηση (Romio-poulou 1971, 356, αρ. 12, εικ. 3).

Έγινε λόγος ήδη για τον αμφορέα με τις δύο κάθετες λαβές και συχνά με αμαυρόχρωμη διακόσμηση που ακολουθεί μυκηναϊκή παράδοση και παραπέμπει σε πρωτογεωμετρικό πρότυπο, και αντιπροσωπεύεται από τέσσερις δείγματα των τάφων που εξετάζουμε, δύο από τη θέση Γιαννούκα Βρύση (τάφος 5, αρ. κατ. 3040, 3249), ένα από τη Ράχη Κομμένοι (αρ. κατ. 55) και ένα από τον Αη-Ταξιάρχη (αρ. κατ. 301), καθώς και για τον τύπο του αμφορέα με τις δύο λοξές λαβές και ενδιάμεσα τις κομβιόσχημες αποφύσεις, με δείγματα από τη Ράχη Κομμένοι και την αρχαία Αιανή (αρ. κατ. 41 και 15527 αντίστοιχα) με ένταξη στην Πρωτογεωμετρική περίοδο.

Εξίσου πρώιμους θεωρήσαμε τους κανθάρους του λεγόμενου «θεσσαλικού τύπου ή Μαρμάριανης», χωρίς ιδιαίτερα διαμορφωμένη βάση, με ημισφαιρική κοιλιά και γωνιώδη μεταβάση σε κυλινδρικό ώμο, καθώς και δύο αναδιπλούμενες, υπερυψωμένες ταινιωτές λαβές, που εντοπίστηκαν ένας στη θέση Κουπουτσίνα (τάφος 2, αρ. κατ. 15174) και ένας από την Αρχαία Αιανή (αρ. κατ. 15175) και την Κερασιά, καθώς και για τον τύπο του αμφορέα με τις δύο κάθετες λαβές και συχνά με αμαυρόχρωμη διακόσμηση (Romio-poulou 1971, 356, αρ. 12, εικ. 3).

31. Βλ. σημ. 11 και 14.

32. Βλ. παράλληλα στη Βεργίνα και ιδιαίτερα για το αρ. κατ. 16302 παρόμοιο του ΑΒ5 και ΑΕ14 και του αρ. κατ. 54 παρόμοιο του Ε22: Ανδρόνικος 1969, 207-209, ιδιαίτερα 209 και 279 με συμπέρασμα ότι ανήκουν στα αρχαιότερα αγγεία του νεκροταφείου, αρχές 10ου αι. π.Χ.
Η ΑΙΑΝΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΠΟΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ


Τέλος επισημαίνουμε τη μακρά χρήση και επιβίωση των χαλκών μακεδονικών της Εποχής Σιδήρου ως την Αρχαϊκή και Κλασική Εποχή, όπως και των αγγείων, σε χώρους περιοχής ευθύνης μας στον Νομό Κοζάνης, κάτι

33. Σύμφωνα με τον Alexander, εμφανίζονται από τα τέλη της δεύτερης χιλιετίας ως τα μέσα του 5ου αι. π.Χ. 34. Οι χρονολογήσεις του για τους τάφους της Βεργίνας χρήζουν επανεξέτασης (βλ. παραπάνω). 35. Με την απόψεις ότι στις μικρές πόρπες της Βεργίνας χρησιμοποιούσαν σύρμα κυκλικής διατομής.

ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ-ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Θεωρούμε φυσική την πολιτιστική ομοιόγενεια μεταξύ της Υστερης Εποχής Χαλκού και των πρώιμων φάσεων της Εποχής Σιδήρου, που αντιστοιχούν με την υπομυκηναϊκή και πρωτογεωμετρική. Τούτο για την περιοχή μας αποδεικνύεται κυρίως από τη δυναμική παρουσία της κεραμικής με αμαυρόχρωμη διακόσμηση, στην οποία οι διαφορές με την αντίστοιχη της Υστερης Εποχής Χαλκού συνίστανται στην απλοποίηση των διακοσμητικών μοτίβων. Η εποχή αυτή στην Αιανή και ευρύτερα στην Ελιμωτίδα και την Ανατολική Μακεδονία σημαντοδοτείται τόσο από την εμφάνιση και τη διάδοση της κεραμικής με αμαυρόχρωμη διακόσμηση όσο και την εμφάνιση των μυκηναϊκών ευρημάτων. Ιδιαίτερα για την περιοχή της Αιανής και του Νομού Κοζάνης, δεν έχει υποβληθεί η διαφοροποίηση της αμαυρόχρωμης κεραμικής.


36. Στις καταγραμμένες 26 θέσεις προστίθεται η θέση Λογκάς Ελάτης και θέση στο Λουκόμι Τσουλιών,
θέσεις ήρθαν στο φως τάφοι και στις υπόλοιπες κεραμεική, η οποία σε 11 περιπτώσεις προέρχοταν, επίσης με βεβαιότητα, από οικιστικά στρώματα. Η μυκηναϊκή παρουσία καθίσταται ολοένα και πιο έντονη και ενισχύει την άποψη μας για κάποιας μορφής εγκαταστάσεις μυκηναϊκών στην περιοχή. Ιδιαίτερα για την περιοχή της Αιανής και του μέσου ρου του Αλιάκμονα, η οποία γειτνιάζει με τη Θεσσαλία είναι φυσική η ανάπτυξη ενός δικτύου αλληλοεπαφών και επιδράσεων.

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ ΚΑΡΑΜΗΤΡΟΥ-ΜΕΝΤΕΣΙΔΗ

30/04/2021 13:35:52 EEST - 54.70.40.11

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φορους χώρους τόσο στην Λιανή, όσο και την Μεντεσίδη 1999α, 129, σημ. 358. Θεωρούμε κό τμήμα του Βερμίου όρους, με πρόσβαση από των Καμβουνίων και σε τρεις θέσεις στο δυτικό των Κοινοτήτες Τετραλόφου, Καπνοχωρίου-κτάται ένα επιπλέον επιχείρημα για την απόρνηση στην Εποχή Σιδήρου, και μαρτυρούν Κίσσα και Καρυοχωρίου αντίστοιχα, εντάσσοντας ομάδες. Από την ως σήμερα έρευνα λίτων των ιστορικών χρόνων, τους οποίους η φιλοδό τους ή από συνεχείς καθόδους και ανόδους Αιανή, μετά από πολύ προγενέστερη κάθο­ δο τους ή από συνεχείς καθόδους και ανόδους λόγου του κτηνοτροφικού χαρακτήρα της αι­ κονομίας και του νομαδικού τρόπου ζωής, και οι οποίοι δεν είναι άλλοι από τους Μακεδόνες των ιστορικών χρόνων, τους οποίους ή από την ως σήμερα έρευνα λίτων των ιστορικών χρόνων, τους οποίους ή από συνεχείς καθόδους και ανόδους λόγου του κτηνοτροφικού χαρακτήρα της αι­ Κίσσα και Καρυοχωρίου αντίστοιχα, εν­τάσσοντας ομάδες. Από την ως σήμερα έρευνα λί­ γες από τις θέσεις της Εποχής Σιδήρου σε όλο το Νομό είναι γνωστές για τα οικιστικά λείψα­ να και αυτά μάλλον δεν ανήκουν σε μεμονω­ μένα και αμηχενικές ομάδες. Οι ως σήμερα έρευνα λίγες από τις θέσεις της Εποχής Σιδήρου σε όλο το Νομό είναι γνωστές για τα οικιστικά λείψα­ να και αυτά μάλλον δεν ανήκουν σε μεμονω­ μένα και αμηχενικές ομάδες. Οι ως σήμερα έρευνα λίγες από τις θέσεις της Εποχής Σιδήρου σε όλο το Νομό είναι γνωστές για τα οικιστικά λείψα­ να και αυτά μάλλον δεν ανήκουν σε μεμονω­
Η ΛΙΑΝΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΠΟΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ

χρονολογείται από τα τέλη 7ου και τις αρχές του 6ου αι. Χ. και σημαντοδοτεί την αρχή μιας νέας εποχής, της αρχαϊκής, κατά την οποία ανανεώνονται οι πολιτιστικές ανταλλαγές με τον υπόλοιπο ελληνισμό του νότου και της ανατολής.

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Στωικό Κτήριο και εσωτερικά της στοάς ελλειψοειδείς κρηπίδες Πρώιμης Εποχής Χαλκού.

Εικ. 2. Άιανη, αρχαία πόλη. Ανασκαφή Μεγάλων Δόμων.
Εικ. 3. Αιανή, αρχαία πόλη. Αμφορέας αρ. κατ. 15527.

Εικ. 4. Αιανή, θέση Λειβάδια. Χάλκινα δακτυλώσχημα περίπτωτα και λιθινή ανθρωπόμορφη στήλη.
Εικ. 5. Αιανή, θέση Λειβάδια. α) Σύνολο από τον κιβωτοσχήμο τάφο στον αγρό αρ. 153. β) Τροχήλατη οινοχόη, αρ.κατ. 3317, τφ 5. γ) Τροχήλατος κάνθαρος, αρ.κατ. 3315, τφ 2.

Εικ. 6. Αιανή, θέση Λειβάδια. Χάλκινες τριγωνικές πόρπες αρ.κατ. 3279, 13717, 176.
Εικ. 7. Αιανή, θέση Δειβάδια. α) Φιαλόσχημο αγγείο αρ.κατ. 15170. 
β) Πρόχους αρ.κατ. 15171. γ) Πρόχους με στρεπτή λαβή αρ.κατ. 15169.

Εικ. 8. Αιανή, θέση Κουπουτσίνα α) Σύνολο τάφου 1. β) Σύνολο τάφου 2.
Εικ. 9. Αιανή, θέση Κουπουτσίνα, τάφος 3.
Πρόχους αρ.κατ. 15179, οστέινη οκτώσχημη πόρπη αρ.κατ. 13478 και χάλκινη οκτώσχημη πόρπη αρ.κατ. 13479.

Εικ. 10. Αιανή, θέση Κουπουτσίνα, τάφος 3.
Χάλκινες οκτώσχημες χάνδρες περιδέραιου και χάλκινο περίοπτο του τύπου "jug stoppers".
Εικ. 11. Αιανή, θέση Κουπουτσίνα. Σύνολο χειροποίητων αγγείων εκτός του τάφου 2.

Εικ. 12. Αιανή, θέση Γιαννούκα Βρύση, τάφος 5. Πρόχοι αρ.κατ. 3248, 3041 και αμφορές αρ.κατ. 3040, 3249.
Εικ. 13. Κερασιά. Αμφορέας με αμαυρόχρωμη διακόσμηση.

Εικ. 15. Αιανή θέση Ράχη Κομμένοι a) Πρόχοι και όλπη αρ.κατ. 36, 39, 40. 
β) Αγγεία αρ.κατ. 37, 38. γ) Αγγεία αρ.κατ. 42, 43, 44, 45. δ) Αγγεία με αμαυρόχρωμη διακόσμηση αρ.κατ. 55, 56.

Εικ. 16. Αιανή, θέση Άη-Γιάννης Πρόδρομος. Αγγεία με αμαυρόχρωμη διάκοσμηση αρ.κατ. 50, 47, 48.
Εικ. 17. Αιανή, θέση Αη-Γιάννης Πρόδρομος. α) Πρόχοι αρ.κατ. 46, 51, 52. β, γ) Φιαλόσχημα αγγεία αρ.κατ. 49, 54, 53.

Εικ. 18. Αιανή, θέση Αη-Ταξιάρχης. Αγγεία αρ.κατ. 299, 300, 301.

Εικ. 20. Αιανή, θέση Ισιώματα. Χάλκινες οκτώσχημες πάρπες αρ.κατ. 102, 3142.
Εικ. 21. Αμαυρόχρωμες πρόχοι αρ.κατ. 302, 73.

Εικ. 22. Κάνθαροι με αμαυρόχρωμη διακόσμηση από την Κερασιά και τα Σέρβια.
Εικ. 23. Λιανή, φιαλόσχημα αγγεία αρ.κατ. 15175, 16302, 54, 3045.

Εικ. 24. Λιανή, χάλκινες κυματοειδείς τοξωτές πόρπες.
Εικ. 25. Αιανή-Ανω Κώμη.
Κύπελλο «τύπου Αιανής» και μυκηναϊκό αλάβαστρο με αμαυρόχρωμη διακόσμηση.

Εικ. 26. Σέρβια, πρωτογεωμετρικός σκύφος αρ.κατ. 1617.
Εικ. 27. Κρανίδια, θέση Κρούβρυση, Πρωτογεωμετρικοί αμφορείς.
HABITATION CHANGES IN THE EASTERN COASTAL THESSALY, FOLLOWING THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PALACES AT THE END OF LH III B2

Following the destruction of the palatial centres at the end of LH III B2, a progressive abandonment of many Mycenaean settlements is observed in the Southern edge of the Eastern Thessalian plain, and more specifically around the gulf of Pagasetikos and in the plains of Volos and Almyros. According to the example of the Mycenaean settlement in Dimini (Adrymi-Sismani 2004-2005, 1-54) -which experienced an extensive destruction at the end of LH III B2- and realising the efforts that overwhelmed his residents for the renewal and the re-designing of the settlement in all duration of LH IIIC Early, as well as the final desolation of the settlement before LH III C middle, we will try to locate which are the other settlements that are abandoned during the same period in the Eastern coastal Thessaly, and which are those that continued up till the end of LH III C, since they actually formed the background of the culture as it developed in the Early Iron Age. Therefore their significance for the understanding of this culture is immense.

Considering the diffusion of Mycenaean sites over the geographical space of Thessaly, we observe that the most important settlements that developed during LH and mainly in the LH III, around the inlet of Pagasetikos gulf is the settlement located at Palia/Kastro Volos and the settlement of Dimini, since it is only there that we have large scale tholos tombs and large scale buildings (Adrymi-Sismani 2007, 324-347). On the other hand, at Peukakia only a settlement has been investigated, and furthermore all the other settlements are developed northern of the Volos' plain, to the plain of modern Velestinon and mainly around the Karla lake (Adrymi-Sismani 2007, 348-351). In addition, Mycenaean settlements have been founded in the plain of Almyros and especially in the western coastal area of Pagasetikos gulf, mainly on sites that were having small natural harbours with water sources and flat cultivable land. Nevertheless, no Mycenaean settlement has been located in the eastern part of Mount Pelion, due perhaps to the lack of cultivable land, nor in the coastal area, though there natural harbours with sources of water did exist.

According to the existing data, it appears that this habitation pattern was shaped before the end of the Middle Bronze Age (Adrymi-Sismani in press a), but this still remains a simple hypothesis, since first of all the exact number of the LBA sites is unknown, due to insufficient excavation data and secondly because certain settlements have already been inhabited from an earlier period, as is the case of Dimini (Tsountas 1908; Chourmouziadis 1979), Peukakia (Maran 1992), Palia/Kastro Volos (Malkasioti – Eustathiou 2002, 140-147) and Pherai (Arachoviti 2002, 48-55).

We take also into serious consideration that only three settlements have been excavated to a certain extent –Palia/Kastro Volos (Batziou-
Eustathiou 1998), Peukakia and Dimini (Adrymi-Sismani 2000; 2004-2005, 1-54) - and those results are already published; furthermore, a part of a Mycenaean settlement has been excavated in Aerino (Arachoviti 2000, 364-365) and Karla respectively (Adrymi-Sismani, in press b), on the occasion of the conduction of the Public Works. Moreover, various cemeteries have been partially excavated, as is the case of the four large scale tholos tombs in Dimini (Lolling - Wolters 1886, 435-443; 1887, 136-138; Michaud 1971, 936-937; Pelon 1976, 244-247), Palia/Kastro Volos (Avila 1983, 5-60) and Kasanaki (Adrymi-Sismani - Alexandrou 2009), as well as the cemetery of cist tombs in Nea Ionia of Volos (Batziou-Eustathiou 1985, 7-71) and Peukakia (Wolters 1889), the chamber tombs in Mega Monasterion (Theocharis 1964, 255-258), in Pherai (Intzesiloglou 1989, 219-220) and in Kato Mavrolophos (Malakasioti 1992) and finally the small scale tholos tombs in Pteleos (Verdelis 1951, 141-154, 1952, 164-185, 1953, 120-132), Aerino (Arachoviti 2000, 367-368) and Karla (Adrymi-Sismani in press b). Apart from certain individual efforts initiated in the 80’s by Feuer 1983; 1994, 211-214; 1999, 7-14, and also by Gallis (Gallis 1992), which however did not include the South-eastern edge of Eastern Thessaly in his Atlas, we stress out that no intensive survey program has been realized until nowadays. A topographic recording of prehistoric places in the wider region of Pherai has been conducted until nowadays. A topographic recording of prehistoric places in the wider region of Pherai has been conducted by O. Kakavogianni in 1977 (Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni 1979, 174-206) and was recently followed by the survey of the Greek-Italian collaboration team (Intzesiloglou 1997, 497-498); finally, a Greek-Dutch survey was carried out these last years over part of the Almyros plain (Reinders 2003). In general, the conducted research still cannot give us a complete picture of the habitation environment of the region. However we can acquire an idea of the built-up environment and conceive a hypothetical course of the communication network (fig. 1), which surely connected the harbour with the remainder settlements. A road would have begun from the harbour and should be developed up to Pherai, Karla, Petra, Mega Monasterion and Larissa. This is the later well known road that passed in front of Pilaf Tepe and linked Pherai with the harbour, where Pagasai was located, a part of which was revealed recently (Pikoulas 2002, 152-153; Schiza 2002, 173-188; Arachoviti 2000, 364-365). Another flatland internal network would have brought in contact the settlements of Southern Greece with the settlements of Eastern coastal Thessaly, and would have passed from Pteleos, Halos, Pyrassos, Peukakia; it would lead to the harbour. Another one can be supposed to have existed leading west in the direction of Pharsala, crossing Aerino and Phthiotides Thebai. Also, a coastal marine network would have linked the coastal settlements with the harbour Peukakia- Pyrassos- Magoula of Aidiinion, Halos and Pteleos. In addition, we report the main network of marine courses that would surely have brought in contact all the coastal settlements with the harbour, and finally one very significant marine network that would have brought in contact Iolkos with the rest of the well known Mycenaean World of the Aegean and of the Mediterranean.

A rough picture of road circulation within this very region we acquire from the Mycenaean settlement in Dimini (Adrymi-Sismani 1992, 272-278; 2004-2005, 6, fig. 2). There, a central road (figs. 2-3), 4.5 meters wide, crosses the settlement from North to South, while another, and a wider one, leads from the palatial centre to the harbour. It is remarkable how the central axis of the circulation was not in the direct disposal of the residents, since no one of the houses had direct access in this. It appears therefore that this street served basically in the contact of the palatial centre with the harbour and with the other settlements.

Even if the effort to re-establish the local road network is hypothetical - since the archaeological research did not locate up to nowadays the actual road axes -, however it should be stressed that all Mycenaean settlements in Thes-
HABITATION CHANGES IN THE EASTERN COASTAL THESSALY

...saly that were found in the course of these axes remained -despite their size, small or big- unfortified. This fact shows, on one hand, a period of peaceful habitation in Thessaly and it also indicates, on the other that the settlements were not in condition to keep their independence towards any palatial expectations coming from the more powerful centre, Iolkos, which was found in the harbour. Thus, the absence of fortified settlements rather strengthens the opinion that all settlements were obeying in a powerful centre which was in control of the harbour, but also of the remainder settlements. Since the settlements of Palia/Kastro Volos and Dimini are found in direct proximity, those settlements practised jointly or alternately the control of the harbour and, in extension, the control of distribution of products and of the commercial transactions that naturally yielded force and wealth in these settlements, that constituted the famous and legendary centre of Iolkos. The existence of this powerful centre is also supported by the large scale tholos tombs that were located in Dimini (Lolling – Wolters 1886, 435-443; 1887, 136-138; Michaud 1971, 936-937), but also in Palia/Kastro Volos (Avila 1983, 5-60), and recently in the Ring road of Volos (Adrymi-Sismani 2005, 59-61; Adrymi-Sismani – Alexandrou 2009) that obviously belonged to the rich families of rulers of this centre, described by the ancient sources as the legendary Iolkos.

Moreover, it is by now clear, from the excavations and the analogous finds, that among the other settlements located in the inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf, only the settlement of Dimini offers us a picture of a true administration centre, attesting a unique picture of the urban organization of the Mycenaean cities in Eastern Thessaly, in the end of the 13th cent. BC, a short time before the destruction. More specifically, the Mycenaean town in Dimini provides us with a full description of the household organization and equipment (fig. 4). So, we realize that, at the end of the 13th century BC, during the period that occurred just before the destruction, the Mycenaens of Dimini, were living into private and independent to each-other houses that were built, following the same orientation, on both sides of “well constructed roads”. Those were thoroughly organized around the complex architectural building including Megaron A and Megaron B, that constituted the administrative, economic and religious center, which permits the anax to control the agricultural and animal breathing production, the craft-based activities, as well as the religious activities that may be connected to artistic activities –like the taurokatharpsia-, but also with the commerce with the centers of Anatolia. The difference of this complex in relation to the rest of the houses of the settlement is explicit, not only due to the size and the dimensions of the rooms, but mainly due to its complexity and its whole organization concept.

If we try to compare this complex with the other large scale buildings of Southern Greece, we ascertain certain differences –like the absence of the cyclic hearth and the 4 columns-, but there is still similarity testified by the presence of the three rooms, the courtyard, as well as by the corridors (Adrymi-Sismani 1992, 272-278; 2004-2005, 6, fig. 2). Someone could also mark the lack of elegance in decoration, but the fact that the central road leads into this complex -in which someone enters through an impressive propylon-, while none of the rest of the houses has even access to the road, demonstrates the special character of this complex which has been isolated from the rest of the settlement, with a stone stockyard. This complex, actually constitutes a combination of habitation spaces, storage spaces that contained rural products and products of exchange activities –like the Chanaeite amphoras and the stone rubbers-, of laboratorial spaces –like the laboratories with the moulds- and also of cult spaces in Megaron B, in which was known the Linear B script (Adrimi-Sismani – Godart 2005, 47-69). Finally we observe that with the manufacture of this impressive building there is an explicit intention to mark the social hierarchy in the settlement, fact that is strengthened with...
the manufacture of two large scale tholos tombs (Lolling – Wolters 1886, 435-443; 1887, 136-138; Michaud 1971, 936-937).

Consequently, in Dimini, we have the only case of a Mycenaean town in Thessaly that is organized with a specific urbanistic plan that uses straight roads that lead to an administrative, economic and religious centre, which in the end of LH III B2 experienced a horrible destruction. However, the city is not abandoned immediately. There are obvious indications that in the next decades repair work and renewal of all buildings of the settlement are attempted, in two at least habitation phases both dated in LH III C early, as show the pottery (shallow angular bowl FS 295) and the skyphos (FS 284) with linear decoration, horizontal handholds and carinated body. This phase can be parallel with the phase LH IIIC Early and LH IIIC middle phase A in Palia/Kastro Volos (Batziou-Eustathiou 2003, 253-256) and with phases 1a and 1b of Lefkandi (Evely 2006, 137-150). Here we must stress that besides the repairs that occurred at that time, there are no observed changes in the organisation of the settlement, since its urban plan remains generally the same. The only thing we stress out is the fact that most of the buildings receive quick repairs and the free spaces are re-designed (fig. 5). The big thresholds of the interior space of Megaron A and Megaron B are ripped out, since door openings are getting smaller, and they are transported outside of the building, used afterwards as a second hand construction material for rapid creation of new small houses.

From this complex, only Megaron A (fig. 6) has been transformed in a simple private residence with the manufacture of new internal partitions and the isolation of certain workshops or storerooms that remained in complete disuse (Adrymi-Sismani 2004-2005, 28-36). The walls added in Megaron A after the destruction, in order to create the new rooms, are well constructed; however they are built with small stones and clay, in opposition with the wall layout during LH IIIB characterised by the use of bigger stones. Megaron A maintained the basic form of the megaron, and preserved also its floor from lime plaster that was repaired with plaster of inferior quality, while a stone construction, like a bench, is manufactured opposite of the central hearth, in the middle of the southern wall.

Megaron B, where we recognize — according to the excavation data — the existence of a cult space (Adrymi-Sismani 2004-2005, 39-41), gives an intact destruction layer and has received no innovation during this habitation change. It seems that before the destruction and expansion of the fire, the residents of Megaron B removed the big pithoi -as shows the imprints in the clay floor (fig. 7) - and perhaps also the precious utensils. On the contrary, outside, in the courtyard of Megaron B and above the layer of the destruction, new simple houses were created (fig. 8), constituted by one or two rooms, as happens with their equivalents created in the remainder free spaces.

The population that attempts those changes appears to be basically the same, since it uses the same Mycenaean pottery (figs. 9-10), as well as a new ceramic category - the grey minyan ware (fig. 11) - along with the handmade burnished ware (Adrymi-Sismani 2006, 85-100), that both appear for the first time in that area. It continues to cultivate the same ground with cereals, vineyards, and olives, and also has the same domestic animals. However, it is obvious that from now on we deal with a completely differently structured society, a society that has clearly a strict rural character. The workshops, where the stone moulds were located, remain closed after the destruction and henceforth the imported objects are completely absent. It appears that important changes are also occurring in the religious sector, since Megaron B, where the big altar existed and which was connected with Megaron A, after the destruction remains buried under the ruins, and it constitutes actually the only building that receives no repair (Adrymi-Sismani 2004-2005, 50-51). However, even after all these repairs that were realised
in order to survive with every possible way in this same space, it appears that the new development was not meant to last for long since the problems caused by the destruction seem that could not be overlapped, and so the population abandons a little later its houses for good, as well as its permanent cultivated ground and perhaps its domestic animals; they moved into another safer region, with a mass immigration in family groups, nearby by foot or faraway to the islands by boats, fact that brought the final abandonment of the region for quite a lot of centuries.

From all the process of repairs, remarkable are those realised in Megaron A, where a smaller Megaron was created in the same area. Since a similar phenomenon is also observed in the Megaron of Tiryns, where a replacement of the big megaron from Megaron T took place (Maran 2001), we could accept Maran’s opinion (Maran 2006, 143), according to which immediately after the destruction of the palatial system in Tiryns members of certain local families of nobles declared their ancestry from the generation of the Mycenaean anaktes and thus managed to practise a certain type of power that continued for a small interval of time after the destruction of the Mycenaean centres. If we share this opinion, then it is likely that in Dimini also a certain sovereign, a relative of the settlement’s anax, may perfectly have had also the intention to use the same old palatial building as an administrative centre, in order to coordinate perhaps the work of repairs of the settlement. It must be marked that all these facts describing the abandonment of the settlement were carried out peacefully, without any previous sign of intervention of possible exterior threat that could confirm the later Greek tradition of the Dorian invasion.

The phenomenon of a same destruction that occurred at the end of LH III B2, experiences simultaneously with Dimini also the neighbouring settlement at Palia/Kastro Volos (Adrymi-Sismani 2007, 340-342), as well as the settlement at Peukakia (Adrymi-Sismani 2007, 339-342). Those three settlements formed together one very important Mycenaean center located in the inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf: the legendary palatial center of Iolkos. This center was organised into family groups, who had their houses constructed around the port of the Gulf, as well as their monumental tombs nearby their Palaces, and they were functioning together as a unique economic, political and social entity, since they all belonged together in the large family of the Aiolian people. The argument of the social organization of the Mycenaean towns into family groups or tribes, which was initially raised by Christos Tsountas for the region of Mycenae, has been continuously confirmed in many other Mycenaean regions (Tsountas 1888, 124-126). Obviously, this powerful Mycenaean center that kept full control of the biggest Thessalian port, through which every maritime communication and mainly the commercial exchanges with the rest of the well known world of the Aegean and of Anatolia has been undertaken, was built around the deep Iolka (glosse used by Hesychius in order to describe the “channel”). This Iolka was shaped -according to the geomorphological research of Zänger- in the inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf already from the 3rd Millenium BC, and has been progressively filled with rubble coming down with by the course of the river Anauros.

However, we note that from the three settlements forming the center of Iolkos, the settlement at Peukakia does not seem to face this phenomenon in the same way with the residents of Dimini. According to the excavators, the settlement at Peukakia is depopulated immediately after the destruction, without any effort to repair the destroyed buildings (Theocharis 1956, 119; 1957, 54sq). On the contrary, in the settlement at Palia/Kastro Volos, life continued in LH IIIC Early, IIIC middle and IIIC later period, and afterwards the settlement rather passes smoothly in the Early Iron Age (Batziou-Eustathiou 2003, 253-262). However, it is obvious that also many things changed at the settlement of Palia/Kastro Volos after the destruction. The “crater of the warriors” of LH IIIC Middle
period probably suggests a new society of martial sovereigns that dominates henceforth the harbour and the plain of Volos. But, the excavation data from Palia/Kastro Volos does not testify that the population from Peukakia and Dimini refuges there, since -according to A. Eustathiou-, even if in LH IIIC middle phase b there was a derotation, there was no architectural element that was located over there –apart from repairs in the floors- that could show that new buildings were founded for the first time in this period, in order to accommodate refugees (Batziou-Eustathiou 2003, 253-262). On the contrary, the settlement at Pherai that appears flourishing in LH III A and B, is strengthened somehow to enter the III C middle, and it also continues up to the sub-mycenaean period –if we accept that the incineration pit that was recovered over there belongs actually to this period– (Arachoviti 2000, 355-371; Kakavogiannis 1977, 2, 174-187). Even if there was found sherds of a jug with 4 handles that shows contacts established during this period with the Northouest Peloponnese (Kakavogiannis 1977, 184, fig. 5) and even if a new ceramic kiln has been manufactured in the same area (Batziou-Eustathiou 1994, 215-224), there is no sufficient excavation data to postpone the construction of new buildings during this period. The fact that the Homeric “Catalogue of Ships” puts Iolkos under the leadership of Eymelos, sovereign of Pherai (Homer, Iliad, B, 711-714), must be explained according to the opinion that the “Catalogue of Ships” reflects more the situation in Thessaly as it was shaped after the destructions of the palatial centres, and least the Mycenaean reality (Morgan 2006, 239); consequently the poet thoroughly reports later evidence, when Pherai expands it’s control in the inlet of the Pagasetic gulf with it’s port, Pagasai; maybe also the name Pherai suggests “synoecism”, a concentration of population; maybe the smaller settlements that were abandoned at the end of LH III B2 they were synoecized with Pherai. In Aerino (Stavrakoudi 2002, 167-172; Arachoviti 2000, 364-365), we observe also a part of an organised Mycenaean settlement that survives after the destructions, since a small scale tholos tomb contains a burial of the LH IIIC and also another one of the Protogeometric period, fact that implies with clarity that the population uses the same burial monuments and the same burial customs in both periods.

The destiny of Peukakia and Dimini follow also most of the Mycenaean settlements situated around the gulf of Pagasetikos, as also happens with the settlements placed around Karla (ancient Boïbe), like the sites of Koryfoula, Petra, Visviki, Ntelichani, Tsiggenina, etc., that are all abandoned at the end of LH IIIB2 (Adrymi-Sismani 2007, 347-351), apart from the settlement on the hill of Ag. Athanasios (Adrymi-Sismani in press b), as well as the settlements in the plain of Almyros (Velanidia, Zerelia, Soupiri, Magoula of Almyros) (Adrymi-Sismani 2007, 351-353), except of Pteleos and Halos (Malakasioti – Mousioni 2001), that present a certain continuity into the next period. Consequently, the continuation of habitation after LH III B2 is certified for a short time period in Dimini and for LH IIIC middle and IIIC late at Palia/Kastro Volos (Batziou-Eustathioi 2003, 253-262), Pherai (Kakavogiannis 1977, 2, 174-187; Arachoviti 2000, 355-371; Stavrakoudi 2002, 167-172) and Aerino (Stavrakoudi 2002, 167-172; Arachoviti 2000, 364-365), at Halos (Malakasioti – Mousioni 2001, 353-368), and maybe at Pteleos (Verdelis 1952, 164-185; 1953, 120-132), provided that elements give us the right information.

For all the settlements that were abandoned in this period, the reasons that caused the desolation and the immigration of the population remain unknown. However, for the settlements around the lake Karla (ancient Voiveis), perhaps the cause was the rise of the level of the lake, that from 50m. reached 64m. According to Milojcic, this is the basic reason for the abandonment of Petra (Milojcic 1960, 156, 160), and this is confirmed by the recent excavations conducted in the settlements located in site Koryfoula (Adrymi-Sismani in press b) and Tsiggeni-
HABITATION CHANGES IN THE EASTERN COASTAL THESSALY

na (Adrymi-Sismani in press b), that were both found submerged by waters of the lake, after the end of the Mycenaean period. As far as this period is concerned, Kuniholm had initially claimed that after 1159 and for 20 years (Kuniholm 1996) dramatic changes happened in the climate that are connected either with the destructions in the 12th cent. BC either with the derogation, since after a period of rains follows a period of drought. Recently, though, in a collective article, Kuniholm and his co-authors declared that the Anatolian floating chronology was then misplaced and after having revised the dendro-chronological data coming up for about 22±4/7 years, they re-defined this period around 1181 BC (Kuniholm et al. 2001). In any case, if such phenomenon actually happened, it is likely that this would have decreased also the cultivable ground, and would have forced the people living around lake Karla to be incorporated in Pherai –where the Hyperia Source (Intzesiloglou 2002, 40-43) ensured the culture of the ground- and also in Aerino (Arachoviti 2002, 49), where the continuation of use of small scale tholos tombs and in Early Iron Age (Arachoviti 2002) shows continuation of habitation perhaps from the same population. For the Almyros plain, there are no elements in order to understand the desolation. A certain continuity is realised in Pteleos (Verdelis 1953) by the re-use of a small scale tholos tomb of the LH IIIC later in the Protogeometric period, and mainly from the use of graves, from the IIIC and afterwards, in the cemeteries of Agrielia (Verdelis 1953) (deposit with pottery of IIIB2-III C middle and graves with sub-mycenaean anakomide for use in the Protogeometric period) and of Voulokalyva (Malakassioti-Mousioni 2001, 353-368) (pits with sub-mycenaean and Protogeometric pottery, while the cemetery is used from LH IIIA-IIIB-IIIC, sub-mycenaean and Protogeometric), that are certainly connected with Halos (Malakassioti-Mousioni 2001, 353-368). So, this fact implies that there occurred a smooth passage into the Early Iron Age, as well as the nearby rich water sources in the site Cephali of Platanos guarantees a continuation of the cultivation of land in the plain.

Consequently, it is obvious that, after 1200 BC, important changes took place in the habitation environment of the eastern coastal Thessaly. The number of settlements –according to the existing data– decreased dramatically after LH IIIB2 to 80% (from 35 to only 5). We should therefore accept indubitably a concentration-synoecism of the population to a few nodal sites (fig. 12), all of which developed on the course of the main road axes of communication and at the same time next to flat cultivable land with water sources, or nearby coastal areas, where the development of the commercial activities would ensure a viable everyday life. This is the habitation environment that the Late Helladic inherits to the Protogeometric period, and this is the new situation that was thus shaped, perhaps due to the dramatic climatic changes in combination to the changes in economy following the collapse of the palatial organisation.

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Fig. 1. Potential Communication Networks in Eastern coastal Thessaly during LBA.

Fig. 2. Central road and Mycenaean houses in Dimini.
Fig. 3. Detail of the central road in Dimini.

Fig. 4. Kylikes in situ from the layer just before the destruction at LH III B2 in Dimini (storerooms of Megaron B).
Fig. 5. Plan of Mycenaean Dimini, with phase of repairs after the destruction during LH III C Early period.

Fig. 6. Plan of Mycenaean Dimini, with habitation changes after the destruction in Megaron A.
Fig. 7. Pithoi and pithoi imprints *in situ* from the storerooms of Megaron B in Dimini.

Fig. 8. Plan of Mycenaean Dimini in LH III C Middle, phase a.
Fig. 9. Mycenaean late LH II B2 pottery from the layer after the destruction in Dimini.

Fig. 10. Mycenaean LH III C Middle (phase a) pottery from the layer after the destruction in Dimini.
Fig. 11. LH III C Early Pseudo-minyan and handmade burnished ware from the layer after the destruction in Dimini
Fig. 12. Map of the LH sites in Eastern coastal Thessaly with indication of the remainder sites in Early Iron Age.
THE BRONZE AGE - IRON AGE TRANSITION AT MITROU IN EAST LOKRIS: EVIDENCE FOR CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY

The site of Mitrou is a small tidal islet located in East Lokris on the North Euboean Gulf (fig. 1). It is situated 20 km north of Orchomenos and Gla, 50 km north of Thebes and 60 km northwest of Lefkandi. The University of Tennessee and the 14th Ephorate of the Greek Archaeological Service are carrying out a 5-year collaborative program of excavation and survey of the site under the direction of the authors.

We have now completed 4 seasons of excavation, from 2004 through 2007. The islet of Mitrou has a surface area of 3.6 ha. It is quite flat, rising gently to the north to about 12 m above sea level (fig. 2). Archaeological remains cover the entire islet and continue below sea level for about 50 m to the east and west to a depth of 3 m. Thus sea level in antiquity must have been at least 3 m lower than at present and the site probably was not an islet but situated on a low rise close to the shore. Mitrou had never been excavated before the current project. No articulated architecture is visible on the present surface, but two geophysical surveys, carried out by us in 2003 and 2005, showed buried walls and possibly roads covering the entire islet (fig. 3: Tsokas et al. forthcoming). A pick-up survey conducted in 1988-1989 by Cornell University revealed that the islet was strewn with pottery from the Neolithic through Late Roman periods, the large majority dating to the Late Bronze Age and Protogeometric period (Kramer-Hajos – O’Neill 2008). This suggested that it had been occupied for a long time. In addition, natural scarps created by the sea on the east and west sides of the islet showed deep stratigraphic sequences with readily identifiable architectural features. In the summers of 2006 and 2007 we cleaned a 45-m stretch of the east scarp and found a succession of 25 occupational levels down to sea level (fig. 4). The pottery from those levels ranges in date from Early Helladic II to the Late Helladic III period.

Because of its seemingly uninterrupted oc-
cupation throughout the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, Mitrou is an ideal place to study crucial and poorly understood periods of Aegean prehistory, such as the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age—a subject to which Willy Coulson has devoted a considerable part of his scholarly life, and the topic of this symposium honoring his memory. Situated on the coast of the Euboean Gulf, which was a major passageway by land and sea between northern and southern Greece, Mitrou is an excellent site at which to study developments, as well as possible movements of people, goods, and ideas during this period of transition.

Our excavation focuses on two sectors in the northeast and northwest of the islet, chosen because of impressive architectural remains detected here by our geophysical surveys (Tsokas et al. forthcoming). Before discussing the Late Helladic IIIC and Protogeometric periods at Mitrou, it is necessary to present briefly the preceding phases, because they are important for understanding the significance of the Late Helladic IIIC occupation.

FORMATIVE PERIOD OF LATE BRONZE AGE PALATIAL SOCIETY AND BEGINNING OF PALATIAL PERIOD (Late Helladic I through Late Helladic IIIA:2 Early; ca. 1600 - early 14th century BC)

The earliest architectural remains we have exposed at Mitrou thus far date to the Late Helladic I phase. From this phase until Late Helladic IIIA:2 Early, Mitrou had an urban settlement with rectilinear buildings arranged along wide orthogonal streets. The most important structure of this period so far exposed is Building D in the northeast excavation area (figs. 5-6). Even though it is not very large in area, only 13.5 x 8.25 m, Building D has a monumental appearance for several reasons. Its wall socles measure 1.00 to 1.20 m in thickness and are much thicker than the walls of any other building at the site or—for that matter—of any contemporary building on the Greek mainland (Darcque 2005). Moreover, they were constructed with roughly cut limestone blocks that are larger than any others used at Mitrou. Thus it is clear that the building was intended to impress. For reasons still unknown, Building D and its adjacent structures were destroyed by fire early in the Late Helladic IIIA:2 phase, roughly at the beginning of the palatial period.

PALATIAL PERIOD: Late Helladic IIIA:2 Late through Late Helladic IIIB

Following this destruction there was a nearly total absence of building activity in the excavated areas at Mitrou in the Late Helladic IIIA:2 Late and Late Helladic IIIB phases. It appears that Building D and its adjacent settlement areas were left as visible ruins for some 170 years. Evidence for human activity in this period is limited to a few informal surfaces, pottery dumps, and some flimsy wall fragments (fig. 5). Pottery is still plentiful and of high quality, including Argive imports. Thus we know that Mitrou was not abandoned, but that its use had changed in a way as yet not understood.

POST-PALATIAL PERIOD: Late Helladic IIIC through Late Protogeometric

After the demise of the Mycenaean palaces, and possibly as early as Late Helladic IIIC Early, the excavated settlement area at Mitrou was rebuilt in its Prepalatial form—at least in the northeast excavation sector. On top of ruined Building D a new structure, Building B, was constructed, apparently as its successor (figs. 5-6). To judge from the partially preserved remains, Building B was rectangular and similar in size to Building D. The very southwest corner of Building B is missing, so we do not know whether its west wall formed an angle with the south wall or continued to form a south porch.
With a width of 70-80 cm, the rubble wall socles of Building B are less impressive than those of Building D, but more substantial than the walls of any other LH IIIC building at Mitrou. This as well as its location on top of Building D suggests that Building B was an important building in the Late Helladic IIIC settlement despite its apparently modest size and simple construction. Not much is known about its interior or its function. Two superimposed earthen floors (at c. +5.30 and c. +5.45) have been identified in its interior space north of wall 5, but neither had floor deposits. The interior space south of wall 5 has been much disturbed by the construction of apsidal Building A in the Protogeometric period. A construction date of Late Helladic IIIC Early for Building B is tentatively indicated by the latest pottery fragments found below a cobbled exterior surface just west of Building B, against which the west wall of the building had been set as a terrace wall (Rutter 2007, 289). Building B must have gone out of use by Late Helladic IIIC Late at the latest, because in that subphase a small structure, Building C, was set on top of its northwest corner (Lis 2009, 209-210).

To the west of Building B, the gaps between large stones that had fallen on top of the pebbled street were filled some time in LH IIIC, and rough gravel and cobbled road surfaces were laid at a higher elevation (ca. +5.30/5.70), forming a broad straight road about 3 m wide, a poor successor to the much better constructed pebbled Prepalatial street below. Elsewhere in the settlement, Late Helladic IIIC walls often were built on top of earlier, Prepalatial walls. This resumption of the Prepalatial settlement pattern after a gap of about 170 years is remarkable and it could be argued that a collective memory was maintained of property boundaries and settlement organisation (Van de Moortel 2009, 361-362). Unfortunately, none of these walls can be dated to a specific subphase of the Late Helladic IIIC period, and we have very few floor deposits. Until further study of the material we cannot say much more specific about the history of the settlement in this period nor about the activities that took place there. The fact that we have two or three architectural phases in the Late Helladic IIIC settlement indicates that it was quite long-lived.

Some time during Late Helladic IIIC Late phase, before the very end of the Bronze Age, we see a marked change in the quality of the architecture and the layout of the settlement at Mitrou. Up to now we had sturdy rectilinear buildings fronting directly onto roads, with open-air activities presumably taking place in interior courtyards. In contrast, new structures built in Late Helladic IIIC Late and later are isolated buildings and often have non-rectilinear, flimsy walls. In a radical departure of previous practice they have exterior courtyards with utilitarian structures, and activities taking place in full view of passers-by. It is argued here that these changes represent a shift from urban to rural occupation. The new buildings as a rule also have sunken floors, which is a feature already seen in Building B.

A typical new structure is Building G, constructed south of abandoned Building B in the Late Helladic IIIC Late phase (figs. 5-8). Only its northernmost space lies within our excavation sector and has been excavated. Building G has irregular and very flimsy walls, only 40-50 cm thick. Little of a mudbrick superstructure or collapsed roofing was found, and thus this space appears to have been a low-walled courtyard visible from the road rather than an interior room. Its main features are two circular cobbled platforms, 94 cm in diameter, the northern platform slightly overlapping the southern one. Both platforms had been covered by a thin layer of soil on top of which was a layer of clay. On top of the layer of soil, at the northern end of the upper platform, a large fragment of a pottery tray with 5 smaller vase fragments had been set upright to form a vertical edge. These pottery fragments likewise were covered with clay, and were resting against the north wall of Building G. The function of these platforms needs further investigation, but it is likely that
they were ovens or silos. They had been covered with a clay roof that had melted over the platforms and their immediate vicinity. The clay included many black streaks of burning, and the platforms show traces of burning as well, which makes their interpretation as ovens more likely (Blackwell 2007). The earthen surface of this courtyard is located at ca. +4.60-4.75, and is 70 cm lower than the contemporary road surface to its west, ca. 50 cm lower than the earthen surface to its north, and 10 cm to 15 cm lower than the earthen surface to its east.

To the west, on the other side of the broad cobble-and-dirt road, most of Building F was abandoned except for the southernmost exposed part of wall 31, which was rebuilt in a more flimsy way than before. A rough cobble courtyard was laid adjacent to the street, over walls 32 and 85 of the former staircase (fig. 5 right). Over the northern area of Building B, wall fragments 40 and 41 appear to be the remains of another flimsy, curvilinear building with a sunken floor, which was largely destroyed by subsequent activities (Building J). This new form of occupation with isolated, flimsy structures and outside courtyards located next to the road no longer has an urban character but is rural, and represents a marked departure from the layout of the earlier settlement. This rural character continues into the Protogeometric period with the construction of apsidal Building A in the Early Protogeometric phase, which likewise had a sunken floor and an exterior courtyard to its north, and with Late Protogeometric rectilinear Building E, which reused part of Building A as its exterior courtyard (see below). Similar changes in the character of settlements from urban to rural have been noted elsewhere in mainland Greece, including by Willy Coulson himself at Nichoria, in the southwest Peloponnese (McDonald – Coulson 1983; Whitley 2001, 77-80, 84-90; Desborough 1964). However, at many sites this change is preceded by a hiatus in occupation. At Mitrou there is no evidence for such interruption, and thus it cannot readily be argued that the shift to a rural life-style had been introduced by a new population. At present we do not know why the character of Mitrou’s settlement changed, but we will investigate its possible reasons through careful study of all available categories of evidence.

The change from an urban to rural settlement is accompanied by a marked shift in burial practices with the reappearance of intramural graves, which had not been seen at Mitrou since the Late Helladic I phase. These Postpalatial graves are mostly cist tombs made in the ruins of abandoned earlier structures. From 2004 through 2007 we excavated 30 graves and burials dating from the Late Helladic IIIC Late phase to the Late Protogeometric phase. Nearly all are cist graves, and most belonged to children, but some contained adults (e.g. cists 6, 22, 28, 33). Grave goods were seldom present and limited primarily to a few clay vessels and occasionally one or two metal pins. A Late Helladic IIIC Late cist grave (no. 5) was found ca. 15 m northwest of Building C and belonged to an infant. Situated in the west scarp of trench LL786, this grave has been only partially excavated. It is dated by a linear cup (LL786-030-011) found inside it (Lis 2009, 210, fig. 9:1). Two or three contemporary cist graves (Nos. 32, 38, and possibly 35) were placed in the rough cobble courtyard over Building F’s staircase. Several other graves cannot be dated more closely than LH IIIC/PG (cists 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, 17, 35, 46). Thus it is not possible to establish whether the transformation of living areas into burial grounds happened fairly rapidly or was a gradual process.

After Building B went out of use, a small rectangular structure labeled Building C was constructed over its northwest corner during the Late Helladic IIIC Late phase. Its architecture and contents have been discussed in detail elsewhere (Van de Moortel 2009, 362-363; Lis 2009, 209-210; Van de Moortel – Zahou 2003-2004, 44, fig. 6). Its small size and the presence of 22 to 26 miniature drinking and serving vessels as well as a cooking pot containing the carefully stacked thighbones of piglets indicate that
Building C was a special structure. It may well have been used for group ritual, perhaps in relation to nearby burials.

There is no evidence for a chronological hiatus between the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age at Mitrou. All pottery phases of this transitional period are represented, and we see continuity in burial practices and occupation. Building G went out of use before the end of the Late Helladic IIIC phase, and was covered by two layers of cobbles, one dating to Late Helladic IIIC and one to the Early Protogeometric phase. An adult was buried on its floor probably still in Late Helladic IIIC (grave no. 45), and had been disturbed in the Early Protogeometric phase, although an Early Protogeometric date for the initial burial cannot be excluded. An Early Protogeometric amphora (LM782-015-011) was placed in a pit near the grave presumably as a marker (fig. 8). Some 5 m to the northeast, in trench LO783a Submycenaean painted stirrup jar (LO783-007-014) was found in the plow zone over Building A; it presumably comes from a grave as well (Rutter 2007, 295, fig. 10). Several graves are datable to the Early Protogeometric phase. A particularly rich grave (no. 42) was found north of Building B, and contained a child buried with two bronze fibulae, a ceramic cup (LP785-080-012), a lekythos (LP785-080-013), and a small ceramic tripod (LP785-080-014). South of the grave, closest to the head of the child, an Early to Middle Protogeometric hydria (LP785-061-012) with a cup (LP785-061-011) as a lid had been placed into the edge of a large heap of stones, ostensibly again as a grave marker (figs. 9, 10). Partially overlapping this grave to the west was an unusual cist grave constructed of mudbricks (no. 33) with the flexed skeleton of an adult but no grave goods (fig. 11). Grave 33 in turn was partially overlapped by a Late Protogeometric cist grave (no. 36), which contained an infant buried with the other of two necklaces: one was made of pierced seashells and green faience disc beads and a larger central bead made of blue faience. The faience beads are identical to beads found at Lefkandi (G. Nightingale personal communication). With those were a cup (LP785-039-019), a juglet (LP785-039-018), a kalathos with impressed triangles (LP785-039-020), 3 pieces of an iron dress pin (LP785-039-011) and an indeterminate metal object (LP785-039-022).

Late Helladic IIIC and Protogeometric graves are clustered in groups, which often are located within the ruins of a former building. Through osteological analyses we hope to find out if people in those groups were related and whether or not a case can be made for continuity in land ownership between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. The spatial distribution of the graves is remarkable in that none have been dug inside Building B, and nearly all graves stay at least 3 m away from that particular building (fig. 5). This is shown most clearly by the layout of the row of cist graves 26, 27, 33, 36, and 42 located north of and parallel to Building B, and by the fact that graves were placed into the streets beyond Building B (fig. 9: e.g. cist graves 13, 44, 46). Thus it appears that the area of Building B was avoided for burial in this period.

A notable exception to this pattern is formed by four cist graves (nos. 29, 30, 39, 48) placed very close to Building B on its south side (figs. 5, 7, 8, 12). Three of the graves, two large (nos. 29 and 30) and 1 small (no. 39), had been constructed of conglomerate slabs, a material rarely used at Mitrou. These three graves date to the Early Protogeometric phase and predate Building A. The large graves had been thoroughly disturbed and robbed, but still held a few bones of adults. A tiny gold spacer bead with spiral engraving (LN782-174-011) was found in grave 29. The small conglomerate grave no. 39 held the body of a child without grave goods. The fourth grave, dug deeply into the wall of Prepalatial Building D, was constructed of limestone slabs and held another child buried with a Middle to Late Protogeometric clay cup (LO782-220-013). Even though the adult graves were found almost empty, the use of conglomerate and their position close to
Building B may signify that they belonged to prominent members of Mitrou's society. Similar pairs of prominent graves, one belonging to a warrior buried with weapons, and the other presumably to his female consort buried with an unusually large amount of jewelry, and sometimes accompanied by a prominent child's grave, have been found in the Late Protogeometric to Early Geometric cemetery at Atalante as well as in the Middle to Late Geometric cemetery at Tragana, 3 km south of Mitrou, and perhaps in the Late Geometric cemetery at Anavra-Fournos in Epiknemidian Lokris (Dakoronia 1993, 119-120; Onasoglou 1981, 14-23; for more references, see Van de Moortel 2007, 251-252). The much richer Middle Protogeometric burials from the Lefkandi Heroon fit into the same pattern (Popham et al. 1993). A comparable phenomenon has been noted by Kilian-Dirlmeier and Deger-Jalkotzy in cemeteries elsewhere in Greece dating from the Late Helladic IIIC Middle phase into the Early Iron Age, and has been interpreted by them as indicating the existence of a simple society with a small warlike aristocracy comparable to Homeric society (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006). The three Early Protogeometric conglomerate graves from Mitrou may be part of the same phenomenon, but are too much disturbed to allow a firm conclusion.

During an advanced stage of the Early Protogeometric phase, apsidal Building A was constructed inside the southern room of Late Helladic IIIC Building B (figs. 5, 6, 13: Van de Moortel 2009, 365). Only its apsidal part survived, with a preserved length of about 4.5 m and a maximum width of 6.9 m. Its wall is 60 cm thick. Building A was much disturbed in the Late Protogeometric phase, presumably by activities associated with Building E (see below). However, at several locations evidence was preserved for two superimposed clay floors (at ca. +5.10 and +5.15) representing two architectural phases. In the first phase, the building had a single wooden support, set on a rectangular stone base (sbl) in the center of the apse. In the second architectural phase, dating to the Middle Protogeometric phase, two rows of rectangular support bases were set across the apse for reasons as yet unknown. Building A went out of use in the early Late Protogeometric phase, leaving a substantial deposit of this date. Building A is one of only a dozen apsidal structures known from the Early Iron Age Aegean and one of four with substantial associated deposits (Van de Moortel – Zahou 2003-2004, 45-46). Thus it is expected to provide valuable new insights into the function of these buildings in Early Iron Age society. Preliminary study of its architecture and artifacts suggests that its occupants enjoyed a high status. The pottery from Building A included pedestalled cups, deep bowls or skyphoi, jugs, kraters, and pithoi. Fragments of five large kraters – more than are needed for an ordinary household – suggest that feasting took place on a scale that surpassed that of the household (Rückl 2007). Part of a bovine skull together with a blue stone bead, stone tools, and a loomweight were found in the center of the apse. Other finds possibly associated with Building A include a large plain bronze finger ring presumably belonging to a male. In all these respects, Building A fits the criteria set forth by Mazarakis Ainian for the identification of an Early Iron Age leader's dwelling (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 271-276). It is too early to conclude, however, that Building A indeed held such prominent status. To the south, geophysical mapping by G. Tsokas has detected buried curved walls close to the surface (Tsokas et al. forthcoming). It remains to be seen whether these were contemporary with Building A and were of equal or lesser status. If Building A can indeed be shown to have been a leader's dwelling, its location inside the southern room of Building B would provide a unique example of spatial and functional continuity between the final Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in the Aegean.

In the Late Protogeometric phase, a substantial rectangular building, labeled Building E, was constructed over the southeastern part
of Building A, destroying all but its apse (figs. 5-6). The walls of Building E are 0.60 m thick and made of large roughly cut stones that resemble those of Buildings A, B, and D, and may well have been reused from those structures. However, whereas the large stones of those earlier buildings were laid flat, those of Building E had been set on their edge. The function of Building E is unknown because its floor was removed by later plowing, and no artifacts were found in its interior that can be associated with this building. To the west of Building E, the occupants made the apsidal area of Building A into an exterior courtyard. A major activity that took place here was Murex dye manufacture. A rough stone platform set against the western wall of Building E contained many fragments of crushed Murex shells (Veropoulidou personal communication). Against its eastern edge a pi-shaped enclosure of unknown use had been set. In the northern part of the apse were three hearths--two placed on top of each other--that may have been used for boiling the shells. Many cooking pot fragments were found in this area as well. Two saddle querns (LN783-322-011 and LN783-322-012), found just south of hearths 2 and 3, may have been used for crushing Murex. A large pithos, at least 1 m high, had been partially sunk into the surface further to the west at this time or earlier to be used for storage or in relation to the purple dye operation (figs. 5 right, 13). Extracting purple dye from Murex shells creates most unpleasant odours, and it is possible that a dense layer of more than a thousand fist-sized cobbles found in the apsidal area had been placed here deliberately so that the area could be washed down occasionally without being reduced to a muddy pool (cf. Van de Moortel – Zahou 2003-2004, 45. A similar explanation for the cobble layer was first suggested by Mazarakis Ainian, personal communication). Building E went out of use in the Late Protogeometric phase, and this is also the date of the most recent graves at Mitrou, indicating that the site was largely abandoned in this phase. Pottery of later dates has been recovered in surface surveys, but is sporadic.

The findings presented here are preliminary, and it remains to be seen what the changes in architecture, spatial use, and burial practices at the transition from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age signify. During our future study of the material we will pay close attention to changes in behavioural patterns related to all aspects of life and death at Mitrou in hopes of being able to provide some answers to this question.

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Fig. 1. Map of central Greece with the location of Mitrou and other major prehistoric sites (B. Lis).

Fig. 2. Balloon image of the islet of Mitrou with the locations of the 2004-2007 excavation areas as well as the east and west sea scarps. The islet is oriented roughly north-south. August 2007 (K. Xenikakis).
Fig. 3. Results of 2003 and 2005 geophysical mapping of the islet of Mitrou. The open part in the northeast third of the islet was surveyed with electrical resistivity, and the wooded remainder of the islet with magnetometry (G. Tsokas).
Fig. 4. Deep stratigraphic sequence at the east sea scarp of the islet of Mitrou, recorded in 2006 and 2007 (A. Costi).
Fig. 5. Period plans of the northeast excavation sector in 2007; left: MH to LH IIIC Middle to Late; right: LH IIIC Late through LPG (A. Van de Moortel and G. Bianco).
Fig. 6. Balloon photo of northeast excavation sector in 2007, oriented north-south (K. Xenikakis).

Fig. 7. Balloon photo of courtyard of Building G in 2007, after most of its earthen floor had been removed. Immediately to its north are conglomerate cist tombs Nos. 29 and 30. Small conglomerate cist tomb No. 39 was dug through the north wall of Building G. Cist tomb 48, located to its east, and was dug through the south wall of Building D (K. Xenikakis).
Fig. 8. State plan of Building G and graves. Inside Building G is grave No. 45 of Late Helladic IIIC or Early Protogeometric date with Early Protogeometric amphora LM782-015-013 as a marker (G. Bianco).
Fig. 9. State plan of area just north of Buildings D and B with row of Protogeometric cist graves. From right to left: EPG grave No. 42 with MPG hydria LP785-061-012 as a marker; mudbrick cist grave No. 33; LPG graves Nos. 36, 27, and 26. To the far right is LH IIIC/PG cist grave No. 46 (G. Bianco).
Fig. 10. Rich child's cist grave No. 42 of EPG date, with MPG hydria LP785-061-012 as a marker; the mouth of the hydria had been closed with a cup (LP785-061-011).

Fig. 11. Mudbrick cist grave No. 33 of PG date with an adult burial but no grave goods.
Fig. 12. Group of Early Protogeometric elite graves between Buildings A and G; for their locations, see figs. 5, 7, and 8.

Fig. 13. Balloon image of Building A with sunken pithos, hearths, and grinding slab of the LPG purple dye manufacturing installation (cf. fig. 5 right).
LA PHOCIDE À L'ÂGE DU FER

L'histoire de la Phocide a fait des progrès significatifs au cours des deux dernières décennies. On compte d'abord plusieurs monographies de qualité qui ont changé la vision que l'on pouvait avoir de cette région. Pierre Ellinger a proposé une interprétation riche des mythes relatifs au conflit entre Thessaliens et Phocidiens, s'inscrivant dans la ligne de l'anthropologie historique française (Ellinger 1993). D'autres études ont appliqué les principes de la sociologie constructiviste à l'étude de l'identité ethnique phocidienne. C'est le mérite de Jeremy McLnerney (McInerney 1999) d'avoir reconsidéré le cycle de légendes en montrant le caractère dispersé et, d'une certaine façon agrégatif, pour reprendre une expression qui est de Jonathan Hall (Hall 1997), des mythes fondateurs de l'identité phocidienne. Dans son dernier ouvrage, Catherine Morgan (Morgan 2003) a repris la question qu'elle avait déjà abordée dans sa thèse, à partir des sanctuaires et, d'une façon plus générale, de l'archéologie, insistant sur le caractère récent de l'ethnogenèse phocidienne.

Ce renouvellement de l'analyse a été permis grâce à d'assez nombreuses découvertes archéologiques. Il faut d'abord citer les fouilles, déjà anciennes, mais magnifiques et récemment reprises, du sanctuaire d'Artémis Hyampolis (?) à Kalapodi (voir surtout Felsch 1980; 1987; Jacob-Felsch 1996; Felsch 2007), qui donnent un point de repère d'autant plus important pour l'Âge du fer qu'il fait pendant à Delphes. Les découvertes plus récentes faites par le service archéologique et l'équipe austro-grecque qui a travaillé à Élatée ont également changé la donne et les articles de synthèses de Mme Dakoronia aident considérablement à cerner l'histoire de la région et de sa voisine, la Locride de l'Est (voir notamment Dakoronia 2002 et 2003). Il convient aussi de citer Photis Dasios qui a livré en 1992 un très utile catalogue des sites de Phocide, avec leur bibliographie (Dasios 1992), faisant connaître l'état des connaissances à cette date pour chacun d'entre eux. Comme on le voit, les découvertes sont nombreuses et importantes depuis une trentaine d'années, mais elles se concentrent surtout dans le Nord de la région.

Je voudrais pour ma part apporter ma contribution en mettant l'accent sur Delphes et sa région ainsi que sur celle de Médéon. On a beaucoup fait usage de l'archéologie des sanctuaires, j'insisterai davantage sur l'archéologie funéraire. C'est donc principalement sur le Sud que j'ai porté mon attention. Or le rapport entre le Nord et le Sud offre justement l'une des clés les plus importantes de l'histoire phocidienne. Le paysage lui-même nous l'enseigne. En effet, si toute la région comporte des petites plaines et surtout des massifs montagneux, c'est au Nord que le Céphise et ses nombreux affluents innervent, d'Ouest en Est, la seule grande plaine que la Phocide possède et qu'elle partage avec la Béotie. C'est là que se trouvent la plupart des cités de l'époque historique: Drymos, Tithronion, Amphikai, Élatée, Tithorée, tandis que sur les bords de l'Assos, qui n'est qu'un affluent du Céphise, se trouvaient Yampolis et, à peu de distance, Abai. Au Sud, les agglomérations
Les XIIe et XIe s.

Les deux siècles qui ont suivi la chute des palais, quel que soit le nombre d'étapes que l'on restitue pour cet événement, ont provoqué une évolution différentielle. Le catalogue placé en annexe de cet article rassemble 32 sites occupés à l'Helladique récent III et au Submycéniens, dont 24 à l'HRIIIB (fig. 1), 15 à l'HRIIIC (fig. 2) et seulement 8 du SM (fig. 3). Sur ces 8 sites submycéniens, 6 se trouvent au Nord : Skoteiniane (cat. 27), le site du futur sanctuaire d'Athéna Kramaie (près d'Elatée, cat. 25), Elatée (cat. 10), Kalapodi (cat. 13), Amphiklaia (cat. 4) et Modi (cat. 21). Quant à Mouliki (cat. 22), il s'agit d'une tombe unique. On voit donc que les sites qui se maintiennent sont situés au Nord, Delphes (cat. 8) et Médéon (cat. 20) faisant exception au Sud où les abandonns sont plus nombreux.

Dans la région de Delphes, nous pouvons noter au début du XIIe siècle une modification importante du schéma d'occupation du sol (figs. 4-5). Delphes est un site de montagne installé à 600 m d'altitude sur un versant abrupte. La pente y atteint les 30 %. Si le village actuel est visible de la mer, il n'en est rien pour le sanctuaire antique, ni pour la ville qui l'entourait. L'occupation remonte au XVIe siècle av. J.-C. au moins, mais c'est la dernière période d'occupation (HRIIIB et surtout C) qui est la mieux documentée (Müller 1992). A l'HRIIIC récent, une avalanche de rochers destructrice a écrasé les maisons du village. On observe donc un développement du site au XIIe s. Or, cette situation

2. La catastrophe est attestée par des vases écrasés sous les rochers dans les maisons du village mycéniens, voir Müller 1992, 472. L. Lerat a trouvé (BCH 64-65, 1940-1941, 258-259) près du trésor de Potidée une coulée de vase de terre jaunâtre, constituée presque entièrement de cailloux, qu'il avait interprétée comme le dépôt dû à un deuxième accident ayant recouvert une partie du site. Il datait l'Épisode de la fin de l'Age du Bronze, et S. Müller, regrettant de ne pas trouver de reproduction du mobilier dans la notice, l'avait suivi. Ce type de dépôt est caractérisé des coulées de boue et de pierre qui recouvrent des secteurs du site, encore récemment le 2 juillet 2006. Mais, parmi le matériel recueilli dans cette même couche, figurait une applique en terre cuite, trouvée « à grande profondeur », représentant un sphinx, « en terre de Corinthe, de ce type répandu à travers tout le monde grec ». L. Lerat en concluait qu'il fallait faire remonter « très haut » l'histoire de ces sphinx assis au visage tourné vers le spectateur dont il donnait un parallèle à Pérachora, daté de l'archaïsme récent. Mais ces appliques, comme il le dit lui-même, sont fort bien connues. Encore faut-il préciser qu'en connaissance de nombreux exemplaires sortant du même moule, ou du moins de la même famille de moule. On en a trouvé 25 dans l'atelier même où on les fabriquait au Quartier des potiers : cf. Stillwell 1952, 159-163. Une date avant le dernier quart du VIIe s. est exclue et A.N. Stillwell écrivait, sans doute avec raison : « the type originated in the early 5th century ». Elle notait également qu'un exemplaire découvert dans le sanctuaire de la Double stèle indique la persistance du type au moins jusqu'au début du IVe s. Il faut donc dater la coulée de boue et de pierre du Ve ou IVe s., comme le laissait déjà pressentir la présence dans la coulée d'un bloc en poros avec un cadre incisé, si caractéristique, à Delphes, de l'archaïsme. Quant à la coulée découverte au-dessous, elle n'est manifestement pas en position primaire.
LA PHOCIDE À L'ÂGE DU FER

351

un contraste fortement avec ce qui se passe plus bas, dans la plaine. Cette dernière accueillait, à l'époque mycénienne, cinq sites. Kirrha (cat. 16), installée en bord de mer, est sans doute le plus ancien (Effenterre van et al. 1960; Müller 1992, 490, no. 12). Il remonte au moins à l'HA, mais les couches les plus anciennes, trop profondément enfouies sous la nappe phréatique, n'ont pas été explorées. La période la plus importante de l'historique du site est celle de l'Hélodique Moyen, mais la ville a continué son existence pendant la plus grande partie de l'époque mycénienne (pour l'HRIIA et B, voir Mountjoy 1999, 747-750, nos. 1-2, 4, 6, 8, 9). Au cours de l'HRIII, elle n'était peut-être plus qu'un établissement secondaire par rapport à Krisa, mais l'occupation y est néanmoins solidement attestée. Dans le mobilier conservé au musée de Delphes qu'elle a pu examiner, P. Mountjoy a identifié une série de vases ou de fragments venant de Kirrha qu'elle date de l'époque mycénienne, dont deux seulement (138 et 82) de l'HRIIB1. Des niveaux de l'HRIII ont néanmoins été rencontrés lors des fouilles françaises de 1938, mais ce sont les nombreuses opérations de sauvetage effectuées par D. Skorda pour le service archéologique qui nous les font mieux connaître. En 1995, son équipe a ainsi rencontré des couches de l'HRIIA2 à une quinzaine de mètres du rempart classique. En 1997, une maison datée de l'HRIII B (et C ancien ?) a été découverte près de l'église de la Dormition de la Vierge, à proximité du site exploré par H. van Effenterre et J. Jannoray (ΑΔ 52, 1997, Χρονικά, B2, 447, 451). L'occupation semble s'inter-

3. Un nouveau programme de prospections et de fouilles a été engagé par D. Skorda et J. Zurbach (Ephorie de Delphes et École française d' Athènes).

4. Deux amphores à étiers globulaires (round type) sont publiées dans ΕΥΠΠΟ 1, 1997, 87, fig 2. On peut hésiter entre l'HRIIB et C. Toutefois, la plus grande d'entre elles a de meilleurs parallèles à l'HRIIB pour la disposition des lignes sur la panse, par exemple Mountjoy 1993, 85, fig. 197 et à Delphes même Mountjoy 1999, 771, no. 147, fig. 301, qui date de l'HRIIB2, mais le début de l'HRIIC n'est peut-être pas à exclure. La plus petite présente, au milieu de la panse, entre les deux registres de façon à ne pas rompre, en l'état actuel de la documentation, au début de l'HRIIC et ne reprendra, malgré la découverte isolée d'un moule d'épingle PG (voir cat. 16), que dans la seconde moitié du VIe s.

Dominant la plaine, le site dit Krisa (cat. 17), situé dans l'actuelle Chryssosse, se trouvait sur une faible hauteur, à la base du versant du Parnasse qui borde la vallée du Pléistos (voir BCH 61, 1937, 299-326 et plus récemment, Müller 1992, voir aussi Hope Simpson – Hagel, 2006, 94-95, avec toute la bibliographie récente). À l'HRIIB, l'établissement fut équipé d'un formidable mur d'enceinte qui protégeait un espace de 235 000 m², capable de défendre, non seulement la petite agglomération, mais une population de réfugiés, des troupes ou des troupeaux d'animaux. L'abandon est marqué à la fin de l'HRIIB par une couche d'incendie, mais ne fut pas complet, puisque S. Müller y a identifié quelques fragments du début, du milieu, voire de la fin de l'HRIIC et mentionne une tombe de cette période. De son côté, P. Mountjoy date également quelques vases de l'HRIIC ancien, moyen et un vase de l'HRIIC récent (Müller 1992, n. 28. Voir aussi Mountjoy 1999, 773-796, qui date les nos. 196, 206, 208, 228, 233, 235, 239 de l'HRIIC ancien, les nos. 256 et 261 de l'HRIIC moyen enfin le no. 268 de l'HRIIC récent). Toutefois, la documentation reste limitée et les destructions ne semblent pas avoir épargné ce site. L'occupation cesse complètement autour de 1100 et ne reprendra que plus tard, non pas sur le site fortifié de l'Âge du Bronze, mais plus haut sur le versant, à Haghia Varvara, comme l'ont révélé les fouilles de Mme Skorda (sur ce site, voir Skorda 1992; ΑΔ 49, 1994, Χρονικά, B1, 319-320).

Giona, au lieu-dit Glas (cat. 11). On ne confondra pas, bien entendu, avec le célèbre site homonyme du lac Copaïs. Il s’agit d’un établissement occupé de l’HRIII A2 et de HRIIIIB. Lors de leur visite sur le site, Hope Simpson et Dickinson ont également repéré des tessons qu’ils datent de l’HRIIIC, mais sans certitude. Les mêmes auteurs relèvent la présence de tombes, et, plus au Sud, à Moultki (cat. 22), tout près d’Itea, on a mis au jour encore d’autres tombes à chambre, datées de HRIIIA2-IIIB. Manifestement, Moultki n’était que la nécropole de Glas. Le second site mineur se trouve plus haut dans la vallée du Pleistos, au lieu-dit Makelarika Kastroulia (cat. 19). Les informations disponibles sur ce petit établissement sont très limitées, mais l’occupation paraît avoir commencé à l’HM. Elle est attestée (après une rupture ?) au cours de l’HRIIIA et B.

A l’HRIIIC, les cinq sites de la plaine disparaissent ou ne font donc plus que survivre (pour Makelarika Kastroulia, l’exploration est trop limitée pour exclure une occupation à l’HRIIIC). Au Xe s., quatre des cinq sites sont entièrement abandonnés. La seule exception est Moultki (cat. 22) où au moins une sépulture a été déposée dans la nécropole mycénienne, mais nous ne disposons d’aucune trace d’un habitat contemporain, et l’on ne peut exclure que les utilisateurs de la tombe aient réduit à Delphes. On ne sait même pas si l’on a réutilisé une ancienne tombe ou si l’on en a creusé une nouvelle aux côtés des anciennes (ou de l’ancienne, car une seule tombe a été repérée jusqu’à aujourd’hui). Le mobilier date du SM (?) et du PG. Les autres sites n’ont livré aucun vestige, ni pour le SM, ni pour le PG sauf Kirrha où, nous l’avons vu, on a perdu un moule en pierre pour épingles de bronze, mais il s’agit d’une découverte complètement isolée.

Le contraste avec Delphes, située en montagne, est donc, comme nous le disions, saisissant. La ville qui devait abriter plus tard le fameux oracle ne fit pas que se maintenir, elle se développa. Ce phénomène de fuite depuis les côtes vers des sites-refuges mieux abrités est connu en Phocide à d’autres époques. Ainsi au Xe siècle de notre ère, la vie d’Hosios Loukas (896/7-953) évoque la pression des incursions arabes et des déplacements des personnes fuyant les pirates. On se retirait d’ordinaire vers les montagnes, mais on pouvait aussi, comme le grand père du saint, gagner un port épargné jusque-là. A l’époque qui nous occupe, le phénomène de retrait des côtes a été reconnu depuis longtemps en Crète. Kr. Nowicki a réussi à en mesurer l’étendue pour l’île dans un livre qui contient un catalogue de plus d’une centaine de sites-refuges apparus en même temps, au début du XIIe siècle (Nowicki 2000). La tablette An 1 de Pylos mentionne l’envoi de trente « rameurs à Pleuron » recrutés dans cinq localités différentes (Chadwick – Ventris 1973, 183-186). En ajoutant les hommes mentionnés dans les autres tablettes qui paraissent lui être associées, l’expédition aurait mobilisé 443 hommes. Si ce site est bien celui qui, en Éolie, porte ce nom chez Homère et durant toute l’époque historique, le texte atteste l’existence de troubles...
et d'opérations militaires dans le golfe de Corinthe. Les peintres sur vase de l'HRIIC représentaient partains des scènes de combat sur des navires (Tropis V, 119-125).

On a souvent mis en relation la destruction des palais et le déferlement des peuples de la Mer sur une partie de la Méditerranée orientale (voir notamment Drews 1993. Contra Dickin­son 1999; 2006, 46-50). Nous parlerons, pour notre part, d'une présence de la piraterie sur les côtes ou, simplement, de navires hostiles. Le changement dans le schéma d'occupation du sol que l'on observe dans le golfe d'Itée, corréle à la destruction violente de Kírha, doit en effet s'interpréter comme une réponse à une menace accrue venant de la mer. Mais il convient aussi­tôt de noter que cet impact risque d'avoir été localisé dans le golfe d'Itée. L'importance, la richesse des deux grandes agglomérations qui s'y trouvaient et la vulnérabilité de certaines d'entre elles, notamment de Kírha, l'expliquent aisément. En effet, dès que nous passons un peu plus à l'Est, dans le golfe d'Antikírha, on observe rien de tel. A Médéon (cat. 20), les travaux de S. Müller ont montré que plusieurs tombes avaient été utilisées au cours de l'HRIIIB et C sans solution de continuité (Müller 1999. Voir aussi Mountjoy 1999, qui date le no. 223 de l'HRIIIC ancien, les nos. 249, 251 à 254 de l'HRIIIC Moyen et les nos. 269, 283 de l'HRIIIC récent). Ainsi, les tombes 29 et 29b, d'un type orthogonal de grande taille, toutes deux dotées d'un dromos aujourd'hui presque entièrement disparu, ont reçu des sépultures, pour la première de l'HRIIB à la fin de l'HRIIIC, pour la seconde de l'HRIIA/B à la fin de l'HRIIIC. La tombe à ciste du type à orthostate 19 est restée en usage de l'HRIIIC à l'HRIIIA, tandis que l'on creusait, à la fin de la période, une série de tombes à fosse individuelles dont six exemplaires ont été fouillés (87, 114, 131, 134, 162, 223). Mais ces irrégularités et le caractère local des phénomènes ne surprennent pas dans un contexte de ce type. En effet, la topographie change sensiblement l'attractivité d'un site pour des agresseurs extérieurs. A Médéon (fig. 6), l'habitat était situé sur une hauteur culminant à 83 m d'altitude et tombant à pic dans la mer. On pouvait la contourner par un col qu'il était également aisé de défendre. A l'époque classique/hellénistique, le site, d'un intérêt stratégique manifeste, reçut un beau mur d'enceinte, encore aujourd'hui magnifiquement conservé, qui complète à l'Ouest et au Nord les défenses qu'offre le relief. Entre Delphes et Médéon, deux autres sites occupés à l'HRIIIB ont été repérés : Kastro Sténou (cat. 14) et Antikírha (cat. 5). Leur exploration étant peu avancée, le maintien du premier à l'HRIIIC n'est encore qu'hypothétique. L'absence de vestiges de cette époque à Antikírha ne peut être tenue pour définitive. Mais, contrairement aux sites de la plaine d'Itée, les deux sites ont survécu à l'âge du fer. Tous deux ont livré des traces d'occupations du Protogémétroc. Même si l'on ne peut exclure un abandon provisoire, la continuité est ici bien plus vraisemblable.

GR. Toutefois, la plus grande partie du mobilier est postérieure à la fin des palais et s'étend principalement entre l'HRIIIC moyen et le début du PG. Le mobilier a frappé les chercheurs par sa richesse. Moins spectaculaire, le cimetière de Skotineiané a également livré un riche mobilier, mais plus récent, principalement SM. Toutefois, l'usage de ce cimetière remonte sans doute plus haut dans le temps. La même richesse éclatante apparaît dans la nécropole de Kalapodi dans des tombes que l'on date de l'HRIIA-B et C où l'on a récemment découvert deux bagues-cachets en or portant pour l'une une représentation d'animal et pour l'autre une scène religieuse (BCH 128-129, 2004-2005, 2.2, 1424).

Ces données doivent être corrélatées à celles recueillies dans la Locride orientale, où la pauvreté des établissements contraste avec la richesse phocidienne, comme Mme Dakoronia l'a observé (Dakoronia 2003). Il y a là, dans cette région au Nord du Parnasse, principalement le long de la vallée du Céphise, comme un îlot de prospérité qui frappe dans cet environnement de pauvreté ou de désolation. Notons toutefois l'importance du site de Mitrou, en cours de fouilles dans Locride de l'Est, où un établissement important a traversé sans encombre majeure l'âge du Bronze et l'âge du fer (AR 51, 2005, 52-55).

Une partie de la Phocide semble donc avoir échappé aux vicissitudes de l'époque. On a déjà fait observer que les destructions de la fin de l'HRIIB et de l'HRIIC avaient épargné le golfe qui fait face à l'Éubée (Crielaard 2006). C'est sans doute ce qui explique un autre phénomène: la surprenante continuité que l'on observe dans les modes funéraires. En effet dans un grand nombre de régions, le passage de l'Âge du Bronze à l'Âge du Fer, un siècle après la fin des palais, est marqué par l'abandon complet ou presque complet de la tombe collective, qu'il sagisse de la tombe à chambre, forme la plus usuelle à l'époque mycéniens, ou de la tombe à tholos. Cette évolution s'engage à partir du SM. On l'observe de façon tout à fait nette en Attique, en Béotie, en Locride, en Étolie, en Acarnanie, et, pour se limiter au continent, à une grande partie du Péloponnèse. Or, en Phocide, non seulement la tombe à chambre se maintient au XIe siècle et même au-delà dans certains sites, mais souviennent il s'agit des mêmes cimetières, voire des mêmes tombes qui restent en usage jusque parfois une date avancée dans l'âge du fer. Ainsi, à Elatée, la continuité est complète. Elle concerne aussi bien l'usage du cimetière, parfois des tombes elles-mêmes, que les types de tombes. La tombe à chambre est bien attestée à Skoteiniané au SM (ΑΔ 25, 1970, Χρονικά, B1, 237; ΑΔ 26, 1971, Χρονικά, B1, 231) et même à Delphes dans un cimetière qui se contenait par ailleurs que des tombes mycénienes (Lerat 1937).

Cette continuité qui accompagne le maintien d'une prospérité dont on a peu d'exemples dans le monde grec du XIe s., paraît hautement significative. Insistons encore sur la nature de cette continuité qui ne se limite pas aux rites ou aux types de tombe, mais aux lieux mêmes où l'on enterrait les morts, les cimetières mycéniens, parfois des tombes elles-mêmes, restant en usage à l'âge du fer. Une telle continuité qui se prolonge loin, dans certains sites, à Elatée notamment, dans l'époque géométrique, reflète probablement celle des hommes et de leurs structures sociales.

Ainsi, le grand choc du XIIe siècle n'a affecté de façon significative qu'une partie de la Phocide: le golfe d'Ithée. Ailleurs, la continuité paraît l'emporter. Elle se maintient également au XIe s., quand on la voit s'interrompre dans tant de sites. Mais cette situation conduisait les Phociens à un développement plus continental et, non pas au cloisonnement, mais à la fragmentation des évolutions qui se comprennent à un échelon de plus en plus local.

LES Xe-IXe s.

Durant les deux siècles qui ont suivi, aux Xe et IXe siècles av. J.-C., la Phocide est toujours orientée vers l'intérieur des terres. On peut sup-
poser que s'articulait alors un pastoralisme sans doute développé à une agriculture des versants et des poljes, tandis que des cultures plus prospères en plaine s'étendaient le long des fleuves, notamment le long du Céphise. L'orientation continentale de l'économie de cette période transparaît dans la céramique. À Delphes, les productions locales sont clairement affiliées à celles de l'Eubée et de la Thessalie. Les sklyphos à groupes de demi-cercles suspendus ou à ligne ondulée domine dans le mobilier découvert dans les maisons (fig. 7). Les importations athéniennes sont rares. Ceux de Corinthe existent déjà, mais restent encore limitées et ne sont pas imitées.

À Médéon, le mobilier, plus diversifié qu'à Delphes, provient uniquement des tombes. La mer joue déjà son rôle. On a rapproché depuis longtemps une cruche (plutôt que lécythe) à embouchure ronde recueillie dans la tombe 143 d'un vase presque identique trouvé à Aéotos dans l'île d'Ithaque et d'une oenochoé à embouchure trilobée, mais au décor très semblable, issue d'une tombe du cimetière de Derveni en Achaïe orientale (fig. 8: Vatin 1969, 62, fig. 59). Pour la comparaison avec Aéotos et Derveni, voir déjà Snodgrass 1971, 85, figs. 42-44, voir aussi Coldstream 1968, pls. 47f et 48j). On note également une oenochoé attique (Vatin 1969, 62, fig. 58, tombe 167). Mais la plupart des vases ont leurs pendants en Béotie, dans le Nord de la Phocide ou en Locride de l'Est.

Manifestement, la région ne fait que renforcer les tendances mises en place dans la période précédente. Il y a pourtant des innovations importantes. La crémation connaît un développement spectaculaire. On la retrouve dans les tombes d'Elatee où elle pénètre les vieilles tombes à chambre. Dans le golfe d'Antikyra, que ce soit à Antikyra même (PpE 1907, 111sq.; BCH 108, 1984, 782) ou à Médéon, les modes funéraires changent encore davantage. On y pratique une forme de crémation primaire en fosse. Mais ce qui indique le particularisme de la Phocide du Sud, c'est l'abandon complet, à partir du PG au plus tard, de la tombe collective. L'inhumation se maintient néanmoins, et contrairement à d'autres régions funéraires, elle ne concerne pas que les enfants. Mais elle prend place au sein de tombes à ciste dans lesquelles les corps sont placés en position contractée, alors que les régions comme l'Attique ou l'Eubée où la crémation est majoritaire, on préférait la position allongée sur le dos. Nous avons donc là le développement d'une séquence spécifique sans parallèles stricts ailleurs pour le moment, du moins à ma connaissance.

Dans le nord de la Phocide, aux côtés de cimetières qui maintiennent les traditions anciennes, apparaissent d'autres cimetières qui présentent des caractéristiques entièrement différentes. On n'en connaît que le seul de façon en tant que des détails, mais il est peu vraisemblable que ce fût le seul cas. Tandis que la crémation se développe dans la plupart des sites phocidiens, elle n'est pas attestée à Modi, dans un cimetière situé à un km au Sud-Est de l'agglomération actuelle (BCH 122, 1998, 815; ΑΔ 46, 1991, Χρονικά, B1, 193; ΑΔ 47, 1992, Χρονικά, B1, 200; BCH 123, 1999, 727; ΑΔ 48, Χρονικά, B1, 205-206). Dans ce site, on ne mentionne, en l'état de la documentation publiée, que des tombes à ciste et des enchytrismes. Les corps sont tous en position contractée. Or, il s'agit là d'une séquence funéraire qui est loin de nous être inconnue. Elle est en effet la forme quasi exclusive de la Locride à l'Acarnanie, dans une grande partie du Péloponnèse, et, au VIIIe siècle, dans tout le Péloponnèse ainsi que dans de plus rares sites insulaires. L'apparition de ce cimetière au PG est d'autant plus intéressante qu'il remplace d'autres cimetières, à Skamma et en bordure SE du village actuel, occupés à l'époque mycénienne et dont l'usage s'est interrompu au SM (pour les fouilles de Skamma, voir ΑΔ 54, 1999, Χρονικά, B1, 370-372). Pour le cimetière en bordure de la ville, dans le terrain Liarakis, voir ΑΔ 50, 1995, Χρονικά, B1, 343-344; ΑΔ 49, 1995, Χρονικά, B1, 343-344). Dans un ouvrage à paraître où j'étudie un corpus de
plus de 6000 tombes dans toute la Grèce (Luce 2007; à paraître), je souligne l’étroite relation qu’il y a entre l’extension de cette séquence et la zone où, sur le continent, on parle un dialecte dorien (zone 1 sur la fig. 9). Bien que la combinaison si caractéristique de ces traits funéraires se soit élaborée sur place, il est probable qu’elle a pris assez rapidement une signification ethnique comme marqueur identitaire. Malgré la prudence qui s’impose quand on dispose d’une documentation si lacunaire, on doit garder à l’esprit que la présence de cette séquence dans certains sites phocidiens, si elle venait à se confirmer plus nettement, peut avoir été le reflet d’une progressive dorianisation linguistique de la région. Il y eut en tout cas dorianisation funéraire. Mais remarquons qu’elle concerne des groupes restreints qui apparaissent ou se développent à peu de distance d’autres groupes sans doute plus anciens qui se maintiennent. À cette époque en Phocide, la dorianisation funéraire est un phénomène très local et inégal. On ne peut dire, en l’état actuel, si elle est le fait de groupes qui viennent s’installer dans la région ou si elle est due à une influence.

Ce caractère hétérogène des modes funéraires phocidiens, la diversité des séquences que l’on peut y repérer sont assez inusuels au regard de l’extrême homogénéité funéraire du monde dorien continental. Elle explique le caractère inclassable de la séquence phocidienne qui se distingue de tout ce qu’on faisait autour. Le point le plus significatif est la différence par rapport à la séquence dorienne. La Phocide fait exception dans toute la partie du continent où l’on parle un dialecte dorien ou nord-occidental qui frappe par sa cohérence. Mais si la Phocide était clairement dorienne sur le plan linguistique à l’époque des premières inscriptions, elle ne l’était pas vraiment sur le plan ethnique au VIe siècle. En effet, le travail de McInerney montre bien que l’identité ethnique des Phocidiens telle qu’elle se dégage de l’analyse des mythes prétend s’appuyer sur un passé antérieur à la guerre de Troie et constitue un ensemble légendaire à part et disparate, chaque cité ayant son histoire, distincte de celle des Phocidiens en général dont la figure éponyme est Phokos (McInerney 1999, 127-153). Si des relations sont possibles, c’est avec Corinthe, d’où proviendrait Phokos selon une tradition transmise par la scholie à l’Iliade 2, 517 et, d’après McInerney, avec la Thessalie, d’où provenaient ces personnages mythiques que sont les Kragalides et les Aiolides. Le même McInerney a proposé une interprétation séduisante mais périlleuse : un fond éolien important aurait existé en Phocide, qui expliquerait la variante d’un Phokos d’Égine et les mythes de fondation de Phocide en Asie mineure. McInerney va jusqu’à envisager une migration depuis la Thessalie. Si cette migration a eu lieu, l’archéologie funéraire de l’enregistre pas. On ne trouve pas, en Phocide, de ces tombes à tholos si spécifiques de ces toutes la Thessalie. La continuité paraît au contraire forte et nette en Phocide, la séquence “dorienne” limitée, comme elle l’est d’ailleurs, mais sous une forme différente, en Thessalie. Quoi qu’il en soit, le caractère partiel, agrégatif et hétérogène de l’identité phocidienne tel qu’il transparaît dans les mythes se reflète assez nettement dans la diversité des séquences funéraires.

Continuité et continentalité paraissent les deux points marquant des Xe et IXe siècles. Il n’en est pas de même pour le VIIIe siècle.

LE VIIIe s.

Au VIIIe siècle en effet, la Phocide du Sud rompt avec cette dominante continentale. C’est dans le domaine de la céramique que l’évolution est la plus visible. A Médéon 16 des 29 vases datant du GR (ces chiffres sont provisoires) ont été fabriqués à Corinthe ou sur la côte Nord du Péloponnèse. A Delphes, où le mobilier est plus abondant, il est possible de suivre la progression des importations corinthiennes aux dépens de la production locale. Ladite classe de Thapsos qui définit un atelier de la côte sud du golfe de Corinthe (Corinthe ou Aigion), forme
la plus grande part des importations. Les vases en céramique fine ne sont pas les seuls à traverser le golfe, les amphores et hydries corinthiennes connaissent un développement important à Delphes. Il est intéressant de comparer la courbe des amphores corinthiennes (ou apparentées) à celle de deux autres productions d’amphores (Table 1): la production locale se caractérise par une pâte un peu plus grise que celle de Delphes et qui s’en distingue surtout par le type de dégraissant qu’elle contient. Comme on observe à Kalapodi la présence de cette céramique, il me paraît vraisemblable qu’elle provient de la Phocide du nord. Or, les importations du golfe de Corinthe finissent par avoir raison de celles du continent et diminuent sensiblement la part de la production locale dans la totalité du mobilier en céramique modelée.

A Delphes, on ne compte pas les offrandes dont on attribue, de façon assurée pour certains objets, de façon plus hypothétique pour d’autres, la production à Corinthe, que ce soit dans les objets en bronze, statuettes, trépieds de bronze ou de la céramique (voir Luce 2008, 402-407 et 412). On a souvent insisté sur le rôle de la colonisation dans l’essor de Delphes, et Forrest a souligné avec raison que le développement de Corinthe avait entraîné celui de la cité phocide (Forrest 1957. Sur les importations corinthiennes en Phocide, voir aussi McInerney 1999, 137). On trouve chez McInerney l’idée, dont on a accueilli à Kalapodi et qui m’a permis d’examiner ce mobilier.

Amphores et hydries locales, de Grèce centrale et de Corinthe

Table 1: Evolution relative des amphores à Delphes, dans les niveaux de l’aire du Piler des Rhodiens.
reprise au rapport préliminaire de Claude Va­
tin, qu'à Médéon cet essor aurait constitué une
concrérence qui aurait affaibli la cité (McIner-
ney 1999, 137). Cette reconstruction n'est pas
impossible, mais elle reste en l'état très incer-
taine. Jusqu'à présent, on ne connaît de Médéon
qu'un petit cimetière. Nos connaissances sont
trop partielles. En tout cas, les tombes du GR
ne paraissent pas plus pauvres que celles des pé-
riodes antérieures.

Cet essor de l'influence corinthienne n'a
datax Vu concerné que le littoral du golfe de Co-
rinthe et divers auteurs ont souligné l'import-
tance des importations corinthiennes à Kalap-
odi et ailleurs. Mais il s'agit là d'un développ-
ement économique. Je voudrais maintenant
considérer le développement politique. Sur ce
point, les informations sont limitées. Toutefois,
McInerney et moi-même nous avons indépen-
damment développé la question des relations
deuD elphes et Panopée (McInerney 1999,
128-129; Luce 2008, 48-50). On dispose sur ce
point d'un ensemble de données assez diverses.
La plus ancienne est une mention du Cata
glogue des Femmes (Hésiode, fr. 58, v. 10-14; voir aussi
Lycomphron, v 939-942; Tzetzes, Scholies à Ly-
cophron, 930 et 939), qu'on attribuait dans l'Ant-
tiquité à Hésiode, mais que l'on date aujourd'hui
plutôt du VIe siècle et dont voici le texte :

ή τέκετο Κρίσον και ύπέρθυμον Πανοπήα
νυκτί μιήι.
Τώ και πριν ίδεειν λαμπρόν φάος ήελίοιο
Μαρνάσθην έτι μητρός έόντ έν γαστέρι
κοίληι.

Elle (Asterodeia) enfanta Krisos et Panopeus
au grand cœur en une seule nuit. Avant même
de voir la lumière éclatante du soleil,
deux enfants se combattaient, alors qu'ils
étaient encore dans le ventre creux de leur
mère.

Les deux personnages sont les éponymes
de Krissa et de Panopée (ou Phanouteus). Krissa
est le nom que donnent de nombreux auteurs
ta la cité que Delphes a dû affronter, avec l'aide
de l'amphictionie, lors de la première guerre sa-
crée. Mais c'est aussi dans l'Hymne homérique
t à Apollon par ce nom que l'auteur désigne la
région où Apollon a choisi de fonder son sanctu-
taire. D'après Pausanias, les citoyens de Pano-
pée s'identifiaient aux Phlégyens, ce peuple qui
pourrait bien être le masque légendaire d'une
réalité historique. Une scholie aux Thériaques
de Nicandre évoque en effet un sanctuaire phlé-
gyen à Delphes (Theriaka 685a, éd. Crugnola).
Les relations entre Panopée et Delphes sont
d'une proximité surprenante. Ainsi la phra
trie des Labyades faisait inscrire ses règlements
dans les deux cités, comme c'est inscrit sur le
cippe des Labyades lui-même (Pour le cippe
des Labyades à Delphes, voir Rougemont 1977,
no. 9, D29-31). L'inscription de Panopée a été
retrouvée (Camp et al. 1997, 261, n. 3. Voir aussi
de raison d'y voir le simple indice de relations
commerciales dans cette relation. Il semble plu-
tôt que la même phratrie s'étendait sur les deux
cités. Le texte du Pseudo-Hésiode suggère une
extension de la puissance panopéenne jusqu'à
Krissa. Delphes pourrait bien être tombée un
temps sous la domination de cette cité qui
était pourtant assez éloignée. Toute une série
de textes évoque les exactions des Phlégyens
dont la plus significative est d'avoir incendié
le temple de Delphes. La plus ancienne source
remonte à l'historien athénien Phérécyde citée
par une scholie au vers XIII 301 de l'Iliade (=
FGrH 3 F 41e) :

Φλεγύαι Γόρτυναν κατοικούντες παρα-
νομώτατον και Ληστρικόν διήγον βιον και
καταρέχοντες τοὺς περιοικοὺς χαλεπώς
ηδίκουν.... Πλείονα δε τολμώντες αδικήμα-
tα κατά Διώς προαίρεσιν ύπο Απόλλωνος
dιεφθάρησαν. Οὔτοι δε ένέπρησαν και
tόν ἐν Δελφοῖς ναὸν τοῦ Απόλλωνος.Η
ιστορία παρά Φερεκύδη.

Les Phlégyens, qui habitaient Gortyne, me-
taient une vie de hors-la-loi et de brigands
et, par leurs coups de main, maltraitaient
méchamment les habitants de la région. [...]

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Pas de preuves donc, mais une forte suspicion. Si l’on se place dans le cadre de l’hypothèse où les Phlégyens seraient bien les gens de Panopée, où l’incendie des années 730 serait le résultat d’une incursion hostile, il faudrait alors voir dans le conflit dont nous aurions les traces archéologiques la marque de l’extension d’une puissance qui se serait étendue bien au-delà de son territoire et qui ferait reposer son expansionnisme sur un système de phratries. Delphes et ses richesses étaient, bien entendu, une proie très attractive. Si Panopée a sans doute rapidement perdu une influence et un pouvoir trop grands pour elle, les relations tribales se sont maintenues jusqu’à l’époque classique, comme en témoigne le cippe des Labyades.

On peut tenter, de façon très hypothétique également, de pousser un peu plus loin la reconstitution historique. Krīsa, que nomme le Catalogue des Vaisseaux dans l’Ilïade, n’a pas disparu pour autant. Est-ce à cette époque que son territoire s’est fixé ? A l’issue de ladite première sacrée (596-586), le territoire de la cité vaincue n’a pas été annexé ni confondu à celui de Delphes. Il a été consacré à la triade apollinienne et à Athéna Pronaia. Cette consécration donna lieu à ce qu’on appela alors la Terre sacrée. Il s’agit d’un territoire qu’il ne faut surtout pas confondre avec celui de la cité de Delphes. Il est possible, grâce aux travaux de Denis Rousset, de connaître quelques éléments de son extension territoriale, aux travers des divers règlements frontaliers que les épigraphistes appellent des “bornages” et dont plusieurs ont été trouvés à Delphes (Rousset 2002). Comme on le voit sur la carte dressée par D. Rousset (fig. 11), la terre sacrée, et donc, par-delà, le territoire de Kirra/Krīsa, occupe une partie de la plaine, très fertile et arrosée par le Pleistos, sur les versants du Pleistos et sur une partie du plateau de Desphina. Cela nous donne une idée de ce que pouvait être un territoire à cette époque en Phocide. Loin de prendre place entre les obstacles que dresse le relief, ils sont à cheval par-dessus. Il en est de même pour Delphes. A un terroir agricole diversifié, il convenait donc d’ajouter des pâturages de hauteur. Lors de la première guerre sacrée, la Pythie avait donné aux Amphictions le conseil suivant :

Οὐ πρὶν τῇδε πόλης ἔρεισετε πῦργον ἔλοντες, πρὶν κεν ἐμὼ τεμένει κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης κύμα ποτικλύζῃ κελαδοὺν ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον.

Vous ne prendrez ni ne détruirez l’enceinte de la cité avant que ne vienne se briser contre mon témenos, en bruisant sur la mer vineuse, la vague d’Amphitrite aux yeux bleu sombre.

Il fallait donc que le territoire du dieu s’étendit de la montagne à la mer. Ce flirt de la montagne et de la mer et, au delà, des plaines du nord, anime toute l’histoire de la Phocide. Au début de la période, au lendemain de la
chute des palais, la mer paraît menaçante dans le golfe d’îtea, mais elle l’est moins dans celui d’Antikyra. S’engage alors une longue période pendant laquelle la logique continentale semble l’emporter sur celle de contacts maritimes, sans qu’elle soit pour autant abandonnée. Les développements locaux paraissent l’emporter sur les évolutions générales. De grandes disparités apparaissent sur le plan funéraire. Une certaine pénétration, mais limitée, de la séquence funéraire dorienne semble attestée, aux côtés de cimetières où la tradition paraît l’emporter.

La logique maritime n’occupe la première place qu’à partir du VIIe siècle, et particulièrement à partir du géométrique récent. La présence de Corinthe (et d’Egion ?) est alors très marquée. Le développement de la colonisation et l’essor de Delphes qui lui répond changent la situation dans toute la Phocide où la richesse revient du côté de la mer. Mais il ne faut pas confondre développement économique et politique. Si l’hypothèse d’une expansion de Panopee jusqu’à Delphes, que marquerait le grand incendie des années 730, devait se confirmer, nous aurions au contraire le développement d’une puissance continentale. Il en sera de même au lendemain de la première guerre sacrée au début du VIe s. Malgré l’essor de Corinthe et son omniprésence économique à Delphes, malgré l’implication de Clisthène de Sicyone dans le conflit et dans les premières Pythia, malgré le rôle joué par la Pythie dans la colonisation, l’Amphictionie qui s’installe à Delphes rassemble des puissances très majoritairement continentales dont l’élément principal se trouve en Thessalie. Au moment où la réputation de l’oracle se répand et attire des pèlerins de toute la Méditerranée, Delphes dépend, sur le plan politique, du Nord. C’est là que se noue le nœud de l’Histoire, un nœud qui lie à Delphes le Nord et le Sud, la montagne et la mer, le commerce, les mouvements coloniaux et la politique.

ANNEXE

Sites de l’HRIIIB et C en Phocide.

Les mots en caractères romains sont les noms antiques des cités de l’époque historique tels qu’ils ont été identifiés par Rousset 1999 (sauf Krisa dont le nom est antique, mais l’identificiation encore incertaine); les noms en italique sont des toponymes modernes

1- Abai (commune d’Exarchos, au lieu-dit Paliochori). Site d’habitat. HRIIC; Arch.; Hell.; Rom. Dasios 1992, no. 45. La nécropole a été découverte à environ 1,5 km, à Sykia Exarchou, au lieu-dit Vrysì. Elle a livré des tombes à chambres de l’HRIIIC.

2- Aghia Paraskevi. Site d’habitat. N; HAI-III; HM; HRIIIA-B; HRIIIC (?). Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979, no. 61; Dasios 1992, no. 3.

3- Ambryssos. Site d’habitat? HMII-III; HRIIIA; HRIIIIB; HRIII C; G; Cl.; Hell.; Rom.; Paléochr.; Byz.Dasios 1992, no. 94.


7- Daulis (Davlleia). Site d’habitat. HA I; HA II; HA III; HM; HRII/II; HR III (A-B); G; Cl.; Hell.; Rom. Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979, no. G49; Dasios 1992, no. 54; Müller 1992, 489, no. 4.

8- Delphes. Site d’habitat et tombes. Site oc-


22- Moulki. Tombes à chambre HRIIIA2 ; HRIIIB; SM (?) et PG. Il se peut que Moulki ait été la nécropole de Glas (cat. 11). Il s’agit d’une petite nécropole, tout près d’Itéa, dont une ou deux tombes ont été éventrées par l’armée française durant l’automne 1917. Lerat 1952, 163-167, L, 4, Li et LII. Mountjoy 1999 date le no. 43 (= Lerat pl. 51. 1b, Inv 8585) de l’HRIIIIC, le no. 95 (=Lerat pl. 51. 1a, Inv 8586) de l’HRIIIIC, le no. 108, qui serait une importation argienne (Lerat pl. 51. 1c, Inv 8444) également de l’HRIIIIB, le no. 300 (=Lerat, pl. 52. 1 du SM, mais hésite avec le PG, Inv 5723), le no. 310 (=Lerat, pl. 52. 2, Inv 5724), du SM. Elle ne date pas les vases de la pl. 52. 3
ni ceux de la pl. 51. 2. La cruche 52a a des parallèles à Médéon (avec un pied un peu plus conique) que les associations permettent de dater du PG, voire plus récemment. On ne sait pas s'il y avait plusieurs tombes mycénienes ou une seule. Pappadakis et Lerat n'en ont vu qu'une seule. S'il n'y en avait qu'une seule, alors la tombe aurait eu deux périodes d'utilisation, une première à l'HRIIA2-HRIIIB, la seconde au SM-PG (à moins que l'ensemble soit du PG)


24- Parapotamioi (Anthochori au lieu dit Lévendi). Site d'habitat avec un mur cyclopeen ou apparenté N.; HM; HRIIIA2; HRIIIB; PG; Arch.; Cl.; Hell. Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979, no. C59; Dasios 1992, no. 51


26- Skisté Odos (6 km au nord de Distomo, au croisement des routes antiques de Thèbes et de Daulis). HAI; HM (?); HR ou PG ou G; Cl. Site d'habitat préhistorique. Le site est principalement HAI, mais pour une épée en bronze de type Naue II, on hésite entre l'HRIIIB ou C ou le début de l'Age du fer. Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979, no. G50; Dasios 1992, no. 66; Müller 1992, no. 16, 490

27- Skoteiniane. Tombes à chambre. HRIIIA; HRIIIB; HRIIIC; SM. Dasios 1992, no. 18.


32- Zéméno. Site d'habitat. HRIIIA; HRIIIB; G; Cl.; Hell.; Rom. Dasios 1992, no. 112; Müller 1992, 490, no. 18.

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Fig. 1. La Phocide à l'HRIIB.
Fig. 2. La Phocide à l'HRIIC.
Fig. 3. La Phocide au Submycénien.
Fig. 4. Delphes et sa région à l’HRIIB.
Légende :
- Delphes  Site occupé de façon dense
- Krisa   Occupation résiduelle
+ Tombes
- Site d'habitat

Fig. 5. Delphes et sa région à l'HRIIC.

Fig. 6. Le ravin de Médéon de Phocide donnant sur la mer.
Fig. 7. Un skyphos à demi-cercles concentriques et un skyphos à ligne ondulée trouvés à Delphes dans l'aire du Pilier des Rhodiens.

Fig. 8. Trois œnochoai provenant sans doute d'un même atelier achéen, mis au jour, de gauche à droite, à Médéon, à Dervéni et à Ithaque.
Fig. 9. Carte des régions funéraires entre 1000 et 700 av. J.-C.
Fig. 10. Delphes de l'époque mycénienne à l'époque archaïque, avec l'extension de l'incendie des années 730.
Fig. 11. Les limites de la terre sacrée d'après D. Rousset (Rousset 2002).
Negli ultimi anni gli studi relativi alla periferia del mondo miceneo sono stati oggetto di un crescente interesse da parte degli studiosi di archeologia, complice l’incremento delle ricerche archeologiche in aree che possono considerarsi periferiche rispetto agli sviluppi della cultura palaziale micenea (cf. bibliografia). Questa nuova tendenza della ricerca ha fatto in modo che si delineasse in maniera progressivamente più nitida un nuovo quadro dell’assetto territoriale della Grecia continentale della Tarda Età del Bronzo e del periodo submiceneo.

L’interesse delle ricerche archeologiche recenti infatti non si è spostato soltanto da un punto di vista spaziale verso la periferia, ma anche in senso cronologico verso il periodo post-palaziale e la fase di transizione dall’Età del Bronzo a quella del Ferro, gettando così un ponte tra gli studi di micenologia e quelli che interessano i periodi Submiceneo e Protogeometrico.

Il cosiddetto medioevo ellenico, periodo che secondo la cronologia proposta dal Coulson copre un lasso di tempo che va dal 1125 al 700 a.C. circa, è stato a lungo considerato come una mera fase di transizione o di degrado diffuso, e, sulla base di tale preconcetto, è rimasto un periodo oscuro nell’ambito degli studi di egeistica.

Metaforicamente si può affermare che oggi, alla luce delle recenti scoperte, sembra possibile portare avanti una “rivisitazione” di quel periodo definito in maniera poco felice medioevo greco o età oscura.

Se infatti in passato la caduta dei palazzi micenei era considerata una cesura netta che sanciva la fine di un’epoca gloriosa, quella micenea, e l’inizio di un’età oscura, caratterizzata da turbolenze e invasioni di popolazioni alloigne e veniva a definire la linea di demarcazione di ambiti disciplinari distinti, oggi le nuove ricerche sembrano mettere in evidenza una continuità culturale che va dalla fine del periodo Miceneo agli inizi di quello Protogeometrico. Tale continuità non esclude l’introduzione di innovazioni nella cultura materiale (Moschos handout) e nell’organizzazione sociale che trovano terreno fertile all’indomani della caduta dei palazzi micenei (Mazarakis Ainian 2006, 206).

E’ ormai opinione generalmente condivisa che nel passaggio da un periodo all’altro siano verificati furono cambiamenti graduali che, tra l’altro, hanno comportato una riorganizzazione sociale da cui emergono comunità poco allargate e autosufficienti guidate da nuove eliti locali. La questione della eredità micenea dal periodo Submiceneo in avanti resta invece ancora abbastanza dibattuta (Dickinson 2003; Snodgrass 2006).

La Grecia continentale non risponde in maniera omogenea ai cambiamenti che fanno seguito al collasso del sistema palaziale: i territori si riorganizzano in maniera diversa e possiamo immaginarne che in tale riassetto una variabile sia il grado di compenetrazione e coinvolgimento nel sistema stesso.

Le forti tendenze regionalistiche, che già
in epoca micenea caratterizzavano il territo-
rio greco e in particolare le aree periferiche, in
epoca post-palaziale prendono il sopravvento.
I territori periferici si configurano come zone
culturalmente “miceneizzanti” piuttosto che
aree “miceneizzate” o di cultura micenea (Feuer
2003).

Il periodo successivo alla caduta dei palaz-
zi, che nelle zone più vicine alle strutture pala-
tine si configura come un periodo di destrut-
turazione del precedente assetto organizzativo,
per le aree periferiche rappresenta un periodo
di fermenti culturali e sociali.

Questa considerazione vale anche per
l’area che intendiamo prendere in considerazio-
nale: il Peloponneso nord-occidentale, territorio
oggi circoscritto nelle regioni di Acaia ed Elide
(la parte settentrionale)\(^1\).

Nel corso del Bronzo Recente quest’area
sembra rimanere estranea allo sviluppo della
civiltà palaziale micenea ed esserne influenzata
soltanto in maniera riflessa o comunque mar-
ginale.

A partire dalla fase finale dell’Età del Bron-
zo questa regione diviene un vero e proprio
centro propulsore di nuove dinamiche socio-
culturali.

A margine del sistema organizzativo dei pa-
lazzi, la zona nord-occidentale del Peloponneso,
assieme alle isole dello Jonio e all’area a nord del
Golfo di Corinto (Focide, Etolie-Akarnania),
sviluppa tradizioni proprie che si manifestano
appieno nel corso del TE IIIC soprattutto nella
decorazione ceramica\(^2\).

A partire da una fase avanzata del Tardo
Elladico III questa area si configura archeologi-
camente caratterizzata da una propria e forte

identità culturale, pertanto ci si riferisce spesso
ea essa come koinè occidentale. (Papadopoulos
1995; Moschos. handout).

Gli sviluppi delle ricerche mettono in evi-
denza che le popolazioni della koinè occidenta-
le soprattutto nel corso del Tardo Elladico IIIC
erano aperte agli influssi esterni e agli scambi
non soltanto con il resto della Grecia, ma anche
con regioni lontane come l’Italia e Cipro (Mo-
schos 1997, 293; Kolonas 2000, 96; Eder 2006,
558-559).

Le tracce dei contatti con l’Italia sono at-
testate almeno fino alla fine del Tardo Elladico
IIIC dai rinvenimenti ceramici di Roca Vecchia
(Guglielmino 1996) e Punta Meliso (Benzi –
Graziaio 1996) in provincia di Lecce. Centrale
nell’ambito di tali commerci era il ruolo di Ke-
phalonia in virtù della sua posizione geografi-
ca (Sgouritsa 2005, 523; Eder 2006, 558; Moschos
2007a, passim), mentre per quanto riguarda
Cipro attestazioni di ceramica di probabile de-
rivazione cipriota provengono da Portes, nella
zona sud-occidentale dell’Acaia a confine con
l’Elide (Moschos 1997, 293).

Le ricognizioni di superficie e gli scavi di
necropoli condotti sia in Acaia che nella parte
settentrionale dell’Elide hanno dimostrato, l’esi-
stenza di una fitta rete di abitati (sono stati rico-
nosciuti oltre un centinaio di siti) occupati nel
corso del periodo palaziale, ma anche in epoca
successiva.

La caratteristica eterogeneità geologica di
tale territorio ha determinato insediamenti con
vocazione distinta. Il paesaggio all’interno del-
là regione infatti muta di frequente e spesso in
maniera drastica.

Le comunicazioni interne hanno risenti-
to della complessa articolazione del paesaggio,
tanto che perfino zone contigue in linea d’area
risultano isolate tra loro.

Già in epoca palaziale si può presumere
che l’organizzazione territoriale nelle aree peri-
feriche fosse diversa rispetto a quella delle aree
direttamente gestite dai palazzi; di conseguen-
za è assai probabile che la caduta del sistema
non abbia provocato sostanziali cambiamen-

\(^1\) Desidero esprimere tutta la mia gratitudine ai dot-
tori L. Kolonas e J. Moschos per il sostegno e la generosità
scientifica nel mettermi a disposizione le loro conoscenze.

\(^2\) La ceramica ascrivibile al TE IIIC e al periodo
Submiceneo proveniente dalla zona occidentale dell’Acaia
è oggetto di un accurato studio da parte di J. Moschos, il
quale ha il merito di stabilire una prima ed esaustiva clas-
sificazione cronologica della ceramica della zona occiden-
tale della regione.
ti nell’assetto territoriale delle periferie (Eder 2006, 555, 557; Moschos in corso di pubblicazione), le quali alla fine del Tardo Elladico IIIB sembrano organizzate in piccole comunità autosufficienti (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 174).

Gli insediamenti micenei si impiantano generalmente su ampie zone collinari da cui è possibile controllare le vie di comunicazione che dall’interno dell’Acaia conducono alla costa e viceversa (Rizio in corso di pubblicazione). Generalmente la loro localizzazione lascia aperta la possibilità di espansione dell’insediamento (Wallace 2006, 647).

Questa possibilità di estensione viene sfruttata nel corso del Tardo Elladico IIIC e del Submiceneo in quanto probabilmente le esigenze di insediamento rimangono sostanzialmente invariate.

Paradigmatico del criterio topografico in base al quale avveniva la scelta di occupazione di un dato territorio appare il caso di Portes/Kephalyvryso alle pendici del monte Skollis (1016 m), il massiccio più imponente della zona meridionale dell’Acaia, da cui si ha un’eccezionale visuale in direzione delle isole dello Jonio (Moschos 2000, 10; Kolonas 2001, 257-258), nonché la possibilità di controllare l’accesso alla fertile area meridionale attraverso i valichi montuosi.

L’insediamento relativo alla necropoli è stato localizzato in prossimità di quest’ultima, ma a oggi vi sono stati condotti soltanto dei saggi di scavo (Moschos comunicazione personale).

Una serie di siti di carattere pedemontano presenti soprattutto nel territorio sud-occidentale dell’Acaia, nella cosiddetta Dymaia Chora (Kolonas 2000) e nella Chora di Kalavryta, risultano vitali sia durante che dopo l’Età Micenea, mentre per quanto concerne la zona orientale della regione, la chora Aigaleia che si sviluppa attorno alla città di Aigion, non si hanno molti dati a disposizione.

Anche la Chora di Patrasso (area che in epoca classica si estendeva da Drepanon a Tsoukaleika: Morgan 2006, 13) appare densamente popolata nel corso del TE IIIC.

Questa zona, in virtù probabilmente della sua posizione strategica nell’ambito dei contatti commerciali con l’Adriatico e il resto della Grecia, rispetto alla quale fungeva da tramite, sembra vivere un periodo di particolare ricchezza proprio all’indomani della caduta dei palazzi (Eder 2003, 41; Moschos in corso di pubblicazione). In effetti i nuovi fermenti si scorgono nelle produzioni ceramiche (Moschos 2007), ma hanno la manifestazione più ellatante nella deposizione dei corredi funerari.

Senza precedenti appare la magnificenza che si manifesta attraverso i corredi funerari di alcune élites locali sopratutto nella Chora di Patrasso (le ricerche recenti mostrano che si tratta di un fenomeno che coinvolge in realtà gran parte della regione acaia). Nelle deposizioni spicca la presenza di armi bronzee da parata di particolare pregio. Alcuni degli oggetti rinvenuti all’interno delle sepolture, che per la maggior parte si data al TE IIIC medio e tardo (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 171-211; Paschalidis – McGeorge in corso di pubblicazione, 17) fanno riferimento a uno status di tipo guerriero che sembra richiamarsi a valori del passato (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 173; Papadimitriou 2006, 546).

Tra le armi da parata una sembra avere un forte significato simbolico e riscuotere un particolare successo nel corso del Tardo Elladico IIIC: si tratta della spada di tipo definito Neue II (Paschalidis – McGeorge in corso di pubblicazione, 18-19; per una sintesi dei ritrovamenti di spade del tipo “Neue II” si veda Eder 2003), la quale accompagna soltanto pochi personaggi all’interno di una necropoli.

Il Peloponneso nord-occidentale vive una fase di sostanziale vitalità in epoca post-palaziale, dovuta alle nuove circostanze (tra cui probabilmente il bisogno di ricercare nuove fonti di metalli) che spostano gli interessi della Grecia verso l’Occidente e collocano quest’area in una posizione chiave per le nuove rotte commerciali (Sgouritsa 2005, 525).

L’occupazione degli abitati che si ascrivono al periodo Miceneo sul continente greco continua nel corso del Tardo Elladico IIIC (Wallace...
In generale però non si assiste a fenomeni di occupazione ex novo. La maggior parte degli insediamenti micenei nel Peloponneso nord-occidentale non viene abbandonata in epoca post-palaziale, in fatti il numero degli abitati decresce leggermente, ma l'assetto occupazionale della regione rimane pressoché invariato.


La questione tuttavia pone una serie di problematiche legate principalmente al mancato riconoscimento della ceramica ascrivibile al Submiceneo, la quale viene spesso attribuita alla fase finale del Tardo Elladico IIIC (Moschos handout) in maniera abbastanza superficiale e generica.

I dati di scavo e ricognizione sembrerebbero mettere in evidenza che nessun sito viene occupato per la prima volta nel periodo Submiceneo, ma gli abitati di quest'epoca coincidono topograficamente con i siti del periodo Tardo Elladico IIIC, i quali, come è stato sottolineato, si impiantano in modo da permettere ampliamenti successivi, come accade anche per le necropoli. Questa coincidenza di occupazione topografica tra siti tardo elladici e siti di fase submicenea è attestata archeologicamente in maniera adeguata da scavi di abitati, ma può essere de-sunta soltanto dall'interpretazione della continuità di uso che si riscontra nelle necropoli, la quale non di rado si spinge fino al Submiceneo.

Tale interpretazione verrebbe inoltre a essere suffragata da una rivisitazione della cronologia della ceramica proposta dai recenti studi di I. Moschos. La produzione ceramica, risulta fortemente caratterizzata da motivi di matrice locale, e proprio lo studio sistematico di tali decorazioni potrebbe indurre a postdatare l'abbandono più o meno generalizzato degli abitati di epoca Micenea alla fine del periodo Submiceneo. Le attestazioni concernenti gli insediamenti provengono per lo più da ricognizioni di superficie piuttosto che da scavi sistematici, pertanto le fasi di occupazione riposano per una ragione in più su dati incerti.

Tra i pochi insediamenti scavati in maniera sistematica nella zona occidentale dell'Acaia che hanno restituito tracce di occupazione post-palaziale figurano Chalandritsa (Kolonas 1997, 482-483; 2000, 94-95; Moschos 2002, 18) a sud-est di Patrasso e il Teichos Dymaion. Quest'ultimo è certamente un sito di natura straordinaria rispetto agli altri, come dimostra l'imponente fortificazione di epoca micenea che lo circonda. Esso si erge sulla punta nord-occidentale della regione, nel territorio di Araxos: è nota come Teichos Dymaion, il Muro dei Dimei3. All'interno delle mura ciclopiche si sono succedute diverse fasi edilizie, ma è dubbio che si trattasse di una cittadella vera e propria, del tipo noto in Argolide. Mi sembra condivisibile l'idea del Moschos che vede in questo centro un baluardo difensivo delle popolazioni locali e dei beni materiali provenienti dall'area circostante, nonché un punto estremamente strategico per il controllo delle rotte commerciali in direzione dello Jonio (Moschos, in corso di pubblicazione).

I recenti lavori di restauro del Teichos Dymaion hanno messo in evidenza che, nonostante le due distruzioni ascrivibili rispettivamente agli inizi e alla fine del Tardo Elladico IIIC (Moschos 2007, 27), il sito continua a essere occupato nel corso del periodo Submiceneo e di quello Protogeometrico.

Per quanto concerne Chalandritsa, sembra che la prima occupazione si dati all'incirca al Tardo Elladico IIIA (Kolonas 1985, 136-138; 1997, 477, 482-483; Moschos 2002, 17 con riferimento all'interno dell'acropoli furono condotti dal Mastrokostas tra il 1962 e il 1966 (cf. ΠΑΕ 1962, 127; ΠΑΕ 1963, 93; ΠΑΕ 1964, 60; ΠΑΕ 1965, 121; ΠΑΕ 1966, 159. Le strutture portate alla luce datano dall'Antico Elladico al Tardo Elladico IIIC, ma non tutte le fasi intermedie sono rappresentate.

rimenti bibliografici) e si protragga per tutto il Tardo Elladico IIIC e nel periodo Submiceneo con progressivi e naturali cambiamenti della planimetria del sito.


Un altro abitato rinvenuto attraverso riconoscimenti è localizzato a Skondreika-Petrotó, a nord est del moderno centro di Achaia Klaus; sulla base della cronologia ceramica esso sembrerebbe ascrivibile al periodo Tardo Elladico IIIA-IIIC (Kolonas 1997, 481; Moschos 2007, 23). Inoltre, nei pressi dell’azienda vinicola di Achaia Klaus e della famosa necropoli di Kalithea scavata dal Papadopoulos, le riconoscenze archeologiche hanno permesso di rintracciare il muro di cinta dell’insediamento collegato alla necropoli in località Mygdalià (Petropoulos 1991; Petropoulos – Rizakis 1994; Paschalidis in corso di pubblicazione; Moschos 2007, 23), il quale si suppone sia databile allo stesso periodo di impiego della necropoli (TE IIIA-IIIC).

Tra gli abitati micenei che continuano a essere frequentati dopo il Tardo Elladico IIIB figurano quello antistante la necropoli di Voundeni (Aghia Kyriaki), una delle più grandi necropoli di tombe a camera scavate in Acaia (Kolonas in corso di pubblicazione); l’insediamento di Portes- Kefalovryso (Moschos 2007, 31).

Tracce indirette, ma più corpose di occupazione in epoca post-palaziale provengono dagli scavi di necropoli.

Per quanto concerne il fronte orientale dell’Acaia l’Aigaleia chora ha restituito un gran numero di testimonianze di carattere funerario relative all’epoca micenea e post-micenea, mentre non conosciamo che pochi insediamenti, noti peraltro da notizie di riconoscimenti.

I siti di Aigion ed Aigeira rappresentavano i centri più importanti: a parte questi due abitati però le informazioni circa altri insediamenti di periodo post-palaziale in quest’area sono meno numerose di quelle relative alla zona occidentale della regione. Anche in questo caso la carenza di dati concernenti gli abitati viene parzialmente colmata da attestazioni di necropoli, come nel caso della necropoli rintracciata e parzialmente scavata sulla collina di Trapeza, in prossimità di Aigion, che rimane in uso per tutto il periodo Submiceneo e per il successivo Protogeometrico. Si suppone che vicino a tale necropoli sorgesse un insediamento non ancora localizzato (Moschos 2007, 41).

Certamente Aigion rivestiva una posizione di spicco e si può supporre che in virtù di tale posizione, sul punto più stretto del Golfo di Corinto fungesse da punto di transizione obbligato verso la Grecia centro-settentrionale e per questo motivo la sua frequentazione non sia mai venuta meno.

Un altro insediamento che ha restituito tracce di occupazione di periodo post-palaziale sulla costa orientale dell’Acaia è Aigeira la cui acropoli viene insediata sul finire della Tarda Età del Bronzo dopo un intervallo occupazionale di diversi secoli. Nei pressi dell’acropoli contemporaneamente si sviluppa un piccolo quartiere abitativo.

Le recenti scoperte archeologiche tendono a disegnare nuove e differenziate linee di sviluppo culturale nelle varie aree della Grecia all’indomani della caduta dei palazzi micenei e a sottolineare l’urgenza di creare delle sequenze cronologiche regionali (Coulson 1990).

Il Peloponneso nord-occidentale sviluppa gradualmente una propria identità culturale pienamente riconoscibile nel campo della ceramica e della lavorazione metallurgica, dando vita a una vera e propria koiné. L’analisi delle caratteristiche culturali locali, che esistono già in epoca micenea e che troveranno un rinnovato vigore nel corso del Tardo Elladico IIIC e nel
Submiceneo, potrà fornire una nuova chiave di lettura dei processi in atto nel periodo di transizione dall'Étà del Bronzo a quella del Ferro, allorché tali caratteristiche locali sembrano acquisire maggiore dignità di espressione.

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ARCHITECTURE AS SYMBOL

Throughout the past few decades, much has been written about symbolic approaches to the built environment. The fundamental framework of symbolic studies is based on the theorem that there is a reciprocal relationship between the form and organization of architectural space, and the activities or behaviours that are contained within, so that activities are both bounded by, but also shape, architecture. The built environment, therefore, both reflects and actively communicates shared cultural ideals, and serves as a symbol of the larger social structure. "As expressions of culture, built forms may be seen to play a communicative role embodying and conveying meaning between groups, or individuals within groups, at a variety of levels" (Lawrence - Low 1990, 466). Symbolic approaches are therefore essential for highlighting strategies of social production and reproduction as expressed in the built environment. It is critical that archaeologists appreciate that systems of power and production are socially constructed, and that relations between disparate groups actively influence their formation.

It is for this reason that the preserved architectural remains of Dark Age Nichoria (fig. 1) provide a model setting for a symbolic analysis of the use of architectural space and its correlates to social organisation. Through examining demarcated space, I propose that the organization of domestic space at Nichoria expresses gender tension as a dynamic structuring principle. I demonstrate that the function and position of fixed features communicate the ide-
LISA MALLEN

the careful recording of artifact distribution by the excavators and, by no means least important, to honor William D. E. Coulson, who prepared the bulk of the architectural interpretation for Nichoria.

ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS AT NICHORIA

The majority of the architectural remains situated on the ridge of Nichoria comes from Area IV (fig. 1), which, according to the excavators, was the core of habitation for the Dark Age (McDonald et al. 1983, 9, 18). One structure in particular stands out: Unit IV-1 (fig. 2), which was occupied from the early tenth to the late ninth centuries BC and encompassed two phases of construction (McDonald et al. 1983, 19-41). While Coulson interpreted the development of the structure as a one-room rectangular building in the first phase with the addition of an apsidal room (Room 3) at the western end in the second phase, I mainly follow Mazarakis Ainian's interpretation (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 74-79) in the subsequent discussion, although I present both sides whenever there is a disagreement. Concerning when the apsidal room was built, I follow Mazarakis Ainian and Fagerström (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 77; Fagerström 1988, 36-38) in determining that the apsidal room was part of the original structure for the simple reason that the floor of the first phase extends roughly one metre west of Wall D into the apsidal compartment. Regardless of the other evidence, this floor is a powerful argument in favour of the construction of the apsidal room in the first phase, as floors tend not to surpass external walls.

In the first phase Unit IV-1 was oriented E-W with an apsidal room to the west (Room 3), a main room in the centre (Room 1), and a shallow porch facing east (Room 2). There is evidence in the first phase for a front entrance in the middle of the eastern wall (Wall F), and Mazarakis Ainian suggests that there was a northern entrance into the apsidal room (fig. 3: Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 77). According to him, this ancillary entrance and its successive repair would explain why the apsidal wall does not bond with, but merely abuts, Wall A, which is evidence cited by Coulson for the apsidal compartment having been built in the second phase. I find Mazarakis Ainian's interpretation unconvincing, especially because the point at which the apsidal wall would join the south wall (Wall C) is not preserved, and therefore cannot provide corroboration that the apsidal wall bonds with Wall C.

Just north of the centre of Room 1 was a circular pit, almost certainly a hearth because of its blackish fill and copious amounts of charcoal. Just east of the hearth was a flat, circular stone, which most likely was the base of a wooden column. Also in the centre of Room 1, but against its west wall (Wall D), was a circular stone platform covered with a thin layer of carbonized material. A retaining wall was built immediately to its north (Wall E). Due to later disturbance, it is unknown whether or not there was another retaining wall along the south edge of the circular pit. However, the continuation of the wall just south of the platform probably signifies that the wall continued south to act as a partition between the two rooms. A flat, circular stone was excavated in the middle of Room 3 and, because it was aligned with the one found in Room 1, it most likely was also the base for a wooden column. The two stone-lined pits in the apsidal room were probably storage pits. Mazarakis Ainian postulates that the excessively thick eastern wall (Wall F) of Room 1 and the presence of a threshold only on the eastern extreme of the entrance indicates that there were two benches along the interior of Wall F; one bench on either side of the entrance (fig. 3: Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 78). Although the excavators do not reconstruct benches along the eastern wall, I find Mazarakis Ainian's evidence for benches compelling.

In the middle of the ninth century BC, Unit IV-1 received a radical makeover: the eastern
end of the structure was elongated by moving the eastern wall of Room 1 farther east (Wall X). Coulson suggested that the original southern wall (Wall Ca) was partially demolished when Wall C was built in the second phase, but that the eastern portion of Wall Ca was retained as a base for a bench (McDonald et al. 1983, 27, 35). Mazarakis Ainian agrees, proposing that the two benches along Wall F were moved against Wall C in the second phase (fig. 4: Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 78). If we follow Mazarakis Ainian's interpretation, the ancillary entrance to the apsidal room was filled in and another was established leading into Room 1 from the north. Otherwise, the ancillary entrance leading from the north into Room 1 remained in place in the second phase, as reconstructed by Coulson. Because Coulson provides no evidence for his assertion that the pit hearth went out of use in the second phase (McDonald et al. 1983, 36), I maintain that both the central pit hearth and the circular platform were retained in the second phase of occupation.

While considerably larger than the rest of the structures found in Nichoria, the small finds recovered within the interior of Unit IV-1 indicate a primarily domestic function. In the first phase of the structure's occupation, these consist of clay spindle whorls and bronze rings in Room 1. Although few in number, possibly because the building was thoroughly cleared of finds in preparation for remodeling (McDonald et al. 1983, 32), these finds were all located along the interior face of the north wall. The excavators have postulated that their location indicates the natural accumulation, through sweeping to the north, of the debris in Room 1 (McDonald et al. 1983, 32). Also along the north wall were pottery sherds, mostly coarse ware, although some fine ware was present. Although there are animal bones that were found scattered throughout the entire floor, some of which display evidence for feasting in the form of knife and tooth marks, it is possible that the find spots of the spindle whorls, bronze rings and sherds were the result of sweeping, and that different episodes of activity are represented by this distribution in that sweeping occurred after certain activities but not after others.

In the second phase of occupation there was an even larger number of animal bones scattered throughout both Room 1 and Room 3. In Room 3, the two pits already discussed, in addition to deposits of charred seeds (fig. 2) and a considerable amount of coarse pottery, including pithos sherds, indicate that it functioned primarily as a storage area. Also found on the floor of Room 3 were part of an iron knife, a stone celt, a lead net-sinker, a lead button or whorl, a bronze shield boss, a fragment of an iron axe head, and a fragment of a grill. Taken together, these varied finds strongly support the interpretation that the apsidal room functioned as a storage area.

In Room 1, perhaps the most striking discovery was a cache of sheep and goat bones intermixed with charcoal fragments found just west of the platform as though they had been swept to the side after successive uses of the platform. Mixed in with these bones were a number of astragali, often associated with gaming pieces in later Greek literature. Several spindle whorls, a bronze ring, a bronze bar and a small iron tool were also discovered in Room 1. In addition, a fragment of a decorated krater was found in the centre of the room and several spindle whorls were discovered just north and south of the circular platform. All of the finds taken together suggest a domestic function for the structure, although some idiosyncratic architectural features may indicate that perhaps the structure served communal needs as well.

Much has been written concerning the circular platform, since it has yielded evidence for sacrifices on the basis of a carbonized layer and numerous animal bones in the near vicinity. What makes this platform so unusual is that it was situated in close proximity to a more ordinary pit hearth, which should have been sufficient for the domestic needs of the inhabitants. Furthermore, the continued use of the platform in the second phase of occupation, and the use
of Walls D and E to demarcate the platform itself support the notion that it served an important, enduring function. While the excavators interpreted this important function as religious in nature (McDonald et al. 1983, 38), Fagerström sees it as a stationary brazier, or a lampter in the words of Homer, around which the local men feasted (Fagerström 1988, 41). Whether or not it served the religious needs of either the occupants or the entire village, it does seem to have had a communal function because of the burnt remains associated with it and the nearby pit hearth.

In addition, there is ample evidence for benches integrated into the structure itself (c. 0.35 m wide): along Wall F in the first phase (fig. 3) and along Wall C in the second phase (fig. 4). The benches presumably served communal needs, as benches are not a prerequisite for sleeping, which could easily have been accomplished through the use of portable mats. Furthermore, the benches are not wide enough to accommodate a sleeping person.

It seems highly plausible that Unit IV-I served both domestic and communal functions. However, the incorporation of both types of activities in a one- or two-room structure demands the careful organization of space so that both types of activities can be carried out in the same structure, albeit in a successive manner (Rapoport 1990, 15). In Nichoria, where it has been argued by several scholars that herding and hunting were significant occupations for the male inhabitants (e.g., Cherry 1988, 27; Fagerström 1988, 35; Thomas – Conant 1999, 36), the bulk of domestic production, such as food preparation, storage, spinning, and other specialized tasks, would have been carried out by the female inhabitants. It seems natural, therefore, to propose that spatial organization would have been structured around gender roles since the primary activities were constructed in such a way. In fact, there is ample evidence that in Dark Age Nichoria, gender was an active structuring element, as I argue below.

**ACTIVITY SYSTEMS WITHIN ARCHITECTURAL SPACE**

Taking cues from ethnographic studies, I will first outline the activities that took place within Unit IV-I for both phases. The main activities that engaged women presumably would have involved food and textile production. In both phases, cooking was done over the pit hearth in Room 1. Spinning appears to have been performed in Room 1 in the first phase, although the distribution of spindle whorls indicates a preference for the northern half of the room. Even if the distribution is the result of sweeping, the act of sweeping the debris on the floor to the north side after women’s activities indicates that the north was conceived of as women’s space. The only specific evidence associated with male inhabitants is feasting. The accoutrements for feasting: the circular platform, the animal bones, and benches were central to Room 1, giving pride of place to these primarily male social activities.

In the second phase, storage related to food production was located entirely in Room 3 as evidenced by pithos fragments and two deposits of charred legumes. Spinning seems to have occurred throughout Room 1 and possibly in Room 3 as well. While quite a few objects have been excavated from within the structure in the second phase, only a few are linked with specific activities associated with male members, namely feasting and possibly gaming (if the astragaloi were used for such a purpose). The accoutrements for feasting, such as the circular platform, the animal bones, and the krater fragment were located in the middle of Room 1, along with the benches. The astragali were scattered throughout Room 1. In Room 3 a few objects were discovered that are associated with male activities, such as fragmentary weapons. These were most likely stored in Room 3 while not in use.

Now that the main activities that occurred within the structure have been determined, it is possible to demarcate the zones required by
each activity. While Unit IV-1 is oriented E-W with N-S walls permanently partitioning Room 3 from Room 1, and Room 1 from Room 2, there is also a N-S division formed by the two column bases. In the first phase (fig. 5), the E-W orientation separates storage activities in Room 3 from all the other activities that occurred in Room 1. The only activity associated predominantly with male members of society, feasting, seems to disregard the N-S division, as the circular platform stood close to the exact middle of the room and each of the benches was located in each of the N-S halves. The pit hearth was also situated in the middle of Room 1, although more on the north half. Hearths, because of the amount of fire and smoke, should not be placed too close to walls, especially since wooden posts have been reconstructed along the interior of the walls (fig. 2). Entrances to Room 3 were through the northernmost part of the partitioning wall (north of Wall E), and through the northernmost part of the apsidal wall (Wall B), according to Mazarakis Ainian. As already noted, the majority of the spindle whorls were discovered close to the interior of Wall A. Thus, while the communal activities associated with men appear to take over the entire interior of Room 1 in the first phase, the domestic activities associated with women seem to be restricted to the northern half of Room 1, and Room 3.

In the second phase (fig. 6), the benches are moved to the southern half of Room 1, although the animal bones and the astragali were scattered throughout Room 1 and the circular platform continued to be fixed in the center. Deposits of charred legumes were situated in the northern part of Room 3. The spindle whorls of the second phase were situated along both the north and south walls of Room 1, some in close proximity to the circular platform, and in Room 3. Therefore, while the evidence for feasting, gaming, and spinning does not seem to be spatially restricted within Room 1, there are structural modifications that seem to limit the men's activities to the southern half and the women's to the northern half, while both genders utilized Room 3 for storage. This analysis of the use of space demonstrates that although in both phases there was a concerted effort to restrict women's activities from men's on the north side of the N-S division, it appears as though further steps were taken in the second phase by moving the benches to the south wall. Furthermore, the analysis highlights the incongruity between the fixed features of the structure, which stresses gender segregation, and the distribution of artifacts, which emphasizes gender integration. This incongruity is critical for assessing gender relations and is further developed below.

The close proximity between the entrances calls into question the need for a second entrance to such a small structure. According to both Coulson and Mazarakis Ainian, an ancillary entrance was established somewhere in the north wall of the structure in both phases. In contrast, the eastern door was formalized because it was centred, had a threshold, was elaborated through the provision of a porch, and was aligned on the axis of the column bases and the circular platform itself. In some societies, women are restricted to using only side streets as opposed to the main thoroughfare (e.g., Traditional Sicily in Booth 1999, 135-136) and because the ancillary door is located in the northern wall of the structure, it is plausible to suppose that these doors served the daily needs of the women. It is impossible to know whether or not women were restricted from using the front entrance, or if it was merely reserved for more formal occasions.

When following the proposed plan of the excavators, both the ancillary and the main entrance carried over unchanged from the first to the second phase. However, according to Mazarakis Ainian, the ancillary entrance was located in Room 3 in the first phase, and its sightline would lead directly into Room 3. In the second phase, the sightline from the ancillary entrance would focus on the bench along Wall C, while the central sightline from the main entrance focused on the circular platform and the...
pit hearth, although the central column would have stood between the entrance and these features. If Mazarakis Ainian is correct, at least one reason seems plausible for the move of the ancillary door from Room 3 to Room 1: the nature of a storage room as a private and secure area is compromised by its accessibility through an external entrance. Along with the shift of the benches to the south wall (Wall C), the shift of the ancillary entrance to the main room would have further emphasized gender segregation because it was located in the northern half of Room 1 with its sightline focused on the bench.

THE REST OF THE ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS AT NICHORIA

Before continuing with the final analysis of gendered space, it is critical to assess the rest of the architectural remains on the ridge of Nichoria that indicate something about the form or organization of domestic space. The excavators created an absolute chronology for the occupation of Nichoria during the Dark Age as follows: Dark Age (DA) I period lasted from roughly 1075-975 BC; DA II from 975-850 BC; DA II/III (transition) from 850-800 BC; DA III from 800-750 BC. Aside from re-used Mycenaean structures, architectural remains were found in Areas III and IV (fig. 1). The Dark Age structures discovered in Area III have been dated to the DA II period and only one structural unit has been identified, Unit III-1. While it is clear that Unit III-1 has an apsidal compartment at its west end, like Unit IV-1, due to erosion and cultivation, no floor surfaces can be associated with the unit (McDonald et al. 1983, 14). While a pit and a post hole were excavated along the long E-W axis, about where the N-S division would be, the finds from the pit cannot be used to determine its function due to the varied nature of the finds (i.e., bone and teeth fragments from small mammals, shell fragments, unworked chert, a bronze pin fragment and a chert blade fragment (McDonald et al. 1983, 15). It is unfortunate that this is all that remains of Unit III-1 since it does have an apse and what appears to be a N-S division, similar to Unit IV-1 and roughly contemporary with both of its phases.

In Area IV, several structures have been identified, in addition to part of an apsidal wall (O) preserved south of Unit IV-1. Also dated to the DA II period, the construction and angle of this wall have led the excavators to propose that the structure to which this wall belonged would have been identical to Unit IV-1, albeit significantly smaller (McDonald et al. 1983, 44). Unfortunately, that is all that can be determined about this unit. SE of Wall O, fragments of three walls were excavated that form a very small rectangular unit or room built against a better-preserved Dark Age wall (L). Nothing more can be said about this structure.

In the DA III period, habitation was most likely restricted to Area IV (McDonald et al. 1983, 47). An apsidal building, Unit IV-5 (fig. 7), was excavated just west of Unit IV-1, but is much larger and oriented N-S. Because of its size and location, the excavators suggest that it was the successor to Unit IV-1, although its remains are poorly preserved and it is incomplete in plan (McDonald et al. 1983, 47-53). Unit IV-5 contains an apsidal compartment (Room 1) at the very south of the building, a central room (Room 2), and a courtyard comprising the northernmost part of the structure. All that remains of Room 1 is a floor surface including numerous fragments of mostly coarse ware and five small stones embedded in the floor in a straight line and in regular intervals of roughly 0.70 m. The straight line formed by these stones proceeds in an angle from the SE corner of Room 1 NW towards Room 2, and seems to close off the easternmost part of Room 1. Coulson suggested that these stones served as the bases of wooden posts that would have acted as a boundary for this section of the room, or as the frame of a bed or shelf (McDonald et al. 1983, 50). Wall Y marks the dividing wall between Rooms 1 and 2, and the doorway is
roughly in the centre of the wall. The only inventoried artifact from Unit IV-5 is a bronze figurine of a quadruped, which was found in Room 1 in close proximity to the eastern edge of the entrance into Room 1 from the north (McDonald et al. 1983, 52). Two stone bases for roof supports were discovered roughly in the middle of the structure, one each in Rooms 1 and 2. The courtyard to the north has been divided into two sections. The southern section seems to have been paved with cobblestones with pithos fragments scattered throughout, indicating that this part functioned as a storage area. The northern section is unpaved, but includes three paved structures in circular form, although only the middle structure is fully circular. Coulson suggested that these structures were used as stands for pithoi because of the number of pithos sherds found in and around the structures, and the sloping of the paving stones towards the center of the middle structure, forming a hollow for the base of a pithos (McDonald et al. 1983, 52). As the northernmost and westernmost parts of Unit IV-5 are poorly preserved, it is unknown if more structures were situated to the north or west of these three.

As for the function of Unit IV-5, the great length of the structure, the evidence that more than half of the structure comprises a courtyard, and the numerous pithoi and coarse ware sherds indicate that this structure served important storage and probably communal functions. While its form and communal nature support the notion that it was the successor to Unit IV-1, what is lacking from Unit IV-5 is any evidence for domestic activities or feasting. Needless to say, the preserved remains of the structure are fragmentary and there may have been a second storey. Burnt mudbrick and numerous charcoal fragments found throughout indicate that Unit IV-5 was destroyed by fire, most likely the fire that brought settlement at Nichoria to an end.

Because Unit IV-5 is oriented N-S, it appears as though there is an E-W division formed by the doorway into Room 1, with the paved structures and the wooden posts on the eastern side of this division. However, because the entire structure is not preserved, the western side is in very poor condition, there is a notable absence of finds from within the structure and the excavators are not entirely sure of its function, it is impossible to perform a gendered analysis of the use of space.

Contemporary with Unit IV-5, the southwestern end of Unit IV-1 (almost directly south of the circular platform) was transformed into a courtyard storage area after the structure itself was abandoned (McDonald et al. 1983, 53). Two large pithoi were set up in this space and five clay whorls, one bronze pin, one fragment of an iron pin, a twist of gold wire and two bronze rings were discovered in connection with the new use of this space. It is tempting to suggest that, with the addition of the activities performed in this courtyard storage area to those performed within Unit IV-5, the eastern half of domestic structures were considered women’s space in the DA III period in Nichoria. This theory would be supported by the storage activities taking place in the courtyard of the structure and to the east outside, the segregated section of Room 1, and the presence of whorls in the courtyard storage area, but the evidence is too meagre to promote this division of space.

Further south, preserved walls appear to form part of an apse of a structure (Unit IV-14) that would have been oriented N-S, like Unit IV-5, albeit with the apse on the northern end (McDonald et al. 1983, 55). Because of its extremely fragmentary state, the original dimensions of this structure are entirely unknown. No floor surfaces were recovered. In the SE section of Area IV, two walls were discovered that appear to have been part of domestic structures as indicated by their associated finds: two clay whorls, part of an amphora and an iron ring were found in association with Wall A (McDonald et al. 1983, 55-56), and three clay whorls, fragments of two amphorae, part of a jug, a bronze “collar,” a cup and a fibu-
lae were excavated in connection with Wall B  
(McDonald et al. 1983, 56). While a few pos-
sible Dark Age walls were discovered in Area  
VII, the walls are too fragmentary to determine
anything about the form of their original struc-
tures and only a few pottery sherds were found 
in connection, preventing any analysis of the
form and organization of domestic space in this
part of Nichoria. 

In addition to the architectural remains,
small finds dating to the Dark Age occupa-
tion have been found throughout the site. In at-
temting to designate areas of activities, only
those artifacts or artifact groups are presented
that indicate something about the use of space
at Nichoria. Several objects identified by the ex-
cavators as bronze and iron scraps have been
found scattered throughout the site (Areas III and IV) during all the periods of Dark Age oc-
cupation (McDonald et al. 1983, 282), indicat-
ing that perhaps metal-working was not per-
formed in any particular place but in domestic
contexts as a general rule. However, the exam-
ples of bronze melting and/or casting waste, al-
biet four in number, have only been found in
Area IV.

In her analysis of the evidence for spinning
and weaving, Smith counts a total of 44 whorls
certainly, 34 probably and 26 possibly belong-
ing to the Dark Age occupation of the site. 
When assessing the appearance of the whorls,
she concludes that “spinning was very much a
home industry” (McDonald et al. 1983, 287),
because the majority are plain and handmade.
Supporting her interpretation, the whorls were
found predominantly where architectural re-
 mains were located in Areas III and IV, although
at least one whorl was found in Area II. Smith
also makes mention of clay “spools,” which she
suggests could be loomweights because of their
weight and the fact that they were often found
grouped together (McDonald et al. 1983, 291).
Three of these “spools” come from Area IVNNE
and one each from Area IVNW, Area IVSW
and Area IVSE. Because these “spools” have not
been positively identified as loomweights, it is
useless to speculate where weaving would have
occurred based on these artifacts.

Coulson and McDonald (McDonald et al.
1983, 57-58) interpret the architectural re-
 mains to signify that in the DA I period the in-
habitants spread out along most of the ridge
and either reused Mycenaean structures or else
built structures out of ephemeral materials that
have not survived. In the DA II period, the in-
creased number of inhabitants continued to
live throughout the site, although they began to
build apsidal structures, as opposed to the rec-
tilinear structures of the Bronze Age. The small
size of Unit III-1 might be indicative of the av-
ge single-family domestic unit of this pe-
riod. In relation to the rest of the architectur-
al remains from this period, Unit IV-1 stands
out because of its size and location, the pres-
ence of the paved platform, and because the
largest single concentration of metal artifacts is
associated with it (McDonald et al. 1983, 275).
It is for this reason that the excavators specu-
late that this was the chieftain’s dwelling (Mc-
Donald et al. 1983, 58). By the DA III period,
the evidence for occupation diminishes and
becomes restricted to Area IV. The preference
for apsidal buildings continues and is even em-
phasized, although the direction of orientation
changes from E-W in the preceding period to
N-S, which may be an indication of Arcadian
influence (McDonald et al. 1983, 53). It seems
clear that village life rallied around Unit IV-5
in this period, in much the same way that Unit
IV-1 seemed to be “where the action was” in the
DA II period (McDonald et al. 1983, 58). I fur-
ther augment this architectural chronology by
adding that the inhabitants of Nichoria concep-
tualized domestic space as being divided along
a N-S axis in the DA II period, and along an
E-W axis in the DA III period. Unfortunately,
only Unit IV-1 has enough preserved architec-
ture and finds to allow a gendered analysis of
the use of domestic space.
Because the only evidence for production within Unit IV-1 revolves around the work of women, such as food preparation and spinning, it seems likely that the male members of the household were engaged in productive activities outside of the domestic unit (much in the same way that in the Kabyle House, “The woman can be said to be confined to the house only so long as it is also pointed out that the man is kept out of it, at least in the daytime.” Bourdieu 1990, 276). While food production, storage activities, and spinning occurred on a daily basis as the continuous backdrop of daily life, feasting and other communal activities associated with men occurred on a less frequent basis. Even though feasting merely punctuated the daily activities of the female members of the household, the accoutrements of feasting, the circular platform and the benches, were the only fixed features of Room 1 in addition to the pit hearth.

The spatial segregation within the interior of Unit IV-1 did not necessarily undermine the social importance of either gender in Dark Age Nichoria. While the circular platform and the benches were a constant reminder of the communal activities of men, the pit hearth, as a fixed feature of the main room, served as a reminder of the productive activities of women. Furthermore, the distribution of artifacts indicated that both genders utilized the majority of the space within the main room even if cultural ideals mandated spatial boundaries. This temporal organization, as opposed to strict spatial segregation, perhaps signifies that both genders maintained separate, but spatially overlapping, prestige and power systems. Ethnohistoric studies suggest that the importance of women tends to be directly related to their economic involvement (e.g. ancient Ceren in Sweely 1999, 165). While we do not know the role that textiles played in the local and regional economy, it is tempting to see the communal function of feasting for men mirrored in a communal function of spinning and weaving for women. Thus, textile production may have given women economic, and subsequently social, power and a means for negotiating gender relations. Gender models also suggest that the status of women is lowest in societies where there is a concrete separation between domestic and public activities (e.g. Rosaldo 1974, 36), which is not the case in Unit IV-1, as both activities took place within the same room.

Although much of this is speculative, it is clear that the main room of Unit IV-1 was not gender exclusive, but rather there was high level of gender integration through co-action in shared space. Yet gender segregation did exist within this shared space and was more pronounced architecturally in the second phase. Bourdieu has suggested that the power of the dominant group is tied to its ability to create and recreate perceptions of reality in order to preserve its own position so that subordinate groups accept both the existing social order and their own lower status within it (Bourdieu 1977). In this light, perhaps we should view the modifications from phase one to phase two as the result of both genders emphasizing their separate prestige and power systems by gendering the interior space through structural modifications, and consequently negotiating social relations. If Unit IV-1 was both the largest dwelling at Nichoria and in a central position, then it is reasonable that excavators would deem this the house of the leader of the community, and view the use of space within it critical for disseminating cultural ideals to the rest of the community. Finally, because of the high-level of gender integration, as evidenced by the artifact distribution, combined with pronounced gender segregation evidenced by the fixed features, and the association of communal activities with this structure, it is clear that Unit IV-1 was the setting for gender negotiations within the Nichorian community.

The spatial organisation of the structure then both reflected and prescribed the daily activities of the inhabitants along gender lines by
utilizing permanent architectural symbols to mark interior boundaries, to regulate gender relations, and most importantly, to continually reinforce the existing social order. The more acute segregation of engendered space in the second phase of occupation must be related to more pronounced gender tensions, which these structural modifications would have attempted to regulate.

Therefore, in the middle of the ninth century BC, architectural modifications of Unit IV-1 responded to potential changes in social relations. These may reflect socio-political tension and consequently increased gender tensions. Many have interpreted the pushing back of the east wall in the second phase to enlarge the space within the main room as an indication of a greater need for more members to participate in communal activities, which further emphasizes the changing socio-political relations. Whatever the changes that occurred within the fabric of life at Nichoria, they were short-lived as Unit IV-1 was abandoned, most likely after damage by fire, in the late ninth century. A new structure, Unit IV-5, most likely appropriated the economic and social functions of the earlier structure, although its poor state of preservation prevents further analysis of this sort.

The existence of gender tensions exhibited at Nichoria is especially critical for analyzing the role of the built environment in social production and reproduction. While the above model is only applicable to Nichoria, if gender tensions and consequently gender negotiations can be demonstrated for other domestic units throughout Dark Age Greece, then it can be determined that the political transformation inherent in the gradual emergence of the polis "...depended on a profound restructuring of gender relations at the level of the household" (Wylie 1992, 28). The acknowledgment of shifting gender tensions is crucial for analyzing the social factors leading up to the emergence of the polis and the concomitant suppression of the role of women in the ensuing periods.

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Fig. 1. Dark Age Site Plan (reproduced by kind permission from The University of Minnesota Press).
Fig. 2. Unit IV-1 Phase 1 & 2 (reproduced by kind permission from The University of Minnesota Press).

Fig. 3. Unit IV-1 Phase 1 (modified from Mazarakis Ainian 1997).

Fig. 4. Unit IV-1 Phase 2 (modified from Mazarakis Ainian 1997).
Fig. 5. Unit IV-1 Phase 1 (modified from Mazarakis Ainian 1997) showing gender divisions.

Fig. 6. Unit IV-1 Phase 2 (modified from Mazarakis Ainian 1997) showing gender divisions.

Legend

- Architectural features associated with women
- Architectural features associated with men
- Findspots of spindle whorls
Fig. 7. Unit IV-5 (reproduced by kind permission from The University of Minnesota Press).
Material evidence for the establishment and development of Early Iron Age Greek sanctuaries is often scant and usually controversial (Polignac 1995, 11-21; Dickinson 2006, 228-237). The identification of an area as an early sanctuary or cult site is often contentious in itself, while attempts to understand changes and developments in the ritual activity through the archaeological record often prove to be speculative at best. The site of Xobourgo, on the island of Tenos (Kourou 2001; 2002; 2005; 2007), however, appears to provide evidence not only for the identification of an early cult area, but also for the evolution of this ritual space. It will be argued that an area of the site appears to be an Early Iron Age sacred place demonstrating a sequence of changes representative of an evolutionary process common for small shrines at remote and pastoral sites, at least in the Cyclades. The archaeological finds at Xobourgo testify to religious activities at a place, which had started as a small open-air shrine and, after successive changes in form and ritual, displayed the standard traits of a sanctuary. Even though evidence for the first shrine is rather insufficient, due to both ancient and modern disturbances at the site, the overall evolution of the place can be traced with reasonable certainty. If the constant reshaping of the sacred place at Xobourgo reflects religious and social developments within its community, as it will be claimed, then the inferred evolution of the sanctuary seems to cover at least some aspects of an archaeological lacuna regarding early Greek societies.

Tenos has a rather moderate and still unexplored Mycenaean background represented by a tholos tomb at Aghia Thekla in the north, and a fortified coastal acropolis at Vrokastro in the south [for Aghia Thekla, cf. Despinis 1979. For Vrokastro (also called Vryokastro), cf. Filanitou 2001]. Evidence for the Early Iron Age period on the island is currently very limited, consisting of a few Geometric burial grounds, most of which were found looted, and the site of Xobourgo. It seems, however, that there was a concentration of Geometric sites in the southern part of the island (for the site of Kardiani, cf. Levi 1925-1926. For material from the pillaged graves at Ktikados and Kambos cf. Coldstream 1968, 166; Kourou 2004, 430), since evidence for this period in the remote, northern section of Tenos is provided only by a cist grave excavated by the Mycenaean tholos tomb at Aghia Thekla (Despinis 1979, 232-233, pl. 138d). Contrary to later sites, which were generally located on, or near, the coast (For the Poseidon and Amphitrite sanctuary, cf. Etienne 1986. For treatments of the island’s history in Classical and later times, cf. Etienne 1990; Moscati – Castelnuovo 2007), Early Iron Age communities tended to establish their settlement on a comparatively high, easily defensible area with

* William Coulson was a scholar deeply concerned with the emergence and evolution of Early Greek society. He had a particular interest for peripheral areas and for advances that had taken place outside the main urban centres. It seems, therefore, that a paper on early Tenos is consistent with his interests and research and it is with deep appreciation for the man and the scholar that we dedicate this paper to his memory.
full visual control of the nearest shoreline. Despite the mountainous locations, however, they do not seem to have been entirely cut off from other Aegean areas. Imported pottery found at Kardiani and Xobourgo attests to contacts with Euboea and Attica already from the Protogeometric period [Cf. Levi 1925-1926, 226, fig. 28 and Coldstream 1968, pl. 32, e; (Euboean Late Protogeometric PSS at Kardiani) and Kourou 2001, 182-183, figs. 11-12 (Protogeometric pottery from Xobourgo)]. Seemingly any difficulties in communication that the island had possibly encountered in the years which immediately followed the end of the Mycenaean world, were already gone by the Late Protogeometric period.

The defensive site of Xobourgo, located at the highest point on the south-western slopes of the Xobourgo hill in the centre of the island’s southern plain, is the earliest of the known Early Iron Age sites on the island of Tenos (fig. 1). On present evidence the site appears to have been first inhabited just after the end of the Bronze Age. The most striking feature of the site is a strong Cyclopean wall (fig. 1, terrace AA) which likely served to protect the inhabitants of the settlement during what may have been a time of crisis or upheaval at a coastal site (Kourou 2005). This type of Dark Age refuge site is basically known from Crete (Nowicki 2000), but defensive and fortified settlements dating to the same period occur also in other, smaller islands of the Aegean (Lolos 2001). Unlike the usually short-lived refuge sites in Crete, however, the fortified shelter at Xobourgo outlasted the Dark Ages and it eventually developed into an extensive Archaic and Classical settlement that spread beyond the Cyclopean wall all along the south-eastern slopes of the hill (Kourou 2005; 2007).

A development associated with the post-palatial and Dark Age cultures in the Aegean was the relocation of settlements to remote and inaccessible areas. It is a widespread phenomenon traditionally viewed as a reaction to sea raids and the growth of piracy during the troubled years that followed the end of palatial culture. Recent scholarship has also connected refuge sites on Crete to the rapid economic and social changes that shaped the post-palatial Aegean area (Wallace 2004; Xifaras 2004). In the case of the strong fort at Xobourgo, it is very much a matter of interpretation whether its construction, after the end of the Bronze Age, was a response to a perceived threat to the coastal settlements on the island, or the development of a pastoral economy. The defensive character of the site, however, its distance from the coast, and its immediate access to good and fertile land for farming would have been important requirements for a settlement during times of piracy or other similar seaborne disturbances. If the establishment of the settlement at Xobourgo was actually a result of relocation, then the first inhabitants at Xobourgo most probably came from the neighbouring coastal site of Vrokastro, as the comparatively far-off northern location of the other known Bronze Age site at Aghia Thekla, seems less likely (Kourou 2001).

Excavations just outside the Cyclopean wall and in front of what seems to be the main gate to the settlement on the west have revealed a complex of pyre pits and other structures (fig. 1, terrace AA) apparently used for religious practices throughout the Early Iron Age. This small sacred place, dubbed the "Procyclopean sanctuary", belonged to the people that relied on the Cyclopean wall for protection. During the Late Archaic period a considerable part of this cult complex was damaged by the construction of a new fortification wall, which was built to secure the dwellings that had grown outside the Cyclopean wall (Kourou 2002; 259, fig. 2).

The Procyclopean sanctuary (fig. 2) originally consisted of a number of pyre pits cut into the bedrock on a narrow terrace below the outer side of the Cyclopean wall. Over time the number of pyre pits was increased and some were eventually enclosed by a low stone wall. At a third stage an eschara and a bench were added to the shrine, while a small "sacral oikos" built
in the early seventh century forms the fourth and final stage of the sanctuary. It is difficult to determine with certainty the extent of the first stage of the Procyclopean sanctuary. Sherds datable to the Protogeometric period, from Attica and Euboea were found scattered in the area of the pyre pits which suggests that cult practices in this sacred place might have started during that time, but there is no contextual evidence to prove this (Kourou 2001, 182-183, figs. 11-12). Late Geometric and early seventh century pottery marks the last stages of the sanctuary’s use indicating that by the time of the construction of the new fortification wall in the Late Archaic period, the Procyclopean sanctuary had already gone out of use.

The main feature of this sanctuary are the pyre pits, which sometimes appear in clusters of two or three, occasionally joined to one another by a narrow channel, and so forming distinct units (Kourou 1996, pl. 120A; 2002, pl. 66A). They range in size from small to large, but they are usually hollow with a diameter of ca. 60cm. Most pyre pits were marked by a relatively large, roughly worked stone that served as a marker or, more rarely, by a smaller and usually rounded stone with a well-finished surface, which apparently served as an "offering table" to judge from the offering found on them and the trace remains of organic materials suggesting libations at the spot (Kourou 2002, 261).

The contents of the pyre pits indicate that the formal procedure performed in them was the same in most, if not all, of them. A representative example for the rite taking place in each pyre pit is given by a "twin complex" of pyre pits (i.e. a pair of adjacent pits) at the eastern part of the terrace by the retaining wall. It had two distinct stages of use, both dating to the LG period (Kourou 2005, 27, fig. 9). The first pair of pyre pits were originally cut into the bedrock and the area in front of them was paved with schist slabs to create a kind of passageway to provide access (fig. 3). The ashes in the pits contained a large number of animal bones, pottery sherds, loom weights and some rings made of bone. All these had been thrown into the fire which was lit in each pit as the basic element of the ceremonial rite. When the ritual was over, the fire was extinguished by a small heap of stones thrown into the pit, which formed a small tumulus over it. In these, as well as every other excavated pit in the area, a large pebble which had been brought from the sea (a black pebble for one pit, a white for the other), was placed at the top of each stone heap. The use of a large pebble to conclude the ritual has been attested in almost every pyre pit on the terrace.

Approximately a decade after the initial pits had been filled in a second pair of pyre pits was cut into the roughly 40 cm layer of soil which had been accumulated over the first two pits. The ritual attested at the second pair of pits was the same with pottery and other offerings, including animal bones which had been thrown into the fire, while at the end, a small heap of stones was again used to extinguish the fire. After this second use, however, each pit was elaborately finished with a small, individual enclosure wall. An offering table set on one enclosure, and a plain stele on the other, concluded the upgrading of this second pair of pits.

Evidence for identical or at least very similar rituals which include lighting up a fire, throwing offerings and remnants of a meal in it, as suggested by the animal bones, then extinguishing the fire with small rough stones and finishing this religious practice with a large coloured pebble, appears in every other pit in the sanctuary. The most common offerings found in the ashes of the pits are pottery sherds and loom weights, but other finds, such as knives, weapons and metal jewellery also occur. Bones from sheep and goats constitute the majority of the animal remains found, cattle bones occasionally occur, while bird and fish bones are extremely rare (Trantalidou in this volume).

An iron sword found wrapped up and burnt in a fire (fig. 4) seems to offer evidence for the character of cult operated in the first stage of the sanctuary. Regrettably it was found out
of context by the foundation trench of the later Archaic wall, which destroyed or disturbed a large part of the sanctuary. Iron swords similarly rolled up and burnt in fire (usually called “killed swords”) are frequently found in Athenian cemeteries, but also elsewhere, in cremation burials where they were deposited as a symbol of the warrior’s bravery and status (for Athens cf. e.g. Coldstream 1977, 31, fig. 3. For Eretria cf. Blandin 2007, 112-114 and pls. 68, 70, 84). The killed sword then together with a small cist grave found among the pyre pits (Kourou 1996, pl. 119B), suggest a kind of burial context in this area of Xobourgo. But a pebble floor partially preserved by a huge boulder marking a large pit offers better evidence for recognizing here what may have originally been burial or ancestor cult (Kourou 2002, 261).

The partially preserved pebble floor was located ca. 40cm above a large pit marked by a boulder (fig. 5). The pit had been emptied of its contents and filled with pure sand which had been transported to the site from the coast, a distance of at least five kilometres. While the contents which had been removed from the large pit, and indeed its original function remain unclear, the overlying boulder which marks it and its pebble floor both suggest that the place was the focal point for a kind of ancestral cult (Antonaccio 1995, 202). Pebble floors marking a place where ancestral cult was taking place have been found at several places in the Aegean including Naxos in the Cyclades (Lambrou 1988). The use of pebble floors for this type of cult is used more often in the Late Geometric period, but it first appears in Proto-geometric times (Antonaccio 1995, 206), which suggests that it is not unlikely that the Proto-geometric sherds found scattered in the Procylopean sanctuary are linked to some religious practice in the area. The emptied pit, which was filled with sand, could have been an early “heroic” burial over which had started a kind of ancestral cult.

Religious practices in the Procylopean sanctuary, however, were rapidly expanded with the addition of more pyre pits having been dug all over the same terrace. The next step was the introduction of enclosure walls that secured some groups of pyre pits. Three such enclosure walls have been identified, but only the remnants of enclosure II offer an almost complete illustration of its original Π-shaped design. The enclosure walls seem to define small family shrines, which were apparently established to meet the changing requirements of the society when the social and political framework in which religion had once operated, changed at Xobourgo. The rituals that had been exercised by individuals in isolated, scattered pyre pits until then were now replaced by a better organized ancestral cult on a family (or perhaps tribal) basis.

A major transformation of the shrine was accomplished in the Late Geometric period with the establishment of a large eschara at the centre of the terrace and the construction of a large bench opposite it (fig. 6). The bench was actually an enlargement of the existing retaining wall that bordered the higher terrace and at the same time functioned as enclosure wall. The pyre pits that existed in the area where the eschara and the bench were constructed were sealed and the area was paved with schist slabs while all the other pyre pits on the terrace remained in use. The eschara itself overlies a large pit, in which a deposit of white ash, animal bones and fragments of cooking pots was found. Another substantial ash deposit full of animal bones, pottery sherds and other finds was also uncovered near the eschara. It had five distinct phases of use, each separated from the other by a layer of schist plaques, suggesting regular and organized use of the eschara for a large sacrifice followed by a large meal.

The reorganization of the old shrine, achieved with the construction of the eschara and the bench, indicates a shift in the character of cult and a new stage in the evolution of religious practices taking place in the sanctuary. The cult procedure had by this time changed as indicated by the performance of rituals at
the eschara and the bench, in addition to those which continued to be carried out by individuals at the pyre pits. The eschara now became the focal point of such cult activities in the sanctuary which served more than an individual or a single family or tribe. A sacrifice of this scale followed by an accordingly large meal implies rites performed not just for the ancestors of single families, but for those of the entire community. Communal use of the eschara and the bench in the sanctuary strongly suggests religious activity of a more general character and a ritual addressed to the entire community. The establishment of the eschara indicates an approach which differs from the old ancestral cult held in small family shrines on the terrace. The new ritual with a large sacrifice and a communal meal implies the introduction of a different type of ancestral cult now intended for a broader audience and taking the form of chthonic cult, for which an eschara was an indispensable feature (Ekroth 2002, 25-59).

The Procylopean sanctuary functioned in this new form, i.e. with an eschara, a bench and the enclosures, throughout the Late Geometric period and a little beyond, until a sacral oikos was established in the early seventh century BC (fig. 7). The oikos is a small quadrangular structure built over the pyre pits of enclosure III. Its inner dimensions are ca. 4.8m by 4.8m and its floor was a thin layer of beaten earth over the pyre pits of the Late Geometric period. The entrance is on the east side through a wide door with a one-piece threshold, which is a common feature of Cycladic architecture in the Early Archaic period (Lambrinoudakis 1996, 57). The narrow walls (ca. 40cm wide) are founded on bedrock; the lower parts were made of stone, while the upper sections were apparently of mud brick, richly attested in the area, and of wood. In the northeast corner of the structure a pithos was found on a well-built stone base, while the remnants of another pedestal were excavated next to it. A short cylindrical stone that was found standing on the floor near the centre of the building raises some interpretation problems as it apparently belonged to the underlying pyre pit functioning as an offering table over it. But it was retained in situ over the new floor giving today the impression of a baetyl which is a very uncommon feature in the Cyclades (for baetys in the Minoan world and early Aegean societies, cf. Warren 1990).

Other finds from this small "oikos" include also two figurines of the early seventh century and fragments of an elaborate terracotta frieze decorated in relief with a chariot scene. Another, much larger, part of this frieze had been found by Kontoleon in this area, but out of context, under a boulder which had rolled down from the Archaic wall (Kontoleon 1955, 259, pl. 98c). Kontoleon had explained it as a metope, but the recently found fragments, which fit nicely to the first large part (fig. 8), indicate that the preserved part formed part of a larger piece, apparently a frieze. The frieze was decorated with a procession of chariots drawn by winged horses and led, at least in the preserved part, by a female figure wearing a high polos. The elaborately dressed female figure is accompanied by another female, also standing on the chariot, which is following at close distance.

The human figures represented in this frieze are still in the geometric tradition with triangular torsos and similarly the horses are shown with long legs and almost straight, lengthy wings. By comparison to other chariot scenes of the Early Archaic period on relief pithoi or in vase-painting (cf. e.g. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, pl. 35. For vase-painting cf. e.g. the scene represented on the Naxian Afrodite amphora, Karouzos 1937, 177, fig. 12), the Xobourgo frieze can be dated to early in the first quarter of the seventh century BC, which means that it represents the earliest architectural frieze preserved in the Aegean. By the early seventh century most sanctuaries in Greece had

1. For the issue of distinguishing between chthonian and Olympian sacrificial ritual cf. Dietrich 2005.

2. For another early example of a terracotta plaque
a building to support cult activities in the area, but the nicely built and richly decorated oikos at Xobourgo is a most innovative building, which was apparently financed by the community of a fully fledged Polis.

The reshaping of the Procyplopean sanctuary in the Late Geometric period must reflect a new stage in the evolution of the society, which suddenly establishes a kind of communal cult in a sacred place by then hosting small family shrines. A communal cult however, is not necessarily a public cult, i.e. a cult set up and financed by the "Polis". It is certainly a step further than a cult by an individual or a group of individuals, but it is not always a factor of the main and central religious policy of the community. It is a shared cult, but not always a state cult, and for that reason even a small community can have more than one such cult. Thus it is not surprising that a comparable cult similarly centred around an eschara has been found at Xobourgo ca. 200 m. east of the Procyplopean sanctuary in the area of the later Thesmophorion (fig. 1, terrace B: for a topographical plan of the area cf. Kourou 2005, 25, fig. 5).

The controversial building complex known as the Thesmophorion was first recognized as a Demeter sanctuary by the excavator (Kontoleon 1952; 1953). Later on other interpretations of the building were proposed (cf. Themelis 1976, 8-12; Hoepfner 1999, 190-192; cf. also Ebbinghaus 2005, 56-57 for a useful discussion based on finds and the likely functions of large relief pithoi), but the structures and objects found in it suggest that it was a public building with a religious character. A number of graffiti with ΔΗ and ΠΟ or ΠΟΛ on lamps or black-glazed sherds indicate that the function of this building complex was not that of a private building. ΠΟ or ΠΟΛ stands for POLEOS (belonging to the city), which suggests that ΔΗ once thought to stand for DEMETER (Kourou 2002, 265), rather signifies DHMOSION (belonging to the community).

The surviving complex of rooms date to the Classical period though they had been explained as repeating the plan of an earlier Geometric edifice (Fagerström 1988, 83-84). Yet, except for some relief pithoi dating to the Late Geometric and Early Archaic periods, all the other finds from the site, which include architectural terracottas, lamps, figurines, Attic black-glazed or black- and red-figured pottery and two terracotta plaques decorated in relief with a female protome (Kontoleon 1952, 538, fig. 9), all belong to the Classical period. Similarly, the technique of the preserved walls is closely comparable to the masonry of some Classical buildings at Delos.

In all likelihood, therefore, the activity on the site in the Late Geometric and Archaic periods implied by the relief pithoi was mainly in the open-air. The structures inside this large building complex that can be associated with an early use of the site are a large stone eschara (fig. 9) and a Π-shaped altar (fig. 10). This eschara is almost identical in form, size, material and technique with the eschara of the Procyplopean sanctuary. Found in a narrow corridor of the Classical Thesmophorion, the eschara does not fit into the existing plan. But it makes sense, if it is seen as belonging to an earlier phase and functioning in the open-air, as further suggested by its size. In that case an enclosure wall would secure the sanctity of the shrine, while the relief pithoi could have been housed in a small shelter by the retaining wall, where they were found (Kontoleon 1952, 539 and 1953, 261-263). A peculiar ledge attached to the eastern wall of that room by the retaining wall may reproduce for the Classical building complex an earlier bench associated with the eschara in the same way as can be seen in the neighbouring and contemporary Procyplopean sanctuary.

The Π-shaped altar on the other side of the small Classical temple-like building (fig. 10) is perhaps the most important element for the identification of a Pre-Thesmophorion
open-air sanctuary, but it has not been excavated and its date remains obscure. It is a well-built structure, however, with several repairs, which suggest a date in the Archaic period for it. On present evidence, therefore, it can be linked with the Archaic stage of the sanctuary to bridge the gap between the Late Geometric period with the eschara and the Classical building complex.

If the eschara, and later the altar, were actually the focal points of an open-air cult at the area of the later Thesmophorion, then the presence of relief pithoi in the sanctuary could be associated with the cult of a female deity related to nature, the cycle of life and agricultural rites. The recurring motif of a Mistress of Animals in the iconographic repertoire of relief pithoi seems to favour this assumption suggesting a relevant ideology and mythology current in Early Iron Age Xobourgo. If the scenario is true, the later use of the area as a sanctuary of a female deity, and more specifically for Demeter, is simply an evolution of an earlier cult at an open-air shrine originally with an eschara and later with an altar.

Large relief pithoi appear in settlement, burial and sanctuary contexts and have a variety of functions although they were primarily used for the storage of liquids of foodstuffs (Ebbinghaus 2005, 53-54). In a sanctuary they could be useful for provisions intended for communal feasting or, in a cult of a fertility deity, for receiving the first fruit offerings during the periodic religious festivals. In the Early Iron Age a female deity in a rural or suburban sanctuary at a remote pastoral place normally was a version of the old Nature Goddess (Burkert 1985, 200-201), who was worshipped in the hope of receiving fertile crops and plentiful harvests. Religious practices in these sanctuaries were similar to those for a chthonic deity and both cults usually involved an eschara for rites addressed to the underworld and earth. Cults taking place at an eschara, or merely at small pits set up for libations and other cultic rituals, are not uncommon at rural Early Iron Age sites in the Cyclades. In the first open-air sanctuary of Demeter at Sangri on Naxos belonging to the Late Geometric period there was a carefully built double pit for libations (Lambrinoudakis 2001, 10, fig. 5), while at another contemporary shrine at Melanes on Naxos the cult was centred originally at pyre pits inside enclosure walls (Lambrinoudakis 2005, 81, fig. 2), but just before the end of the Late Geometric period a small oikos was built. Two wooden columns on a marble base along the long axis supported its roof. Shortly afterwards this small oikos was destroyed by a large rock that tumbled down the hill (fig. 11) and was replaced by a larger oikos with a primitive version of a portal on its front. It is apparent then that social evolution and architectural developments were taking place more or less at the same time all over the Cyclades, but the pace of development in each island shrine depended on many factors.

In such early shrines the venerated deity is not always identical, but one way or the other it is related to nature and fertility rites. For example at Melanes, where the sanctuary is by the main Naxian marble quarry and water springs, the cult is assumed to belong to a fertility goddess and two heroes of the local quarry folklore; therefore, the character of the cult is presumed as partially chthonic (Lambrinoudakis 2005, 84). It started in the Late Geometric period as an open-air cult in small family or tribal shrines, suggested by the enclosures, and only later in the Archaic period evolved to a small rural sanctuary with a building. The ar-
Architectural development of rural and suburban sanctuaries hosting a form of old nature cult is sometimes very slow and cult in the open air without a building is retained until a late period. The Pre-Thesmophorion shrine remained a suburban sanctuary with an open-air cult until the early Classical period, when a small sacral oikos was built to renovate it for a cult of an Olympian deity. Demeter sanctuaries were usually suburban and located at the "margins of the inhabited area" (Polignac 1995, 22) and the Classical Thesmophorion at Xobourgo was still situated in the fields and just outside the Archaic fortification wall.

The establishment of the Pre-Thesmophorion shrine at the time that the Procyclopean sanctuary was refurbished with an eschara and a bench, implies on the one hand the existence of a large and organized society and on the other that by the Late Geometric period major socio-political changes had been achieved at Xobourgo. The pastoral shelter established at the start of the Dark Ages was by then well organized and the small family shrines for ancestral cult outside its walls were turned into a communal sanctuary for chthonic cult. At the same time a rural sanctuary for a fertility goddess was established nearby, while the artists (or craftsmen) of relief pithoi were taking up the representation of legends and myths apparently to co-opt the polis's religion and form or express local cultural identity (Kourou 2008).

Despite this, traces of a fully fledged Polis system can be safely recognized only in the early seventh century with the construction of the sacral oikos at the Procyclopean sanctuary. The Polis system in the Aegean can be inferred from a number of factors, but major architectural constructions are the best evidence of corporate effort and communal identity that only a city-state could inspire. The sacral oikos at the Procyclopean sanctuary expresses a new spirit in religion, society and architecture since it offers evidence for the newly invented architectural decoration in terracotta relief. The distance from the first pastoral shelter with the Procyclopean shrine to the post-Geometric Polis system and the establishment of the sacral oikos in the sanctuary seems to have been long and difficult, but in many ways typical of the entire process of change and evolution in the Cyclades.

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FROM THE DARK AGES TO THE RISE OF THE POLIS: THE CASE OF TENOS


Fig. 1. The area of Xobourgo from the west.

Fig. 2. Plan of the Procyclopean sanctuary with the overlying Archaic wall.
Fig. 3. The twin and double pyre pit.

Fig. 4. Iron sword of the "killed sword" type.
Fig. 5. The pebble floor (a) over a large pit filled with sand (b) and marked with a boulder (c).

Fig. 6. The eschara and the bench.
Fig. 7. The sacral oikos over pyre pits of enclosure III from above.

Fig. 8. The terracotta frieze.
Fig. 9. The central part of the Thesmophorion building complex.

Fig. 10. The Pre-Thesmophorion altar.
Fig. 11. Naxos, Melanes. View of the early oikoi of the rural sanctuary.
Η ΚΙΜΩΛΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΙΜΩΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ.
ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΙ

Στη νοτιοδυτική είσοδο του Αιγαίου Πελάγους, σε καίρια γεωγραφική θέση και πάνω σε σημαντικούς βαλασίους δρόμους, τα νησιά Μήλος και Κίμωλος απέχουν μαζί με τα μικρότερα ακατοίκητα νησιά Πολύαιγο και Αντίμηλο και πολιορκήθηκαν ηλικίες γύρω και ανάμεσά τους, αποτελούσαν ένα εκτεταμένης ηφαιστειακής δραστηριότητας στην περιοχή, σχηματίζοντας μια σύνταξη που οριοθετεί το νοτιοδυτικό άκρο των Κυκλάδων (εικ. 1α). Νησί της άγονης γραμμής και στη «σκιά», θα έλεγε κανείς, της κατά πολύ μεγαλύτερης της Μήλου, από την οποία τη χωρίζει ένας στενός πορθμός, η Κίμωλος είναι μικρή σε έκταση (μόλις 35,7χμ.²), άνυδρη, με χαμηλό λοφώδες ανάγλυφο, απόκρημνες ακτές στα βόρεια και λίγες πεδινές εκτάσεις κυρίως στο νότιο και νοτιοδυτικό τμήμα, ενώ ποικίλα ηφαιστειακά πετρώματα καλύπτουν το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της. Διατηρεί το αρχαίο της όνομα, το οποίο και έδωσε στην περίφημη κιμωλία γη1, την ορυκτή λευκή άργιλο που χρησιμοποιήθηκε από την αρχαιότητα σε φαρμακευτικά και καλλυντικά σκευάσματα και για τον καθαρισμό του σώματος και των ενδυμάτων (Sonnini 1801, 37-43. Μηλιαράκης 1901, 15, 38-42. Shef­fold 1982, 80. Sparkes 1982α, 233).


ΚΑΛΑΜΙΤΣΙ

Στη νότια ακτή του νησιού, στη θέση Καλαμίτσι, σχηματίζεται ένα μικρό, χαμηλό ακρωτήριο της σχεδόν επίπεδης επιφάνειας του οποίου καλύπτει μικρή επίχωση. Σε όλη την έκταση του ακρωτηρίου -με εξαίρεση τα γυμνά βράχια της μύτης του, όπου διακρίνονται ίχνη λατομικής δραστηριότητης νεώτερων χρόνων- υπάρχει διάσπαρτη πυκνή επιφανειακή κεραμική διαφόρων περιόδων (Σ. Σαμαρτζίδου-Ορκοπούλου, ΑΔ 52, 1997, Χρονικά, Β3, 952 και πιο πρόσφατες περισυλλογές επιφανειακών ευρημάτων). Ενδεικτικά της χρήσης του χώρου κατά την Ύστερη Γεωμετρική περίοδο είναι τα οστρακά από μικρά, ανοιχτά και με λεπτά τοιχώματα αγγεία, μελαμβαφή και γραπτά, τα περισσότερα από τα οποία προέρχονται από κύπελλα και σκύφους (εικ. 2). Κοντά στο νοτιότερο άκρο της Κιμώλου και σε μικρή απόσταση από το πλησιέστερο στη γειτονική Μήλο υποθέσιμο ποικίλα ανθρώπινες αποδοχές και χρησιμοποιήσεις.
ΠΕΓΚΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΥ, ΔΑΝΑΗ ΔΙΤΣΑ

ΠΑΛΙΟΚΑΣΤΡΟ


Σήμερα, η πρόσβαση στο Παλιόκαστρο είναι εξαιρετικά δύσκολη, αφού τα παλιά μονοπάτια έχουν χαθεί και τα επιφανειακά κτηριακά κατάλοιπα είναι κρυμμένα κάτω από πυκνή βλάστηση. Από το αρχαίο τείχος η θέση αποτελούσε, προφανώς για πολλούς αιώνες, πέρασμα προς τον πιο σύντομο δρόμο επικοινωνίας μεταξύ των δύο νησιών.
και τα διαθέσιμα δεδομένα δεν επιτρέπουν κανένας είδους χαρακτηρισμό και χρονολόγηση των οριστικών κτηριακών καταλογίων. Αν βασιστούμε στις πληροφορίες του Μουσείων για τα άστατα που περισυνέλεξε, θα πρέπει να υποθέσουμε ότι στο Παλικάκο αντίκριζε μια εγκατάσταση τουλάχιστον από τη Γεωμετρική εποχή, άγνωστο βεβάια πότε ακριβώς, αφού δε γνωρίζουμε την ακριβή χρονολόγηση των ευρημάτων. Θα πρέπει, επίσης, να υποθέσουμε ότι η θέση συνέχισε να χρησιμοποιείται ίσως για πολλούς αιώνες, αφού ακόμη και στα νεώτερα χρόνια, σύμφωνα με προφορικές μαρτυρίες, αποτέλεσε καταφύγιο των κατοίκων του νησιού σε περιπτώσεις απειλής τους από εξωτερικούς κινδύνους.

Ελληνικά

Ασφαλείς μαρτυρίες για τη ζωή στη νησί κατά τους Γεωμετρικούς χρόνους παρέχουν με- μονωμένα και ανασκαφικά ευρήματα από τα Ελληνικά, μια θέση ιδίατερα προνομιακή, που ταυτίζεται με την αρχαία πόλη της Κιμώλος. Βρίσκεται στο μέσον περίπου της νοτιοδυτικής θέσης, κατά μήκος της ακτής, κάποτε όμως ασφαλείς μαρτυρίες για τη ζωή στο νησί αναφέρουν ότι η αρχαία εικόνα διάπλου του στενού Μήλου-Κιμώλου και των Ελληνικών κατά τους Γεωμετρικούς χρόνους παρέχουν με- μονωμένα, κατά μήκος της ακτής, κάποτε όμως ασφαλείς μαρτυρίες για τη ζωή στο νησί αναφέρουν ότι η αρχαία εικόνα διάπλου του στενού Μήλου-Κιμώλου και των Ελληνικών κατά τους Γεωμετρικούς χρόνους παρέχουν με- μονωμένα, κατά μήκος της ακτής, κάποτε όμως ασφαλείς μαρτυρίες για τη ζωή στο νησί αναφέρουν ότι η αρχαία εικόνα διάπλου του στενού Μήλου-Κιμώλου και των Ελληνικών κατά τους Γεωμετρικούς χρόνους παρέχουν με- μονωμένα, κατά μήκος της ακτής, κάποτε όμως ασφαλείς μαρτυρίες για τη ζωή στο νησί αναφέρουν ότι η αρχαία εικόνα διάπλου του στενού Μήλου-Κιμώλου και των Ελληνικών κατά τους Γεωμετρικούς χρόνους παρέχουν με- μονωμένα, κατά μήκος της ακτής, κάποτε όμως ασφαλείς μαρτυρίες για τη ζωή στο νησί αναφέρουν ότι η αρχαία εικόνα διάπλου του στενού Μήλου-Κιμώλου και των Ελληνικών κατά τους Γεωμετρικούς χρόνους παρέχουν με- μονωμένα, κατά μήκος της ακτής, κάποτε όμως ασφαλείς μαρτυρίες για τη ζωή στο νησί αναφέρουν ότι η αρχαία εικόνα διάπλου του στενού Μήλου-Κιμώλου και των Ελληνικών κατά τους Γεωμετρικούς χρόνους παρέχουν με-"
περιοχής. Στη νεκρόπολη των Ελληνικών ανήκουν επίσης οι λαξευμένες στο βράχο «σπηλιές» που υπάρχουν τόσο στη Λίμνη όσο και στο Κορτό και που αποτελούσαν πιθανότατα οικογενειακούς τάφους. Οι μεγαλύτερες χωρίζονται εσωτερικά σε δύο ή τρεις θαλάμους και στα τοιχώματα και το δάπεδο τους υπάρχουν λαξευμένοι τάφοι (Κοντολέων 1972, 10), αν και γνωστά στη σήμερα έρευνα δεν επιτρέπεται να διατυπωθούν συμπεράσματα σχετικά με την έκταση, τα ορία και την οργάνωση του νεκροταφείου. Δεν έχει αμφιβολία ότι η διάρκεια χρήσης του χώρου ως νεκροταφείου καλύπτει ένα μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα.


5. Λύχνος του 5ου αι. μ.Χ. (αρ. ευρ. Μ. Κιμώλου 343) αναφέρεται ως εύρημα από τον καθαρισμό «σπηλιαίου» στο λόφο της Λίμνης, στην από 05.08.1953 υπηρεσιακή αναφορά του Ν. Κοντολέοντος σχετικά με τα αποτελέσματα της ανασκαφής του στη θέση (αρχείο ΚΑ' ΕΠΚΑ).


7. Αρ. Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου 53Α Β και 54. Βλ. επίσης Coldstream 1968, 165, υποσημ. 9. Στο άρθρο του Μουστάκα (βλ. σημ. 20) αναφέρεται επίσης πρωτογεωμετρικός αμφορίσκος χωρίς περιγραφή ή φωτογραφία, καθώς όμως τέτοιο αγγείο δεν περιλαμβάνεται στις φωτογραφίες του αρχείου του Γερμανικού Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου. Ο τόπος εύρεσης των αγγείων αλλά και το γεγονός
Η ΚΙΜΩΛΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΙΜΩΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ

419

ότι είναι ακέραια οδηγούν στο εύλογο συμπέρασμα ότι αποτελούν ταφικά κτερίσματα.

ΤΟ ΝΕΚΡΟΤΑΦΕΙΟ ΤΟΥ 8ου ΑΙ Π.Χ. (ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΗ Ν. ΚΟΝΤΟΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ)

Στον 8ο αιώνα π.Χ., η ύπαρξη οργανωμένου νεκροταφείου τεκμηριώνει αναμφισβήτητα ότι στα Ελληνικά υπάρχει σταθερή εγκατάσταση. Ο εντοπισμός του έγινε το 1953 από τον τότε Έφορο Αρχαιοτήτων Κυκλάδων Νικόλαο Κοντολέοντα, στα πλαίσια της ανασκαφικής διερεύνησης του αγρού της Ειρήνης Κατσανού, που βρίσκεται στις δυτικές υπώρειες του λόφου της Λίμνης, σε άμεση συνέχεια του αιγιαλού και παράλληλα με αυτόν (εικ. 7). Στο φυσικό βράχο που υψώνεται απότομα στο αντολικό όριο του αγρού, υπάρχουν τρεις «σπηλιές-θαλαμοειδείς τάφοι», ενώ το δυτικό του όριο καταλαμβάνει σειρά λακκοειδών τάφων. Κατά την ανασκαφή στο βορειοδυτικό τμήμα του αγρού και σε συνέχεια τάφων ύστερων κλασικών και ελληνιστικών χρόνων, που βρέθηκαν όμως συλημένοι και απογοήτευσαν αρχικά τον ανασκαφέα, αποκαλύφθηκαν έκαστα ταφικά λαξεύματα που περιείχαν ταφές καύσης γεωμετρικών χρόνων με πλήθος πήλινων αγγείων, ακέραιων σε μεγάλο ποσόστο (εικ. 8-9).

Η ανασκαφή διενεργήθηκε με αφορμή αίτηση της ιδιοκτήτριας του αγρού για χορήγηση άδειας καλλιέργειας και με δική της δαπάνη και είναι ουσιαστικά η πρώτη ανασκαφική έρευνα που πραγματοποιήθηκε στα Ελληνικά.


11. Από έγγραφα του αρχείου της Εφορείας Κυκλάδων προκύπτει ότι ο Κοντολέων διατηρούσε την πρόθεση να συνεχίσει την ανασκαφή σε πρώιμη περιόδο, πράγμα που τελικά δεν κατάφερε. Με αυτά τα στοιχεία και χωρίς να έχει ακολουθήσει τα νεώτερα χρόνια συστηματική έρευνα στο χώρο του γεωμετρικού νεκροταφείου, πόλλα ζητήματα παραμένουν αδιευκρίνιστα και τα εύλογα ερωτήματα που προκύπτουν δεν μπορούν να απαντηθούν.

Τα εικοσιδύο ταφικά λαξεύματα που ερευνήθηκαν αποτελούν προφανώς τμήμα του νεκροταφείου της Γεωμετρικής περιόδου, η έκταση του οποίου είναι άγνωστη, όπως άλλωστε παρά τα προβλήματα που παρουσιάζει το αρχαιολογικό υλικό, δεδομένης της σπουδαιότητας του ευρήματος κρίνεται σκόπιμη, πέραν της απλής παρουσίασης των λιγοστών στοιχείων, η διατύπωση ορισμένων παρατηρήσεων, υποθέσεων και προβληματισμών στο βαθμό που η έκταση του παρόντος άρθρου το επιτρέπει.
και η οργάνωσή του αφού δεν υπάρχουν στοιχεία σχετικά με τη διάταξη των λαξευμάτων στο χώρο. Την επιφάνεια κάθε τάφου καλυπταν ακατέργαστοι λίθοι και χώμα και δεν είναι αβάσιμη η υπόθεση του ανασκαφέα ότι επάνω σε κάθε έναν θα υψωνόταν μικρός τύμβος με σήμα, τρόπος κάλυψης και σήμανσης της ταφής που συνηθίζεται αυτή την εποχή στο χώρο του Αιγαίου (Κόυρου 1999, 170-172).


13. Από τους τάφους του νεκροταφείου που έχουν ερευνηθεί μέχρι σήμερα μόνον ένας τάφος του 1ος αι. π.Χ. περιείχε ενταφιασμό, βλ. Φ. Ζαφειροπούλου, ΑΑ 32, 1977, Χρονικά, Β2, 309.
14. Δίνονται ως παράδειγμα οι διαστάσεις ενός μόνον τάφου, του Τ10: μήκος άνω 1,70μ., μήκος κάτω 0,86μ., πλάτος 1,03μ., βάθος σε όλο το δάπεδο 0,95μ. και στις γωνίες 1,08μ. Οι διαστάσεις των βαθύνσεων στις γωνίες δεν αναφέρονται, υπολογίζεται όμως από τις παραπάνω ότι στο συγκεκριμένο τουλάχιστον τάφο το βάθος του ήταν 0,13μ.
ρα δημοσιευμένα σύνολα αμφισβητείται ακό-
μη και το εάν και κατά πόσον ο χώρος εύφρε-
σης των υλικών υπολειμάτων μιας πυράς δη-
λοντεί και την κατά χώραν καύση (Σταμπολίδης

Τα ευρήματα που έδωσε η ανασκαφή των
γεωμετρικών τάφων είναι πολύρεθμα πήλι-
να αγγεία, ελάχιστα βραχομένα χάλκινων αγ-
γειών, λίγες χάλκινες πόρπες και γυάλινες ψή-
φοι και λίγα τμήματα εφών. Παρά την απουσία
ανασκαφικών δεδομένων και τα προβλήματα που προέκυψαν από την περιπετειώδη πορεία που είχε το υλικό, είμαστε σε θέση να γνωρί-
ζουμε σε μεγάλο βαθμό την κατανομη τουλάχι-
στον των αγγείων στα ταφικά λαξεύματα, αφε-
νός μεν χάρη σε μια σειρά από πολλές ασπρό-
μαυρές φωτογραφίες που εικονίζουν πολλά από
tα αγγεία αριθμημένα κατά τάφους, αφετέρου
λίγες φωτογραφίες που εικονίζουν πολλά από
και δείχνουν τον τάφο προέλευσης, τις μόνες
ενδείξεις που απέμειναν. Συνολικά ταυτίστηκε
και αποδόθηκε σε τάφο το 91% του υλικού Τα]
-330 πήλινα αγγεία, 2 χάλκινες πόρπες και λίγες
γυάλινες ψήφοι- ως εκ τούτου το πράγμα που δι-
νει τα ταφικά σύνολα δεν μπορεί να θεωρη-
θεί πλήρης, εφόσον υπάρχουν αντικείμενα που
στάθηκε αδυνάτον να ταυτιστούν πιστεύ-

15. Σύμφωνα με τις αναφορές του Κοντολόγκου και
tα πρωτόκολλα παράδοσης-παραλήψης που συνέτασαν
ις τοις ακόμη τέκτονες Επιμελητές Αρχαιοτήτων (αρχείο
ΚΑ’ ΕΠΙΚΑ), μετά από την ανασκαφή το πολυπληθές υλι-
κό είχε μειώσει αυστηρά πρακτικά κατά τάφους. Στη διά-
ρκεια όμως του μισού αιώνα που μεσολάβησε από την ανα-
σκαφή μέχρι την έκθεση του στο Μουσείο Κιμώλου υπέ-
πή πολλές μεπαροφες και στοιβισμένα για πολλά χρόνια
σε χώρους ακατάλληλους, με αποτέλεσμα την αποκαλύ-
θης των αγγείων και την ενσωμάτωση των αστεροφών. Η αποδεικνύση, ταυτίση και ταξινόμηση του
οι ταφών που περιείχαν, ο οποίος όμως είναι
δεν αποδίδεται από ένα αγγείο (Τ7 και Τ15), θεω-
ρούμε όμως ότι αυτό είναι συμπτωματικό και τα ευρήμα-
τα που περιέχουν περιλαμβάνονται σε αυτά που δεν έχουν
θεωρηθεί πλήρης πράγμα.

16. Αρχείο ΚΑ’ ΕΠΙΚΑ.

17. Πρόκειται για 33 αγγεία (σε τμήματα), αρκετά
όστρακα και τα περισσότερα από τα μετάλλια αντικείμε-
να που βρέθηκαν στην ανασκαφή, για τα οποία δεν είχα-
με κανένα στοιχείο.

18. Σε δύο από τους εικοσιδύο τάφους που ερευνή-
thηκαν δεν αποδίδεται κανένα αγγείο (Τ7 και Τ15), θεω-
ρούμε όμως ότι αυτό είναι συμπτωματικό και τα ευρήμα-
tα που περιέχουν περιλαμβάνονται σε αυτά που δεν έχουν
θεωρηθεί πλήρης πράγμα.

19. Στον τάφο Τ21 αποδίδονται είκοσι αγγεία, ένας
μορφοφάκες και δεκαεννέα αγγεία πόσεως (κύπελλα και
σκόφοι) και θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί περίπτωση μιας

20. Στον τάφο Τ21 αποδίδονται είκοσι αγγεία, ένας
μορφοφάκες και δεκαεννέα αγγεία πόσεως (κύπελλα και
σκόφοι) και θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί περίπτωση μιας
ρισσότερες από μια ταφή (εικ. 8, 9, 12), η αδυναμία διάκρισης των ταφών, πόσο μάλλον της κατανομής του κτερισματικού υλικού σε αυτές, ακόμη και με βάση χρονολογικά κριτήρια, αφαιρεί τη δυνατότητα καθορισμού της αλληλουχίας τους και κατά συνέπεια του χαρακτηρισμού τους ως ταυτόχρονων ή ως διαδοχικών σε μία κατ’ επανάληψη χρήση του τάφου, ένα φαινόμενο που δεν απαντάται συχνά σε ευθυγραμμωμένους κτερισματικούς ταφούς με επανειλημμένη χρήση, βλ. Morris 1997, 227). Δεν αποκλείεται ωστόσο η πιθανότητα να συνέβαιναν και τα δύο ούτε η υπόθεση της οικογενειακής χρήσης τους.

Το πολυπληθέστερο ταφικό σύνολο είναι του τάφου Τ19 (εικ. 9), στο οποίο ασχολούνται 99 αγγεία21, μια ιδιαίτερη περίπτωση και η μόνη καλά κτερισμένη ταφή, με τον αμφορέα να περιέχει την τέφρα.

21. Τα 99 αγγεία περιλαμβάνουν ένα μεγάλο εγχάρακτο πίθος, τοποθετημένο με την κοιλιά στο λάξευμα, περιέχει σύμφωνα με τον ανασκαφέα πάνω από εξήντα μικρά κυρίως αγγεία και τρεις αμφορείς με τέφρα, δηλαδή τρεις ταφές με τα τεφροδόχα τους. Η εντυπωσιακή ομοιότητα των δύο γραμμών τεφροδόχων αμφορέων, αλλά και η ομοιομορφία των τεφροδόχων του σύνολο τους, με ομάδες μικρών πανομοιότυπων σχεδίων αγγείων, μας δίνουν κάθε λόγο να υποθέσουμε ότι οι τρεις ταφές είναι ταυτόχρονες και αν η υπόθεσή μας είναι σωστή, η διαφορετικότητα του τρίτου τεφροδόχου αμφορέα αντικατοπτρίζει ίσως κάποιον συμβολικό ρόλο στη μεταφορά του συμβόλου (εικ. 13α, β).

Τα αγγεία που περιέχονταν στους τάφους...
η ΚΙΜΩΛΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΙΜΩΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ

-πίθοι, κρατήρεις, αμφορείς, πυξίδες, χύτρες, οινοχόες, αμφορίσκοι, κρατηρίσκοι, μικρές πρόχοι και υδρίες, κύπελλα, σκύφοι, κοτύλες, κάνθαροι, πινάκια, αρύβαλλοι και ληκύθια—καλύπτουν ένα ευρύ φάσμα ειδών με όλα σχεδόν τα τυπικά και συνήθη για την εποχή σχήματα σε ποικιλία τύπων και παραλλαγών (Γράφημα 2). Ως προσ το είδος και το σχήμα τους παρουσιάζουν ανίση επίσης κατανομή στα ταφικά συνόλα και προφανώς το ποσοστό αντιπροσώπευσης τους υπαγορεύεται από το ρόλο τους στην ταφική πρακτική, που στην περίπτωση όμως των συγκεκριμένων ταφών είναι ασαφές. Από το δείγμα που διαθέτουμε μπορούμε πάντως να υποθέσουμε ότι ως τεφροδόχα θα πρέπει να χρησιμοποιήθηκαν κυρίως αμφορείς, αλλά και κρατήρες ή πιθοειδή αγγεία, χωρίς να αποκλείεται ασφαλώς το ενδεχόμενο χρήσης και άλλων, πιθανότατα δε ο ρόλος των αγγείων δεν ήταν ο ίδιος σε όλες τις ταφές. Τα μικρά και μεγάλα προχύτικα αγγεία, τα αγγεία πόσεως, τα πινάκια και τα μυροδόχα αγγεία θα αποτελούσαν τα κτερίσματα που συνόδευαν τους νεκρούς και κάποια από αυτά θα πρέπει να χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για σπονδές και προσφορές. Αξιοσημειωτά είναι η αριθμητική υπεροχή των κυπέλλων και σκύφων, που αποτελούν τα 2/3 του συνόλου και δε λείπουν σχεδόν από κανένα ταφικό λάκκο, υπεροχή που πιθανώς οφείλεται στον ιδιαίτερο ρόλο που έπαιζαν στην τοπική παράδοση.

Το κεραμικό υλικό αποτελεί ένα ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον σύνολο που απαρτίζεται από ακέραια ή ολόκληρα στο μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό τους αγγεία. Στα λιγοστά ΜΓ αγγεία είναι φανερές οι επιρροές της Αττικής, ως εξάλλου σε όλες τις Κυκλάδες αυτήν την περίοδο (Coldstream 1968, 165-171). Τα περισσότερα από τα ΥΓ αγγεία, τα οποία όπως έχει ήδη αναφερθεί αποτελούν τη συντριπτική πλειονότητα, παρουσιάζουν φανερές επιρροές της Κυκλάδας. Το κεραμικό υλικό αποτελεί ένα ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρον σύνολο που απαρτίζεται από ακέραια ή ολόκληρα στο μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό τους αγγεία. Στα λιγοστά ΜΓ αγγεία είναι φανερές οι επιρροές της Αττικής, ως εξάλλου σε όλες τις Κυκλάδες αυτήν την περίοδο (Coldstream 1968, 165-171). Τα περισσότερα από τα ΥΓ αγγεία, τα οποία όπως έχει ήδη αναφερθεί αποτελούν τη συντριπτική πλειονότητα, παρουσιάζουν φανερές επιρροές της Κυκλάδας. Τα περισσότερα από τα ΥΓ αγγεία, τα οποία όπως έχει ήδη αναφερθεί αποτελούν τη συντριπτική πλειονότητα, παρουσιάζουν φανερές επιρροές της Κυκλάδας.

Με τα υπάρχοντα ανεπαρκή δεδομένα και χωρίς δυνατότητα περαιτέρω ερμηνείας τους, στην περίπτωση των γεωμετρικών ταφών των Ελληνικών δεν μπορούν να εξαχθούν συμπεράσματα σχετικά με το φύλο, την ηλικία και την κοινωνική θέση των νεκρών και να ανασυντεθεί μία σαφής εικόνα των εθίμων ταφής, μέσα από την οποία θα μπορούσε να διαφανεί η κοινωνία των ανθρώπων της εποχής και οι ευρύτερες σχέσεις και επαφές τους με τον υπόλοιπο κόσμο. Παρόλα αυτά και παρά το γεγονός ότι τα ευρήματα δε σχετίζονται με αρχιτεκτονικά θέματα, τα Ελληνικά είναι μέχρι σήμερα η μόνη θέση στο νησί για την οποία θα μπορούσε να σκιαγραφηθεί, έστω και αχνά, μια εικόνα των πρώιμων ιστορικών χρόνων: από τα τέλη του 12ου αι. π.Χ. απουσιάζουν προς το παρόν τα τεκμήρια ζωής έως το α' μισό του 9ου αι. π.Χ., πιθανόν ταφικά, αποτελούν την πρώτη μετά από δύο περίπου αιώνες ενδείξεις ανθρώπινης δραστηριότητας στη θέση, ενώ τον 8ο αιώνα π.Χ. πλέον η ύπαρξη νεκροταφείου μπορεί να αναφέρεται. Συνοψίζοντας, θα πρέπει να πούμε ότι σε καμία περίπτωση δεν μπορούμε να μιλήσουμε για τη συνολική εικόνα που παρουσίασε η Κίμωλος κατά τους πρώιμους ιστορικούς χρόνους, όταν το νησί παραμένει υστερικά ανεξερευνητό και ακόμη και για τις θέσεις Παλιό-
Η ΚΙΜΩΛΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΙΜΩΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ

κάστρο και Καλαμίτσι τα στοιχεία που έχουμε προς το παρόν οδηγούν απλά και μόνο στην υπόθεση χρήσης τους στη Γεωμετρική περίοδο, χωρίς να μπορεί να γίνει οποιοδήποτε προσδιορισμός του χαρακτήρα τους.

Θα μπορούσαμε μόνο με κάθε επιφύλαξη να διατυπώσουμε την υπόθεση ότι η εικόνα των Ελληνικών ενδεχομένως αντανακλά την ευρύτερη εικόνα του νησιού, δηλαδή της «ερήμωσης» ή μείωσης του πληθυσμού κατά τη διάρκεια των «Σκοτεινών Αιώνων» και στη συνέχεια της αφίξης νέων κατοίκων, μια εικόνα ανάλογη με άλλα νησιά των Κυκλάδων και σε μεγάλο βαθμό αντιστοιχή με την εικόνα της γειτονικής Μήλου (Renfrew 1982, 43. Sparkes 1982β, 45. Για την πρωτογεωμετρική - γεωμετρική κυκλαδική οικιστική, βλ. Γούναρης 1999).


Αφήνοντας εκ των πραγμάτων πολλά ερωτήματα αναπάντητα, ελπίζουμε ότι μελλοντικές έρευνες θα φωτίσουν τους σκοτεινούς αιώνες της Κιμώλου, ενισχύοντας ή ανατρέποντας τις υποθέσεις που διατυπώθηκαν στα πλαίσια της προσπάθειας ερμηνείας των λιγοστών δεδομένων, καθορίζοντας σαφέστερα τη θέση της στο πλέγμα των ανθρώπινων επικοινωνιών.

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β. Χάρτης της Κιμώλου με τις γεωμετρικές θέσεις.

Εικ. 2. Καλαμίτσι. Άποψη της θέσης. Στην ενθετη εικόνα, όστρακα ΥΓ αγγείων από περισυλλογή.
Εικ. 3. Παλιόκαστρο. Άποψη του λόφου από το εσωτερικό του νησιού.

Εικ. 4. Παλιόκαστρο. α. Τμήμα του τείχους με την πύλη στη δυτική πλευρά της κορυφής του λόφου β. Τμήμα περιτειχίσματος στη βόρεια πλευρά γ. Λείψανα κτισμάτων δ. Υπόγεια κατασκευή.
Εικ. 5. Ο όρμος των Ελληνικών (αεροφωτογραφία Γ.Υ.Σ).

Εικ. 6. Ελληνικά. Άποψη της θέσης.
Εικ. 7. Ελληνικά. Άποψη του λόφου της Λίμνης με τη θέση του γεωμετρικού νεκροταφείου.

Εικ. 8. Ελληνικά. Γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο, ο τάφος Τ4 (φωτ. του 1953, BCH 78, 146, fig. 42).
Εικ. 9. Ελληνικά. Γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο, ο τάφος Τ19 (BCH 78, 1953, 146, fig. 43).

Εικ. 10. Ελληνικά. Γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο. Τα αγγεία που αποδίδονται στους τάφους Τ5 (α) και Τ11 (β).
Εικ. 11. Ελληνικά. Γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο. Τα αγγεία που αποδίδονται στον τάφο Τ18.

Εικ. 12. Ελληνικά. Γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο. Τα τριανταέξι αγγεία που αποδίδονται στον τάφο Τ10, ένα από τα πολυπληθέστερα ταφικά σύνολα.
Εικ. 13. Ελληνικά. Γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο. α. Τα τρία τεφροδόχα αγγεία του τάφου Τ19. β. Ομάδες μικρών αγγείων από τον ίδιο τάφο.
SETTLEMENT IN CRISIS: THE END OF THE LM/LH IIIB AND EARLY IIIC IN CRETE AND OTHER SOUTH AEGEAN ISLANDS

Investigations in Crete carried out during the last three decades, have brought to light substantial evidence for the reconstruction of events at the turn of the LM IIIB and beginning of IIIC period. Research on this subject was much stimulated by the American 'Kavousi project' initiated in 1970s and co-directed by William Coulson. Among the most discussed topics in the early stage of that research were the reasons for the location of LM IIIC 'hilltop settlements' and the precise chronology of the phenomenon. Coulson's work as a co-director of the excavations at Kavousi Kastro and Vronda, and then at Monastiraki Chalasmenos and Katalimata, allowed us to clarify some of these problems. At present, it is generally accepted that the new settlement pattern resulted from insecurity that followed the collapse of the Mycenaean states, and that in Crete the key moment between two phases took place around 1200 B.C., between the very end of the LM IIIB and very beginning of the IIIC period. The changes of the entire settlement system were without precedents in Cretan history. They concerned nearly all the regions and almost every aspect of life. Only a few areas and settlements or towns survived (like Knossos, Chania and Faistos), but even those experienced destructions, relocations, and impoverishment.

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The '1200 B.C. collapse' is a historical fact which affected not only the Mycenaean world, but also other Mediterranean regions (fig. 1: Karageorghis – Muhly 1984; Ward – Joukowsky 1992; Karageorghis – Morris 2001). The nature of some events, which can be linked to this collapse, is illuminated by written sources from the Near East and Egypt (Bryce 2005, 327-356; Redford 1992, 243-256), although the latter do not explain in detail what initiated the collapse. Available texts deal only with the latest phases of the process, when disturbances entered the territories of the East Mediterranean states. The western peripheries of the Bronze Age Near East, such as the Aegean, were too distant to be present in these texts, apart from a few mostly indirect remarks, concerning what seems to be Mycenaean involvement in political affairs and military expeditions in westernmost Anatolia (Bryce 2003, 200-209). The closest parallels in the Near East to the social and political organization of the Mycenaean world are probably the West Anatolian Late Bronze Age states. The occasional and fragmentary references to them in the Hittite texts may shed some light on the political 'reality' of the Mycenaean during the thirteenth century B.C. In general, in the thirteenth century B.C., the political map of western Anatolia consisted of many small kingdoms and chiefdoms, built on strong tribal identities and with borders shaped by natural geographical features (Singer 1983; Bryce 2005, 137-138, 212-214, 290-293, and 306-308). In the case of territories, where the political structure was less developed, with little evidence of well-established ruling dynasties or any single dominant capital town, numerous groups of people may
have formed a kind of loosely structured confederation based on ethnic/linguistic identity. The political structures of these kingdoms or chiefdoms were unstable and often exposed to internal conflicts between different elements of ruling dynasties, which provoked the involvement either of neighbouring states within the region, or major powers from beyond the region, such as the Hittites on the east, and most probably the strongest states of the Mycenaean world, on the west. The political structure of the Mycenaean world itself must have been very similar, but the absence of a ‘superpower’ on the Greek mainland, equivalent to the Hittites in Anatolia, meant that the strongest Mycenaean ruler may have played a role slightly similar to that of the Hittite king in political disputes within the Mycenaean world. The political stability of this system was as vulnerable as that of the west Anatolian states, and may have depended not only on the strength and administrative efficiency of the ruling dynasty, but also on the degree of unity between different parts of the latter and on the broader political and social environment.

It seems that towards the end of the thirteenth century something went wrong with the stability of social structures within individual states, but also some failures broke the agreements between the Mycenaean states and territories which kept the Mycenaean *koine* for some time more or less secure. These problems, however, are beyond the scope of my paper.

The main aim of my studies, and continuous fieldwork, has been to reconstruct the settlement patterns before, during and after the '1200 B.C. collapse'. Field investigations, concerning this subject, have been carried out in Crete more intensively than in any other region of the Aegean and thanks to this the evidence for that period in Crete is richer than elsewhere (Nowicki 2000). Despite this some scholars still neglect the identification and interpretation of new sites in the island dating to this period. Among the most often questioned points are:

1) Chronology of the phenomenon and reliability of the dating of surface material from unexcavated sites.
2) The reasons for relocation of the settlements between the LM IIIB and LM IIIC periods.
3) Reliability of the Near Eastern and Egyptian written sources and their value in illuminating the links between the Near Eastern history and Aegean archaeology.

Unfortunately, many critical approaches to the subject were based on the same few sites, presented once by Desborough and Snodgrass (Desborough 1964; 1972; Snodgrass 1971) or on misunderstandings of the nature and role of historical sources in archaeological interpretation. Some scholars, representing a late echo of the vigorous debates of processual archaeology, see any attempt to link archaeological phenomena with historical references as an outdated method associated with culture-historical archaeology (Whitley 2006, 64). Yet, isolation of individual regions or even individual sites from their broad contemporaneous contexts certainly does not assist understanding of these societies. Here, I would like to mention one of the best known LM IIIC settlement, that of Karfi, which is regularly used for the 'reinterpretation' of the Cretan Dark Age (figs. 2-3). Despite much new research here (Nowicki 1999; 2000, 157-164; 2002; Day - Snyder 2004; Wallace 2005a; 2005b), which have presented substantial new evidence concerning Karfi's chronology and its place in the LM IIIC settlement pattern, the site is continuously presented in isolation from its topographical and archaeological contexts (e.g. Osborne 1996, 30; Borgna 2003; Perna 2004).

Among the strongest and most recent critics of the interpretation of the LM IIIC settlement patterns, as proposed in my previous works, is Oliver Dickinson (Dickinson 2006). However, Dickinson's criticism includes numerous misunderstandings and misquotations. To illustrate the problem I quote several of the most controversial statements:

1) "...we should reject the image so often
associated with the term 'Sea Peoples' of large bands of aggressive, well-armed, efficient and ruthless raiders (Popham 1994a, 287), mobile 'sea-warriors' (Nowicki 2000, 263-265), if only on common-sense ground. I know of no historical analogy for a situation in which such large bands could live entirely by raiding" (Dickinson 2006, 47).

I do not remember anybody suggesting that these groups 'lived entirely by raiding'. Instead my own interpretation of the phenomenon was different.

"If these sites (this remark concerned some coastal sites on Crete and other Aegean islands) were occupied by people, a substantial part of whose economy was based on sea-raiding, the social structure (the proportion of adult men to the total population) may have been different from a regular settlement" (Nowicki 2001, 30).

The people referred to as 'the Sea Peoples' represented only some elements of different Mediterranean peoples, but not necessary the entire ethnic groups. These elements were strongly involved in military activity, in particular at the sea and in coastal areas, but the origin of these groups and their 'logistic bases', at least at the beginning of the process, must be looked for among the settlements based on a mixed agricultural, herding and trade type of economy. Raiding and freebooting may have been an important, but, nevertheless, minor element of these communities' income, as long as the political systems in the Aegean and the Near East were secured by strength and authority of identifiable dominant powers, able to punish anybody who broke the agreed rules. Once these powers were weakened or vanished, raiding may have increased, and may even have pushed some of these groups into more regular and geographically less restricted freebooting. However, even in such cases we cannot reconstruct entire tribes, or the groups, known as 'the Sea Peoples', as living 'entirely on raiding'.

Dickinson's second argument concerns the chronology of Cretan defensible sites.

2) "When so much depends on the interpretation of texts that are either fragmentary, unclear, or of questionable reliability, and of archaeological evidence from a series of sites whose relative and absolute chronology is debatable, it is necessary to resist the seductively plausible accounts like that of Nowicki (Nowicki 2000, ch. VII)" (Dickinson 2006, 47).

Unfortunately, Dickinson did not specify which site chronologies are debatable, and by whom? Such a strong statement should be supported by more specific references. Some controversies on the general reliability of surface pottery, especially coarse ware, for dating LM IIIC-G archaeological sites, which were indeed raised at the beginning of investigations of this period through survey (more than two decades ago), have now been resolved.

"I agree with you... there can be no doubt about the date. ...And perhaps you are right, that we will come to agree upon what is happening... I accept that there is no problem regarding the date" (Karageorghis - Morris 2001, 111).

Additionally, in the case of several sites dates proposed on the basis of surface pottery (implicitly questioned by Dickinson) were positively verified by later excavations (see for example Monastiraki Chalasmeno and Katalimata (Haggis - Nowicki 1993; Nowicki 2008).

The third point in Dickinson's criticism concerns the written sources.

3) "...almost everything that we know about the 'Sea Peoples' derives from sources written to glorify Egyptian pharaohs, which... can be exaggerated... even fully fabricated?" (Dickinson 2006, 47).

4) "If the Medinet Habu statement ... has any reliability" (Dickinson 2006, 48).

5) "Redford (2000) defends the texts reliability in some crucial areas, but his claim... is surely far too sweeping" (Dickinson 2006, 47).

However, according to Redford, whose expertise on this text cannot be questioned,

"The consonance of the archaeological record from Anatolia, Cyprus and North Syria
with the Medinet Habu statement simply cannot be ignored on any grounds...” (Redford 2000, 12).

Other specialist scholars have a similarly positive attitude to the Near Eastern texts (as for example Singer (Singer 1983; 1988) and Bryce (Bryce 2005). It is difficult to explain why Dickinson speculates that the Medinet Habu text might be “fully fabricated”. No logical explanation of the reasons for such a complicated ‘fabrication’ has been proposed. Also, the Medinet Habu story had broader historical and archaeological contexts which could not be 'fabricated'.

Dickinson’s remark that almost all we know about the Sea Peoples comes from the Medinet Habu text is not true, either. More about the people who were responsible for the disturbances in the East Mediterranean, in the first quarter of the twelfth century B.C. can be found in the Hittite and Syrian texts. Among the most important remarks are the disappearance of the Ahhiyawa kingdom (but not the Ahhiyawans), references to repeated Hittite campaigns in the south-west Anatolia, the curious position of Alashiya (Cyprus) which was partly an ally and partly an enemy, numerous references to clashes on the sea and to enemies on boats (Bryce 2005, 327-356). The texts from the Hittite and Ugaritic archives give us the picture of growing political and military ‘mess’ in the area between the Lycian (or Lukka) coast and Syria. The sea between Lukka and Alashiya seems to have been the ‘hottest’ confrontation area between the Hittites and their allies, on one side, and the different groups of people which can be conventionally described as the ‘Sea Peoples’, on the other. The latter, however, were not mysterious people of far and unknown origin, but the inhabitants of coastal areas in Anatolia, the Aegean and perhaps the central Mediterranean. Once the Hittite coalition lost control over this area the way to the Levantine coast was open. Cyprus, as an island, was apparently very difficult to control and defend entirely on the part of any regional Near Eastern power like the Hittites (Bryce 2005, 332), once it was threaten by numerous troops arriving from beyond the established Near Eastern political scene. Cyprus was, therefore, the weakest element of the Hittite south flank, on one hand, and strategically the most important territory (the easiest to land on) for any settlement by people heading towards the Levantine coast. Any large-scale invasion of foreigners on Cyprus must have originated in (or at least passed through) the southeast Aegean, including the Lycian (coastal Lukka) and Carian coast, and some of the Dodcanesian islands. Whether some groups also came from or passed through Crete is another question that cannot be answered yet. It is worth of remaining, however, that the distance between Lukka and Alashiya is almost the same as between Lukka and East Crete.

THE 1200 B.C. COLLAPSE IN CRETE

About the same time when Suppiluliuma II tried desperately to stop the incursion of the ‘Sea Peoples’ from the Lukka-Alashiya area (Bryce 2005, 332) most of the Cretan coastal plains were abandoned and new types of settlements were founded at defensible locations. One of the most interesting among the new defensive sites is Kato Kastellas—a fortified rocky ridge inside the Zakros gorge (fig. 4). It belongs to the little known group of Cretan sites which combined natural defensibility with substantial fortification walls. Kato Kastellas is located in the middle of the gorge, hidden from the sea, about 20 minutes’ walk distance from the coast, and further 40 minutes’ tiring climbing up a steep and narrow ravine (Vokotopoulos 1997-1998). A wall, two to three metres thick and about 250 m. long, shuts the northern side, which is the only one which can be climbed (the other sides are defended by a cliff over 100 m. high). The area encircled by the wall and cliff measures about 250 by 60 to 80 m. Remains of only a few constructions, probably houses, are visible on the top of the rock. It seems that there
was never a permanent extensive settlement within the fortification. The site looks more like a short-lived 'citadel' - either the first, but temporary, refuge site of the inhabitants of Zakros Bay, who later moved to the site of Ellinika (further up the Zakros gorge), or a well-protected and hidden base for incomers displaced as part of the disintegration process of the Mycenaean society leading to 'the 1200 B.C. collapse' in the Mediterranean. The best known of those Cre­tan 'fortified acropoleis' is Rogdia Kastrokefa­la (Kanta 2003; Kanta – Karetsou 2003), which was probably founded towards the end of the thirteenth century, at the end of LM IIIB, or at the very beginning of the twelfth century, in the earliest phase of LM IIIC. According to the present state of research there, Kastrokefala looks like a new foundation, without any earlier settlement preceding the fortification. The site had apparent military characteristics, similar to those known from the Greek mainland, as well as from the Cyclades. Kastrokefala was strategically located in the southwestern corner of Herakleion Bay, on the western edge of the large Herakleion plain, only about 20 minutes' climbing from the coast. The relation between this newly founded fortified acropolis and the contemporary settlement pattern in the wider region is still to be properly researched. The LM IIIB site at Agia Pelagia, only about an hour's walking distance to the north, was abandoned, like many other coastal settlements, shortly before, or at the time of Kastrokefala's foundation, whereas the low-lying settlement at Tylissos continued through the LM IIIC period despite its non-defensible location (Kanta 1980, 19).

The coexistence of defensible and non-defensible sites in Crete through the first half of the twelfth century B.C. has raised doubts about the true reasons behind settlement pattern changes on the island at the turn of the LM IIIB period. Why could some people survive in coastal areas, on relatively low hills, at the same time that most of low-lying settlements were abandoned in response to the collapse of the security system on the Aegean Sea? The answer to this intriguing question can be achieved only by analyzing the full scope of evidence and not just selected sites or regions, as it is sometimes the case. The continuation of occupation at Kastelli Pediada (Rethemiotakis 1997) and foundation of a series of defensible settlements high on the summits of the Lasithi Mountains are the phenomena which do not contradict each other. Similarly, there are historical explanations for continuation of occupation at Knossos and Tylissos (Kanta 1980, 9-12), and construction of fortifications on Kastrokefala and perhaps loukhtas, in central Crete, and prolonged continuation of occupation at Chania, side by side with foundation of 'refuge' sites on Rocca and Vrysinas (Smponias 2006) in western Crete.

The labour needed for the erection of these LM IIIC (or LM IIIB/C) fortifications usually does not match the other remains of dwelling houses within the walls or nearby them. Although only one site in this group was partly excavated, it is safe to say that these fortified citadels were a phenomenon of the very beginning of the LM IIIC period, but did not become a standard type of a LM IIIC settlement. Some of them were only briefly occupied [Zakros Gorge Kato Kastellas and perhaps Orne (Kan­ta – Stampolidis 2001)], and in a few cases their walls may have not been even completed (Kof­inas). The sites must have represented groups of people organized around some authority of a military character and thus could not be copied by the communities of farmers and shep­herds who constituted the majority of the Cre­tan LM IIIB–IIIC population. Instead, the latter had to rely on their initiative and the character of the local landscape. Natural defensibility and concentration of population in larger villages or clusters of settlements, around uplands and inland valleys, was the most common response of the Cretans to the insecurity around the island which was increasing towards the end of the thirteenth century B.C., with the culmina­tion of the process around 1200 B.C.

At the same time, during the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the written sources in-
form us about continuous military conflicts on the western fringes of the Hittite kingdom, with the Lukka land and Cyprus being among major targets of Suppiluliuma II expeditions (Bryce 2005).

An interesting case of regional response to the problems of security in Crete, which may shed light on the character of the period in question, is the pattern presented by the sites at Chamalevri (Andreadaki-Vlazaki – Papadopoulou 2005), east of Rethymnon. This coastal region was not entirely abandoned, but the LM IIIA-IIIB settlement on the hill of Kakavella was moved only a few hundred metres to the east, to the neighbouring hill of Tsikouri-ana, only slightly higher, but with one (eastern) slope of remarkable steepness. A similar shift of settlement between two neighbouring hills, took place in East Crete, at Petras. Here, the old settlement, with almost uninterrupted occupation from EMI/II through LM III, was moved, at the end of LM IIIB or at the very beginning of LM IIIC, to another only slightly higher hill of Kefala to the east (Tsipopoulou 2005). The latter was somewhat better defended by steeper slopes around, but it cannot be classified in the group of most typical Cretan defensible LM IIIC sites. The interpretation of the Petras sites, in the LM IIIB to IIIC transition process of settlement changes, is additionally complicated by a discovery of structures which look like a double fortification wall, defending the lower site on the sea-side (Tsipopoulou 2005). The reconstruction and dating of this wall (or walls) are still to be clarified, but it is worth perhaps of reminding that a double fortification wall is known from Agios Andreas on Sifnos (Tleventou 2001, 195) and the position of the wall against the sea-coast may have some parallel in Grotta on Naxos (Lambrinoudakis – Philian- dou-Hadjianastasiou 2001, 160).

The two above described relocations (at Chamalevri and Petras) between two neighbouring hills just above a narrow strip of a coastal plain, are interesting for one more reason. Both follow the same pattern of return- ing to slightly higher and only somewhat better defended hills, which were occupied in earlier periods; Chamalevri in the Prepalatial period and Petras in the Final Neolithic to Early Minoan I period (Andreadaki-Vlazaki – Papadopoulou 2005; Tsipopoulou 2005). In both cases we have strong evidence that the choice of the early settlers was stimulated by general historical circumstances and problems with security. The LM IIIB/C or early IIIC return to those hills would follow the same pattern. However, the both settlements must be seen as belonging to the numerous groups of coastal sites on Crete and other Aegean islands, such as Koukonaries on Paros, Grotta on Naxos, Agios Ioannis Kastri on Astypalaia, and Moulas on Karpathos, with strong signs of their role in the settlement pattern which was different from that of the very defensible sites which covered Cretan mountains at that time. The inhabitants of these coastal settlements may have been heavily involved in the ‘unlawful’ sea activity, which formed part of the problems leading to the 1200 B.C. collapse.

The shift of habitation places in Crete at that time, from coastal plains to ridges above them, or further inland, suggests that the threat was expected mostly from the sea. Many sites were well protected only from that direction. Security concerns were particularly serious along the southern coast of Crete, where many large settlements were founded on the top of the highest mountains (up to 800 m. asl). The settlements of Agios Ioannis Katalimata, Mirthios Kirimianou, Frati Kefala, Melambes Afendis Christos (fig. 5), and Kolokasia Kastri (fig. 6), were all founded high above the zone of permanent Bronze Age settlements, with a splendid visibility to the sea and coastal plains. Their location indicates that the inhabitants were eager to control access from the sea, but they lived too far from, and too high above, the coast to make regular use of coastal bays down below. In the Mirthios area it was neither Kirimianou (800 m. asl) (fig. 7:1), nor Frati Kefala (c. 600 m. asl) (fig. 7:4), but rather the site of Sellia Kastri (400 m.
asl), standing directly above Plakias Bay, that may have been briefly inhabited by a group of people involved in sea-activity (fig. 7:5). On the other hand, there were several defensible sites, along the northern coast, the location of which suggests that their inhabitants were heavily involved in maritime activity. Vrokastro, Myrsini Kastello, and Liopetro (fig. 8), were located on defensible rocky coastal ridges, rising up to 400 m. asl, immediately above the coast, but very close to arable plains and valleys occupied until the LM IIIB period, with good harbour facilities at a distance of only about 30 to 40 minutes. In their topographical characteristics they resemble Sellia Kastri, but LM IIIC architectural remains and pottery, whether excavated (Vrokastro) or recorded on the surface (Myrsini Kastello and Liopetro) indicate much longer and more substantial occupation.

Different topography had another coastal settlement, Palaikastro Kastri, which occupied a steep rocky knoll, rising only 70 m. and directly above the sea. Kastri was situated next to two excellent harbours which attracted people since at least the beginning of the Bronze Age. The low altitude of the Kastri hill, despite its natural defensibility offered by cliffs on three sides and a steep slope on the only side which adjoin the land, would make the site very vulnerable to raids from the sea, which was probably, as I argued earlier, the main reason for the shift of settlement in Crete to defensible locations. The explanation of this fact is still debatable, but elsewhere I have suggested that not all the Cretans were the ‘victims’ of the LM IIIB/C disturbances: some of them were their authors, too. The same pattern can be observed in other coastal areas of the Aegean and in particular on the Aegean islands. Palaikastro Kastri may have been, therefore, inhabited by a group of people who had sea-activity, including raiding other Aegean islands, and perhaps even some Cretan regions, too, as a substantial part of their economy. The best contemporaneous (LH IIIC) analogy for Palaikastro Kastri is the site on the western coast of Karpathos, on the ridge of Mou-
hypothesis is also strongly criticized by Dickinson, who claimed that the dating of the pottery could not be so precise to differentiate between short phases within the LM IIIC period (Dickinson 2006). The Kavousi excavations, however, have already proved that there was chronological difference between the Kastro and Vronda, with the first site – more defensible –founded earlier in LM IIIC (Mook – Coulson 1997, 342). Even better evidence in supporting this hypothesis has come from the excavation at Katalimata in the Cha gorge. Most of the excavated pottery dates to early LM IIIC, and many fragments must have been produced in LM IIIB rather than IIIC (Nowicki 2008). Katalimata dates, therefore, to Phase 1 at Kavousi Kastro with possible continuation into Phase 2, but not later. Comparison between the excavated material from Katalimata and Chalasmeno – another LM IIIC site located at the mouth of the Cha gorge, but much less defensible – indicates that the first site was founded at the very beginning of the twelfth century B.C. and for a few decades may have been the only settlement in this area. Chalasmenos was founded later: by that time Katalimata had been evacuated, with possible occasional use continuing in periods of extreme threat. This means that Katalimata and Elliniki Korifi were founded and inhabited at the same time as coastal sites such as Palai-kastro Kastri on Crete, Koukounaries on Paros, Moulas on Karpathos and Maa Palaeokastro on Cyprus. That is exactly the time of Shuppiluliuma II’s struggles on the sea between Cilicia and Cyprus, and the time of the dramatic correspondence between the kings of Ugarit and Alashiya.

I would like to comment on yet another problem which has been recently raised in the debate on LM IIIC Crete. My distribution map of the defensible sites, as published in 2000 (Nowicki 2000), showed considerable differences in the number of these sites between East and West Crete. I pointed out, however, that one should be very careful with the interpretation of this fact because of many differences in landscape, land exploitation and history of research. Since that time the number of West Cretan sites increased. New sites were identified on Afendis Christos near Melambes (fig. 5), at Skaloti (Nowicki 2005, 90), and near Anydroi. LM IIIC pottery has also been seen at Yrtakina. The pattern clearly shows that the insecurity, as well as the local people response to it, were in West Crete the same or similar as in East Crete. The most defensible sites were located along the southern coast with the most spectacular settlements on Myrthios Kirimianou, Kolokasia Kastri (fig. 6) and Anydroi Profitis Elias (fig. 10). Some of them, the most inconvenient to live in, were abandoned by late LM IIIC or slightly later, but other, like probably Yrtakina and Polirinia, developed into large regional centres, as it was the case in Central and Eastern Crete.

CONCLUSIONS

To summarise my views, and to avoid further misunderstandings and misquotations, such as discussed at the beginning of this paper, I would like to repeat the main arguments for the interpretation of defensible sites in Crete and for linking this phenomenon with the debate around the ‘Sea Peoples’ in Near East and Egyptian archaeology.

1) The interpretation of the phenomenon must be based on the complete range of archaeological evidence (over 125 defensible sites so far reported, in Crete alone), as published, and not just on a few best-known sites, even if that requires extra effort in walking and climbing. The topography of sites, and personal experience of that topography, are so important that they cannot be simply replaced by theoretical approaches. The latter can be helpful after the geographic context of the sites has been properly examined.

2) Dating of the LM IIIC defensible sites is well-fixed. The earliest LM IIIC material is eas-
ily recognizable (particularly when containing a substantial amount of LM IIIB sherds and/or features), although differentiation between the mid and late phases may cause more problems.

3) The only direct reason for the shift of settlement to higher locations was the collapse of the Mycenaean security system. The sites were located in defensible places not because of different modes of subsistence exploitation or changes in the structure of Cretan societies, but because of a direct security threat, most probably coming from the sea. This change in settlement pattern, however, had enormous consequences for the social and economic organization which had to be adapted to new geographical conditions.

4) The historical sources for the reconstruction of the situation in the East Mediterranean immediately before and after 1200 B.C. are accepted by most of the historians and archaeologists working in the Near East and Egypt as reliable and representing actual events. The details may be disputable but the events and their broader historical background are not.

5) This 'historical' version of the story is very well illustrated by archaeological evidence at least in southern Crete. Intensive field investigations, including archaeological surveys, reconnaissance and excavations, play the leading role in the interpretation of this phenomenon.

The phenomenon of defensible sites in Crete tells us a lot about what happened in the Aegean around 1200 B.C., although it does not clearly explain why it happened. This phenomenon is consonant with settlement changes as recorded in other coastal regions of the eastern Mediterranean and with the Near Eastern and Egyptian texts. The picture is complex and indicates that the collapse of the Mycenaean states created the power vacuum which changed entirely the political system in this area, then different groups followed different trajectories. The majority of local population fled up to defensible locations away from the coast. Some groups, however, stayed by the sea, choosing easy to defend rocky promontories and ridges, which were often additionally fortified with walls. Most of these sites were ephemeral, since they were not well rooted either in the economic potential or long-term history of settlement in the region. They were usually either abandoned (e.g. Palaikastro Kastri on Crete and Maa Palaeokastro on Cyprus) or moved to other locations, nearby, which offered better conditions for further development (e.g. Zakros Kato Kastellas to Ellinika on Crete, and Moulas to the Arkasa promontory on Karpathos (fig. 9). It seems that similar changes took also place on the southwest Anatolian coast, which is characterized by deep and well sheltered bays, with numerous defensible promontories and hills. This region calls for much more substantial field work if we want to compare settlement changes there with those reconstructed for Crete and other Aegean islands.

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Fig. 1. Map of Central and Eastern Mediterranean. (1) Agios Andreas on Sifnos, (2) Koundounaries on Paros, (3) Grotta on Naxos, (4) Agios Ioannis Kastri on Astypalaia, (5) Moulas on Karpathos, (6) Ma Palaeokastro on Cyprus.

Fig. 2. Map of Crete with the LM IIIIC mentioned in the text (in alphabetic order) Agios Ioannis Katalimata (11), Anatoli Ellinikí Korifi (12), Anydroi Profitis Elias (26), Chamalevri (16), Elias to Nisi (7), Frati Kefala (21), Karfi (13), Katalimata (10), Kavousi Kastro and Vronda (9), Kofinas (14), Kolokasia Kastri (24), Liopetro (5), Melambes Afendis Christos (19), Mirthios Kirimianou (22), Monastiraki Chalasmeno (10), Myrsini Kastello (6), Orne (18), Palaikastro Kastri (1), Petras (4), Rogdia Kastrokefala (15), Sellia Kastri (23), Skaloti (27), Rokka (25), Vrokastro (8), Vrysinas (17), Zakros Ellinika (3), Zakros Kato Kastellas (2),
Fig. 3. Karfi from East.

Fig. 4. Zakros Gorge and Kato Kastellas.
Fig. 5. Melambes Afendis Christos from South.

Fig. 6. Kolakasia Kastri from South-West.
Fig. 7. Map of the Plakias Area with LM IIIC settlements. (1) Mirthios Kirimianou, (2) Atsipades Fonises, (3) Frati Kefala, (4) Frati Kefali, (5) Sellia Kastri.

Fig. 8. Liopetro from South.
Fig. 9. Moulas and Arkasa Acropolis on Karpathos from South.

Fig. 10. Anydroi Profitis Elias (1) from East.
INTRODUCTION

In his 1990 review of the Greek 'Dark Ages', W.D.E. Coulson proposed a series of ambitious and idealistic goals for the study of Greek society from the twelfth through the eighth centuries BC, that is, 'from the collapse and abandonment of the Mycenaean settlements to the recovery of writing' (Coulson 1990, 11). Coulson's evaluation of ceramic and architectural studies, in particular, highlighted the many gaps in publication and analysis for this period. Out of necessity, many previous studies of 'Dark Age' architecture had been based upon often poorly published data, and in some cases relied primarily -even exclusively- upon an evaluation of plan and materials. Nonetheless, the importance of the built environment and the role of architecture as a signifier of the social dynamics within a 'Dark Age' settlement were recognised as having untapped potential. Coulson (Coulson 1990, 22) opined that

'... a most useful endeavor would be the complete excavation of a single settlement together with its associated cemeteries. ... Only in this way will we be able to make any detailed architectural or sociological studies and be able to discern the relationship of the parts to the whole. We will, for instance, be in a better position to distinguish the relationship of houses to streets, of rooms to courts, and of houses to each other, not to mention on a broader scale the relationship of the settlement to its cemeteries and in general, to the surrounding environment.'

At the time he wrote, excavation was still underway at two 'Dark Age' sites near the modern village of Kavousi, Vronda and Kastro, co-directed by Coulson, L.P. Day, and G.C. Gesell (Coulson et. al. 1997; Day - Coulson - Gesell 1986; Gesell - Coulson - Day 1991; Gesell - Day - Coulson 1983; 1985; 1988; 1995; Mook in the present volume). Today, the final publication of these settlements and associated cemeteries is approaching completion. In this paper, we would like to use the Late Minoan IIIC settlement at Vronda as a case study to explore the potential of architecture for understanding 'Dark Age' society according to the levels of analysis and types of social relationships emphasized by Coulson, not only in his essay, but in many aspects of his research, his teaching, and his archaeological fieldwork.

As archaeologists, our reading of architecture is shaped by factors past and present. Those from the past include the processes of construction, occupation, abandonment, and reuse that give shape to the archaeological site as a whole (Schiffer 1996; La Motta – Schiffer 1999). In the present, we are guided by methodological approaches that include not only the recovery of
KEVIN T. GLOWACKI, NANCY L. KLEIN

data using contemporary archaeological practices but also the theoretical frameworks we use to identify and interpret function, use of space, and the meaning of the buildings we find. For example, the discussion of 'Dark Age' architecture on Crete since Coulson's review in 1990 has considered a number of diverse issues above and beyond the formal analysis of plan, material, construction techniques and associated features. These issues include regional settlement patterns and typology (Haggis 1993; Hayden 1997; Sjögren 2003), site location and defensibility (Nowicki 2000), settlement form (Hayden 1990; Wallace 2005; Mook in this volume; Roussiots - Stournaras in this volume; Vasilakis 2004), economy and socioeconomic change (Nowicki 1999; Wallace 2004), household analysis (Glowacki 2004; Mook 1998), social organization (Day - Snyder 2004; Mazarakis Ainian 1997; Nowicki 2002; Tsipopoulou in this volume; Whitley 1991), ethnicity and cultural identity (Darcque 1990; Tsipopoulou 2005), religion (D’Agata 2006; Elioopoulos 2004; Gesell 2004; Klein 2004; Klein – Glowacki 2009; Prent 2005; Shaw – Shaw 2000), and the character of 'private', 'communal', 'public' and 'civic' spaces (D’Agata 2000; Haggis – Mook in the present volume; Sjögren 2007).

In a thought-provoking essay on 'meaningful architecture' in archaeology, M. Locock defined the concept as being 'concerned with the analysis of buildings primarily in terms of their role in the constructing society, as a mode of creating and transmitting social statements' (Locock 1994, 1). Two additional corollaries bear further scrutiny. First, that a house was not invented – rather its form was negotiated between numerous social groups, and the final form is the result of those negotiations'. Second, as the building is changed by its occupants over time, 'the building's meanings ... have a diachronic trajectory as a further dimension' (Locock 1994, 5-6).

Our case study provides an opportunity to evaluate both Coulson’s and Locock’s perspectives regarding architecture and society. By noting the ways in which the private domestic buildings at Vronda were originally designed and subsequently modified over time, and then by comparing them to buildings with a more communal character, we seek to understand the ways in which the community at Vronda established and negotiated architectural space.

LM IIIC ARCHITECTURE AT KAVOUSI VRONDA

The site of Vronda is located in eastern Crete, in the foothills of the Thripti mountain range above the modern village of Kavousi. It is one of several Late Minoan IIIC sites in the region, which include nearby Kastro and Azoria and, in the Isthmus of Ierapetra, Vasiliki Kephala and Monastiraki Chalasmenos, the latter excavated by Coulson and M. Tsipopoulou (Haggis 1993; 2005, 81-85; see also Elioopoulos 1998; 2004; Coulson – Tsipopoulou 1994; Tsipopoulou 2005; in the present volume). Excavations at Vronda have revealed several distinct building complexes that made up a large part of the LM IIIC settlement (fig. 1). These complexes include houses around the summit and slopes, a large building used for ritual dining and drinking, and a freestanding shrine or temple (Day 1997; Day – Klein – Turner 2009; Day – Glowacki – Klein 2000; Gesell 2004; Gesell – Day – Coulson 1995; Glowacki 2004; 2007; Klein 2004; Klein – Glowacki 2009). The settlement was abandoned near the end of the LM IIIC period, and the buildings eventually decayed and collapsed. The site was subsequently used for burials, first for inhumation burials in small tholos tombs (SM-EG) at the periphery of what had been the inhabited space, then for cremation burials (LG-EO) that often took advantage of the partially collapsed rooms, walls, and building materials from the earlier settlement (Gesell – Day – Coulson 1990; Day in the present volume). Despite the damage caused by these and other post-abandonment disturbances, the comprehensive manner of excava-
tion and detailed analysis of architecture, artifacts and ecofacts allow us to consider a number of essential questions, ranging from building materials and construction techniques to household analysis. That is, there are both physical and social dimensions to the study of architecture and the built environment that can and should be explored as far as site formation processes and physical preservation allow.

The ground plan, materials, and techniques employed in the buildings at Vronda are remarkably consistent and present a clear example of vernacular architecture in LM IIIC East Crete. All of the preserved structures are rectilinear, built largely of unworked rubble and mud mortar, with flat clay roofs. Materials were available locally, and construction techniques were relatively simple. Common interior features include benches and platforms, stands, slab enclosures (or bins), central hearths, and built ovens. Most building complexes at Vronda began with an initial set of rooms to which others were added in a sequence that can be determined from close analysis of wall joins and abutments. The architectural expansion, the sizes of the rooms, the reduplication of features such as hearths and ovens, and the blocking of doorways and routes of communication probably reflect the changing sizes and relationships of co-residential groups both within each building complex and within the settlement as a whole (Glowacki 2002; 2004; 2007). Deviations from this ‘baseline’ character are readily apparent and can be evaluated in greater detail by combining architectural analysis with ceramic, floral, faunal, and lithic studies to shed more light on the human activities, both within a specific architectural space and the wider settlement.

**BUILDING COMPLEX C-D**

Our study of the excavated domestic complexes at Vronda reveals a pattern of agglutinative growth, beginning with a simple rectangular unit of one to three rooms that most likely served a single family or household. Building C-D (fig. 2) on the western side of the summit provides an instructive example (Gesell – Day – Coulson 1995, 70-75; Klein 2004, 96-98; Day – Klein – Turner 2009, 79-123). Analysis of wall bonds and abutments indicates that there were several stages in the building’s construction history, beginning with rooms C3 and C4 on the highest terrace to the east (fig. 3a). Room C4 contains a large central hearth, an oven in its northeast corner, a bin in the northwest, and benches along the eastern and southern walls. Communication between the two rooms is not evident, but it may have been through a doorway located above the preserved level of foundations -- a phenomenon that can be observed in other buildings at Vronda. In a second architectural phase (fig. 3b) room C1 was built on a lower terrace to the west, followed by room C2 to its north (fig. 3c). Each of these rooms has a central hearth, and room C2 has a well-preserved oven against its eastern wall.

In the next phase (fig. 3d), room D1 was built on the same terrace as rooms C1 and C2, adjacent but not communicating with the earlier building. Room D1 is the largest interior space within this building complex (c. 38.9 m²) and contains not only a central hearth and bin, but a well-built platform in the southeast corner on which two animal figurines were found; another was discovered on the floor a few feet away (Gesell – Day – Coulson 1995, 71-73, figs. 2:2-4, pl.18:a-b; Gesell in the present volume). The construction of room C5 (fig. 3e) clearly follows D1, but the lack of its northeast and eastern walls makes it difficult to establish its place in the construction sequence of the building complex. In Building D, the architectural sequence continues with the construction of rooms D2 and D3 (fig. 3f), followed by D4 and D5 on a lower terrace (fig. 3g).

There are several important observations to be gained from this picture of Building C-D. The initial phase of construction was a rectangular two-room structure, located on a level terrace. In subsequent phases, the building
expanded either in a linear fashion by adding rectangular rooms along the same level or onto an adjoining, lower terrace. Each successive expansion sees the addition of a rectangular hearth room that would have provided means of cooking, interior illumination, and heating in cold weather. Common built features include a long bench, bin, and oven. With the exception of the large room D1, where the corner platform and animal figurines suggest household cult activity, there is remarkable homogeneity throughout the complex in building materials, construction methods, interior features and material deposits.

READING THE ‘MEANING’ OF LM IIIC ARCHITECTURE AT VRONDA

Let us consider how this picture of Building C-D might reflect the process of ‘architectural negotiation’. First, we suggest that several factors argue in favor of the involvement of a single group in the construction process of each domestic complex. These include:

(1) The reliance upon existing walls to build new rooms. Except for the original two-room structure (C3+C4), the location and construction of all other rooms is dependent upon pre-existing architecture.

(2) The proximity and communication from one room to the next. This is especially true in the case of Building D, where it would have been possible at one time to move directly from room D1 to the other rooms. The blocking up of the doorway between D2 and D4 in a later phase restricts movement and has the result of establishing an adjacent but not immediately accessible household.

(3) The preference for enlarging the existing structure, rather than creating a separate, free-standing building elsewhere on the site, despite the fact that there seems to have been ample room on the slopes.

In our opinion, these three points argue strongly in favor of the family as the basic social unit within the settlement. The architectural expansion of the domestic complexes can reasonably be seen as a reflection of a family’s growth (i.e., successful reproduction and survival) over time, perhaps three to four generations, as individual families and ‘household units’ grew into extended families and ‘multi-household complexes’ (Glowacki 2004, 133-134; 2007, 134, 138).

RELATING THE PART TO THE WHOLE: HOUSE TO HOUSE

If we look beyond Building C-D to the pattern of architectural development throughout the Vronda settlement (fig. 1), we find additional evidence in favor of a society based upon individual families establishing houses that are expanded over time. All of the other complexes that have a primarily private or domestic function demonstrate a similar pattern of growth from an initial rectangular unit. These include Building J-K on the northern edge of the summit, Building L-M further north, Building E to the southeast, and Building I-O-N, located on the western slope. Building Q on the eastern slope, located just below the massive terrace wall east of Building A-B, may also have been a house, although not enough of this building has been explored to discuss its form or function in any detail. The preserved architectural evidence argues for existence of at least six or seven ‘core’ households within the community where each family established its own independent structure. While there are similarities in plan, building materials, and construction techniques that could be used to argue for a society that was -- at least at the household level -- of a uniform economic and social status, there are also recognisable levels of distinction evident in the
architectural form. For example, Building C-D has at least three large hearth rooms, two smaller ones, and has a larger interior area than almost any other complex. We can also note that the badly preserved Building J-K on the north side of the summit also has rooms that are usually larger than Building I-O-N on the western slope, but the latter expands to a much greater overall space. Clearly there are other factors in play, perhaps reflecting higher status or success of one group, their location on the summit, or the growth and change of the community over time.

RELATING THE PART TO THE WHOLE: HOUSE TO SETTLEMENT

How might the architectural growth of the settlement over several generations offer further insight into social dynamics? It is unfortunate that we cannot demonstrate that the ‘core’ households were all established at the same time, nor can we determine the chronological relationship of architectural phases between complexes. But the spatial distribution of the initial architectural units over the Vronda ridge reveals several interesting points. Let us compare a hypothetical plan of the settlement at its foundation with the final phase as recovered through excavation (fig. 4). The top of the summit was densely occupied by Buildings A-B, C (rooms C3+ C4), and J (rooms J3+J4). Building Q (rooms Q+Q2) stood on the eastern slope abutting the large terrace wall. Building E (rooms E1+E4) was also located below the summit on the steep southeastern slope, Building G on the southwest, and Building L on the north. Building I (rooms I3+I4+I5) occupied the western slope by itself.

The concentration of buildings on the summit suggests that this was the location of choice. Building A-B occupied the highest point within the settlement and has been interpreted, based on its size and function, as a ‘ruler’s house’ and/or a place for ritual dining and drinking for at least some members of the community (Day – Snyder 2004, esp. 73, 77-78; Day – Klein – Turner 2009, 59-63; see also Whitley 1991, 349-350; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 208-210; Wallace 2005, 264). The disposition of three additional domestic complexes around Building A-B suggests that a location on the summit took advantage of both practical and social considerations, benefiting from a higher elevation and prestige through proximity to this extraordinary structure. An element of social competition may also be in play. An explanation for the remote location of Building I-O-N may be found in the simple lack of remaining space on the summit (perhaps signaling lower prestige?), or could have a chronological component (that is, it was established after the other complexes claimed the preferred space).

NEGOTIATING SPACE: ‘AGGLUTINATIVE’ VS. ‘STATIC’ ARCHITECTURE

Our last point considers the matter of the negotiation of architectural space over time, the ‘diachronic trajectory’ of the built environment put forth by Locock. As discussed above, each of the domestic complexes expands sequentially, probably reflecting the growth of the different families. While there was clearly unoccupied space within the settlement, the choice was made to add rooms onto existing structures, perhaps reflecting the importance of kinship within the community or even property ownership.

The agglutinative growth of the domestic complexes at Vronda stands in contrast to what we can observe in two special buildings: A-B and G. Building A-B, the ‘Big House’ located at the top of the summit, is a complex of superlatives in this settlement. It has the largest single interior space (room A1 = 71 m²), unique architectural embellishment (painted terracotta window frame) and special interior wall decoration (cattle skulls and agrimi horns), as well as the largest pithoi and overall storage capacity (Day...
1997; 1999; Day – Snyder 2004; Day – Klein – Turner 2009, 15-63). It is also the only building for which there may be evidence for two stories. Although Buildings A and B do not have bonding walls at the level to which they are preserved, the architectural orientation and proximity, as well as material evidence, suggests that they were part of a single complex. The static quality of Building A is made apparent by the fact that it did not expand over time. Building B, however, has a recognisable sequence of construction and divisions of rooms, as well as the addition of room B7 in a later phase, which may reflect a need for increased storage.

Building G, on the southwestern slope, is a two-room structure dedicated exclusively to the cult of the goddess with upraised arms (Ge­sell 2004, 136-141, 147 no. 9; Klein 2004; Prent 2005, 151-154, no. A.21; Klein – Glowacki 2009, 154-156). It was clearly constructed in a single phase. Although its interior roofed area (c. 35.75 m²) is equivalent to that of the initial phases of the houses, Building G –like Building A- also does not grow in an agglutinative fashion over time. Additionally, its façade incorporates much larger boulders than was commonly used in the houses, an indication of differential selection of material and greater energy expenditure in construction. Building G also has a long and broad exterior bench –a feature unparalleled in the preserved domestic architecture of Vronda.

What might these observations tell us about social negotiations at the time of their construction and period of use? By comparison with the domestic complexes, whose increase in size seems to reflect the growth in population over successive generations, it appears that Building A and Building G were of suitable architectural form and dimensions to accommodate the needs of the community, even as its population increased. In neither case do we see the negotiation of form and duplication of features and activity areas that was evident in the private houses. Their architecture in this sense is static, and does not follow the same dia­­

chronic trajectory of the agglutinative domestic architecture (Wallace 2005, 261-270). Does this indicate that their meaning within the community was equally static?

On the one hand, if Building A-B was a residence that never expanded in size as did other domestic complexes, then clearly the group inhabiting that space was governed by different rules than the rest of the community. Perhaps the function of Building A-B was symbolically tied to a position in society rather than the individual as, for example, a governor’s mansion where officials are in residence during their tenure. On the other hand, if one of ‘Big House’s’ uses is for ritual dining, the number of participants never seems to have exceeded the capacity of the original plan. Since the architectural development of the settlement suggests an increasing population, it may be that membership in this group—and access to the communal spaces of the ‘Big House’—became limited or exclusive over time.

While we can pose similar questions regarding the architecture of Building G, its function as a communal cult building probably did not include the assembly of large numbers of participants within the structure itself. Instead, there is evidence to suggest that cult equipment was stored and displayed within, and public rituals that were presumably open to all members of the community probably took place outside in the large area before the western façade, where the exterior bench may have served as a symbolic focal point for display or seating of important individuals (Klein 2004, 100; Klein – Glowacki 2009, 156, 167; see also Eliopoulos 2004, 85). The original function of the building was maintained over the life of the settlement and, although sets of cult equipment may have been ritually discarded or replaced over time, it is clear that the architectural requirements did not vary.
CONCLUSION

In closing, we would like to argue that this case study of the LM IIIC settlement at Vronda has confirmed Coulson's proposal that the architecture can provide socially significant or 'meaningful' insights into Dark Age society on several levels. Close consideration of individual building design and growth, considered within the larger settlement context, indicates that some buildings had a character or function that was distinct from the others. The growth and modifications of the private domestic building complexes can be understood as reflecting the changing composition, relationships, and 'negotiations' of the separate co-residential groups or households over time, while the buildings of communal character seem to have remained static -- at least in architectural plan -- throughout their functional lifetime. While there are remaining questions we are unable to answer fully at this time, such as the relative growth of individual households within the settlement, or the relationship of the LM IIIC settlement to a contemporary cemetery, the results of the excavations at Vronda offer positive proof that Coulson's advocacy for the contribution of architecture to an objective, multi-disciplinary study of the Dark Ages was justified.

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Fig. 1. Vronda, Kavousi. LM IIIC settlement plan.
Fig. 2. Vronda, Kavousi. Building C-D state plan.

Fig. 3. Architectural sequence and growth of Building C-D.
Fig. 4. Vronda, Kavousi. LM IIIC settlement plan with initial architectural units of each building complex indicated.
LIVING AT HALASMENOS, IERAPETRA, IN LATE MINOAN IIIC. HOUSE A.1

I. INTRODUCTION

The excavation of the Late Minoan IIIC site at Halasmenos, on the Northeastern end of the Isthmus of Ierapetra started in 1992, as a Greek-American *synergasia*, co-directed by the late William D.E. Coulson (Coulson – Tsipopoulou 1994). Since 2000 it continues as a Greek systematic excavation under my direction, approaching its completion (fig. 1: Tsipopoulou 2004a; 2005). I am happy to present here the only one of the buildings at Halasmenos excavated by Coulson, and it is with emotion that I dedicate this paper to the memory of the good friend and colleague, and also to our exemplary *synergasia*. Furthermore, he was planning to study and publish this building himself.

Halasmenos belongs to a dense network of settlements of the end of the Bronze Age (12th century BC), situated around the Gulf of Mirabello and on the Isthmus of Ierapetra (for Kavousi: Day – Snyder 2004 with further bibliography; for Kephala-Vasiliki: Eliopoulos 2004 with further bibliography; for Vrokastro: Hayden 2004 with further bibliography) and is distinguished among the other known settlements, both for its urban arrangement, and for the existence of at least seven buildings of megaroid plan (Tsipopoulou 2005). Also, it was equipped with a shrine of the ‘goddesses with upraised arms,’ a large building also of megaroid plan (Tsipopoulou 2001; 2009), one of the three shrines excavated in an area of a few square km (Eliopoulos 2004 with bibliography). One of the main features of Halasmenos, which has been analysed by the author on earlier occasions, is a mixed cultural character, Minoan and Mycenaean, both in the architectural forms and the movable finds, which was especially significant for the formation of the particular Eteocretan cultural identity of Eastern Crete in the Early Iron Age (Tsipopoulou 2005).

II. HOUSE A.1.

Architecture and distribution of finds

The present paper presents one architectural unit of Halasmenos, excavated in 1992-1996, in Sector A, at a high place of the settlement (figs. 2, 3). It is conventionally called House A.1 (or Coulson’s House). The building faces two roads, one central dirt road, and one secondary, paved. It is a single storey structure built of rough stones (fig. 4). It comprises four
distinct parts, three of them in communication with each other, and the fourth one, at the back, accessible only through the lateral paved road. This small area is included in the present discussion, because, structurally it is an integral part of the building, and it also had a special function.

The orientation of the building is North-South. The internal arrangement of space follows the natural inclination of the bedrock in this area, which is rather steep. The southern part is 1.6 m. higher than the floor of the northern room 1, and 2 m. above the surface of the road. The main room is rectangular, measuring 4.5 x 6.1 m., and in the centre it has two irregular slabs, probably column (posts) bases. At the north-western corner of the room there is a built cist, made of vertical slabs (fig. 5). The entrance to this room and to the house in general, is not preserved; there was probably a raised threshold, either on the north narrow side, from the dirt road, or on the long east side, from the paved road. The second room is also rectangular and is connected to the first one through three steps. It measures 3.2 x 2.5 m. It is equipped with a stone bench, occupying the whole of its east side. The third room is square, measuring 3.1 x 3.1 m., and contains a built platform, 1.8 x 1.8 m., raised by 1.5 m. Room 4 is a small, almost square space, measuring 2.8 x 2.5 m., with two openings to the East and the South; to the East of it there is a probably open or semi-open sheltered space. The spatial organization of House A.1 finds no parallels among the other units excavated at Halasmenos. First, the floor deposit presented an intense burning, including carbon fragments and burnt animal bones (fig. 6). The pottery finds included a tripod cooking pot, two fragmentary cooking trays, three amphorae, a small kylix, two handleless conical cups, (a typical earlier Minoan shape, extremely rare at Late Minoan IIIC Halasmenos), a kalathos with a miniature conical cup attached to the rim, and a miniature conical cup from a similar kalathos, four more kalathoi with painted decoration, and a handle from another kalathos, two deep bowls, two one handled spouted cups, one handleless semi-globular cup, an one handled globular cup, a lid, a pyxis, a mug, two fragments from scuttles, one of them with incised decoration. Both the quantity and quality (including the percentage of decorated wares) are very unusual at Halasmenos, especially for such a small area. Also many of the shapes, such as the conical cups, and especially the decorated kalathoi, have been related to cult activities. Thus, the pottery assemblage suggests a ritual use for Room 4. The rest of the finds do not contradict this suggestion. These were a male figurine, made of lead and copper, a clay bull figurine, a fragmentary plaque or pinax, similar to those found in the shrine, but without horns of consecration, a bronze ring, seven stone beads of various shapes, and a stone amulet (fig. 7). It seems probable that this was a votive deposi-
it; also this area, without internal connection to House A.1, and so small as to exclude any practical use, could well have been built and functioned as a shrine. An alternative explanation, that this small room was used for the storage of various objects related to the cult, seems unlikely, because of the presence of intense burning that suggests some cult activity. Further, the two openings of Room 4 indicate that it did not store any private property. One can assume a probable public character for the cult deposit. Yet the function of this shrine must undoubtedly have been different from that of the large public shrine where the figures of the “goddesses” with upraised arms were found (Tsipopoulou 2001; 2009). Another argument in favour of the public character of Room 4 is that it has no internal connection with the other rooms, although architecturally and structurally it forms an integral part of House A1. This leads to the assumption that the activities connected with this area were probably controlled by the inhabitants of the house, but destined for a wider part of the community.

The study of the finds in Room 4 revealed that there were two sets of ritual objects deposited on two different chronological occasions, one contemporary with the main phase of the habitation of the settlement, i.e. Late Minoan IIIC middle, and the second one later, probably Subminoan or Protogeometric in East Cretan terms. (For the chronological phases of the Early Iron Age in East Crete: Tsipopoulou 2007). This is a very unusual situation for Halasmenos, as the reoccupation of the settlement was very limited. In an excavated area of ca 4,000 m², which covers practically the totality of the ancient village, only two instances of reoccupation have been identified, the first one being a Protogeometric tholos tomb built inside Room B1.1, and the second one a Late Geometric oikos, built on top of the large megaron A (Tsipopoulou 2004b). It is possible that after the abandonment of the site, when a group of people returned to Halasmenos to construct the tholos tomb in B1, they found accidentally this Late Minoan IIIC deposit, which was probably still visible, being on the highest place of the site, and on this occasion they made an offering at the same place.

**The pottery**

1. Cooking pots (fig. 8): They all belong to the globular type with high rims, horizontal handles, and legs of round section. As far as the specimens with full profile allow us to understand, the legless variety – or cooking amphorae of Mycenaean type – are rare, with only one complete example preserved (fig. 9). There is also one very small specimen, with a capacity of ca. 1 lt., probably one handled (parallels for the pottery: Tsipopoulou 2004a; Glowacki 2004; Day – Snyder 2004; Mook 2004; Mook – Coulson 1997; Seiradaki 1960; Hayden 2003).

2. Pithoi (fig. 10): House A.1 contained no more than four pithoi. They belong to the well known variety, in the Minoan tradition, with oval body, well formed neck and vertical handles on the shoulders, and in one case, also on the lower body. They are ca. 70-80 cm high, and are decorated with relief bands bearing incised fishbone.

3. Pithoid jars: They were used for medium term storage, and have cylindrical, slightly rounded bodies, and horizontal or vertical handles. The rims are high with a deep groove underneath. The first type is higher, reaching 40-50 cm., with a relatively narrow rim, while the examples of the second type look more like deep basins. One of them is decorated with a raised band on the base with finger impressions.

4. Kalathoi (figs. 11, 12, 13, 14): Room 4 contained an interesting group of decorated kalathoi. These vases are not common at Halasmenos in household assemblages, and, as far as I know, the same observation is valid also for Kavousi and Karphi. They were used principally in tombs and shrines in Mycenaean Greece and in the Mycenaenized Late Minoan IIIC Crete. It is very interesting to note that the kalathos decorated with pomegranates or poppies had an ex-
act parallel at the tholos tomb excavated in 1992 at Halasmenos (Coulson – Tsipopoulou 1994). Furthermore kalathoi with miniature conical cups on the rims are also generally connected with cult or burials. It is interesting to note that a similar collection of decorated kalathoi came from room 58 at Karphi, which is architecturally also, very similar with our Room 4 (Seiradaki 1960; Pendlebury – Pendlebury – Money-Coutts 1937-1938).

5. Closed shapes, amphorae and jugs (figs. 15, 16, 17): They have rather broad bases and globular bodies. The necks are narrow and the arched handles have circular sections. The decoration consists of a few bands, on the body and in some cases there are simple linear motives on the shoulder. The handles are often decorated with a vertical band.

6. Deep bowls (figs. 18, 19): The few specimens from House A.1 have raised bases, hollow underneath. They are decorated with a band on the rim, and another two on the lower body and the base. The motives of the handle zone are not preserved. The interior surface is monochrome in all cases.

7. Handleless cups: a) The variety with globular body is more common. They have slightly raised bases, hollow underneath, and the decoration consists of either a band on the rim on both surfaces, or of dipping of the cup in paint. b) Another less common type of handleless cup has a conical-globular body, the same type of base, and is decorated with narrow bands on the exterior surface and monochrome on the interior. c) Very rare for Halasmenos are the two conical cups found in Room 4, a typical Minoan shape, probably connected with a ritual function.

8. Kylikes (fig. 20): There were only two small kylikes in House A.1, with a capacity of 200-300 millilitres each. The small size suggests an ordinary household use, and shows a marked difference with the large Kylix, with a capacity of 1.6 litres, found in one of the megaras, used probably during feasting on a communal scale (Tsipopoulou in press).

9. Globular one-handed cups: This is a common type at Halasmenos, and is decorated either with a band on both surfaces of the rim, or monochrome.

10. One-handed shallow bridge-spouted cups (fig. 21): Two specimens were found in Room 4. They have a carinated profile, and are monochrome. This is a very rare shape probably with a special function.

All shapes from House A.1 have good parallels from the better known sites of the Late Minoan IIIC, such as Kavousi, and Karphi, and belong to the middle phase of IIIC, the main period of occupation at Halasmenos. It is interesting to note that there was no later reoccupation in any area of the house, except for the later deposit in Room 4, probably to be interpreted as the result of a single ritual act. This deserves a more detailed presentation:

The assemblage dated to this later phase consists of a tripod cooking pot, a crater, a cup, a deep bowl, a clay bull figurine and a bronze ring. I am not sure whether this deposit should be labelled Protogeometric or Sub Minoan. The problem of the Sub Minoan is still practically unresolved in Crete, as we still lack sufficient well stratified published floor deposits, and most of the Sub Minoan material comes from tombs (Tsipopoulou 2007). The bronze ring (fig. 22) could well belong to the latest phase of Late Minoan IIIC, or could be later. The only other instance of human presence at Halasmenos in a post Late Minoan IIIC period, except for a Late geometric oikos, is the construction of a tholos tomb in one room of Sector B, as already mentioned. The ritual deposit in Room 4 of House A.1 should probably be connected with this activity. The tomb was found plundered, and the only finds recovered in it, except for a few bones, were an identical bronze ring, and a very fragmentary stirrup jar, probably Protogeometric (Coulson – Tsipopoulou 1994)1.

1. I am grateful to Leslie Day, who discussed the Karphi material with me, and showed me parallels for the cup.
The most important and really unique find from Room 4 is the lead and copper male figurine. It finds no exact parallels among the only substantial Cretan votive deposit of this period, namely the Dictaean cave at Psychro in Lasithi, although it can fit well into the group of the metal figurines of the end of the Bronze Age in Crete (Verlinden 1984, e.g. pl. 38, nr 84, earlier and with a different postures of the arms, and especially the figurines from the Psychro cave). Although it cannot be excluded that it belongs to the main phase of occupation at Halasmenos, and thus be connected with the Late Minoan IIIC ritual activities in Room 4, it could well have been deposited in the later Subminoan(?). The figurine was analyzed at the Instap Study Center for Eastern Crete by Dr Stephania Chlouveraki, using a Laser Induced Breakdown Spectroscopy (LIBS) and the analysis showed that the percentage of lead was very high compared to that of the copper, and that there were also some traces of silver.

III. DISCUSSION

It is interesting to attempt to define what the function of House A.1 was. The presence of storage vessels, as well as vessels for food preparation and consumption, suggest that a group of people, probably a nuclear family, lived there. K. Glowacki presented, a few years ago, a very useful and detailed analysis of several houses of the Kavousi - Vronda settlement (Glowacki 2004). The comparison between those houses and House A.1 of Halasmenos, shows many similarities. Still, there are some “unusual” objects among the floor assemblages in House A.1, which require further discussion. One needs to point out the presence of the three Minoan stone vessels, which are earlier by more than a millennium than the rest of the assemblage. They were probably found in some Middle Minoan site, probably a destroyed tomb, in the wider area. Halasmenos, unlike Vrondas, provided no evidence for an earlier occupation. There is a long bibliography on the biography of objects and the change of their meanings in different cultures and periods (cf. Papadatos 2003 for bibliography). They might have been considered as prestige items for the Late Minoan IIIC inhabitants of House A.1, as they had no practical use whatsoever for them.

The analysis of the finds leads us to the issue of the social identity of the occupants of House A.1. Presumably one deals with an elite family in the framework of an agrarian society of the final Bronze Age. A certain resemblance of this house with the so-called House of the Priest at Karphi, both for the architectural arrangement and for the floor assemblages, is really tempting, but it well be accidental, and one needs not to elaborate further on this, until the final publication of the Karphi material is available for meaningful comparisons. Still, it should not be left out of the discussion that certain features of our House A.1 give it a prominent position within the settlement. It is situated on a high place, it is comparatively large, and contained some prestige items, of no apparent practical use, and also it included, as an annex, a cult area, of public character, presumably controlled by its inhabitants.

The late William Coulson, while excavating this building, suggested that it was the house of the leader of the Halasmenos community, with similar functions as Building A-B at Vrondas, despite its rather limited storage capacity. After more than 10 years of excavation and study at Halasmenos, this does not seem to have been the case. The most important differ-

2. An Early Minoan III-Middle Minoan IB burial cave was excavated by the author in 1991 at Kavousi-Evraiki, a site ca 1.5 km from the hill, where the settlement of Halasmenos is situated. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that these fragmentary Middle Minoan stone vases in House A.1 were not the only ones found at Halasmenos.
ence between the two buildings of the neighbouring sites is the evidence for centralized storage in Building A-B at Vrondas, which is lacking at Halasmenos, not only in House A.1, but also in any of the architectural units excavated to date, except for the six large pithoi found in the shrine. The presence of these large pithoi in the shrine could either suggest a relatively large scale storage under the protection of the ‘goddess’ or of a priest (-ess), and thus a communal sharing of the stored goods, or, alternatively, the pithoi could have been moved into the shrine from another area of the settlement where they were originally stored, under a pressure, related to the end of the occupation of the settlement (Tsipopoulou 2009). Either suggestion cannot be proved. In 2005, an underground area, connected with a substantial building, was excavated; it was situated exactly in the centre of the settlement, and was found empty, but could well have initially served as a storage area for five or six pithoi. This large building, which contained also various prestige items, such as a small gold sheet, and a bronze axe, was probably the habitation place for the most important family of Halasmenos.

In recent years, while the excavation at Halasmenos was progressing, along with the studies for the final publications of Vrondas, we have the chance to proceed to comparisons between the two contemporary and neighbouring settlements. Both projects use the same method of study of the architectural units that was presented since 2000 in various conferences. We are aware of the fact that not all finds in the architectural units under examination were lying exactly as they were last used, and we are familiar with discard and post-occupational disturbance (LaMotta – Schiffer 1999). Yet, one can assume that some patterns are preserved in both cases. Unexpectedly we do not come to the same conclusions as for the functions of the different units excavated in the two sites. This fact requires an explanation, as it leads to the proposal of different models of social organization for each of the two sites. It is obvious that these different interpretations are not due to the views of the scholars, but to the finds themselves.

Although the purpose of the present paper is not to compare Vrondas with Halasmenos, it is important to point out the differences – that make Halasmenos unique as the earliest example of a social organization, which is believed to have not started before the Early Iron Age.

In this model, the community was divided into clans or extended families, and there was not a single leader, (and consequently a central building, containing large scale storage), but relatively small groups of the (male) population (the heads of the extended families?) gathered in special buildings to consume food that was prepared in another area of the settlement. The analysis of two pairs of buildings from Halasmenos, which were different in plan, and had different floor assemblages – led to the suggestion that in the first two food preparation on a communal scale was taking place, while the food was consumed in the other two buildings of megaroid plan (Tsipopoulou in press). At Vrondas where buildings of megaroid plan are not encountered, all houses except for House A-B, were practically equal architecturally, and had identical functions (Tsipopoulou 2009).

On the other hand, an important similarity between Vrondas and Halasmenos should also be stressed: At both sites religion was centralized and played a significant role in the life of the two communities, as the large free-standing buildings imply, which contained the “goddesses with upraised arms” and similar sets of other cult paraphernalia, and were dedicated to the public cult.

Halasmenos seems more comparable to the distant Karphi, for the size, the architectural and urban arrangement, the types of the buildings, and probably also for the social organization. This suggestion is not easy to prove, at least for the time being, as at Karphi, excavated just before World War II, different methods both for the excavation and for the documentation of the finds were applied. The final pub-
lication of the Karphi material, in preparation by Leslie Day, who also knows so well the area of the Isthmus of Ierapetra, being the excavator of Vrondas, will advance our knowledge significantly towards this direction.

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HALASMENOS 2006

Fig. 1. Plan of Halasmenos.
Fig. 2. House A.1 from SE.

Fig. 3. Plan of House A.1.

Fig. 4. House A.1 from NE.

Fig. 5. Room 1 from S.

Fig. 6. Room 4 during excavation (photo by W.D.E. Coulson).
Fig. 7. The finds in Room 4.

Fig. 8. Tripod cooking pot HL 95-264.

Fig. 9. Cooking amphora HL 95-329.
Fig. 10. Pithos HL 95-639.

Fig. 11. Kalathos HL 95-629.

Fig. 12. Kalathos HL 95-627.

Fig. 13. Kalathos HL 95-629.

Fig. 14. Kalathos HL 95-627.
LIVING AT HALASMENOS, IERAPETRA IN LATE MINOAN IIIC

Fig. 15. Amphora HL 95-511.

Fig. 16. Amphora HL 95-602.

Fig. 17. Amphora HL 95-306.

Fig. 18. Deep bowl HL 96-476.

Fig. 19. Deep bowl of the second phase HL 95-262.

Fig. 20. Kylix HL 92-149.
Fig. 21. Carinated bridge-spouted one-handled cup.

Fig. 22. Bronze ring HL 92-37.

Fig. 23. Metal male figurine HL 95-64, front view.

Fig. 24. Metal male figurine HL 95-64, back view.

Fig. 25. Metal male figurine HL 95-64.
THE SETTLEMENT ON THE KASTRO AT KAVOUSI IN THE LATE GEOMETRIC PERIOD

The Kastro is located 1.5 km southeast of the modern village of Kavousi (fig. 1), on the northeast coast of Crete. It is situated some 713 m above sea level on a rocky peak at the edge of the Siteia Mountains and about 1 km east of the Late Minoan IIIC (LM IIIC) settlement at Vronda. Excavations on the Kastro were conducted by Harriet Boyd in 1900 (Boyd 1901, 137-143) and resumed by the Kavousi Project, under the field direction of William D.E. Coulson, from 1987 to 1990 and again in 1992 (Gesell – Day – Coulson 1985; 1988, 298-301; 1995, 117-119; Gesell – Coulson – Day 1991, 167-177; Coulson et al. 1997). Excavation by the Kavousi Project has demonstrated that the settlement on the Kastro was continuously inhabited from the beginning of LM IIIC to the latter part of the seventh century BC, and has revealed remains that include a substantial phase of settlement belonging to the LG period. This paper presents a first, and therefore preliminary, analysis of the plan of the settlement in LG (Mook 2004).

The settlement on the Kastro may have been as large as 1 hectare in size by this point in time, although only a small sample of the site has actually been excavated (fig. 2). We know little of the stratigraphic contexts from Boyd’s work and, on the basis of the decorated pottery, she observed that, “the buildings date from the Geometric period,” (Boyd 1901, 143) but she clearly also encountered earlier pottery. The analysis of the data recovered from Coulson’s excavations on the Kastro, as part of the Kavousi Project, provides substantial new information that expands our understanding of this pivotal period in Cretan history.

The identification of the LG settlement relies primarily on the stratigraphy and dating of associated pottery, but also aspects of planning, construction and architectural association (fig. 3). Reliance on built features is particularly the case for dating those rooms excavated by Boyd and not further explored by the Kavousi Project. The history of LG structures is varied across the site: some buildings were new foundations in LG, while others were established in the PG period or, in some cases, even incorporated walls constructed in LM IIIC. Their subsequent histories are equally idiosyncratic: there are entire buildings, and more frequently particular rooms of buildings, that are abandoned before the end of LG or early in the Orientalizing period, in advance of the complete abandonment of the site in the later seventh century BC.

* Dedicated to the memory of William D.E. Coulson, excavator of the Kastro, my mentor and friend. I thank the directors of the Kavousi Project, G.C. Gesell, L.P. Day and the late W.D.E. Coulson, for the opportunity to publish material from their excavations on the Kastro.

1. For the final publication of the Kavousi Project’s excavations on the Kastro, Donald Haggis is undertaking the stratigraphic and architectural interpretations of the remains found on the West Slope, while Jennifer Tobin is responsible for the East and North Slopes (Coulson et al. 1997). The interpretation of building definition and function remains an ongoing process. I refrain from interpreting function here, but nevertheless Tobin and Haggis may disagree with some of my definitions and reinterpretations of building units.
century. The Kastro is a settlement with a complicated history of rebuilding and expansion in LG, exhibiting repeated efforts in some areas to expand and maintain terraces on the steepest slopes (Haggis 1997, 333-334, 352-353); slopes that also presented difficulties in the excavation and preservation of the site. In LG large areas of the site were dramatically rebuilt, especially on the Hilltop and parts of the East and West Slopes.

Buildings are here defined largely on the basis of the architectural association of rooms; in most cases rooms identified as belonging to the same structure are linked by connecting doorways that define and limit access. Assigning non-connecting rooms to the same building, often a household, presents myriad possibilities and problems. Here, the rationale for such associations lies partly in the size of the detached rooms and aspects of topography—that is location and accessibility, as in the association of Room NW 3 with Room NW 5, and Room 49 with Rooms 15-16-17, for example. Incorporating this approach, LG buildings can be identified as two, three, or four-room structures that vary widely in size. Separate structures in the area referred to as the Northwest Building are prefaced with “NW,” since the individual room numbers duplicate those from Boyd’s excavations. Although building designations were used in an earlier publication, their interpretation and identification is still in flux, so will only be used in exceptional cases to refer to previously published interpretations (Coulson et al. 1997). The table below lists buildings based upon the number of associated rooms as here defined. Areas are considered rooms if there is evidence that they were roofed and originally enclosed by four walls. Omitted from this category are areas where excavation has suggested that the space was roofed but open on at least one side; here such spaces are referred to as porches (see the second table below).

Floor areas ascribed to each building are approximations, particularly in the many instances where a room’s exact parameters are not known, because one (or more) of the walls is poorly preserved or no longer extant. In these situations, original wall lines may be deduced from preserved wall segments and floors, the presence of collapsed roofing debris, and topography. The sizes of LG buildings vary rather dramatically on the Kastro. Building plans typically have an axial arrangement and, with the exception of those on the hilltop, tend to follow the contours of the slope. Buildings with non-axially arranged rooms include Rooms NW 3-5, Rooms 51/54-56, and Rooms 12-12A-12B-13, and while its Room 49 is detached from the main structure of this building, Rooms 15-16-17, are axially planned. Non-axial plans appear to have been employed in part as a response to terrain, as with Rooms NW 3-5, but also to incorporate useable exterior space adjacent to each structure, thereby exploiting the potential for creating courtyards. In many areas, and most dramatically on the West Slope and Hilltop, significant resources were expended to create architectural terraces on which to construct the LG buildings.

Two-room buildings vary in size from circa 52 m² to 17 m² of interior space. Three-room buildings range from almost 72 m² to slightly less than 20 m² in area, and exhibit the greatest disparity between largest and smallest. Four-room buildings also vary widely, with interior areas of ca 87 m² to less than 39 m². Most LG structures exhibit planning in their design through the apparent concern for constructing largely regularized, rectangular internal spaces and even facades (fig. 3). The apparent desirability of maintaining a street to the north of Rooms 18-19-20, however, precluded increasing the width of the terrace through construction and may account for the rather small size of these rooms and their more irregular plan.

Four-room buildings are the least common type on the Kastro and their plans appear to be the most affected by terrain. Rooms 12-12A-12B-13, on the north-east, are placed obliquely adjacent to one another, in order to negotiate the precipitous drop to the north, and the re-
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<td>59.7  9 - 10 - 11 North</td>
<td>63.9  12 - 12A - 12B - 13 North</td>
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<td>45.7  5 - 6 Hilltop</td>
<td>48.6  3 - 4 - 4A Hilltop</td>
<td>38.8  15 - 16 - 17 - 49 North Slope</td>
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<td>39.1  31/32 - 33 West Slope</td>
<td>42.8  NW 7 - 8 - 9 Northwest Bldg</td>
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suiting plan is overall one of the most irregular. All the rooms are interconnecting and entrances into the building are preserved on the east side of Room 13 and the south side of Room 12, from what seems to be a partially-stepped bedrock ramp leading down from a street located on the terrace above, at the southern side of the building. It is suggested here that the building on the northern slope, Rooms 15-16-17, included the disconnected Room 49, associated with the main building by a large courtyard, 50, on the same level and most easily accessible from Room 15. In the case of the large building on the West Slope, Rooms 8N-8S-34-35 (Building L), a precipitous drop in the bedrock between Room 8S and Room 34 necessitated the construction of a stairway to make the transition between the two rooms (Haggis 1997, 345-349).

An important feature of the LG settlement on the Kastro is that its multi-room buildings were organized in clusters, that is, in architecturally distinct groups of buildings (fig. 4). The expansion over time of individual houses into agglomerative units of multiple houses, that is clusters or blocks, is best documented so far in the Northwest Building on the Kastro. Here the development and transformation of a single house can be traced from its first phase in early LM IIIC into a complex of four houses in LG; three houses continued to be inhabited into the Orientalizing period (Mook 1998; 1997). A reconstruction by Krzysztof Nowicki of the Northwest Building at its maximum extent in LG provides a vivid illustration of this cluster (fig. 5).

Such expansion from a single house into a cluster of several houses is also evident on nearby Vronda in both the phased enlargement of Building I-O-N, which developed from one house to at least four distinct units during the course of LM IIIC, and that of Building C-D (Glowacki 2004; 2007; Glowacki – Klein in this volume). The evidence from these well-preserved stratigraphic and architectural sequences suggests that building clusters represent familial groups. It can be inferred from this development of individual houses into agglomerative clusters over time that the families of each household within the cluster were related and that the cluster represented an extended family that evolved from the first nuclear family to build within that area of the site (Mook 1997, 388; Haggis 2001, 50; 2005, 83). Thus the clusters may represent clan-based neighbourhoods within the settlement.

Haggis observes a corresponding organization by lineage in the presence of distinct cemeteries in the Kavousi area and the use of separate tholos tombs with multiple burials; he interprets this as an indication of their use by extended family groups, that is, burial custom based on kinship (Haggis 1993, 150-152; 2001, 50; 2005, 81-85). In addition to the tholos tombs at Skala and Aloni, Plai tou Kastrou, and Skouriasmenos, which were almost certainly used by the LG inhabitants of the Kastro, and possibly Vronda tholos V (Coulson et al. 1983, 401, 405), the burial enclosures placed within the LM IIIC settlement at Vronda are another category of tomb type with multiple interments, contemporary with the LG settlement on the Kastro, and probably indicative of use by extended families (Day 1995; Eaby 2007, 56-59, 347-348; Haggis 1993, 152). At least some of the groups burying at Vronda were inhabitants of the Kastro: it is precisely when the site at Vronda is abandoned that there is significant growth of the settlement on the Kastro, evidenced by a marked increase in the number of houses and their sizes (Mook 1997, 388). It is unclear whether or not the settlement at Azoria expanded with the abandonment of Vronda at the end of LM IIIC (Haggis et al. 2007, 696-705, 707), but the Kastro underwent significant expansion in PG, suggesting that it absorbed at least some of the population from Vronda. One conclusion that may be drawn from these hypotheses — use of building clusters and tombs, or groups of tombs, by specific family groups in LG— is that individual tombs in the Kavousi area were associated with particular building clusters on the Kastro. The arrangement of these clusters of buildings must therefore, at least in
part, be a physical reflection of the community's social order and as such a means by which different groups within the settlement defined themselves (Mehrer 2000, 45; Haggis 2005, 83).

The evidence from the most fully excavated areas of the Kastro and the best preserved architecture on nearby Vronda suggests that the agglomerative development of settlements, from their earliest households into clusters of neighbourhoods, was based on lineage and the growth of extended families. A careful assessment of the plan of the LG settlement on the Kastro, including the recognition of courtyards and the reconstruction of streets, permits the identification of these clusters. The multi-room buildings of the LG settlement were often associated with exterior space, what may be called courtyards, providing substantial additional use area (fig. 3). Open courtyard areas are differentiated from those for which there is evidence of at least partial roofing. Such roofed areas, here called porches, are open on one side, but effectively extend the area of the building by providing both more protection from the elements than open courtyards and greater amounts of light and air than an enclosed room. Porches were situated to provide sheltered space at an entrance, and as many as seven of the twenty-one buildings identified here have a porch. NW 6, 30, 43, 56W, and probably 37 and 48, may be identified as porches; they expand the area available under-cover of their respective buildings by circa 10% to as much as 40%.

Haggis did not associate 30 with the LG house he identified as consisting of Rooms 31/32-33 and Coulson identified Room 30 as a separate, one-room building, his Building J (Haggis 1997; Coulson et al. 1997, 316, fig.1; Coulson personal communication). Nevertheless, there are compelling reasons to associate 30 with Room 31/32, to which it was connected by the only viable means of access into Rooms 31/32-33: a reconstructed doorway at the western end of the northern wall of Room 31/32. In 30 a clay floor surface was preserved and, although Early Orientalizing pottery was found on it, was probably established in LG, since it seems to be associated with the wall dividing 30 from Room 31/32 and the LG surface in that room. Remains of the clay floor and western and eastern walls for 30 suggest the space may have been a porch into the building and the somewhat uneven bedrock to the north a courtyard that provided a transition from the street reconstructed to the west of these rooms.

Rooms 41-42-43-44-45, Building A, were interpreted as a single five-room house and the space designated 43 as "an unroofed exterior space, or lobby" (Coulson et al. 1997, 317-333). Nevertheless, the stratigraphic section in the same publication clearly illustrates that a stratum identified as roofing material was recovered within 43 (Coulson et al. 1997, 325, 318, fig. 3). As a result, it seems that 43 was partially roofed, with a flat clay roof covering the western part of the room and its clay and stone-paved floor, continuing as far eastward as the uppermost built step, but leaving the bedrock hewn steps on the east exposed to the elements. Although this area served as a place for cooking (an oven was uncovered in the southwest corner), it also provided the only access into the two-rooms to the south, Rooms 41-42, and, initially, access into the two rooms to its north, Rooms 44-45. Building A is here reinterpreted as two separate buildings, rather than a single five-room house: 43 functioned as the entrance from the street on the east and is understood as a porch and cooking area used by two distinct households, Rooms 41-42 and Rooms 44-45. Such porch space was semi-private—neither completely private nor communal, as defined by Sjögren (Sjögren 2007), and emphasizes the close relationship among buildings within a cluster.

Some porches and open courtyards yielded evidence for household and possibly specialized or larger-scale production activities, highlighting that they were important elements of the settlement. Other courtyards, such as the ones identified at 1 (Haggis 1997, 339) and to the south and east of Room 27S, may have
served special-function needs for the community in association with Rooms 38-27-27S. With the exception of NW4 and the area between 21 and 4A, areas interpreted as courtyards largely consist of relatively level expanses of bedrock, often at least partially exposed prior to excavation (fig. 3). Sjögren (2007, 154) observes that household courtyards to which more than one building or unit had access functioned as communal areas within the private sphere. She distinguishes such potentially communal areas (not private, but not used by or accessible to everyone) from the more substantial open spaces left between built areas of the settlement, spaces that may be characterized as public (Sjögren 2007, 149). That is, courtyards and open areas between building clusters, such as 57 and perhaps those on the northern edge of the settlement, should be viewed as public areas.

Streets provided access routes within the settlement and may be inferred from what is known through excavation about the topography in LG and the location of preserved buildings and their doorways (fig. 3). Where they may be reconstructed, streets generally appear to have followed the topographical contours and either led to courtyards or ran adjacent to them. In some areas, as at the southern end of the hilltop and in the northern part of the site, they consisted primarily of bedrock. Elsewhere, however, streets and their surfaces have largely not survived and must be reconstructed on top of deep deposits of intentional fill, in between terraces of buildings, as was surely the case on the West Slope. Streets not only provided connections between buildings in a particular cluster, but also linked clusters with one another.

Excavation in some areas of the site was not as comprehensive as in the Northwest Building, nevertheless clusters can be identified even when their full extent is not certain. The exposed remains of the LG settlement form six distinct clusters: the Northwest Building, West Slope, Hilltop, North Slope, North, and East Slope of the settlement (fig. 4). Clusters consisted of agglutinated complexes of individual buildings and their associated non-public courtyards. They formed an architectural agglomeration, but were physically separated from one another by streets, uninhabited area of the settlement (such as the steep outcrops of bedrock located between much of the Hilltop and East Slope clusters), and courtyards.

A question that arises from this model of building clusters is the significance of the variation in room or building size within and among the clusters. Within a given cluster there usually exists a building that is larger, often significantly larger, than the other buildings in that cluster. The following are the largest buildings in their clusters: NW 7-8-9, in the Northwest Building, has an area twice as large as the next biggest building; on the West Slope, 8N-8S-34-35 is more than twice as large as the other buildings; 7-21 is some one-third larger than the rest on the North Slope; on the Hilltop, 38-27-27S is more than two-fifths larger than the next largest structure; however, in the North cluster, 12-12A-12B-13 is only slightly larger than 9-10-11; and, similarly, on the East Slope 41-42 is just somewhat larger than 44-45. Usually, although not always, these larger buildings also contain the largest room, again sometimes significantly larger, found in the buildings of that cluster, including: Room NW 9, Room 8N, Room 7, Room 27, and to a lesser degree, Room 42. An exception is found in the North cluster, where the largest building, a four-room structure, does not contain the largest room in the cluster. Rather, Room 9 is more than twice the size of the largest room in 12-12A-12B-13, perhaps indicating that 9-10-11 is the more prominent structure. Such variations in building and largest-room size may be indicative of socio-economic or political ranking in the cluster and so within individual kinship groups.

The location of a cluster may also reflect some aspect of socio-political hierarchy among the clusters of the settlement. The Hilltop cluster is composed of two-room and three-room buildings, three of which have one considerably large room; it appears to occupy the preem-
inent location in the settlement. Rooms 38-27-27S, called Building H, is the largest structure in this cluster, with an estimated internal area of almost 72 m² (note: the third room has not been excavated and is referred to on the plan and in the table as Room 27S). Donald Haggis (1997, 334-340) has identified Building H as a structure that had special significance on the site. It consists of three rooms with a north-south orientation, located at the summit of the Kastro and adjacent to the highest point on the site: the bedrock outcrop to the east of Room 27, separating the courtyards associated with Building H. This building not only has the most dominant position afforded by the site, but, as Haggis observes, it also includes the single largest room uncovered in the settlement, Room 27, which measured 5.2 x 9.3 m internally, for an area of 48.4 m². Furthermore, a substantial retaining wall, founded on a stereobate platform, was built to extend the size of the terrace on which Building H was constructed by an additional 2.5 m. This represents perhaps the most elaborate example of terracing for architectural construction on the Kastro. These and other features suggest that the building legitimized or symbolized elite power and the status of those residents who lived adjacent to it, whether its function was for feasting, political or religious activity, or some combination of these. Building H also conforms to the majority of criteria established by Mazarakis Ainian for identifying “rulers’ dwellings” (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 271). So too, this cluster includes more buildings with the largest individual rooms and greatest total interior areas than any other. Although Building H has a north-south orientation, the other buildings in this cluster have an east-west orientation not dictated by the topography; the relatively even terrain in this area provided more choice in building orientation than was practical in most areas of the site. The hilltop location and east-west orientation of this cluster afforded residents the advantage of visibility in all directions, a situation not present elsewhere on the Kastro.

Saro Wallace (in this volume) makes a compelling argument for the importance of multisite intervisibility, suggesting that the Kastro functioned as a landmark or symbolic identifier of its Early Iron Age settlement cluster. She interprets the reuse of the Vronda settlement for burial and the long term use or reuse of tholos tombs in the vicinity as indicative of a desire by particular groups to express their ancestral ties with these locales, as a means of legitimizing and maintaining authority over them (Wallace 2003, 268-269, 277). They are examples of Wallace’s “appropriation of the visible past” to perpetuate lineage associations within the regional landscape in the formation and consolidation of socio-political identity (Wallace 2003, and especially 270, n. 79). The location of the Kastro visually dominates a vast area of the immediate region. It looms above the settlement at Azoria, the site at Panagia Skali, the shrine at Pachlitzani Agriada (Makellos) and the entire Avgo valley to the north. To the west it overlooks the tholos tombs at Skala, Aloni, and Plai tou Kastrou, the main spring for this area, and the burial enclosures within the ruined settlement remains at Vronda. To the east is the cemetery at Skouriasmenos with its large and well-built tholos tomb, and the important pasturage of Mt. Papoura’s highland plain.

If the settlement on the Kastro was situated to dominate the landscape, it was the buildings in the Hilltop cluster, in particular, that were the most dominant: they were visible from or looked towards all Early Iron Age sites in the immediate region. The presence on the Hilltop of special-function Building H, the large size of the buildings here, and their extensive views towards ancestral lands, cemeteries, water and pasturage, all provide strong evidence for socio-political stratification and hierarchies of power on the Kastro in Late Geometric. The deliberate placement of buildings on the Hilltop and in an east-west orientation created an exclusive advantage, reflecting and defining aspects of identity within and beyond the settlement. Within the settlement itself, intervisibil-
ity was also critical for establishing and maintaining identity and power – those on the Hilltop had the advantage of proximity to other structures of power, and sweeping visual control of past and present resources.

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Fig. 1. View of the Kastro from the northwest.

Fig. 2. Balloon photograph of the Kastro (J.W. and E.E. Myers 1992).
Fig. 3. The Kastro: plan of the Late Geometric settlement indicating proposed locations of streets and courtyards.

Fig. 4. The Kastro: plan of the Late Geometric settlement indicating building clusters.
Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the Northwest Building complex on the Kastro in Late Geometric (Nowicki 1992).
DIMITRA ROUSIOTI, GREGORY STOURNARAS

THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN CRETE AT THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE: SETTLEMENTS WITH SHRINES

The excavation and publication projects of postpalatial settlements with urban shrines in eastern Crete provide us with the opportunity to examine the role of the shrines within the settlements as well as the importance of religion for the postpalatial communities. This paper focuses on the settlements of Kavousi-Vrondas, Halasmenos and Karphi that are characterized by their LM III C occupation date and the uncovering of a shrine at the edge of the habitation area. In addition reference will be made to the evidence from the partially excavated site of Kephala Vasilikis and the LM IIIB site of Gournia (fig. 1). The topography of the postpalatial shrines in urban context led scholars in the past to propose that religion in the postpalatial period was of minor importance because the shrine was often founded at the edge of the settlement and not in a central area. In this paper we explore the topography and spatial organization of those settlements where enough architectural elements were uncovered. It will be argued that shrines of public character were basic elements in the postpalatial communities and defined the existence of the settlement itself. We chose to concentrate on Eastern Crete, because this is an area rich in postpalatial settlements, which has been excavated and published to a great extent.

At Vasiliki Ierapetras excavations were conducted between 1994 and 1996 on the imposing hill of Kephala located about 600m to the west of the well-known EM-LM I settlement. At least 10 buildings scattered across the hill with the steep slopes and the flat table-shaped summit were located and partially investigated (Eliopoulos 1998, 301-304). The buildings, which according to the excavator belong to a LM III C-Protopigeometric settlement, cover part of the top of the hill (220 x 70m) and extend to the N and NE (fig. 2). However the limited excavation work and the poor preservation of certain buildings do not allow any safe conclusion about urban development at the site.

Building E, located at the SW edge of the hill, was characterized by the excavator Th. Eliopoulos as the Temple Complex. The building, which has been fully investigated but not published, is dated to LM III C-Protopigeometric period with possible additions and alterations of Protogeometric date (Eliopoulos 1998, 306, 309). Building E, the size of which (25m. x 17m.) and the internal organization are noteworthy, consists of 8 rooms (grouped in three wings) with different orientation, interior constructions and probably function as well. In Room 3 a series of constructions were uncovered indicating a distinct function: benches

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* This presentation was based on a project funded by the Institute for Aegean Prehistory in 2005. We are deeply grateful to Thomas Brogan, Eleanor Huffman and Evi Sikla for the warm hospitality in INSTAPEC. We are also grateful to Dr Metaxia Tsipopoulou (Ministry of Culture), Professor Kevin Glowacki (University A&M), Panagiota Pantou (University of Buffalo) and Professor Yannis Lolos (University of Thessaly) for their constructive commend.

1. Postpalatial shrines were also uncovered at Knossos, Gazi and Kannia, however they are not included in this study as there is no sufficient evidence for their contemporary settlements.
and platforms across the walls, a hearth and a central stone construction in which, according to the excavator, a rounded stone-baityl was incorporated (fig. 3). However no small finds securely used in cult practices could be related to the above constructions (Eliopoulos 1998, 306-307; Prent 2005, 14).

On the contrary, the southernmost Room 4 contained a group of finds in situ which could be associated with the performance of cult: at least two figures of goddesses with up-raised hands, one of which is sitting on a throne, clay stands and plaques, a considerable quantity of pebbles, a snake tube, pottery related to food preparation and consumption (Eliopoulos 1998, 307-309; 2004, 86-88). Benches are built along the walls of the rectangular room, while traces of a small clay hearth and a platform can also be identified. The rest of the rooms of the building were interpreted as residential and store rooms as based on their finds.

The functional association of Building E with the nearby areas is unclear. To the East, between Building E and Building A there is an open area through which access to the north and central part of the building is possible (Eliopoulos 1998, figs. 8-9). However Room 4, which is the only one in the building that contains equipment in association with constructions related to cult activities, could be reached only by a narrow passage along the west edge of the steep cliff. The function of Building E cannot be securely identified due to the limited scale of excavation and the absence of publication of its architectural details and small finds. Although the excavator proposed that both Rooms 3 and 4 were used for cult practices performed within a larger multi-functional building including storage rooms and residential areas, it is also possible that Room 4 functioned independently seeing that it had its own entrance and no communication with the rest of the building.

On the low hill Vronda south of the modern village of Kavousi, at an altitude of 420m, Harriet Boyd first undertook limited excavation in 1900. The site was reinvestigated from the late 1970's until the 1990's by the American School of Classical Studies under the guidance of G. Gesell, L. Day and W. Coulson. The excavation and cleaning efforts conducted on a regular base revealed an extensive settlement which crowned the summit of the hill (fig. 4). To date some 15 to 20 buildings of LM III C late period were uncovered along with small tholos tombs of SM-Protogeometric and Geometric period located to the north and NW of the settlement (Gesell – Day – Coulson 1995, 68-92; Day Preston 1997).

A basic feature of the Kavousi-Vronda settlement is the exploitation of all the available terraces for the construction of multiple building complexes of different sizes. The architecture and the finds of those buildings indicate functional independence as all of them contain residential and storage rooms. As K. Glowacki recently suggested these complexes consist of house-units and reveal several stages of construction, most likely reflecting the growth and change of population (Glowacki 2007, 130-132). In addition the evidence from Building A/B suggests the existence of some kind of central authority as the topography and the architectural sophistication indicate: the building sits on top of the summit of the hill, rising higher than any other structure and it is exceptional as far as its dimensions, layout and storage capacity (it contained at least 7 pithoi of large size) are concerned. Distribution and display of wealth as well as social stratification are indicated by the large amount of decorated drinking cups of exceptional size and the parts of bovine and agrimi skulls, probably intended for display as wall decoration or hangings (Day Preston – Snyder 2004, 66-73; Day Preston 1997, 395-401; Dickinson 2006, 105-106; Glowacki – Klein in this volume).
Building G, excavated on a low terrace at the southwest edge of the settlement, must have been a building of special status as topography and architecture indicate. It is a free-standing two-room structure (measuring 3.5m x 10.5m) with a NE-SW orientation. The building is located in a relatively isolated position and it is associated with an open area to the west (Klein 2004, 100). The construction of Building G has much in common with the domestic architecture of the settlement, however the western façade and the fact that it is the only building with two rooms, differentiate it from the multiple house complexes throughout the site (Glowacki 2007, 135; Glowacki - Klein 2009, 154-156).

Despite the construction of Geometric cist graves inside the building and in the open area to the west, which had as a result the disturbance of the Late Bronze Age strata, the religious use of Building G is well attested by both the preserved structures and the small finds. More specifically, benches and platforms were uncovered in both rooms and the remains of a hearth are located in Room 2. In addition, the large long bench that abuts against the exterior part of the western wall of the building is a unique architectural feature that makes the western façade exceptionally impressive. The association of the exterior part of Building G with cult is indicated by the large number of cult equipment spread over the open area. These finds (a large number of goddesses with up raised hands, clay plaques, kalathoi and snake tubes) along with the finds uncovered in situ in room 2 constitute a homogeneous group used during the cult practices performed in the southern part of the settlement (Gesell 1995; 1997, 123; 2001, 253-254; Prent 2005, 153; Gesell – Day – Coulson 1995, 79-80).

At Karphi, in the north range of the Lasithi mountains and at an altitude of 1.148m, the British excavations uncovered between 1937 and 1939 an extensive settlement in an area where a possible MM mountain shrine was previously founded (Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938; Myers et al. 1992, 116-119). The settlement occupies the slopes of the distinctive peak of Karphi and the nearby Koprana ridge (fig. 5). According to surface survey data the uncovered part (0.6 hectares) comprises only a small section of the original settlement, which must have covered at least 3 hectares (Nowicki 1987, 246). The settlement was probably founded in LM III C early and was in use until the Subminoan period. The evidence from the nearby cemetery of small tholos tombs supports these dates (Kanta 1980, 121; Nowicki 1987, 236-237; Myers et al. 1992, 118-119).3

The town planning indicates the existence of organized habitation quarters, consisting of megaron-shaped structures and buildings built along different axes, in functional association with the road system which run through the whole site. Building activity took into consideration the tendency to exploit every single plot of the sloping area. Religious activity has been attributed to different places spread all over the settlement based on the discovery of portable objects that could have had a cultic use4. This led scholars to the suggestion that in Karphi a possible decentralization of the cult activity took place (D’Agata 2001, 348-349; Prent 2005, 139; Day Preston 2009, 150-151), in association with a possible political-administrative decentralization (Day Preston – Snyder 2004, 77-78).

One of the places identified as a shrine is the open area 16-17 in the eastern part of the settlement. The area is in close proximity to the so-called “Great House”, a building whose unusual size and the quality of finds led to its iden-

3. Although sherds of Protogeometric date have been reported from the area of the settlement, no conclusion about the use of the site in this period can be reached because the material remains unpublished. Prent 2005, 138.
4. In some cases conventional names had been given (“Priest’s House”, “Small Shrine”) to places, although the finds (clay stands, whorls, pottery) do not safely suggest their use for cult purposes. In the case of Room 27 the discovery of 2 rhyta cannot support the identification of the place as a shrine. In addition to Room 106 of the so-called “Commercial Quarter”, in which fragments of goddesses with up-raised hands were uncovered, various functions could be attributed, not necessarily cultic.
tification as a building of special status, but it is unclear whether the open space was functionally related to it (Day Preston – Snyder 2004, 75-76). Area 16-17 was identified as an open air shrine due to the discovery of a group of finds consisting of unspecified fragments of goddesses with up-raised hands, a triton shell and a clay stand. However the function of the whole place remains unclear. The excavators report that some of the finds, which led to the identification of the area as a shrine, were not actually used in the place they were uncovered, but they possibly belong to a deposit pit (Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, 135; Day Preston – Snyder 2004, 75).

On the contrary, the so-called Temple can be safely identified as a shrine based on its layout and small finds. The building although located on the inaccessible crest that marks the northern edge of the LM III C site, it was accessible through a well organized road system. It is a free standing building, with an independent entrance and an open space to the east (fig. 6). It has been suggested that the building has at least two architectural phases and that during the first phase it consists of a single large rectangular room (Room 1). The following architectural phase was characterized by expansion of the main room to the south and the construction of small subsidiary rooms to the west (Rutkowski 1987, 259-262; Prent 2005, 139; Klein – Glowacki 2009, 158). The north wall of the main room was not preserved and had collapsed over the cliff (Gesell 1985, 79; Myers et al. 1992, 118).

The excavations conducted in Room 1 uncovered stone constructions identified as benches or shelves along the south and west wall as well as a platform in the north part of the room. In addition, the important group of objects uncovered mainly in Room 1, but also in one of the small rooms indicate the performance of rituals: at least five goddesses with up-raised hands and fragments of many others, shells, a clay plaque with human head, whorls, tools, a seal and pottery with special use, like kalathoi (Gesell 1985, 79; 2004, 136; Seiradaki 1960, 29; Rutkowski 1987, 263, figs. 8-12). The position of the shrine at the border of the settlement and at the edge of the cliff is comparable to the position of the shrine (Room 4) at Kephalà Vasilikis.

Lastly, at Halasmenos at the north end of the Ierapetra Isthmus the Greek-American excavations conducted from 1992 onwards uncovered an extensive settlement at an altitude of 240m (fig. 7). The settlement is located on the top of a relatively abrupt mound to the south of the Cha gorge and has unimpeded view towards the fertile plain of the north Ierapetra Isthmus and the Mirabello Gulf. To date an area of at least 3 hectares has been excavated, whereas the whole settlement is estimated to cover 20 hectares, placing it among the largest settlements in the area (Tsipopoulou – Nowicki 2003, 562).

Buildings and courts extended on three distinct terraces have been uncovered as well as a small tholos tomb. According to the excavators the settlement has a small period of use; it was established, flourished and abandoned before the end of LM III C period (Coulson – Tsipopoulou 1994; Coulson 1999, 326; Tsipopoulou 2004a, 103-106; Tsipopoulou 2005, 317-318).

The town planning at Halasmenos took into consideration the configuration of the mound: the majority of the buildings had a NW-SE orientation and most of the open areas were formed by the projecting natural rock. The habitation areas uncovered so far were adjacent to each other, usually consisted of a large room with a hearth and two or three small rooms used for food preparation and storage (Tsipopoulou – Nowicki 2003, 562-563; Yasur-Landau 2006). The NW part of the settlement is characterized by a distinctive building area:

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5. The open area 16-17 was originally interpreted as part of the “Great House”. However the absence of any evidence of direct communication, its independent access to the road system of the settlement as well as the differentiation of the finds uncovered indicate that area 16-17 probably did not belong to the “Great House” and had an autonomous function.
at least three attached megara surrounded by courts were uncovered in the most prominent part of the site, which were possibly related to an attempt for social differentiation (Paschali-dis 2006, 221-224). During the Geometric period a limited reuse took place in the area of the largest megaron related to food and liquid consumption (Tsipopoulou 2004b, 129-138; 2005, 329-330).

To the north of the megaras, on a low terrace, a rectangular building (5.5m. x 13m.) which can be identified as a public shrine came to light. The location of the building at the NE edge of the settlement, the unbuilt space that probably surrounded it and its distinct architecture suggest its functional autonomy (Gesell 2004, 136). The shrine consisted of two rooms of different size and was probably associated with storage rooms to the SE (Tsipopoulou 2001, 99). The building is equipped with a series of stone benches and portable objects some of which were uncovered in a clear functional association with them. The special function related to cult practices is well-established by the finds: numerous figures of goddesses with upraised hands, snake tubes, kalathoi, clay plaques, a stand in the shape of an altar, pithoi, pottery related to the preparation and the consumption of food (Tsipopoulou 2005, 320; 2009, 124-130; Prent 2005, 150).

It can be suggested that the absence of a political center controlling the production, distribution and exchange of goods had as a result the remodeling of the countryside during the LM III C period in the area of the Ierapetra Isthmus and the Mirabello gulf and, consequently, the flourishing of numerous small independent settlements. These postpalatial settlements with buildings used exclusively for cult purposes seem to comprise a network for the control of the production activities.

The settlements discussed share the following common features: they all consist of residential, administrative and religious buildings suggesting that the postpalatial communities of eastern Crete had an economic, political and social organization. In addition, in each settlement there is a public shrine with distinct architecture and finds, independent from possible administrative buildings (fig. 8). The public character of the shrines is suggested by the placement within the settlement, the architectural independence, the special association with the system of communication as well as by the distribution of built and open areas in the settlements. Lastly, although building activity in each site does not follow a specific pattern, the shrine is always located at the edge of the settlement and is approached through the road system and open courts.

These LM IIIC shrines are characterized by the relatively small dimensions and the limited number of rooms, which precludes the possibility to be simultaneously in use by a large number of celebrants. However the accessibility to open areas, some of them equipped with specially formed installations, in association with the homogeneity of the cult objects indicate their use as places of public worship. The placement of the shrines at the edge of the settlements offered unlimited visibility of the sea and land routes (figs. 9-11). For each settlement its shrine would have been a reference point and a landmark.

In contrast to these settlements that were all established in LM III C, the settlement at Gournia provides an interesting alternative. The postpalatial shrine was built during the LM III B period (Russell 1979, 28; Kanta 1980, 139; Gesell 1985, 72; 2004, 135-136; Rethemniotakis 1997, εικ. XLVIIIe) in an area where no traces of earlier cult existed. The building shares common features as far as architecture is concerned with the LM III C public shrines judging by its small dimensions, the easy accessibility from a road system and an open court and the possible bench construction in the interior. Similarities can be also traced in the cult equipment consisting of a goddess with up raised hands and fragments of others as well as snake tubes and a tripod offering table (Fotou 1993, 91-92; Whittaker 1997, 185-186; Eliopoulos 2004, 81-82;
However the position of the shrine within the settlement is clearly differentiated by the position of the LM III C public shrines and probably indicates a different role. The shrine is located at the center of the LM I town, at the end of the existing road system, in a distance from the contemporary houses (fig. 12: for the LM III settlement and the possible evidence for social hierarchy see Davaras 1989, 16; Hayden 1990, 209-210; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 362.). It could be suggested that this location was dictated by the pre-existing settlement and could be seen as an attempt to a symbolic connection with the past.

To sum up, the evidence from eastern Crete indicates that religion played an important role for the urban development of the post-palatial settlements. The features of the urban shrines suggest a change in the religious expression during the postpalatial period. The shrines seem to define the identity of the settlements, both of those that continue to exist from earlier periods, such as Gournia, and especially of the newly established in LM III C. It is possible that the collapse of the central palace authority led to the establishment of autonomous communities in the area of Mirabello gulf that may have used buildings as public shrines and religion as an important part of their political, economic and social organization.

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Fig. 1. Postpalatial settlements with shrines in eastern Crete.

Fig. 2. The LM IIIC-Protogeometric settlement at Kephalia Vasilikis (Eliopoulos 1998, fig. 5).

Fig. 3. Building E, the so-called Temple Complex (Eliopoulos 2004, fig. 6.5).
Fig. 4. The LM IIIC settlement at Kavousi-Vrondas (Gesell – Day Preston – Coulson 1991, fig. 1).

Fig. 5. The LM IIIC settlement at Karphi (Pendlebury 1937/1938, pl. IX.).
Fig. 6. Karphi. The Temple (based on Rutkowski 1987, fig. 2).

Fig. 7. The LM IIIC settlement at Halasmenos (Tsipopoulou 2004, fig. 2).
Fig. 8. LM IIIC sites with public shrines and possible administrative buildings.

Fig. 9. View from the site of Kavousi-Vrondas towards Mirabello Gulf.
Fig. 10. View from the site of Halasmenos towards Mirabello Gulf.

Fig. 11. View from the site of Halasmenos towards Ierapetra Isthmus.
Fig. 12. LM IIIB shrine at the center of the LM I town of Gournia (Myers et al. 1992, fig. 13.3).
This paper presents some preliminary results from an ongoing research project concerning the Acropolis of the ancient polis of Gortyn (fig. 1). This study is providing new and interesting additions to our knowledge of that Cretan polis and, although at the moment they do not allow for reaching any firm conclusions, they offer the possibility to revisit and re-analyze some points about Dark Age Gortyn.

A new reading of the structures found on the Haghios Ioannis hill, the Acropolis of Gortyn, is proposed, which can offer a basis for re-assessing the earliest phases of the formation of the polis (fig. 2).

THE ACROPOLIS OF GORTYN ON THE HAGHIOS IOANNIS HILL: BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH

The excavations carried out in the '50s on the Haghios Ioannis hill revealed a temple dedicated to Athena, suggested to have been built in the Protogeometric period above the ruins of a Late Minoan village (fig. 3: Rizza – Scrinari 1968). Soon after the publication of this study, the complexity of the stratigraphy of the site raised some doubts on the interpretation of the structures relative to the temple and several alternative suggestions appeared during the last decades (Schäfer 1972; Coldstream 1977, 280; Di Vita – Rizzo 1984, 111; La Torre 1988-1989, 296; Perlman 2000, 60; Johannowsky 2002, 1, 112; D’Acunto 2002, 197).

In particular, on the ground of the chronology of the sculpture found in the area and of the most significant ex-voto from the altar deposit, many scholars suggested that the second half of the 7th century was a crucial moment for the structuring of the sanctuary. Furthermore some of them (La Torre 1988-1989, 297-298; Di Vita 1991, 318-319; Perlman 2000, 71-72, 77-78; D’Acunto 2002, 221-224) tried to correlate the foundation of the cult on the Haghios Ioannis hill with the abandonment of the village on the Profitis Ilias hill (Allegro 1991), and the establishment of another important site of cult, the Apollo Pythios temple (Ricciardi 1986-1987), interpreting all those events as indications of a reconstruction of the urban area, whose effects would have led to the birth of an urban centre in the plain at the end of the 7th century.

As will be shown these hypotheses should be re-evaluated at the light of a new reading of the data from the Acropolis area.

In 2005 in collaboration with the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens a new re-
search project on the earliest phases of Gortyn was undertaken, aiming at clarifying the settlement history on the Haghios Ioannis hill and associating it with the rest of the sites of the Eastern Mesara.

From the earliest phases of activity a large quantity of Neolithic material has been recognized and classified, further supporting the presence of Neolithic structures on the hill. Early Minoan I and II, Middle Minoan I-II, Late Minoan II-IIIA-IIIC material has also been identified, testifying the continuity of activities at the site. Finally a large quantity of material spans the Sub Minoan to the Archaic period; our research project focuses principally on these phases.

The study of the earliest stages of occupation of the acropolis offers a new perspective for the reconstruction of the life of the temple attributed to the cult of Athena. This temple is composed of a rectangular enclosure built by blocks of a stone falsely called alabaster by the excavators (below we retain the 'alabaster' term for this material). In the middle of that enclosure a rectangular bothros reused in the two Christian churches later built on the remains of the temple, was detected. According to previous studies, the temple should have been built directly on the ruins of a preceding Sub-Minoan settlement (fig. 3).

The preliminary results of the reevaluation of the ceramic material from the acropolis and the altar deposit and the reexamination of the architectural layout of the temple have however casted some noteworthy doubts on the traditional interpretation.

The structures below the temple, which the excavators attributed to Late Minoan-Sub Minoan houses, need a careful reconsideration.

The structures consist of scanty remains of modest walls that do not testify the existence of a real and articulated settlement in the area of the future temple. For example it is interesting to underline the particular nature of the rooms 4 and 5 appear as small pits excavated on the rock, unlikely to have been two rooms of a precedent house (fig. 4).

Furthermore the chronology of the structures is based on the material found in the layers inside the so-called rooms without a clear stratigraphy that could permit a distinction between the habitation levels of the settlement and those related to the temple. In the publication only few sherds are presented for the chronology of each 'room' and in most cases they belong to a very long chronological span. For example in 'room' I among the 15 published sherds, an Early Minoan and at least one Byzantine are found (fig. 5); in room 8 among the 10 sherds, 3 are Late Minoan (I, II, IIIA) (fig. 6: Rizza – Scrinari 1968, 4-21). The published material therefore does not suggest a reliable chronology for the structures.

We instead propose to associate these structures and the hearths, attributed by the

1. This project is carried out in collaboration with Simona Todaro and it aims at restudying in a systematic way all the finds from the old excavations on the Haghios Ioannis hill, focusing in particular on the large quantity of unpublished material and on a thorough re-examination of all the documentation. These preliminary suggestions about the reinterpretation of the area of the temple are the results of our precious team working. I am very thankful to Simona for allowing me to present these results. We intend to publish soon an articulated work with all the re-examined data.


3. First results have been presented at the "International Colloquium: Crete in the Geometric and Archaic Period" organized by the Deutsches archäologisches Institut-Athen, by a paper "Gortyn between the Late 10th and the 6th century B.C.: local pottery, imports and imitations".

4. M. D'Acunto has recently suggested that the settlement was inhabited until the end of the 7th century when it has been abandoned allowing the construction of the temple. D'Acunto 2002, 187.

5. For example the hearth within room 4, in the SW
excavators to the LM IIIC settlement, to a cult activity taking place in the area probably already since the Minoan period.4

The existence of a cult activity prior to the 7th century on the acropolis is also testified by finds, like a group of animal figurines of Protogeometric - Geometric type, found in the area of the temple and the Sub Minoan settlement (although a real stratigraphical distinction does not exist), and a horse figurine within the bothros (Rizza - Scrinari 1968, 47, 54-55, figs. 83-86, n. 5 from the bothros).5

b. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PLAN OF THE TEMPLE

The layout of the temple is controversial as indicated by the existence of at least three different reconstructions (figs. 7-9). However, none of them seems totally convincing. Some of the apparently odd features of the temple (different levels of the floor; absence of traces of super structures as tiles; presence of peculiar walls west and south of the bothros; the placement of the sculptures) are indeed explained by relying on models that do not have any parallels (Rizza - Scrinari 1968, 48, fig. 76; Mazar-
we suggest that the walls west and south of the bothros are not related to the sacred enclosure of the Greek period, but belong to later phases of the structures.

More than the Prinias temples, the closest parallels to our 'open-air sanctuary' could be the sanctuary of Juktas and the one of Syme, which are both characterized by the presence of a sacred enclosure and terraces. At Syme, open-air cult activities related to the physical environment with rock and water source began in the Middle Minoan. During the Iron Age a stone altar with a bothros for liquid offerings very similar to the altar/bothros on the Acropolis of Gortyn was then built, while several terraces were added to the south side of the sanctuary (Lebesi - Muhly 1990; Schürrmann 1996, 2, fig. 1; Prent 2005, 342-348). In the sanctuary of Juktas the arrangement in terraces was adopted since the Neopalatial period and the cult activity has continued until the Archaic period (Karetsou 2003 with her previous bibliography).

For the moment we can only highlight that the plan of these "peak sanctuaries" is similar to the revised plan of the Acropolis of Gortyn; only further studies will allow for drawing parallels between the nature of cult practices.\(^{10}\)

We are not yet able to date the beginning of the cult activity on the Acropolis of Gortyn, but many elements indicate that during the Minoan period the entire area was already in use. The stratigraphical sequence is not sufficiently clear to offer a secure date for the "alabaster" structures, but it is noteworthy that the quantity of the material from the area of the "temple" increases between the end of the Bronze Age and the entire Protogeometric period, suggesting that an important phase of the ritual activity must be placed in this period.

Many relevant ninth-century sites are recorded in the territory near Gortyn: for example the unique tholos tomb of Gortyn in the south-west area of the Acropolis (S. Alexiou, ΑΔ 22, 1967, Χρονικά, B2, 485-486) and the necropolis of Courtés (Taramelli 1901; Rocchetti 1988-1989), situated on the Psiloritis Mountains on the way of the Idean cave, which testify the presence of a village in an area rich of caves of stone (limestone and the so called "alabaster"). The sacred area on the Haghios Ioannis hill should have had a central role in this period.

c. THE EASTERN SLOPE

We have also reconsidered the interpretation of the remains on the east slope of the Acropolis. The excavators interpreted this area in relation to the altar of the sanctuary and they dated the structures on the basis of the votive material found in the space in front of it. They dated the deposit before the end of the 7th century, on the basis of the absence of the globular Corinthian aryballoi, and placed it in relation with the construction of the intermediate wall between the altar and the lower wall, both dated to the 8th century (Levi 1955-1956, 223; Rizza - Scrinari 1968, 144-148; Johannowsky 2002, 1). According to a recent suggestion, this terracing area served the display of votive offerings, and was built in the second half of the 7th century, considered contemporary with the construction of the temple on the top of the hill (D'Acunto 2002, 202-215).

On the ground of the reexamination of the existing data, there is no stratigraphic information that could offer a clear date for the construction of the walls on the east slope. Most of the objects attributed to the votive deposit have indeed been found broken and parts of them were spread in different places, on the slope and also on the top of the hill. Furthermore, there is no clear stratigraphic division between the material dated until the 7th century and the more recent material. Finally it is significant that the

\(^{10}\) In the territory of Gortyn the Vourvoulitis sacred area has been interpreted as a peak sanctuary. La Torre 1988-1989, 294.
material found in front of the altar was mixed with many building blocks\(^{11}\).

A relief of the area performed in the 2002 by University of Milan indicates the presence on the top of the hill of a building at east side of the enclosure, whose remains are found down on the eastern slope of the hill (fig. 10: Bejor – Sena Chiesa 2003, 831–832, fig. 2.2.)\(^{12}\).

We propose that the destruction of this second structure, could be associated with the formation of the votive deposit, originally located on the top of the hill (fig. 11). A large number of broken objects have been found on the slope without any stratigraphical coherence, together with a mass of building blocks. The walls on the slope could thus be considered as a system of terraces built in order to reinforce this fragile slope, and they do not have any relation with the altar of the sanctuary, which we consider instead the crucial point of the cult activity on the top of the hill.

CONCLUSION

On the Haghios Ioannis hill the earliest settlements of the area of Gortyn were established, with traces from the Neolithic onwards. This area preserved a ritual space with activity from at least the Sub Minoan, onwards.

The cult area on the Haghios Ioannis hill is not defined by the temple built on the preceding sub Minoan settlement but more probably by an open-air sanctuary built on an area already used for ritual activities. We can think that the 'bulk' of the settlement is on the slopes of Haghios Ioannis. Although only new excavation campaigns on the hill would allow to definitively assess this point, it is noteworthy that ancient structures are present on the entire hill, also in not yet excavated area. According to this new interpretation of the archaeological remains, the beginning of the process for the rise of the polis as a political institution could thus be fixed earlier than the second half of the 7\(^{th}\) century. In any case, this latter period can be still considered a rather crucial moment for the change of the social pattern, as testified by the daedalic sculpture belonging to a renewal monumental phase of the area of the sanctuary and the development of new forms of craftsmanship\(^{13}\).

Further studies will hopefully permit to give more precise answers on the nature of the ritual activity, on the chronological limits of the life of the settlements in the area of Gortyn [Profitis Ilias (Allegro 1991) and Haghios Ioannis] and on their relationships during the Dark Age.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


11. This is particularly evident by reading the notes of the excavators kept in the SAIA Archive, gently permitted by the director, Prof. E. Greco. Levi argued that the deposit was constituted by material coming from the area of the temple not related to rituals on the altar, in order to explain the provenience of parts of the same objects both from the temple and from the deposit on the slope. Levi 1955–1956, 219, 223.

12. I would like to thank Prof. G. Bejor for the useful discussions on the interpretation of the Acropolis structures. His recent studies on Archaic Cretan architecture, presented in a seminar at University of Milan in June 2008, suggest that the ‘traditional’ reconstruction of the temple was conditioned by the interpretation of the temples of Prinias but it is not supported by the structural remains, and he agrees that the plan implies an open area.

13. In addition to the well known seventh century terracottas from the sanctuary an important area of pottery production has been individuated on the lower slope of Profitis Ilias, adding new information to the knowledge of the Gortynian craftsmanship at the beginning of the Archaic period. Santaniello 2004.


Fig. 1. Crete.

Fig. 2. Gortyn, site plan.
Fig. 3. Plan of the temple and the settlement area (Re-elaboration from Rizza – Scrinari 1968, pl. B).

Fig. 4. Sections of temple and the settlement area (Re-elaboration from Rizza – Scrinari 1968, pl. D).
Fig. 5. Pottery sherds from "room 1" (Re-elaboration from Rizza – Scrinari 1968, fig. 4).

Fig. 6. Pottery sherds from "room 8" (Re-elaboration from Rizza – Scrinari 1968, fig. 23).
Fig. 7. Axonometric reconstruction of the temple (Rizza – Scrinari 1968, fig. 76).

Fig. 8. Plan of the temple (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, fig. 479a).

Fig. 9. Reconstruction of the temple (D'Acunto 2002, fig. 7).
Fig. 10. Plan of the Archaic and Classical remains (Re-elaboration from Bejor – Sena Chiesa 2003, fig. 2, 2).

Fig. 11. East-West section of the eastern slope of the Acropolis hill (Re-elaboration from Rizza – Scrinari 1968, pl. E).
Donald C. Haggis, Margaret S. Mook

THE EARLY IRON AGE-ARCHAIC TRANSITION AT AZORIA IN EASTERN CRETE

The Azoria Project completed five years of excavation in 2006 (Haggis et al. 2004; 2007a; 2007b; Whitley et al. 2007). The aims of fieldwork have been to document parts of a nascent Greek city that are relevant to reconstructing sociopolitical and economic organization on Crete in the Archaic period, and using Azoria as a case study, to identify the stages of development of the settlement from 1200 to 500 B.C. The main goal of the project has been to examine the form of a small-scale Archaic Cretan city, looking at changes in the political economy in the 6th and early 5th centuries, periods that have in the past been characterized by economic recession and isolation from the wider Greek world (Morris 1992; Prent 1996-1997; Coldstream – Huxley 1999; cf. Kotsonas 2002). Countering this trend in the literature, the central argument of the Azoria Project has been that the economic growth apparent in the later part of the Early Iron Age (EIA) and the early Archaic period culminates in a period of urbanization at the end of the 7th century through the early 6th century, which we consider to be a phase of significant growth on Crete, involving the restructuring of settlement and reorganization of emerging centers while establishing the essential form and character of Greek cities of the Classical and Hellenistic periods on the island.

The advantage of examining this transition at Azoria is that excavation has recovered stratigraphic evidence for continuous occupation throughout the Early Iron Age coupled with a catastrophic and sudden abandonment in the early 5th century. This late Archaic destruction horizon preserves, in essence, a pristine Archaic city in its earliest phases of development —archaeological contexts suggest the components of a “proto-polis,” indications of the initial stages of urbanization and coalescence of civic institutions, unencumbered or unobscured stratigraphically by later Classical or extensive Hellenistic-Roman occupational sequences. In 2006, we explored the western slopes of the South Acropolis (fig. 1) completing the excavation of the Archaic civic complexes: namely, the putative andreion, consisting of a complex of kitchens, storerooms, and dining facilities; and the Monumental Civic Building, a large main hall with stepped seats and an adjoining shrine and adjacent service complex (Service Building). Ultimately, we are interested in understanding how and precisely when the Archaic form of the settlement was established, including this distinctly public or civic architecture, and the na-
ture of the transition from Late Geometric to Archaic periods.

With this diachronic perspective, we are able to reconstruct details of the dynamics of culture change at Azoria at the end of the 7th century, presenting a picture of nucleation of population, reorganization of public and private space, and the appearance of new forms of architecture and systemic assemblages, very much in keeping with normative views of material patterns in the wider Aegean (Lang 1996; 2007, esp. 183-190), as well as in Crete itself. Evidence on the island to date suggests a date near 630 for significant changes in burial and settlement mobility, which Kotsonas (Kotsonas 2002) connects to polis formation. Azoria might be a case in point. By the 6th century the Azoria settlement had evidently expanded to its maximum size, which we estimate to have been as large as 15 hectares. At the end of the 7th century, material patterns show a horizon of rebuilding that includes the establishment of public buildings, the formalization and elaboration of what can be called civic architecture, and thus the creation of the city center itself (fig. 1). For Azoria, Kotsonas’s date of 630 (Kotsonas 2002, 53-54) for the formation of cities is not far off, although we need to complete the study of stratified assemblages to be certain. It suffices to say here that evidence for a late 7th century change is found across the site.

We use the term “civic” because we think that the contexts suggesting public activities at the site — new building practices; reorganization of public and domestic space; and changes in the agropastoral economy and suprathousehold activities — reflect social configurations in keeping with an Archaic urban environment and administered organizational structure. The term “city-state” implies an urban center and its surrounding territory, a broader regional community growing out of preexisting EIA village-clusters that had, by the end of the 7th century relocated social, political, economic consciousness and practices from the wider region to the South Acropolis of Azoria (Haggis 2005).

While Late Minoan IIIC to Late Geometric remains have been exposed across the excavated areas of the South Acropolis, the clearest stratigraphy was exposed in 2003 and 2004 in the well-preserved deposits underlying the Archaic Service Building (Haggis et al. 2007b). Here it was noticed that the foundations for Archaic structures had intruded upon Early Iron Age and Early Orientalizing buildings, usually destroying or burying earlier architectural remains. Most often, where occupation surfaces were recovered below Archaic levels, they proved to be Late Minoan IIIC in date, although 8th and 7th century floors have been found. The foundation deposits are usually mixed deposits of EIA and Early Orientalizing pottery, the latter date providing a very broad terminus post quem for the main Archaic rebuilding phase. Thus the tentative foundation date for the initial Archaic building phase, including its series of impressive megalithic spine walls and new house types, seems to be the middle to the late 7th century (Haggis et al. 2007b; cf. Kotsonas 2002). In this period the essential form of the Archaic settlement was established. While modifications and additions were made throughout the 6th and early 5th centuries, the 7th century marks the significant period of change, imprinting on the landscape a new settlement plan and new ideas about how space was to be used.

Thus, our working hypothesis for excavation in 2006 was that sometime in the mid-to-late 7th century a sociopolitical change had occurred involving or instigating a deliberate break from the Early Iron Age past and its five century-old patterns of occupation. Recent stratigraphic work sheds light on this abrupt transition, and has shown the potential of refining the date of transition. On the southwest slope of the South Acropolis the southern end of a large building of Late Geometric date was recovered (fig. 1: B3000). Its internal width is about 6.0 meters, and there is a well-built doorway in the center of the exposed south wall, leading to another room, which was largely de-
stroyed and remodeled in the early 7th century (fig. 2). The early 7th century modifications also included a new built threshold in the doorway of the extant south wall and an additional room constructed on the east side of the building, opening directly onto a courtyard to the south (fig. 2). Both the added room and courtyard are at a higher level than the original LG building. The courtyard was evidently separated from the raised ground level of the main building by a retaining wall and was accessible via a stairway at the south end.

While the function of this LG-EO building is not yet fully understood—the actual interiors of the rooms have not been excavated—the 7th century courtyard was found littered with burnt and unburnt pottery dating from LM IIIC to the Orientalizing period, but primarily belonging to Late Geometric and Early Orientalizing (fig. 3). The deposit consists of over 7000 sherds and the vast majority, some 85 percent, are fine ware, with more than half the fine-ware sherds belonging to drinking vessels (various cups, including low-necked cups, skyphoi, kotylai) and approximately one fifth representing pouring vessels (especially hydriai and some oinochoai). Among the coarse sherds, the only commonly represented shape is the cooking pot, comprising over 60 percent of the coarse pottery. Furthermore, the condition of the pottery from this deposit is unique among the ceramic assemblages thus far recovered from the site in the thoroughness and uniformity of the breakage and the infrequency with which joins among sherds could be found, suggesting that it is the result of ritual activity repeated over a long period of time. Sherds from thin-walled pots, such as drinking vessels, have a typical maximum preserved dimension of 1.5 - 4 cm, while those from larger and thicker-walled shapes, like hydriai, are 3-6 cm in size. Approximately 60 percent of this pottery exhibits indications of burning. The ceramic remains are found along side large numbers of animal bones, also burnt and unburnt (fig. 4) in a matrix of dark, ashy soil (fig. 5: "burnt layer").

We think that these are the remains of feasts or sacrifices discarded from the building in its last phase of use. The interior of the building is as yet unexcavated, but its size, chronology, quality and regularity of construction, associated assemblage, and axial-aligned access to the main room, suggest the remains of a hearth temple or house temple (Prent 2007, esp. 143-144).

Sometime toward the end of the 7th or early 6th century, the building was abandoned, filled in, and covered over with a street that runs along the terrace to the west (fig. 5). This street is important as it was to provide the main access to the Archaic civic buildings on the west slope (fig. 1: “Service Building” and “Monumental Civic Building”). Another clue to the EIA-Archaic transition came to light a bit farther south on the same terrace. The 7th century inhabitants apparently constructed a street and a building complex, perhaps a house, directly over an intact Early Iron Age tholos tomb (fig. 1: B3700), incorporating the capstone and stomion into the eastern wall of the later Archaic building (fig. 6). The tholos tomb is small and roughly elliptical in shape with a height of 1.25 m. from the floor to a single schist-slab capstone. On preliminary analysis, it appears that there were at least four adults and two children, with the earliest burials pushed to the back of the tomb, and the latest extending into the stomion. The finds included a hand-built juglet, a flask, a stirrup jar fragment, a skyphos, a juglet and a bowl, two conical ceramic whorls, and a bronze ring fragment. While some sherds on the floor of the tomb are LM IIIC in date, the vessels associated with burials are Protogeometric in date (Whitley et al. 2007).

Thus, in the late 7th century, the modification of the southwest slope involved the deliberate filling-in and burial of a Late Geometric-Orientalizing building of considerable size and special function—possibly a house temple—as well as an LM IIIC-Protogeometric tomb in order to accommodate a new street (figs. 5-6). The entire renovation project can be connected to a major phase of rebuilding across the site.
—the construction of spine walls as well as the civic buildings to the west and north.

We think that this effective erasure of Early Iron Age structures is characteristic of a broader process of renovation and the reorganization of private and public space in the settlement in the Archaic period. Signs of this urban renewal are apparent in every area of the site, usually in the form of deep pebble and cobble fill deposits that conceal earlier constructions and contain displaced Early Iron Age occupation debris (Haggis et al. 2007b). This foundation fill is often found associated with the construction of massive—sometimes megalithic—spine walls that run along the natural contours, serving to structure habitation space and communication routes (Haggis et al. 2004, 349-352, 364-366; 2007a, 263-265). The physical transformation of space, involving the alteration, obliteration, or complete concealment of the Early Iron Age topography, must also reflect changing social identities and a new political consciousness: the construction of a new urban environment required a deliberate disengagement from and reorientation to the Early Iron Age past.

On the west slope of the South Acropolis, two cult places came to light in 2006, allowing further reflection on the transition between Iron Age and Archaic occupation phases. Immediately west and downslope from one of the andreion storerooms are the remains of a typical bench shrine of Late Minoan IIIC date (fig. 1: "LM IIIC shrine"). One fragment of a large terracotta figure with upraised arms was found on the bench, and four other fragments were found in the vicinity of the bench. Immediately below and southwest of the LM IIIC shrine is another shrine, a small two-room building of Archaic date (fig. 1: "Archaic Shrine"). The building is situated on a terrace formed by a rise in the bedrock immediately north of and accessible through a doorway in the north wall of the Monumental Civic Building. It consists of two small interconnected rooms: the southernmost room has a clay floor and a rectangular bench or altar and adjoining stone-lined hearth. A series of well-built steps, forming a kind of seating area or theatrical space, was built up against the west face of the terrace wall that supported the fill of the shine terrace.

A number of objects were found lying directly on the top of the altar, while others, preserved in the matrix of collapsed ceiling debris, had evidently fallen from the altar on the west and south sides. The objects include two miniature skyphoi, a miniature bronze bowl, three ribbed stands, and 14 terracotta figurines and fragments. The figurines consist of a variety of types and stylistic dates: hollow cylindrical; daidalic wheel and mould made; zoomorphic; and four coarse anthropomorphic Geometric figures (fig. 7.3-6). All of the anthropomorphic figurines, including the Geometric types, are female. Additional finds from the room include a glass bead, a spindle whorl, a piece of folded bronze and a number of marine shells: triton's trumpet, clam, limpets, and murex. A bore's tusk and cranial fragments were also recovered.

A doorway in the northwest corner of the room has a step up to a small irregularly shaped storeroom. Burning on the floor and a fallen olive-wood roof beam in the south half of the room are indications of the Late Archaic destruction, which left a well-preserved assemblage including two pithoi, a Geometric krater (Knossian PGB) (fig. 8.1), three transport amphorae—one evidently containing wine—an Attic lamp and exaleiptron, and a bronze awl.

Three things are interesting about the shrines exposed on the west slope of the South Acropolis (fig. 1). First, they occupy a space between the Andreion Complex and the Monumental Civic Building, suggesting a cognizance or recognition and historical memory of a place of local significance or community cult, surviving the Early Iron Age-Archaic transition. Second, the close juxtaposition of two shrines of very different date is probably evidence of some continuity of cult activity in this area of the site or recognition of the importance of the area. Finally, the condition of the LM IIIC shrine indicates that it might have been respected and
THE EARLY IRON AGE-ARCHAIC TRANSITION AT AZORIA IN EASTERN CRETE

perhaps even maintained throughout the early Archaic building phases. Contrary to the usual pattern of destruction, burial, or conscious concealment of Early Iron Age structures on the southwest slope, the shrine was likely to have been left intact if unused throughout the Orientalizing renovations, during which the small two-room Archaic shrine was built on the terrace immediately below.

The finds from the Archaic shrine itself further demonstrate continuity of activity. Geometric figurines are found alongside 7th and 6th-century types on the altar of the south room (fig. 7.3-6), while in the north room, the Geometric krater (fig. 8.1) was recovered in the same floor deposit as the 5th century amphorae, and other objects such as the imported exaleiptron and lamp. This is to say, in the context of cult, ritual equipment survived the urbanization phase and was reintegrated into new buildings. Objects were recycled for reuse in new contexts of ritual display, while the LM IIIC-PG bench shrine was respected, if not effectively incorporated into the new urban topography.

Thus, in the late 7th century at Azoria differential responses to the Early Iron Age topography may reflect different kinds of social and political behavior in the emergent city. In general, the Archaic context of the EIA remains indicates a conscious effort to conceal the past by means of constructing a new civic topography. Early Iron Age buildings and objects had a strong symbolic value requiring that they be carefully controlled, rationed, and reintegrated into new systemic contexts that emphasized new and perhaps more distinctly public venues of aristocratic display, but at the expense of visible references to specific local lineage connections, such as the possible hearth temple and PG tholos tomb on the southwest slope. If Prent is right that hearth temples represent, in the first instance, a "spatially indistinct" elite context of ritualized commensality and sacrifice, operating alongside other EIA venues of cult activity, such as the LM IIIC-type bench shrine (Prent 2007, 148), by the 8th and early 7th centuries such buildings had come to occupy a dominant and formal position with combined political and cultic roles within the emerging urban topography of Cretan cities. The basic forms of hearth temples, such as at Dreros and Prinias, suggests that such a building at Azoria would have housed a small group of privileged participants, a narrowly defined and probably local elite structured by kinship relationships that are likely to have consisted of certain aristocratic families from Azoria itself. If a hearth temple is to be found on the southwest slope in B3000, as we have suggested here, it was purposefully destroyed and decisively buried to make way for new civic complexes that incorporated cult buildings and activities. We conclude from this that in the Archaic period ritual activity was channeled to new venues of public congregation and display such as the andreion, the Monumental Civic Building with its shrine, and the Cult Building on the south slope (fig. 1) (Haggis et al. 2007a; Whitley et al. 2007). This does not however indicate that the substance or meaning of ritual had changed significantly, only that the identity of the participants and their sociopolitical relationships had to be redefined and reoriented to a new poliadic structure requiring new architectural forms. The nature of the change must be sought in patterns of mobility of cult places and cemeteries, as well as in the changing patterns of deposition in these contexts (Perlman 2000, 74-76; Kotsonas 2002, 46-50). What Azoria adds to the discussion is that the regionally disparate cemeteries, sanctuaries, and settlements of the Early Iron Age go out of use in the course of the 7th century (Haggis 2005), at precisely the same time that Azoria was both expanding and formalizing its urban character, part of which involved the construction of new public buildings that integrated areas for ritual, communal dining, and consumption of prestige goods (Haggis et al. 2007a).

Another interesting and related pattern is that while buildings may have been destroyed or replaced in the late 7th century, EIA objects were evidently selected and reused. For exam-
pies, an LM IIIC pithos appears in a 5th-century storeroom in a house on the south slope (Haggis et al. 2004, 354), while LM IIIC and Geometric figurines (fig. 7.1-2), as well as a Protogeometric B Geometric krater (fig. 8.2) have been recovered from Archaic contexts in the Service Building on the southwest slope (Haggis et al. 2007b). In the Monumental Civic Building (fig. 1), a large hall with stepped seats and adjacent service rooms, significant amounts of dining debris attest to public feasts of some kind, and the adjoining shrine, mentioned above, contains recycled Early Iron Age vessels and votives. In the main hall itself, the presence of kernoi attests to ritual functions within the building's main hall—one moveable stone kernos (fig. 9), found face down on one of the steps in the building, is certainly of a Minoan type perhaps recycled from a Bronze- or Early Iron-Age context somewhere on the site or from one in the surrounding region. The new meaning of these antiques was perhaps not as heirlooms—that is, meaning conferred by virtue of their connection to specific places, people, or kinship groups. We think that they might have expressed more generic notions of antiquity; general and intrinsic, re-formed in the new systemic context of the civic center, perhaps independent and irrespective of their specific origin. By way of contrast, because the LM IIIC shrine on the west slope was tied to ancient community cults, it might have been maintained, preserved, and perhaps reintegrated into the fabric of the city. Even though the two-room Archaic shrine had effectively and practically replaced its EIA predecessor, it was physically connected to the Monumental Civic Building, emphasizing the reintegration of the cult into the inclusive civic institutions of the Archaic city.

In conclusion, the results of recent excavations at Azoria demonstrate a radical rebuilding in the late 7th century—a punctuated point or a Yoffeesque phase transition that should involve some form of cognitive restructuring (Yoffee 1997). Early Iron Age houses and burials, and perhaps the house temple itself, symbols of age-old lineage groups, are found literally buried over, visibly and symbolically erased, while Minoan and Early Iron Age artifacts were apparently selectively retained and redistributed in new civic venues of public display. Civic buildings on the site are locations of communal feasting, displays of prestige goods, and sacrificial ritual—ostensibly a paradigmatic confirmation of the shift in emphasis from specific and local kinship to communal identities and civic consciousness; the essence of the Greek city.

On the surface of things elite depositional practices and even the household symposium had become integrated into the social fabric of public, political and cultic rituals. In the putative andreion, and Monumental Civic Building complexes, personal symptic equipment, weapons and armor, and imported pottery and metals were used and consumed in spaces used specifically for public dining and sacrificial offerings. This new urban architecture does not embrace, renovate, or actively monumentalize preexisting EIA buildings, but suppresses and even actively erases them from the urban toponography. Objects on the other hand were carefully recovered, laterally cycled, and reincorporated into new venues of communal ritual and ritualized political interaction (figs. 7-9), looking like largely corporate social strategies of integration. Yet what we know of the actual organization of the Cretan city is that it appears to have retained many aspects of its kinship-corporate structure, not unlike David Small’s view of Greek poleis such as Athens (Small 1995; 1997). What is perhaps important is that political power of the Archaic Cretan city was variably distributed and counterpoised, suggesting institutional divisions that had, by the early 6th century, taken on material and architectural forms. The juxtaposition of civic buildings on the west slope at Azoria could reflect a bilateral and even heterarchical structure, aspects of the decentralized and economically bifurcated polis.

We are not saying that local elites with Early Iron Age kinship ties were necessarily sup-
pressed, dissolved, or even diluted in the new political configurations of the Archaic city — indeed the lingering identities of such groups and their connections to the Dark Age past are emphatically expressed in the Late Geometric and Orientalizing record (Wallace 2003). It was however necessary for them to be reshaped and reintegrated in new social institutions with inter and intra-regional political implications (Kotsonas 2002, 55-56). We tend to oversimplify the situation, however, if we express the transition as merely a shift from the interests of local elite, a Dark Age aristocracy, to those of a broader or more inclusive community — a demos or middling citizenry. What is important about the transition in the late 7th century is the mobility and reintegration of community cult and social groups into architectural forms that expressed new ideas about the organization of the city, while providing the means and sociopolitical contexts to cross-cut the inherent limitations and divisive boundaries of localizing and ancient kinship structures. The Archaic inhabitants of Azoria did not ignore or shun their connections to their Early Iron Age past, they simply reinvented them and found new ways to express their links to the landscape and a new community of place.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


Fig. 1. Azoria: plan of the South Acropolis (R.D. Fitzsimons and G. Damaskinakis 2006).
Fig. 2. B3000: Late Geometric building and Early Orientalizing additions.

Fig. 3. B3000: examples of EIA-EO pottery from the EO "burned layer."
Fig. 4. B3000: animal bones from the EO "burned layer."

Fig. 5. B3000: reconstructed section of the north scarp, showing the southeast corner of the LG building, the EO surface and burned layer, and Archaic street level.
Fig. 6. B3700: southeast corner of the Archaic building in B3700 showing the stomion of the PG tholos tomb, and above it, the Archaic wall and street.

Fig. 7. EIA figurines from the Archaic Service Building (1, 2); the Archaic Shrine (3-6).
Fig. 8. Geometric kraters from D1000 (1) and D400 (2).

Fig. 9. Minoan kernos stone from the Archaic Monumental Civic Building (D500).
Naxos is the first Greek colony in the island. Its life was short: little more than three centuries. In 403 BC it was destroyed by Dionysius of Syracuse and, after this event, never became a city again. Strabo (VI.2.2), writing in the time of Augustus, included it, with Megara Hyblaea among the abandoned cities of Sicily. It was founded, according to Thucydides (VI. 3), in 734-733 BC, a year before Syracuse, by Chalcidians and, as it now seems certain, by Naxians of the Cycladic island [Hellanikos] (FGrHist 4 F82). The discovery of a marble cippus with dedication to the goddess Enyo provided an important piece of evidence of this. The dedication is inscribed in characters of the alphabet in use on the island of Naxos in the 7th century BC (Guarducci 1985, 9, 19-21, fig. 1).

The colonial expedition was led by Thoukles, who five years later left Sicilian Naxos with a part of the colonists to found first Leontinoi [728 BC] and then Katane [727 BC] (Thuc. VI. 3.3). Naxos was thus the springboard of the Euboean colonial expedition in Sicily: a role sanctioned by the altar of Apollo Archegetes erected by the colonists on their arrival, though yet untraced by archaeological research.

The site of the colony occupies the promontory of Schisò to the south of Taormina and comprises an area of some 40 hectares between the Santa Venera river to the west and the wide bay that became the colony’s harbour to the east.

Systematic archaeological exploration of the site began in 1953, and was directed by Paola Pelagatti until 1980. Two superimposed urban layouts were distinguished. The earlier plan is datable to the 7th and 6th centuries BC. The later layout, datable to around 470 BC, represents one of the best-preserved examples of orthogonal ‘pre- Hippodamian’ town-planning in the West (Pelagatti 1976-1977, 539-540, fig. 3b; 1981, fig. 3; 1993, 275).

The first colonial settlement would seem to have occupied the eastern area of the Schisò peninsula, in close contact with the bay and the harbour. The Late-Geometric evidence (especially Corinthian pottery) seems to be mainly concentrated in this area (Pelagatti 1982a, 141, fig. 8). A house of the late 8th century has also been found here; it was discovered close to intersection 11 of plateia A, the main road of the fifth-century urban layout, during the 1953-1954 excavation campaign (trincea stratigrafica) (Pelagatti 1981, 297, fig. 5).

Exploration in this same area has recently been resumed. Six excavation campaigns were conducted between 1998 and 2006 (fig. 1)\(^1\).

A long stretch (about 50 m) of plateia A has now been uncovered between intersections 10 and 11, while the whole excavation area amounts to 1000 sq.m. (fig. 2). The investigations of the deeper levels first involved the plateia area, exploiting its width of 9.50m. (Lentini 2004, 29-34; 2006a) and afterwards stenopos 11 and partially residential insula A10 area (fig. 2).

The results are important. A complete

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1. These new excavation campaigns have been made possible by the enlargement of the state-owned area available for investigation and have also benefited from generous European Union funding.
stratigraphy of the colony has been acquired, and the initial phase in the settlement of the colony has gradually been defined. Remains of two Iron Age huts have for the first time been found.

THE EARLY COLONIAL SETTLEMENT

Remains of six houses, dating to the late 8th century BC, were found below the beaten-earth surface of the *plateia*, while part of an eighth house (house 10) has been discovered not far away, close to intersection 11 (fig. 2). It is striking that all the houses so far excavated have the same east-west orientation. It must undoubtedly have regulated the subdivision of the urban site into building lots (*oikopeda*). But we cannot yet recognize any principle regulating a uniform subdivision, unlike Megara Hyblaea, where two lot modules have been identified (Gras – Tréziny – Broise 2004, 533-534, with previous bibliography).

All the houses seem to have been entirely constructed of volcanic stone. The thick layer of unbaked clay found in house 5 seems to relate to the flat roof rather than to the wall elevation (fig. 3).

The houses seem to have been different in size. The dimensions of two houses, however, seem to be incomplete, despite what I wrote: namely, house 10 (4.42 x 5.18m) and house 8 (4.29 x 3.59 m) (fig. 2: Lentini 2006a, 540-541). This now seems quite clear in the case of house 10, composed of two rooms, one occupied by enigmatic parallel walls (storeroom?). The case of house 5 is different. It is so far the only one that has been completely excavated. Rectangular in plan, it measures 7.80 x 3.50 m, with a ratio of length to width of 1:2.2 (figs. 2-3). It consists of two rooms: namely, the smaller room B, and the larger room A, with a "Greek-pi"-profiled bench abutting onto its eastern wall and doorway along the southern side (fig. 3).

The type of rectangular house plan formed by two rooms differs from the square plans of one-roomed houses attested so far in Sicily at Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse. Marked affinities are, on the other hand, evident with Zancle, and in particular with part of a house recently discovered in Messina very near to the cathedral square (2005-2006 excavations). Rectangular in plan, it also shows a subdivision into two rooms (fig. 4). The pottery from the context dates the house to around the mid-7th century BC, so a period a little later than that of Naxos (Lentini – Vanaria – Martinelli 2009).

More generally, and with the exception of the non-axial position of the doorway, the plan of house 5 has analogies in the Aegean Islands, where rectangular stone-built houses are usual and common (Coldstream 1977, 306, Zagora-Emporion on Chios). Affinities may be found with the houses at Zagora, on the island of Andros (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 171-176, figs. 306-307a-c). The "Greek-pi" bench is particularly close to the Aegean insular – or better Cycladic – tradition: the houses of Zagora have yielded, as it is well known, the richest repertoire of benches of this type (Cambitoglou et al. 1971, 18, 30, 47-48, figs.15-16, Plan IV, “Unit H19”; 1988, 79-88, 154-158, pls. 8-10, 12, 50-55, plan 12 C, “Unit H19”). In general for the benches in Iron Age houses: cf. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 134-137, with useful checklist).

Though these findings are still preliminary, they are useful for defining the identity of this earliest colonial settlement in Sicily at Naxos. Even more revealing is the system of grouping of the houses. Built close to each other, separated only by narrow unroofed corridors (fig. 3) that define their perimeter, the houses so far revealed suggest a densely inhabited settlement, which also recalls Zagora, though there the type of clustering of the houses leaves no room for corridors between them (Coldstream 1977, 308, fig. 97). The port settlement of Eretria provides

3. The house’s preserved dimensions are 7m. x 4m.
a second and particularly pertinent comparison in terms of density of habitation and especially of location (Mazarakis Ainian 1987, 4-6, 16-17, 20, 23, fig. 3). For at Naxos, too, this first colonial settlement was clearly developed in close and direct relation with the harbour, which recent investigation of the neoria has identified in the south-western corner of the bay, not far from the area of the present finds (fig. 1: Blackman – Lentini 2003, 22-23, figs. 1-2).

The evidence found at Messina in the 'Area Falcata', dating back to the foundation of the colony of Zankle, seems however to form the closest comparison. Here, as at Naxos, the houses seem to be laid out in parallel rows, divided by narrow lateral unroofed corridors (Sciobna 1987, 449-450, figs. 2-3, pls. XLVII-XLVIII. 3). It is worth adding that here too the settlement was laid out in close rapport with the harbour.

To complete the layout of the early settlement one must add the fortification. As I have already suggested, it is very probable that the remains of mid-late Bronze Age fortifications, which lie just to the north of the group of houses, were re-used for this purpose (Lentini 2006a, 544, fig. 1; 2006b. For the mid-Bronze Age fortifications remains found in 1980-1983, see Lentini 1984-1985, 812-815, pls. CLXXIX-CLXXX,CLXXXI.1). This hypothesis would agree with the evidence from the latest excavations, which shows the colonial settlement set up on the site of a mid-late Bronze Age village, and afterwards of an Iron Age village, which lies directly beneath the colonial settlement.

THE DARK AGE HUTS AND THE COLONIAL SETTLEMENT

A deep excavation was carried out in the area of stenopos 11 (Squares M0 and M1) in 2004. Here the results are very interesting, but difficult: the stratigraphy has been seriously compromised by the Byzantine-Early Medieval phase, eloquently represented by the corner of a building (fig. 5).

In the description I will follow the plan at figure 6 and the view (fig. 5). Building A dates from the early 6th century BC (figs. 5-6). It flanks the archaic streets S1 and S1h, forming a corner of the crossroads (Lentini 2006b). It may be attributed (because of the solidity and thickness of its walls) to a building of some importance rather than an ordinary house. The first sign of its possible sacral function is a Gorgoneion (ridge tile antefix), of the late sixth century. Structure b provides a stronger indication of its sacral character. Located inside the building, close to its north-west corner, structure b describes an arc some 3.00m long; its maximum preserved height is 1.10m (figs. 5-6). From its profile it may be likened to a silo or part of one (Gras – Tréziny – Broise 2005, 497-502, fig. 457). The building technique is that peculiar to silos and wells. A very similar technique is encountered in the bothros of Eolos (Aiolos) at Lipari (Bernabo Brea – Cavalier – Villard 1998, 41-44, fig. 9). The abundant materials found inside it would suggest, indeed, that it was re-used as a bothros. And what is particularly interesting is that, as on Lipari, it seems to have re-used as its foundation the remains of the structures of a mid-bronze age oval-plan hut (fig. 6). This would seem to be demonstrated by the materials, which must definitely belong to the mid-Bronze Age (Sicilian Thapsos Culture), as fragments of high-stemmed basins and of a globular pyxis indicate (fig. 7: Procel-lli 1983, 57-59). The silo was filled with a great quantity of pottery, mostly tableware (skyphoi, kraters, plates) datable from the late 8th to the last decades of the 7th century BC (EC pottery). Notable in the small sample of pottery from the bothros presented here are fragments of Corinthian LG Thapsos class skyphoi of panel type4 (figs. 8.1-2, 4: in general for Thapsos class skyphoi of panel type, cf. Coldstream 1968, 102-4. The most immediate comparison would seem to be with the huts of the Milazzese Culture brought to light on the Castle hill in Lipari (Bernabo Brea – Cavalier 1980, 546-548).

5. Specimen with chevrons in the panel (fig. 8.2,4)
104; Neef 1981, 20-30. For the specimens of skyphoi from Naxos, cf. Pelagatti 1982a, 143-145, pl. XXX), of the plain type 'b' (fig. 8.5: Coldstream 1968, 325; Neef 1981, 15, 36-38, fig. 4a) and an EC fragmentary oinochoe with trefoil mouth (fig. 8.3). With these, they have been found associated, as usually in Naxos, vases imitating Euboean types like craters (Cf. Pelagatti 1982a, 153, figs. 15-15a, pls. XXXVII. 2, XXXIX:1-2), and plates, some imitating Phoenician types. In the bothros, mixed with the pottery were ash, carbonised fragments and animal bones.

Walls c and e date from the end of the 8th century BC (figs. 6, 9). Their orientation is the same as those previously shown, and they may belong to houses. Wall e is situated immediately above the curvilinear wall d, possible remains of a hut (figs. 6, 9). This is assured by near-curvilinear wall g, which extends below wall c and in part occupies the area of the mid-bronze age hut above mentioned (b) (figs. 6, 9). The well-preserved circular post-hole (0.020m diameter) (fig. 10), which is sunk inside wall g, permits this latter to be easily identified with the remains of the wall of an Iron Age hut. From the curvilinear course of the wall we can infer with some confidence a large hut with an ovoid plan, following a type common in Sicily from the Early Iron Age. Analogies are with the finds at Leontinoi, the huts of Metapiccola, and with the remains of a hut found at Ortigia in Syracuse in the area of the Prefettura directly beneath the colonial settlement (Frasca 1989, 568-573, 586-598, figs. 2, 5. For Leontinoi, cf. Rizza 1962, 3-7, fig. 1 and more recently Leighton 1993, 143, 146, fig. 39). In terms of the plan and building technique, the Naxos hut shows closer analogies with the huts of Ausonio II on Lipari (Bernabo Brea – Cavalier 1980, 562-590, fig. 17 (hut all); Leighton 1993, fig. 39).

The context uncovered in close relation with wall g seems more problematic. The pottery from the only undisturbed level found inside the hut shows a clear predominance of fragments of Greek pottery of the late 8th century BC. They are notably Corinthian fragments of an LGII skyphos of Thapsos class (fig. 11.4), of an EPC bird kotyle (fig. 11.2: Benson 1989, 21, pl. 6. 1-2, “Wire Bird, Potter’s Quarter Group”) and of an EPC kyathos, a vessel not so common at Naxos (fig. 11.3: Coldstream 1968, 202, pls. 19-20. For other specimens of Corinthian kyathoi from Naxos, see Pelagatti 1982a, pl. XL.5). To them we may add the one-handled cup fragment of Euboean type (fig. 11.1). Associated with them was a very small number of fragments – but from a very narrow excavation area - of impasto vases of the Iron Age, including a ribbed situla (fig. 11) and a fragment of jar with painted decoration with feathered motifs attributable for their features to period III of the Sicilian Iron Age contemporary with the arrival of Greeks (Pantalica Sud Culture) (fig. 11: Bernabo Brea 1958, 156-157). Pottery of the Iron Age, including items of the late Iron Age, had already been attested at Naxos in small quantities from this eastern side of the Schisò peninsula (Procelli 1983, 64-66). But until now no related structure has been found. The new evidence fills this gap in time, pointing up the uninterrupted life at least on this eastern side of Schisò Peninsula from the mid-Bronze Age with a fortified settlement, and definitely illuminating the crucial moment of the arrival of Greeks, testifying at this moment to the presence on the site of the new colony of a Sicel village which lay in close contact with the bay, and, judging from the proximity between huts walls d and g, was densely inhabited. So now it is possible to answer negatively the question: was the site of the colony uninhabited at the time of its foundation? The statement of the historian Ephoros (apud Strabo, 267) is generally invoked in support of the very meagre traces of the Iron Age noticed at the site. But Diodoros more explicitly reports the expulsion from the site of the "Sicels who lived there" (Diod.XIV. 88.1). In this direction they seem to go both the new dis-

6. One-handled cups of this type are well attested at Naxos: Pelagatti 1982a, 147, pl. XXXV.
coveries and the evidence of the Sicel rock-cut chamber tombs investigated at the beginning of the 1900s at Cocolonazzo di Mola just above Taormina (Orsi 1919; Bernabò Brea 1958, 183-184). In some tombs Late Geometric Euboean pots occur beside indigenous impasto ware (Pelagatti 1982a, 118, 157, figs. 1, 17, with previous bibliography; Lentini 2003, 317, no. 345, LGII Euboean belly-handled amphoriskos). A preliminary interpretation of the finds seems to suggest that the colonists on their arrival occupied the huts, building afterwards their houses directly over them. The marked predominance of Greek pottery inside hut g must indicate some form of occupation of it. At the moment it is difficult to reconstruct with the same precision the form of the settlement: were the Sicels expelled by the Greeks or did they live together for a short time? On this subject it is important to note that no traces of violent destruction have been found inside the portion of hut g that has been explored. The direct superimposition of structures of the colony (walls c and e) over the huts (walls d and g) does, however, lead one to conclude that after a short period of Greek occupation (of the huts) there followed the construction of the colony. This evidence is confirmed by other data: fragments of late Iron Age pottery including large bowls (fig. 12) with incised geometric decoration very typical of period IV (Finocchito Culture) (cf. Frasca 1981, 30, T. XXXIV. 166, fig. 5, pl. XII; on Finocchito Culture in general, see Bernabò Brea 1958, 157-161) are, albeit in modest quantities, documented elsewhere in the area of the excavation in strata including late-geometric pottery.

In the light of these finds it appears very possible that the site of Naxos was inhabited during the Dark Age when the colonists arrived: the sequence of structures seems decisive and clear, while the material evidence is still insufficient.

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Fig. 1. Naxos: general plan of the city with the excavation area circled.

Fig. 2. General plan of the excavation area.
Fig. 3. House 5 inside the system of corridors.

Fig. 4. Messina: remains of a mid-7th c. BC house found near the Cathedral square.
Fig. 5. View of the deep excavation area from the east: on the left, the impressive Byzantine wall; on the right, the northern wall of building a, flanking archaic street Si; in the centre, remains of structure b and wall c.

Fig. 6. Plan of the deep excavation carried out on stenopos 11 (Squares M0-M1).
Fig. 7. Mid-Bronze Age fragments from the hut found below structure b: fragments of a basin (1), of the tubular stem of the basin (2), of a globular pyxis (3).

Fig. 8. Corinthian fragments from the fill of the silo-bothros (structure b): LG II Thapsos class skyphoi of panel type (1-2, 4) and of plain type (5), EC oinochoe (3).
Fig. 9. View of the deep excavation area from the west: on the left, the northern wall of building a and structure b; on the right, LG wall c superimposed over the late Iron Age hut g; on the background, LG wall e superimposed over the late Iron Age hut d.

Fig. 10. Detail of late Iron-Age hut g with remains of a post-hole.
Fig. 11. Pottery from late Iron-Age hut: above, fragments of a jar with painted decoration of feathered motifs, and of ribbed situla; below, fragments of LGII one-handled cup of Euboean type (1), of EPC kotyla (2), of EPC kyathos (3); of Corinthian LGII skyphos of Thapsos class (4).

Fig. 12. Fragment of late Iron Age large bowl with incised geometric decoration (Finocchito Culture).
Henri Tréziny

AUX ORIGINES DE MÉGARA HYBLAEA

Mégara Hyblaea fut fondée dans l’angle Sud-Est de la Sicile dans le dernier tiers du VIIe s. av. J.-C. (vers 728 selon Thucydide) à environ 25 km au Nord de Syracuse et 20 km au Sud-Est de Léontinoi. Les Mégariens, qui avaient d’abord participé à la fondation de Léontinoi, se sont installés provisoirement à Thapsos, avant d’occuper le site de Mégara Hyblaea, qui leur aurait été concédé par le roi sicule Hyblon (sources rassemblées et commentées dans Mégara 3, 107-127). À l’arrivée des Mégariens, le site était certainement inoccupé. On en a conclu, peut-être hâtivement, qu’il n’y avait “ni habitat, ni trace d’une quelconque infrastructure qui, d’une certaine manière, conditionner le nouvel habitat”. C’est cette hypothèse que je voudrais examiner ici.

1. LE CADRE NATUREL (figs. 1-2)

La région de Mégara Hyblaea est structurée par le massif des Monts Hybéens, encadrés au Sud-Ouest par la vallée de l’Anapo, qui passe au pied de Pantalica et se jette un peu au Sud de Syracuse, et au Nord-Est un ensemble de fleuves côtiers, le Cantera, le Marcellino et le Mulinello, qui se jettent dans le sinus megarensis (golfe d’Augusta), au Nord de Mégara. La plaine côtière, large de 3 à 5 km en moyenne, est un plateau calcaire, entaillé par les canyons (les cave)


2. Orsi 1921, col. 111, fig. 1, col. 158, fig. 2, col. 159, fig. 3, col. 161, fig. 4 et col. 162, fig. 5; Mégara 5, 310-311

système défensif et repéré des trous de poteaux et des traces de cabanes (Villard – Vallet 1952, 18-19). Les fouilles de 1952 ont permis de retrouver au centre du village, sous le temple B, quelques vestiges de l’habitat, des trous de poteaux, une tombe néolithique, des traces artisanales et quelques bouts de murs de datation imprécise⁴. Le village néolithique occupe donc un demi-cercle (environ 1,4 ha) appuyé au Nord sur la falaise bordant le Cantera. Le fossé était bordé vers l’intérieur par un mur épais d’environ 1,75 m, mais il y avait aussi vers l’extérieur un mur de contrescarpe (cf. Orsi 1921, col. 113-114, fig. 2; Leighton 1999, 69).

Le secteur du village néolithique était, comme l’ont remarqué G. Vallet et Fr. Villard, libre de toute structure d’habitat d’époque grecque, à l’exception des temples. Les fouilleurs pensèrent même un temps y voir l’agora. On y voit plutôt aujourd’hui le téménon du grand sanctuaire du Nord-Ouest. Le temple B n’est sans doute pas une construction traditionnelle mais une sorte d’enclos, partiellement monumentalisé, à l’emplacement d’un lieu de culte plus ancien du VIIᵉ s. Il se situe exactement au milieu du village néolithique, ce qui peut difficilement être un simple hasard. On a donc supposé (Mégara 5, 347-348) que le village néolithique était encore visible lors de l’arrivée des Grecs, au moins par la trace du rempart et de son fossé, et que les premiers colonnes ont considéré cet espace comme un téménon « naturel ».

On notera sur les coupes stratigraphiques publiées par Orsi, puis en 1952 par G. Vallet et Fr. Villard (Orsi 1921, col. 113-114, fig. 2; Villard – Vallet 1952, 20, fig. 8) que les niveaux de remplissage s’incurvent vers le centre, ce qui pouvait se marquer en surface par un léger creux, souligné par les restes du rempart.


Les autres vestiges possibles d’une occupation néolithique sont une petite hache en pierre polie signalée par Fr. Villard dans le chantier III, qui deviendra le secteur de l’héron au Nord-Ouest de l’agora (journal de 1949), et des trous de poteaux creusés dans le rocher, ainsi que quelques fragments d’obsidienne, tous de date bien incertaine, signalés récemment par L. Guzzardi sous le phare Cantera.

On compte plusieurs habitats côtiers néolithiques approximativement contemporains de celui de Mégara Hyblaea (fig. 2). En dehors d’Ortygie (Syracuse, Piazza Duomo: Voza 1999a, 10, 21), le site le plus important est le village de Stentinello, fouillé par Orsi, et qui se trouvait en bord de mer, à mi-chemin entre Syracuse et Thapsos, une quinzaine de kilomètres au Sud de Mégara (Orsi 1890, 1912; Tinè 1961; Voza 1980, 1,1, 11 sqq.; Leighton 1999, 67). Le village est plus important (3 ha), mais on y a également trouvé un fossé et des traces de cabanes en partie creusées dans le substrat. Un certain nombre de sites préhistoriques sont signalés dans un rayon de quelques kilomètres autour de Stentinello [Vallet – Voza 1984, 4-42, no. 49 (vallone Picci, grotte), 55 (Cugno Ballarella, grottes), 56 (Predio Reale, nécropole préhistorique et du Bronze ancien, traces de station néolithique)]. Au Nord de Mégara, des sites néolithiques se trouvent dans la vallée du Marcellino⁵.

3. L’ÂGE DU BRONZE

« En aucun point du terrain les fouilles n’ont fait apparaitre la moindre trace des civilisations du Bronze ou du premier âge du Fer » (Vallet – Villard 1960, 264). Cette observation de G. Vallet et Fr. Villard semblait encore exacte en 2004, lors de la publication de Mégara Hyblaea 5. Elle ne l’est plus tout à fait depuis la fouille de 2006 autour de la porte archaïque Ouest6. Dans ce secteur, qui n’avait guère été exploré depuis les fouilles d’Orsi en 1889 (figs. 3 et 4), on a retrouvé des phases anciennes du rempart archaïque, remontant au moins au milieu du VIIe s. Deux sondages limités dans l’épaisseur du rempart ont mis au jour une vingtaine de tessons, malheureusement assez peu caractéristiques, qui se datent très approximativement entre le Bronze moyen et les débuts de l’âge du Fer. À ce matériel était associée une structure fragmentaire, sans doute un foyer. Les quelques sondages réalisés autour de la fortification n’ont apporté aucune autre information, si bien que nous ne connaissons pas l’ampleur du gisement: s’agit-il d’un habitat isolé, ou d’un habitat groupé, et en ce cas était-il fortifié? Sans doute la construction du rempart archaïque a-t-elle contribué à conserver ces traces d’occupation, systématiquement détruites ailleurs. Quoi qu’il en soit, cette découverte comble partiellement la lacune entre l’habitat néolithique et la fondation grecque.

L’habitat de l’âge du Bronze s’insère lui aussi dans une maille régionale assez serrée (figs. 1 et 2), depuis Syracuse (Bronze ancien, moyen, récent: Voza 1999b, 21), souvent sur des sites déjà occupés au néolithique, comme Villasmundo (contrada Pantalone di Sopra), dans la vallée du Marcellino, ou Petraro dans celle du Mulinello. Ces sites sont généralement du Bronze ancien, mais il existe également dans la basse vallée du Mulinello une nécropole du Bronze moyen, avec des vases mycéniens8. Le site le plus important, qui a donné des vestiges de tout l’âge du Bronze, jusqu’à l’âge du Fer, est évidemment celui de Thapsos, caractérisé par ses fortifications à tours semi-circulaires.

L’existence à Mégara de niveaux, même ténus, de l’âge du Bronze, éclaire évidemment d’un jour nouveau les comparaisons proposées récemment entre les tours semi-circulaires de l’enceinte archaïque de Mégara Hyblaea et ses prédécesseurs de l’âge du Bronze à Thapsos ou Petraro9.

4. LA PHASE DES CAMPEMENTS

Lorsque les Mégiens arrivent dans la région de la future Mégara Hyblaea, ils s’installent d’abord à Thapsos. On a quelquefois attribué à ce bref séjour les deux sépultures dans lesquelles ont été découvertes les deux « coupes de Thapsos » éponymes de cette série du géométrique récent de Corinthe. Cela paraît très improbable parce que l’une des deux coupes trouvées par P. Orsi est une coupe sans panneau, et que, quelles que soient les imprécisions de la chronologie du matériel géométrique, ce type de vase ne fait sans doute pas partie des séries les plus anciennes de Mégara Hyblaea10. On verra plutôt la trace d’une fréquentation de Thapsos (par des Mégiens ?) pendant la période initiale de l’implantation de la colonie.

On s’accorde aujourd’hui généralement pour penser que le roi Hyblon, qui céda aux Mégiens le territoire de leur cité, n’était pas le

7. Je remercie G. Voza, L. Guzzardi, E. Procelli pour les échanges que nous avons eus à ce propos.
9. Mégara 5, 300-301; Tréziny 2006. Les fouilles de 2006 autour de la porte Ouest n’ont cependant pas permis de confirmer l’ancienneté de la tour semi-circulaire n°3, qui pourrait dater seulement d’un deuxième état du rempart, dans le courant du VIIe s. L’enquête devra être élargie aux autres tours de l’enceinte archaïque Ouest.
roi de Pantalica\textsuperscript{11}, site trop éloigné de Mégara, mais plutôt d'une communauté plus proche, par exemple, dans la vallée du Marcellino, le site de Villasmundo, déjà occupé aux périodes précédents (fig. 2). Les fouilles de G. Voza dans les nécropoles de la vallée du Marcellino (Voza 1976-1977, 568-571, pl. CIV; Vallet – Voza 1984, no. 9; Lanteri 1997, no. 70) ont en effet mis au jour un matériel en partie antérieur au plus ancien matériel de Mégara\textsuperscript{12}, en partie contemporain. L'habitat n'a pas encore été identifié, mais on le situerait volontiers sur le plateau de Pantalone di Sopra, où l'on connaît déjà un habitat du Bronze ancien. L'importance de ce gisement est accentuée par la raréfaction des sites de cette période, par rapport aux périodes précédentes\textsuperscript{13}. La nécropole semble abandonnée dès le début du VIIe s., malgré quelques traces de fréquentations sporadiques à l'époque archaïque et classique. La distance entre le site de Pantalone di Sopra et Mégara Hyblaea, à peine 9 kilomètres, suffit sans doute à expliquer la disparition rapide du premier. L'intérêt des Mégariens pour la vallée du Marcellino se manifeste entre autres par la présence de deux petits sanctuaires archaïques de part et d'autre de l'embouchure du fleuve\textsuperscript{14}.

Quoi qu'il en soit, nous voyons qu'à toutes époques le site de Mégara Hyblaea s'est trouvé à l'intérieur d'un maillage relativement étroit de sites habités, et donc à proximité de routes. Ces cheminement devaient relier la côte à l'intérieur, mais aussi les établissements côtiers entre eux. Une route devait relier dès le néolithique la région de Syracuse au village de Stentinello, à Thapsos, à Mégara Hyblaea (fig. 1). Au-delà de Mégara Hyblaea, la voie côtière s'éloigne légèrement du rivage pour éviter les embouchures marécageuses des fleuves (Tréziny 2002; Mégara 5, 527-528, fig. 436 et 469). Elle traverse sans doute le Marcellino à hauteur du «Passo di Siracusa », encore appelé ainsi sur les cartes du XIXe s., et le Mulinello au niveau des sites néolithique et du Bronze moyen déjà mentionnés (supra). Mais un autre embranchement devait mettre en relation la région de Mégara avec celle Léontinoi: cette route, connue à époque plus récente, passait près du village moderne de Villasmundo et donc sans doute par le site de Pantalone di Sopra, déjà mentionné.

Ces chemins et notamment la route côtière, devaient exister lors de l'arrivée des Mégariens, et ils sont sans doute l'un des éléments structurants du paysage. Nous connaissons très mal la première installation des Mégariens, mais l'existence d'une « phase des campements » paraît nécessaire entre l'arrivée des colons et la mise en place du plan de lotissement du site. Nous ne pouvons préciser ni la durée de cette phase (quelques mois, une dizaine d'années ?), ni sa consistance. Nous n'en avons aucune trace archéologique, si ce n'est un groupe de structures enterrées, des silos en forme de bouteille. Il n'y a guère d'éléments pour dater ces structures, mais nous savons qu'elles ont été abandonnées généralement dans la première moitié du VIIe s. pour être transformées en puits, en "bothroi", ou simplement bouchées. Nous n'en avons aucune trace de structures d'habitat associées aux silos.

Deux observations s'imposent:
— ces silos se trouvent soit dans des secteurs d'habitat, soit dans l'angle Nord-Est de l'agora. Ils ne sont donc pas liés aux maisons et au lotissement de la fin du VIIe s.
— ces silos ont une capacité qui, selon les calculs de F. De Angelis, excède largement les besoins normaux d'une famille pour une année. Rappelons que dans les premières générations de l'urbanisme mégarien, une famille occupe une maison mo-

\textsuperscript{11} Comme le suggérait Bernabo Brea 1968.
\textsuperscript{12} Coupes à demi-cercles pendants. Leighton 1999, 224, croit que l'on peut faire descendre ces céramiques jusque vers 730: peut-être, mais il n'y en a pas à Mégara, à Syracuse, à Léontinoi, à Naxos...
\textsuperscript{13} Au Nord de la zone considérée, à proximité de la plaine de Catane: Vallone Maccaudio, nécropole du VIIe s. (Lanteri 1997, no. 11).
\textsuperscript{14} Sur le sanctuaire de la RASIOM, au Sud du Marcellino: Gentili 1954; celui de la Liquichimica, au Nord du fleuve, est recouvert par une villa romaine explorée en 1973 (fouille inédite).

Cela peut nous orienter vers une première ébauche de la phase des campements, groupements de cabanes peut-être dispersés sur ce le futur espace urbain, au moins dans la partie du site qui deviendra le «quartier de l'agora archaïque». Ces groupes de cabanes ne sont pas les points de départ d'une urbanisation progressive du site, comme on l'a parfois envisagé, mais une phase antérieure à la mise en place du plan d'urbanisme. Par leur caractère collectif, ils évoquent d'une certaine façon les péripolés eubéens, chers à Alexandre Mazarakis (Mazarakis Ainian 2002).

Les deux grandes rues Est-Ouest, la rue A au Nord, la rue B au Sud, ne sont ni rectilignes ni parallèles. Elles pourraient constituer des axes de circulation de la phase des campements, antérieurement à la mise en place du plan d'urbanisme. Assez proches à l'Est de l'agora (environ 80 m), elles s'alignent progressivement en direction de l'Ouest. La rue A longe au Sud l'ancien fossé néolithique, qui correspond à la limite méridionale du sanctuaire du Nord-Ouest. La rue B s'infléchit légèrement vers le Sud-Est et devait rejoindre la «route préhistorique» un peu au Sud de l'habitat de l'âge du Bronze nouvellement identifié, et donc de la porte Ouest archaïque. La distance entre les deux rues A et B doit être alors de l'ordre de 160 m. (fig. 3).

5. LA MISE EN PLACE DU PLAN D'URBANISME

Je ne reviendrai pas ici dans le détail sur la mise en place du plan d'urbanisme, déjà largement évoquée ailleurs (Mégara 5, 523-546; Tréziny 1999; 2002; 2009). Constatons simplement qu'il y a une distinction entre un espace intérieur («urbain»), occupé par le lotissement urbain (les oikopeda) et les espaces publics, et un espace extérieur, celui des champs (les gepeda15) et des nécropoles. Dans l'état actuel des connaissances, cette distinction est stricte. La limite entre ces deux espaces est marquée, à une date qu'il est difficile de fixer avec précision, mais qui est certainement antérieure au milieu du VIIe s., par une première enceinte de type fossé-agger.

A l'intérieur de cet espace est mis en place dès la fin du VIIIe s. un plan de lotissement en lots (oikopeda) d'environ 120/130 m2. Fr. Villard a tenté récemment (Villard 1999) de proposer une division de l'espace urbain en grands kleroi (les ilots), attribués aux "chefs de familles", qui auraient ensuite été subdivisés en oikopeda individuels. Malheureusement, cette hypothèse, par ailleurs séduisante, ne me semble pas en accord avec la documentation archéologique. Il semble bien que l'unité de base de l'habitat mégarien soit en fait le lot, l'oikopedon, et que ce soit la juxtaposition des filets de lots qui constitue ce que nous appelons les îlots.

Au fond, la naissance de l'urbanisme mégarien, c'est le passage de l'organisation en partie collective de la phase des campements (qui pourraient évoquer, on l'a dit, les péripolés du monde eubéen) à une répartition individuelle de l'habitat dans laquelle chaque colon reçoit un lot urbain où il construit sa maison, creuse son puits. Historiquement, le caractère individuel des lots ne rend évidemment pas compte de la structure sociale complexe de la société archaïque, faite de réseaux de parentéles et de solidarités. Mais c'est une donnée archéologique que l'on ne saurait contourner.

J'insisterai seulement sur l'importance du tracé des rues A et B dans ce processus. Les "axes directionnels"16 du plan sont déterminés

15. Le terme gepedon est utilisé à tort, depuis un article de G. Nenci (Nenci 1989) pour désigner un lot urbain, un "jardin en ville"; le mot, assez rare en grec, signifie simplement terrain agricole, et je l'utiliserais pour désigner un "lot des champs" comme l'oikopedon est un "lot des villes".
par des lignes droites (rues C1, D1, E1) qui sont sans doute des tracés volontaires, qui ne doivent rien aux préexistences. Mais, si le schéma de construction que nous avons proposé est exact, la largeur des « îlots » (sur le sens à donner à ce mot, cf. Mégara 5, 534-535) dépend de leur longueur, et donc de l'espacement des rues A et B. En d'autres termes, la maille du plan d'urbanisme est conditionnée par le tracé des rues A et B, lequel remonte probablement à la « phase des campements » et dépend, dans une certaine mesure au moins, des « préexistences ».

6. DE NAXOS À MÉGARA HYBLAEA. LE ROL DES « PRÉEXISTENCES ».

Les recherches récentes sur la fondation chalcidienne de Naxos (Lentini, dans ce volume, fig. 1) suggèrent que le plan de Naxos au VIIIe s. était assez différent de ceux de Mégara Hyblaea ou de Syracuse (sur l'urbanisme de Naxos, cf. M.C. Lentini, dans ce même volume. Voir aussi Lentini 2006a et b). Des maisons de petites dimensions (15 à 27 m²) s'alignent le long d'une voie rectiligne, et sont séparées les unes les autres par de petits couloirs (ou ruelles ?) perpendiculaires ou parallèles à la rue principale. M.C. Lentini évoque justement les parallèles insulaires de Zagora dans l'île d'Andros ou d'Emporio à Chios. Et il est possible que l'origine insulaire d'une partie des colons explique ce mode particulier d'installation.

Mais une autre explication me paraît envisageable. On sait de longue date que l'habitat de Naxos à l'époque géométrique était concentré dans la partie Nord-Est du site archaïque, vers le cap Schisô (Pelagatti 1981), sur une dizaine d'hectares seulement, et M.C. Lentini a montré que la fortification de l'âge du Bronze avec bastion semi-circulaire avait sans doute été réutilisée par les premiers colons (Lentini 1984-1985, 812-814). Le premier habitat (la « phase des campements » de Naxos) s'est donc concentré à l'abri du rempart de l'âge du Bronze, et ne s'est étendu à l'ensemble du site archaïque (une quarrante d'hectares), protégé sans doute par une nouvelle fortification, que dans le courant du VIe s., lorsque l'ancien établissement ne pouvait décidément plus suffire.

À la question posée au début de cette communication, « y avait-il à Mégara Hyblaea, une quelconque infrastructure qui pût, d'une certaine manière, conditionner le nouvel habitat ? », je répondrai donc de façon très nuancée. Si nous comparons Mégara Hyblaea à Syracuse, où l'existence d'un habitat sicule a pu (d'une façon qui nous échappe en grande partie aujourd'hui) influencer profondément le premier habitat grec, à Léontinio, où il faut compter avec une première période, même brève, de cohabitation entre Grecs et indigènes, à Naxos, dont l'enceinte de l'âge du Bronze était sans doute déterminante pour les premiers colons, Mégara Hyblaea est en effet un site vierge, dans lequel le nouveau plan d'urbanisme peut se déployer sans contrainte majeure. On pressent que les différences entre les plans d'urbanisme de ces sites tiennent moins à l'origine des colons qu'aux conditions géographiques et humaines de leur implantation. Mais cela ne signifie pas que le site de Mégara était totalement libre de contraintes. Un certain nombre de choix topographiques, comme l'emplacement du sanctuaire du Nord-Ouest ou le tracé des rues A et B ne s'expliquent sans doute que par des préexistences, « non condizionanti » certes (en ce sens qu'on aurait pu ne pas en tenir compte), mais que l'on a tout de même prises en considération.

ABRÉVIATIONS

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Fig. 1. La région de Mégara Hyblaea, de Stentinello au Mulinello.

Fig. 2. Le territoire à l'Ouest et au Nord-Ouest de Mégara Hyblaea. Vallées du Cantera du Marcellino et du Mulinello, sites du néolithique, de l'âge du Bronze et du début de l'âge du Fer (Tréziny 2007, d'après Vallet, Voza 1984 et Lanteri 1997).
Fig. 3. Mégara Hyblaea. 1. Village néolithique et sanctuaire du Nord-Ouest ; 2. Porte Ouest et vestiges de l'âge du Bronze ; 3. Site possible de la « phase des campements » (Tréziny 2007).

Fig. 4. Mégara Hyblaea, porte Ouest archaïque (VIIe-VIe s. av. J.-C.). En noir, sondages ayant donné des vestiges de l'âge du Bronze (Tréziny 2007).
In 1990 W.D.E. Coulson posed a series of questions related to some of the major research problems regarding the Greek “Dark Ages” which he deemed, in a wider sense, as the period spanning roughly 1125–700 B.C. Except for pursuing well planned excavations he emphasized the urgent need for the re-examination of old excavation data and the need for new publications.
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Editor: Alexander MAZARAKIS AINIAN

ISBN: 978-960-9439-06-0

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Cover: G Design Studio

UNIVERSITY OF THESSALY PRESS

Argonafton & Filellinon
38221 Volos
Tel & fax: 0030-24210-74777
http: //utpress. uth. gr
e-mail: press@uth. gr
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UNIVERSITY OF THESSALY PRESS
VOLOS 2011
Ο W.D.E. Coulson στην Ιεράπετρα της Κρήτης (Αύγουστος 2001).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brogan, Thomas M., Retracing the footsteps of an Iron Age Philhellene: a Biography of William D.E. Coulson</strong></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENERAL TOPICS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippa-Touchais, Anna, «Cycles of collapse in Greek Prehistory»: reassessing social change at the beginning of the Middle Helladic and the Early Iron Age</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhly, James, Archaic and Classical Greece would not have been the same without the Dark Ages</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace, Saro, Formative landscapes: Regional experiences of the Aegean collapse ca.1200 BC and their long-term impact</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Węcowski, Marek, On the Historicity of the “Homeric World”: Some methodological considerations</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crielaard, Jan Paul, The 'Wanax to Basileus model' reconsidered: authority and ideology after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TEMPLES, SANCTUARIES &amp; CULT</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan, Catherine, The elite of Aetos: religion and power in Early Iron Age Ithaka</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livieratou, Antonia, Regional cult systems in the transitional period from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age: Comparing the evidence from two different parts of mainland Greece, the Argolid plain and the East Phokis</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazarakis Ainian, Alexander – Alexandridou, Alexandra, The so-called “Sacred House” of the Academy revisited</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κόλια, Ερωφίλη – Γκαδόλου, Αναστασία, Ναός Γεωμετρικών χρόνων στα Νικολαϊκά Αχαΐας: Πρώτη Παρουσίαση της Ανασκαφής</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berit, Kalaureia</td>
<td>Wells, Berit, Kalaureia in the Early Iron Age: Evidence of early cult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olga</td>
<td>Zolotnikova, Olga, The evidence for the worship and perception of Zeus during the late Prehistoric-early Historic periods</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SETTLEMENTS & ARCHITECTURE: MAINLAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexandros</td>
<td>Gounaris, Alexandros, Pastoral structures: The encounter of Early Iron Age Archaeology with Ethnography in mainland Greece</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleni</td>
<td>Vasiliki, Eleni, Η μετάβαση από τη Χαλκοκρατία στην Εποχή του Σιδήρου στην Ήπειρο: Τα δεδομένα από τον ωκεανό της Κρήτης στο Λεκανόπεδιο των Ιωαννίων</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acaia</td>
<td>Karayiannou-Menteseidhi, Gerasimos, Η Αιανή στην Εποχή του Σιδήρου</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vassiliki</td>
<td>Adrimi-Sismani, Vassiliki, Habitation changes in the eastern coastal Thessaly following the destruction of the palaces at the end of LH IIIB2</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean-Marc</td>
<td>Luce, Jean-Marc, La Phocide à l’âge du fer</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acaia</td>
<td>Rizio, Arianna, L’assetto topografico degli insediamenti in Acaia tra periodo miceneo e submiceneo</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nichoria</td>
<td>Mallen, Lisa, Gendering Space in Dark Age Nichoria</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SETTLEMENTS & ARCHITECTURE: CYCLADES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nota</td>
<td>Kourou, Nota, From the Dark Ages to the Rise of the Polis in the Cyclades: the case of Tenos</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δίτσα</td>
<td>Πόντου, Πέγκυ – Δίτσα, Δανάη, Η Κύμαλος των Πρώιμων Ιστορικών Χρόνων. Στοίχεια και προβληματισμοί</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SETTLEMENTS & ARCHITECTURE: CRETE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Krzysztof</td>
<td>Nowicki, Krzysztof, Settlement in crisis: The end of the LM/LH IIIB and early IIIC in Crete and other south Aegean islands</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metaxia</td>
<td>Tsipopoulou, Metaxia, Living at Halasmenos, Ierapetra, in Late Minoan IIIC. House A.1</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret S.</td>
<td>Mook, Margaret S., The settlement on the Kastro at Kavousi in the Late Geometric period</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

- Rousioti, Dimitra – Stournaras, Gregory, The urban development in Crete at the end of the Bronze Age: Settlements with shrines ........................................ 489
- Santaniello, Emanuela, Gortyn in the Dark Age: A new interpretation of the evidence from the Haghios Ioannis hill .............................................. 503
- Haggis, Donald C. – Mook, Margaret S., The Early Iron Age-Archaic transition at Azoria in Eastern Crete ................................................................. 515

**SETTLEMENTS & ARCHITECTURE: SICILY**

- Lentini, Maria Costanza, Sicilian Naxos: Evidence from the Early Iron Age ................................................................. 529
- Tréziny, Henri, Aux origines de Mégara Hyblaea ................................................................. 541

**VOLUME II**

- Abbreviations .......................................................................................................................... 565

**NECROPOLEIS & BURIALS**

- Pomadère, Maia, Un « Héritier choyé d’innombrables biens » (II. IX, 482): Les enfants de l’élite sociale au début de l’âge du fer ........................................... 569
- Χρυσοστόμου, Αναστασία, Αρχαία Αλμωπία. Τα νεκροταφεία των τύμβων ................ 579
- Ευσταθίου-Μπάτζιου, Ανθή, Θολωτός τάφος Πυρώσου .................................................. 595
- Μαλακασιώτη, Ζωή - Τσιούκα, Φωτεινή, Ζητήματα ταφικών πρακτικών στα νεκροταφεία της Εποχής του Σιδήρου στην περιοχή της αρχαίας Άλου, θέση «Βουλοκάλυβα»................................................................................................................................ 609
- Georganas, Ioannis, The transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in Thessaly: Some thoughts ................................................................. 627
- Lemos, Irene S. with Mitchell, David, Elite burials in Early Iron Age Aegean. Some preliminary observations considering the spatial organization of the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi ................................................................. 635
- D’Onofrio, Anna Maria, Athenian burials with weapons: The Athenian warrior graves revisited ................................................................. 645
- Σκιλάρντι, Δημήτριος, Αριστοκρατικές Ταφές από το Γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο της Κηφισιάς ................................................................................................................................ 675
- Mazarakis Ainian, Alexander, A necropolis of the Geometric period at Marathon. The context ..................................................................................................... 703
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ζαφειροπούλου, Φωτεινή, Νέα στοιχεία από τη Γεωμετρική Νάξο. Το Νεκροταφείο στη θέση Πλίθος της Χώρας</td>
<td>733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day, Leslie Preston, Appropriating the past: Early Iron Age mortuary practices at Kavousi, Crete</td>
<td>745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stampolidis, Nicholas Chr., LUX CRETENSIS: A Cretan contribution to the revision of the so-called Dark Ages</td>
<td>759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ζερβάκη, Φωτεινή, Νεκροταφείο της ΥΕ III Γ-Υπομυκηναϊκής περιόδου στην Αγία Αγάθη της Ρόδου</td>
<td>769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariaud, Oliver, The Geometric graves of Colophon and the burial customs of Early Iron Age Ionia</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**POTTERY, ICONOGRAPHY & OTHER FINDS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>†Coldstream, J.N., Geometric Elephantiasis</td>
<td>801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlachou, Vicky, A group of Geometric vases from Marathon: Attic style and local originality</td>
<td>809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charalambidou, Xenia, Developments in Euboea and Oropos at the end of the &quot;Dark Ages&quot; (ca. 700 to the mid-seventh century BC)</td>
<td>831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blandin, Béatrice, Amarynthos au début de l'âge du fer: Les trouvailles de la propriété M. Patavalis</td>
<td>857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ψάλτη, Αθανασία, Νέος εικονιστικός κρατήρας από τη Γεωμετρική Ερέτρια: Ο κρατήρας των μελαινών Ιππών</td>
<td>873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenzelmann Pfiffer, Anne - Verdan, Samuel, Vaisselle domestique, vaisselle de sanctuaire? Deux exemples érétriens?</td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gros, Jean-Sebastian, Pour une typolochronologie de la céramique commune en Grèce centrale</td>
<td>905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLoughlin, Beatrice, The pithos makers at Zagora: Ceramic technology and function in an agricultural settlement context</td>
<td>913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reber, Karl, Céramique eubéenne à Naxos au début de l'âge du fer</td>
<td>929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotsonas, Antonis, Ceramic variability and drinking habits in Iron Age Crete</td>
<td>943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gimatzidis, Stefanos, The Northwest Aegean in the Early Iron Age</td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simantoni-Bournia, Eva, Multi-storeyed vases of the Geometric period</td>
<td>971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouzek, Jan, The iconography of the “Dark Age”: From LH IIIC to Geometric: Continuity and changes</td>
<td>983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Νάκας, Γιάννης, Νήσες μέλαινα: Πλοία και ναυπηγική στο Αιγαίο της πρώιμης Εποχής του Σιδήρου</td>
<td>1003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Authors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The handmade terracotta animal figurines at the end of the Late Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age in Crete: Chronology, technology and function</td>
<td>Gesell, Geraldine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κόσμημα Θεσσαλική: Από τους Σκοτεινούς Αιώνες στην αυγή της «πόλεως»</td>
<td>Λουκά, Μαριωάννα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing in Dark Waters: A review of the archaeological and archaeozoological evidence of the exploitation of aquatic resources in the Greek Early Iron Age</td>
<td>Theodoropoulou, Tatiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains related to sacred areas on the Cycladic islands Amorgos and Tenos, during the Geometric period: Two distinct examples bearing evidence of sacrificial rites and bone working activities</td>
<td>Trantalidou, Katerina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABBREVIATIONS OF TERMS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHRONOLOGICAL PERIODS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Bronze Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EIA</td>
<td>Early Iron Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG</td>
<td>Early Geometric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EH</td>
<td>Early Helladic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EO</td>
<td>Early Orientalizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPG</td>
<td>Early Protogeometric</td>
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<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Geometric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>Iron Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LBA</td>
<td>Late Bronze Age</td>
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<tr>
<td>LH</td>
<td>Late Helladic</td>
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<td>LG</td>
<td>Late Geometric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LM</td>
<td>Late Minoan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPG</td>
<td>Late Protogeometric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MG</td>
<td>Middle Geometric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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## ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS

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UN « HÉRITIER CHOYÉ D’INNOMBRABLES BIENS » (IL. IX,482) : LES ENFANTS DE L’ÉLITE SOCIALE AU DÉBUT DE L’ÂGE DU FER

Maia Pomadère

La période de l’enfance est peu valorisée dans l’épopée homérique et les enfants y sont principalement définis par leur ascendance. Ils représentent surtout un patrimoine à défendre et, dans le cas des garçons, une garantie de la préservation de l’oïkos (II. XV, 497-498; II. IX, 455-456; Od. III, 196-197; Golden 1990, 137). Dans le même temps, l’Iliade et l’Odyssée associent un ensemble de valeurs à l’enfance (la faiblesse, l’innocence etc.) (Ingalls 1998) permettant de l’identifier comme un moment particulier dans la vie humaine. Les enfants ne formaient toutefois pas une catégorie homogène : les hiérarchies sociales et la différence de sexe impliquent des enfances multiples. La documentation est, comme souvent, plus abondante pour les catégories sociales dominantes, dont les enfants sont susceptibles d’être les mieux connus.

Pour leur étude, le texte homérique, dont je pense qu’il peut légitimement être utilisé pour mettre en lumière l’idéologie des élites du début de l’Âge du Fer (VIIIe-VIe s.), peut être confronté avec les vestiges funéraires. Ces données invitent à explorer un processus fondamental dans toute société, à savoir la transmission des valeurs, des pratiques et du statut social entre les générations, condition essentielle de la reproduction du groupe. On s’interrogera en premier lieu sur les modalités de l’intégration des enfants à deux institutions sociales majeures dans l’élite de cette période : le banquet et la guerre. Quelles traces de l’apprentissage du mode de vie « aristocratique » sont conservées dans les textes et les tombes ? Mais, si les pratiques funéraires, notamment le dépôt de mobilier, témoignent parfois du vécu de l’enfant mort, elles renvoient aussi à un système de valeurs propre au groupe inhumant. La sépulture des enfants est parfois investie d’une signification plus large, intégrant des dimensions sociales et culturelles autres que l’âge (statut social, genre). En second lieu, on s’attachera ainsi à l’insertion de la mort des enfants dans la « politique funéraire » de ces communautés, notamment comme instrument de la compétition sociale opposant certaines élites égéennes.

L’APPRENTISSAGE DU MODE DE VIE ARISTOCRATIQUE

L’intégration des enfants aux banquets


* Ce thème est plus largement développé dans ma thèse de doctorat, Les enfants dans le monde égéen du Néolithique au début de l’Âge du Fer, Université de Paris I-Panthéon Sorbonne, 2007, à paraître.
Achille semble avoir participé très jeune à ces banquets, puisqu’il n’était pas encore capable de se nourrir seul, comme le montre la remarque que lui adresse Phénix à propos d’un festin (*daivth*) : « Il fallait alors que je te prisse sur mes genoux, pour te couper ta viande, t’en gaver, t’approcher le vin des lèvres. Et que de fois tu as trempé le devant de ma tunique, en le recrachant, ce vin ! Les enfants donnent bien du mal » (*Il. IX*, 487-492).

Sa place au banquet semble donc assurée dès après le sevrage (vers 3-4 ans ?). Les textes ne fournissant aucune précision sur ce point, je me suis tournée vers le matériel funéraire, notamment vers les skyphoi, vases à boire que Ion associe habituellement au banquet. Or, ces vases sont relativement fréquents dans les tombes des jeunes enfants, alors que leur capacité importante les rend souvent inadaptés pour cette classe d’âge. Toutefois, peut-on associer ces skyphoi à un événement vécu par l’enfant ? S’agit-il d’offrandes, de témoins de la cérémonie funéraire ?

Il est peu probable que les skyphoi mis au jour en contexte funéraire furent utilisés pour un « banquet funéraire ». La localisation habituelle de ces vases à l’intérieur des tombes impliquerait que ces « banquets » se seraient tenu autour de ces dernières, avant leur obturation. C’est peu vraisemblable : le « banquet funéraire », si l’on se fie aux exemples homériques, n’était pas adapté pour un événement vécu par l’enfant ? S’agit-il d’offrandes, de témoins de la cérémonie funéraire ?


La présence des enfants aux banquets dans l’épopée me parait néanmoins très significative. Le banquet a déjà été identifié par d’autres chercheurs comme un des instruments de la reproduction sociale des élites (Duploy 2006, 145-146), mais on soulignera ici qu’il apparaît comme l’endroit où l’on peut faire très tôt

1. La question se pose de manière identique pour les sépultures de femmes qui, à l’exception des hétaires, n’étaient pas admises au *symposion*. Or, les skyphoi étaient également placés dans les sépultures féminines, pour Athènes, Strömberg 1993, 83 ; 1998.

2. À Pithécuttes, la présence de cratères dans la tombe de l’adolescent de 12 à 14 ans incinéré avec la célèbre « coupe de Nestor » renforce le caractère exceptionnel de cette dernière, Ridgway 1992, 55.
connaître et reconnaître son héritier à ses pairs. C'est le lieu de l'intégration symbolique de l' enfant, du garçon, dans la société « aristocratique ». L'exclusion du banquet marque d'ailleurs l'exclusion sociale (Finley 1986, 155-156; Scheid-Tissinier 1994, 277), comme le déplore Andromaque pour son jeune fils Astyanax après la mort de son père (II. XXII, 494-497). Le statut « aristocratique », que peut donc déjà revendiquer l'enfant assistant au banquet, n'est plus garanti à la mort de son père 3. En outre, on peut supposer, par comparaison avec les syssities archaïques, que les enfants n'étaient pas traités sur un pied d'égalité avec les adultes et que leur présence ne se doublait pas d'une intégration sociale complète (Schmitt Pantel 1992, 76-78).

La guerre constitue une autre activité valorisée par les élites du premier Âge du Fer. La documentation semble montrer qu'elle faisait l'objet d'un apprentissage plus tardif et étais l'apanage des hommes adultes.

L'apprentissage de la guerre


Les armes font ainsi clairement partie du domaine des hommes adultes. Télémaque, lorsqu'il se prépare à prêter main-forte à son père, déclare : « les fumées du logis mangent ces belles armes ; on n'en a pas pris soin depuis qu'il est parti ; j'étais trop jeune alors » (Od. XIX, 19). L'usage des armes correspond à son entrée dans le monde adulte et en constitue l'un des signes. L'absence presque généralisée des armes des tombes d'enfants témoigne aussi de l'étroite relation entre le passage à l'âge adulte et l'accès aux armes 4. À partir de quel âge un individu était-il enterré avec des armes, susceptibles de signaler sa sortie du monde de l'enfance ? Les données funéraires sont très lacunaires, mais les deux plus jeunes individus accompagnés d'armes étaient âgés d'au moins 10 à 11 ans, et il s'agit d'occurrences exceptionnelles. La première n'est d'ailleurs pas complètement assurée : au PGR, à Lefkandi, un poignard, une pointe de lance et une hache en bronze étaient associés à la dent d'un immature âgé d'environ 10 ans, au sein d'une sépulture extrêmement riche (T. Toumba 39) (Popham et al. 1982, 217-220). Sa tombe renfermait aussi un char en terre cuite, et peut-être des pèons. I. S. Lemos propose ainsi de restituer deux sépultures dans cette tombe, celle d'un homme, éventuellement jeune, et d'une femme (Lemos 2002, 165; 2007, 278). L'association du jouet à des armes (dont il faut noter qu'elles ne comprennent pas d'épée) pourrait signaler l'état liminal de cet individu, au seuil de l'entrée dans l'âge adulte, sans être complètement sorti de l'enfance. Pendant la même période, un adolescent mort entre 11 et 16 ans fut incinéré à Athènes avec une épée en fer. Un sujet plus jeune incinéré dans le même ensemble funéraire montre que la pratique de la crémation n'était pas caractéristique des adultes dans ce groupe (Brouskari 1980), mais l'arme est en revanche un bien qui n'accompagne jamais les enfants dans les espaces funéraires de Grèce centrale et méridionale. Au contraire, on rencontre normalement ces dernières dans


Je ne développerai pas ici le thème de l'opposition entre inhumation et incinération, qui recouvre souvent la différence entre l'enfance et l'âge adulte, comme l'avait bien montré Cl. Bé- rard à partir de l'exemple d'Érétrie (Bérard 1970, 52; Vidal-Naquet 1981, 190). On manque toutefois encore de données anthropologiques assez nombreuses et fiables : l'âge du passage à l'incinération semble varier selon les groupes sociaux et culturels (Pomadère 2005; Polignac 2005), avec une limite relativement basse à Athènes ou en Crète (autour de 7 ans), alors qu'elle serait plus haute pour d'autres sites, notamment à Érétrie (vers 16 ans) (Blandin 2007, 101). L'incinération et le maniement des armes, probablement associés à un statut d'homme libre, sont cependant souvent étroitement liés, comme à Éleutherna (Agelarakis 2005; Stam- polidis 2004, 130) ou dans le Dodécannèse.

Ainsi, les jeunes garçons de l'élite sociale n'étaient normalement pas idealisés comme des guerriers lors de leur mort, même s'ils étaient promis à ce rôle social. On peut ainsi discerner une progression dans l'apprentissage du mode de vie aristocratique, de l'intégration précoce et symbolique des enfants aux banquets à la pratique des armes, activité marquant véritablement et, probablement, conditionnant l'intégration dans la communauté des élites. Ce processus refléterait aussi la part relative accordée au mérite dans ces sociétés : il ne suffisait pas de naître dans une famille de l'élite pour être considéré comme un chef guerrier, le jeune devant acquérir ce statut et s'en montrer digne. Dans l'Odyssée, Télémaque doit prouver par son comportement qu'il est un homme, et non plus un enfant.

Les tombes témoignent ainsi, non sans ambiguïté, de certaines étapes franchies par les enfants et jeunes hommes sur la voie de l'intégration complète dans la société « aristocrate rée ». Dans certaines communautés, la mort des enfants pouvait aussi, en elle-même, représenter un moyen d'exprimer les valeurs de tout le groupe.

L'intégration des sépultures d'enfants dans la « politique funéraire » des élites

Il est souvent supposé que la mort des enfants induisait une « réaction sociale très faible » (Hertz 1907, 94). En raison de la mortalité infantile très élevée et de leur personnalité sociale inachevée, il est probable que la plupart des jeunes enfants étaient inhumés par leur famille la plus proche, sans provoquer de bouleversement social profond. Jusqu'au GR, les sépultures d'enfants sont en outre souvent exclues des espaces funéraires formels (Morris 1987), et recevaient un traitement invisible pour nous. Toutefois, quelques rares tombes à l'architecture soignée ou au mobilier très riche montrent que les rites funéraires pour les enfants n'étaient pas toujours réduits à leur plus simple expression (contra Whitley 2002, 227). Je me concentrerai ici sur quelques sépultures exceptionnelles, mises au jour à Lefkandi, Érétrie, Cnossos et...
Cos, datant du PG au GR. Deux dimensions interdépendantes ont été retenues : le caractère ostentatoire des rituels marquant les funérailles d'enfants et la valeur du mobilier funéraire de leur sépulture.


Pourquoi déposait-on des objets de valeur ou de prestige dans les tombes d'enfants ? Ce geste peut bien entendu traduire la peine des parents face au décès prématuré d'un enfant, mais il traduit aussi des pratiques codifiées, relevant de l'idéologie de ces élites. Elles ne se conforment cependant pas toujours à des normes de conduite, puisque il était inhabituel de donner aux enfants des tombes richement fournis, sauf peut-être à Cos et dans le cimetière de Tomba à Lefkandi. Ces sépultures peuvent

6. Tomba, tombes T 36, T 39, Popham et al. 1980, 190, pl. 232a; Popham et al. 1982, 219, pl. 30h. La tombe T 33 contenait, outre un diadème en or, deux « biberons », et pourrait donc aussi être attribuée à un enfant, Popham et al. 1980, 188.

7. Sur les scarabées, principalement placés dans les tombes d'enfants à Thébes, comme de probables amulettes, Ridgway 2000, 236; Dasen 2000, 94.

faire l'objet de plusieurs interprétations, d'ordre social et symbolique. Elles sont d'autant mieux comprises si on les compare aux tombes féminines : en Eubée (à Lefkandi comme à Érètrie), le matériel de certaines tombes féminines présente les mêmes caractéristiques quantitatives et qualitatives que les tombes d'enfants, étant riches des mêmes catégories d'objets, notamment d'importations orientales. Comme ces dernières, les sépultures d'enfants manifestaient donc le statut élevé et/ou la richesse d'une famille, en mettant peut-être plus particulièrement l'accent sur l'importance du principe héreditaire. À Lefkandi, dans le Dodécanèse ou à Cnosos, exceptionnellement à Érètrie et peut-être à Athènes, le traitement des enfants morts semble donc intégré dans les pratiques sociales d'affirmation de l'héritage du statut, justifiées dans un contexte de compétition sociale.

D'autre part, la proximité typologique des dépôts des tombes féminines et de celles d'enfants place les secondes dans la sphère féminine : cette référence s'explique-t-elle par la proximité réelle entre les enfants et le monde féminin, ou doit-on reconnaître ces riches tombes comme celles de petites filles ?

Certaines marques de sépultures « aristocratiques » ou « héroïques » n'étaient cependant jamais utilisées pour des sépultures d'enfants (non plus que pour celles de femmes) : c'est le cas des urnes cinéraires en bronze et, on l'a vu plus haut, des armes offensives. La différence entre le statut d'enfant et celui de l'homme, le seul à pouvoir diriger et à pouvoir être héroïsé, demeure donc marquée.

CONCLUSIONS

L'agrégation progressive des enfants au groupe social transparaît ainsi au travers des données littéraires et funéraires, même si l'examen du mobilier des sépultures d'immatures confirme bien que ces objets renvoient d'abord à des représentations symboliques et souvent idéalisées (Vernant 1982; Morris 1992, 200-204; Houbý-Nielsen 1995; Polignac 1996; Parker Pearson 1999, 3; Whitley 2002). Seules les armes, ou plutôt leur absence des tombes d'enfants, peuvent être mises en relation avec une position sociale que le jeune devait acquérir et avec une intégration relativement tardive dans le groupe des adultes. La « mise en scène » funéraire dont témoignent certaines tombes d'enfants implique que la sépulture n'est pas toujours le reflet de l'identité sociale du défunt, mais parfois celui du statut ou du rang social de sa famille. Si l'Odyssée établit que le tombeau du père peut être source de grand κλέος pour le fils (Said 1998), certaines tombes d'enfants témoignent donc aussi du processus inverse. Ces sépultures montrent enfin que les pratiques funéraires du premier Âge du Fer grec ne peuvent être réduites à une opposition symbolique entre l'adulte mâle d'un côté, et l'enfant de sexe indifférencié de l'autre (Whitley 1996) : certaines tombes de garçons et de filles étaient manifestement investies de valeurs et de pouvoirs symboliques, parfois clairement « genres ».

Souignons que ce type de « politique funéraire » est relativement circonscrit à certains sites ou communautés. Ainsi, à Argos, les tombes d'enfants, comme celles de femmes, sont dépouvrues d'objets de valeur et ne sont manifestement pas intégrées dans une stratégie de compétition sociale : seules les sépultures d'hommes adultes y reçoivent un mobilier de prestige au VIIIe s. (Whitley 1991a, 189-191).

Remarquons enfin le contraste entre l'iconographie d'une part, et les pratiques funéraires et la littérature d'autre part. L'iconographie géométrique, pas plus qu'à la période mycéénienne, ne montre de récupération de l'image des enfants ou de la famille par les élites, telle qu'on la perçoit par exemple dans la propagande d'époque romaine. Ceux qui détenaient le pouvoir ne semblent pas avoir cherché à utiliser une représentation idéalisée de leur famille pour le consolider. Les enfants n'apparaissent pas non

plus figurés comme les symboles de la continuité dynastique. En revanche, l'intégration symbolique des enfants aux *symposia* et les tombes au luxe ostentatoire de certains d'entre eux ont certainement pu jouer ce rôle. Les immature richement ensevelis font ainsi écho aux enfants évoluant dans l'élite homérique. La mort des fils, mais aussi des filles des héros, entraînait manifestement des funérailles dignes de leur père et de leur lignée.

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ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΑΛΜΩΠΙΑ. ΤΑ ΝΕΚΡΟΤΑΦΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΤΥΜΒΩΝ

Με τις έρευνες του τέλους του 20ου αι. και των αρχών του 21ου ήλθαν για πρώτη φορά στο φως συγκεντρωτικά στοιχεία για το παρελθόν της αρχαίας Αλμωπίας (εικ. 1) μιας κλειστής πεδιάδας στο βορειοδυτικό άκρο της Ελλάδος που ορίζεται από τα όρη Βόρας και Πάικο και αποτελεί επαρχία σήμερα του Νομού Πέλλας (Chrysostomou 1994, 14-32). Εκτός από τους ορεινούς όγκους σημαντικό στοιχείο της γεωφυσικής διαμόρφωσης της αποτελεί ο Αλμωπαίος ή Άνω Λουδίας ποταμός που τη διαρρέει από κάθε κατεύθυνση. Στον πλούσιο υδάτινο παράγοντα οφείλεται και ο μύθος, που διασώζει ο Στέφανος Βυζάντιος σύμφωνα με τον οποίο οι Άλμωπες είναι απόγονοι της Έλλης και του Ποσειδώνος. Κατά τους ιστορικούς οι Αλμωπες θεωρούνται φύλο της εποχής του χαλκού. Στην πεδιάδα εισέρχεται κανείς από τα Τέμπη της Αλμωπίας και το πέρασμα της Αψάλου, καθώς και από άλλες ορεινές διαβάσεις που τη συνδέουν με την πεδιάδα των Γιαννιτσών ή του Αξιού στα ανατολικά, την περιοχή της Π.Γ.Δ.Μ. στα βορεία ή το υψίπεδο της Έδεσσας νοτιότερα. Πάνω στα περάσματα και τις διαβάσεις έχουν αναπτυχθεί οι οικισμοί όλων των περιόδων.

Στα νεολιθικά χρόνια σύμφωνα με τις τελευταίες έρευνες οι εγκαταστάσεις απλώνται κυρίως στην πεδιάδα υπάρχουν όμως και σε σπήλαια, αλλά και σε λοφίσκους προς το τέλος της περιόδου. Τα σημαντικότερα στοιχεία για τη Νεολιθική Εποχή προέκυψαν από την ανασκαφή στη θέση Γραμμή Αψάλου που έγινε με αφορμή την κατασκευή του νέου δρόμου της επαρχίας (Chrysostomou - Poloukidou - Prokopidou 2001). Με την ανασκαφή ήρθαν στο φως τρίμματα της τάφρου που περιέβαλε τον οικισμό, υπόσκαφη και πασσαλόπηκτε κατοικίες, ποικίλα ευρήματα. Δυστυχώς δεν διαπιστώθηκαν καθόλου ταφικές κατασκευές νεολιθικών χρόνων.


Εκτός από τις πεδινές θέσεις στην Εποχή Χαλκού διαπιστώνεται κατοικησιακή και σε οχυρούς ύψους με μεγάλη ορατότητα περιμετρικά, που συνεχίζουν να κατοικούνται στην Εποχή του Σιδήρου και σε μερικές περιπτώσεις θα εξελιχθούν στις πόλεις των κλασικών και ελλη-
νιστικών χρόνων. Στην κατηγορία κατατάσσεται ο αρχαίος οικισμός της Νέας Ζωής (Chrysostomou 1993, εικ. 1) στην είσοδο του περίστατου με την ονομασία Τέμπη της Αλμωπίας και ο αρχαίος οικισμός του Αλώρου (Chrysostomou 1997, εικ. 6), που πιθανότατα ταυτίζεται με τη γνωστή από τις πηγές πόλη της Αλμωπίας Ευρωπό. Ο οικισμός εποπτεύει την είσοδο από νότια κατά μήκος του Αλμωπία ποταμού, αλλά και ολή την πεδία από την είσοδο της μεγάλης πόλης της Αλμωπίας προς τα βόρεια, ενώ η ευμεταβολή του πρέπει να αποδοθεί και στα σιδηρομεταλλευμένα σε παράκηρση την περιοχή.

Κατά την εποχή του οιδήρου, που στην Μακεδονία καλύπτει το διάστημα από τα πρωτογεωμετρικά μέχρι τα αρχαία χρόνια, ισώς και λίγο αργότερα, κοντά στις συγκεκριμένες πόλεις, κατασκευάζονται αρχαίοι οικισμοί στην ανατολική Αλμωπία, οι οικισμοί εποπτεύονται από την είσοδο από νότια κατά μήκος του Αλμωπία ποταμού, αλλά και ολή την πεδία της μεγάλης πόλης της Αλμωπίας προς τα βόρεια, ενώ η ευμεταβολή του πρέπει να αποδοθεί και στα σιδηρομεταλλευμένα σε παράκηρση την περιοχή.

Ο ταφικός τύπος της Αλμωπίας, αν και μέχρι την εποχή του σιδήρου, που στη Μακεδονία καλύπτει το διάστημα από τα πρωτογεωμετρικά μέχρι τα αρχαία χρόνια, ισώς και λίγο αργότερα, κοντά στις συγκεκριμένες πόλεις, κατασκευάζονται αρχαίοι οικισμοί στην ανατολική Αλμωπία, οι οικισμοί εποπτεύονται από την είσοδο από νότια κατά μήκος του Αλμωπία ποταμού, αλλά και ολή την πεδία της μεγάλης πόλης της Αλμωπίας προς τα βόρεια, ενώ η ευμεταβολή του πρέπει να αποδοθεί και στα σιδηρομεταλλευμένα σε παράκηρση την περιοχή.

Διάφοροι λόγοι πραγματικοί ή ιδεολογικοί πρέπει να επέβαλαν την υιοθέτηση στην περιοχή της Αλμωπίας και του Πάικου:

- Ο ποιμενικός τρόπος διαβίωσης, που επέβαλε τη διαρκή ανθρώπινη παρουσία στα βουνά. Μέχρι σήμερα άλλωστε οι κτηνοτρόφοι της περιοχής συνήθιζαν ένα μέρος του χρόνου να χρησίμευνες ως βοσκείς για τα ποίμνια τους.

- Ο ταφικός τύπος της Αλμωπίας, αν και μέχρι την εποχή του σιδήρου, που στη Μακεδονία καλύπτει το διάστημα από τα πρωτογεωμετρικά μέχρι τα αρχαία χρόνια, ισώς και λίγο αργότερα, κοντά στις συγκεκριμένες πόλεις, κατασκευάζονται αρχαίοι οικισμοί στην ανατολική Αλμωπία, οι οικισμοί εποπτεύονται από την είσοδο από νότια κατά μήκος του Αλμωπία ποταμού, αλλά και ολή την πεδία της μεγάλης πόλης της Αλμωπίας προς τα βόρεια, ενώ η ευμεταβολή του πρέπει να αποδοθεί και στα σιδηρομεταλλευμένα σε παράκηρση την περιοχή.

- Ο τάφος με τύπο χρησιμοποιείται για αλλατιλία και ιστορικές περιόδους, για μηχανικό χρονικό διάστημα. Ο τάφος με τύπο χρησιμοποιείται για αλλατιλία και ιστορικές περιόδους, για μηχανικό χρονικό διάστημα;
σκαφής του νεκροταφείου της Νέας Ζωής συμπεριλήφθηκε στο έργο «Κατασκευή της επαρχιακής οδού Μαυροβουνίου-Αψάλου». Επίσης από το 1998 έως το 2001 με πιστώσεις του Υπουργείου Μακεδονίας-Θράκης συνεχίσθηκε η ανασκαφική προσπάθεια στην Κωνσταντία, καθώς και η συγκέντρωση επιπλέον στοιχείων για τα νεκροταφεία του Προδρόμου, της Αψάλου, της Φούστανης και του Προφήτη Ηλία.1

Με τις έως τώρα έρευνες διαπιστώθηκε η έναρξη της χρήσης των νεκροταφείων από την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου (τα στοιχεία για την εποχή του Χαλκού είναι ακόμη λιγοστά και προέρχονται από τα νεκροταφεία της Κωνσταντίας και του Προδρόμου) με βάση την παρουσία της αυλακωτής κεραμικής και των μεγάλων τοξωτών πορπών.

1. Τα στοιχεία έχουν παρουσιαστεί στα Χρονικά των αντίστοιχων Αρχαιολογικών Δελτίων.
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ

Τ) βρίσκεται στους πρόποδες του Πάικου, στα ορια του χαμηλού δρυοδάσους με την πεδία της ακριβώς στην αρχή του αρχαίου δρόμου, που συνδέει την Αλμωπία με τη Βοττιαία. Οι τύμβοι αναπτύσσονται σε διάφορα επίπεδα, πολύ περισσότεροι και να θυσιάστηκαν στις απαιτήσεις της σύγχρονης καλλιέργειας. Σήμερα απλώνται σε δύο ομάδες (εικ. 7, Τ).

Οι τυμβοί του νεκροταφείου έκαναν να σχετιστεί με τον έλεγχο του δρόμου και την εκμετάλλευση κυρίως του ορεινού όγκου στην εποχή του Σιδήρου, τα ελληνιστικά και παλαιοχριστιανικά χρόνια, ενώ η εξάπλωση στις περιοχές αυτές στα ρωμαϊκά χρόνια πρέπει να σχετιστεί με την εξάσκηση της γεωργίας.

Στο επόμενο σύνολο αφορά το νεκροταφείο των εννέα τύμβων σε απόσταση 100-150 μ. βορειοδυτικά του αρχαίου οικισμού της Νέας Ζωής. Το νεκροταφείο διακρίνεται από τον οικισμό με ποταμό, που τον περιβάλλει από κάθε πλευρά. Οι τυμβοί αναγνωρίζονται σαν μικρές χαμηλές συγκεντρώσεις λίθων. Ένα σταθερό στοιχείο για να διακριθούν από τις φυσικές αποτελούν οι δυο κάθετα τοποθετημένοι λίθοι, που αποδεικνύονται με την εξέλιξη της γεωργίας.
ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΑΛΜΩΠΙΑ. ΤΑ ΝΕΚΡΟΤΑΦΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΤΥΜΒΩΝ

θαρός. Μοναδική είναι η περίπτωση του τύμβου 8, όπου διαπιστώθηκε αλλαγή του εθίμου ταφής. Στο χώρο του τάφου αποκαλύφθηκε μια τελευταία μεμονωμένη εκτάδεν ταφή με ειδικό προσκεφάλαιο, ενώ στο δρόμο είχαν αποτεθεί μαζί με τα κτερίσματα τους συγκεκριμένες παιδικές ταφές. Την τελευταία ταφή συνόδευε οινοχόη των του 7ου-6ου αι. π.Χ. (εικ. 10, κάτω) μαζί με μία τοξωτή πόρπη. Με την ανακούφιση του δρόμου βρέθηκαν τα περίαπτα της κατηγορίας των μακεδονικών χαλκών (Bouzek 1973) της εικόνας 5 μαζί με δύο δυστυχώς ανακαλυμμένα ομφάλια. Τα περίαπτα μπορεί να αποτελούσαν εξαρτήματα περιδέραιου, αλλά δεν αποκλείεται μαζί με τα ομφάλια να ανήκαν σε ζώνη. Η ζώνη με τα ομφάλια και τα περίαπτα είναι μία από τις γνωστές ζώνες των νεκρικών στολών αυτής της εποχής.

Τελευταίο είναι το νεκροταφείο του Προδρόμου στο οποίο έχουν καταγραφεί 55 παράδειγμα. Από όσα έχουν ανασκαφεί έχει γίνει φανερό ότι οι τάφοι παρουσιάζουν κυκλική ή ελλειψοειδή, αλλά και ορθογώνια κάτοψη. Στον Τ1 (εικ. 11) εντυπωσίαζαν οι κάθετοι ορθοστάτες των τοιχώματων, ενώ στον Τ4 (εικ. 12) για πρώτη φορά ως σήμα έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί ένας οξυκόρυφος ογκόλιθος στην αρχή του δρόμου. Ανάμεσα στους ανασκαμμένους τύμβους ο Τ2 (εικ. 13) παρουσιάζει μία πρωιμότα από το μακρόστενο αψιδωτό σχήμα του τάφου και τα τοιχώματα από μικρούς αργούς λίθους. Τα μεταλλικά ευρήματα από το νεκροταφείο του Προδρόμου είναι αντίστοιχα με όσα αναφέρθηκαν προηγουμένως. Στην κεραμική όμως παρατηρείται μία απλοποίηση στα σχήματα (εικ. 14, πάνω) που στην περίπτωση του Τ2 (εικ. 14, κάτω) ίσως σχετίζεται και με την πρωιμότητα που αναφέρθηκε προηγουμένως.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ


Ασουχίδου, Σ., 2001. Καύσεις της Εποχής Χαλκού στη Μακεδονία, στο Ν.Χρ. Σταμπολίδης (επιμ.), Καύσεις στην Εποχή του Χαλκού και την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου. Πρα...
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ

κτικά του Συμποσίου, Ρόδος 29 Απριλίου - 2 Μαίου 1999, Αθήνα, 1-46.


Εικ. 1. Χάρτης Νομού Πέλλας με την περιοχή της αρχαίας Αλμωπίας.

Εικ. 2. Ο Τ 11 του νεκροταφείου της Κωνσταντίας.
Εικ. 3. Αγγεία και πόρπες από τον Τ 17 του νεκροταφείου της Κωνσταντίας.

Εικ. 4. Αγγεία από τον Τ 2 του νεκροταφείου της Κωνσταντίας.
Εικ. 5. Κοσμήματα από το νεκροταφείο της Νέας Ζωής.

Εικ. 6. Οπλα και εργαλεία από το νεκροταφείο της Νέας Ζωής.
Εικ. 7. Η περιοχή του οικισμού και του νεκροταφείου της Κωνσταντίας: Ο-οικισμός, Τ-τύμβοι.

Εικ. 8. Το εσωτερικό του Τ 2 της Κωνσταντίας.
Εικ. 9. Ο Τ 1 του νεκροταφείου της Νέας Ζωής.
Εικ. 10. Σκύφος και οινοχόη από τους Τ 4 και Τ 8 του νεκροταφείου της Νέας Ζώης.
Εικ. 11. Ο Τ 1 του νεκροταφείου του Προδρόμου.

Εικ. 12. Ο Τ 4 του ίδιου νεκροταφείου.
Εικ. 13. Ο Τ 2 του νεκροταφείου του Προδρόμου.
Εικ. 14. Φιαλόσχημο αγγείο από τον Τ 6 και οινοχοϊσκή από τον Τ 2 του Προδρόμου.
ΘΟΛΩΤΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ ΠΥΡΑΣΟΥ


Στρώματα της ΠΓ και Γ εποχής είχαν επισημανθεί κατά τις στρωματογραφικές έρευνες του Δ.Ρ. Θεοχάρη στο λόφο της Πυράσου (Θεοχάρης 1959, 29-67).

Η ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΗ

Η προσπέλαση στον τάφο γινόταν από τα NA με δρόμο μήκους 1,30 και πλάτους 0,90-1 μ. που είχε έντονη κατωφέρεια. Η λίθινη επένδυση των τοιχωμάτων του δρόμου σώζεται μόνο στην ανατολική πλευρά. Το στόμιο, πλάτους 0,85 μ., ήταν φραγμένο με λίθους σε ύψος 0,50 μ. Η θόλος είχε κυκλοτερή κάτοψη, μήκους 3,30 μ. στον άξονα Α-Δ και 3 μ. στον άξονα Β-Ν. Το δάπεδο του τάφου αποτελούσε από πατημένο αργιλώδες χώμα.

Η θόλος σώθηκε σε ύψος 0,87 μ. στη ΒΑ πλευρά, ενώ στο ΒΔ τμήμα σώθηκε σε ύψος μόνο ενός δόμου επειδή καταστράφηκε από τον μηχανικό εκσκαφέα. Στα νότια δεν σώζονταν καθόλου οι δόμοι και υπήρχε μόνο το λάξευμα στο βράχο. Το αρχικό ύψος της θόλου υπολογίζεται σε 2,5-3 μ. περίπου (εικ. 2).

Σε βάθος 1 μ. από την επιφάνεια του εδάφους εμφανίστηκαν στρώμα καύσης πάχους 0,20 μ. με κάρβουνα και καμένα οστά. Σε βάθος 1,15 μ. από την επιφάνεια του εδάφους όπου εδράζεται η θεμελίωση της θόλου, είχαν αποτεθεί και οι ταφές. Σε βάθος 0,50 μ. κάτω από τη θεμελίωση της θόλου, δεν βρέθηκε παλαιότερο αρχαιολογικό στρώμα.

ΤΑΦΗ 1

Ο σκελετός βρέθηκε σε ύπτια θέση στο ΝΔ τμήμα της θόλου. Σώθηκαν στη θέση τους η κάτω σιαγόνα, η κερκίδα και η ωλένη των δυο χεριών σε θέση κάθετη προς την σπονδυ-
λική στήλη, πάνω στην κουλιά, η λεκάνη και τα οστά των ποδιών.

Την ταφή αυτή συνόδευε μια σιδερένια αιχμή δόρατος ΒΕ 11222 πίσω από το κρανίο και ένα σιδερένιο εγχειρίδιο ΒΕ 41287, αριστερά του σκελετού στο ύψος της λεκάνης. Από το σημείο όπου θα βρίσκονταν τα πέλματα αυτής της ταφής περισσευλέγηκε ο σκύφος ΒΕ 6439 την ημέρα που αποκαλύφθηκε ο τάφος.

Κτέρισματα:

1. ΒΕ 11222 (εικ. 5)

Σιδερένια αιχμή δόρατος, στενή, φυλλοσχήμη. Στο εσωτερικό του αυλού σώζονταν ίχνη ξύλου. Σωζ.μηκ. 0,21, διαμ.αυλού 0,025, μηκ.αυλού 0,09 μ.

2. ΒΕ 41287

Σιδερένιο εγχειρίδιο τριγωνικής τομής σε δυο τύπους. α) μηκ. 0,034, παχ.μεγ. 0,006, υψ.0,012 μ. β) μηκ. 0,051, παχ.μεγ. 0,006, υψ. 0,01 μ.

3. ΒΕ 6439 (εικ. 6)

Σκύφος ακέραιος, συγκλοπήμενος σε τμήμα του χείλους. Πηλός πορτοκαλίχρωμος, επίχρισμα ερυθρό ως σκούρο μεταξύ των λαβών δυο ομάδες από εννέα ανεστραμμένα, μικρά άκρα. Βάση χαμηλή. Σε κάθε πλευρά του σώματος χαμηλή τομής. Βάση χαμηλή. Σε κάθε πλευρά του σώματος ημισφαιρική, λαβές στρογγυλές. Βάση χαμηλή. Σε κάθε πλευρά του σώματος πετάλια ως τέσσερα κατά τόπους. Βαφή κόκκινη. Άκρα που ανοίγει προς τα έξω. Σώζονται οστά των πλευρών, οι βραχίονες, εν μέρει τα οστά των ποδιών και το κρανίο. Το κρανίο βρέθηκε στα νΑ και δίπλα στον αμφορέα ΒΕ 6438. Εν μέρει κάτω από το κρανίο, προς τα νότια, είχε τοποθετηθεί ένα σιδερένιο έξορος, ΒΕ 11224. Ένα χάλκινο δαχτυλίδι, ΒΕ 41290, βρέθηκε πάνω στο στήθος. Τμήμα σιδερενίων αντίθετο, BE 41288, με στρογγυλό έξορο θησαυρού βρέθηκε στη θέση του αριστερού ώμου. Χάλκινοι παράδειγμα από την ίδια ταφή, ΒΕ 11687, βρέθηκε στη δεξιά πλευρά του στήθους του σκύφους του θαλαμικού χώρου, με τον βραχίονα με την κεφαλή στον δεξιό ώμο. Δίπλα στην περόνη ήταν τοποθετημένο χάλκινο περίπτο, BE 11686, με την οποία οργάνωσαν στον δεξιό ώμο. Προσανατολισμός ταφής Β−Ν.

Κτέρισματα:

1. ΒΕ 11290

Χάλκινο δαχτυλίδι τριγωνικής διατομής. Σωζ.μηκ. 0,042, πλ. 0,012, υψ. 0,004 μ. Ο τύπος είναι πολύ κοινός σε πρωτογεωμετρικές τάφες στον θεσσαλικό χώρο, (Αραχωβίτη 1994, εικ. 11 BE 8644) και αναφέρονταν σε αντίπαθες τύπους από το νεκροταφείο της Ιωλκού.

2. ΒΕ 11224


3. ΒΕ 11288

Σιδερένια τριγωνικής τομής. Σώζονται μόνο τα άκρα του οποίου υπάρχουν από δυο πλαστικούς δακτύλους.

4. ΒΕ 11687 (εικ. 7)

Χάλκινη περόνη, ελλιπτική κατά μικρό τμήμα της απόλήρητης. Έχει κοινή κεφαλή και αντικειμενική έξορο στα άκρα του οποίου υπάρχουν από δυο πλαστικούς δακτύλους. Μηκ. 0,022, διαμ. κεφαλής 0,01, διαμέτρου 0,01 μ. Παρόμοια βρέθηκε στον θαλαμικό τάφο από την περιοχή των Φερών (Αραχωβίτη 1994, εικ. 12 BE 8652).

5. ΒΕ 11686 (εικ. 7)

Χάλκινο περίπτο σε σχήμα διπλού σφυρίου. Μηκ. 0,063, πλ.στελέχους 0,005, πλ.στελέχους στο τρίγωνο 0,008, διαμ.ακρών 0,001 μ. Ένα παρόμοιο έχει διαμετρικά από την ίδια ταφή (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, 49, Taf. 20, no. 301) και δύο οδηγούσαν από τα
θυίον κωνικό κουμπι, ΒΕ 6449, με την κορυφή του κόνου προς το κάτω τμήμα του σώματος. Κάτω από το αριστερό χέρι-κατά την αφαίρεσή του-βρέθηκαν χάνδρες περιδέραιου ΒΕ 11219 και ένας χάλκινος, επίχρυσος σφηκωτήρας ΒΕ 11685 εντοπίστηκε στη θέση όπου θα βρισκόταν το κρανίο.

Κτερίσματα:

1. ΒΕ 6449
Δίθενο κωνικό κουμπί.
Τύπος: 0,019, διαμ. 0,027-0,013 μ.

2. ΒΕ 11219
Δίθεντα πέντε χάνδρες περιδέραιου από φαγεντιανή, διαφορετικού μεγέθους, σφαιρικές, πολύ εύθριπτες.
Διαμ. 0,003 μ.

3. ΒΕ 11685 (εικ. 7)
Χάλκινος επίχρυσος σφηκωτήρας
Διαμ. 0,014, παχ. 0,003 μ.

4. ΒΕ 11688
Χάλκινο δαχτυλίδι με τροπίδωση.

5. ΒΕ 11689
Χάλκινο δαχτυλίδι από ταινιωτό χοντρό σύρμα εξωτερικά κυρτό, εσωτερικά κοίλο.
Διαμ. εξωτ. 0,022, πλ. 0,011, παχ. 0,002 μ.

6. ΒΕ 11690
Τμήμα σιδερένιας περόνης με χάλκινο ατρακτόσχημο εξάρμα.
Σωζ. ύψος ολικό 0,03, μηκ. χαλκ. εξάρμ. 0,015, παχ. χαλκ. εξάρμ. 0,009 μ.
Παρόμοιο στην περιοχή των Φερών (Αραχωβίτη 1994, 133 (ΒΕ 7399) και στη Θεσσαλία (Wace-Droop 1906-1907, 323, fig. 12b, 1). Στη Θεσσαλία ο τύπος συναντάται σπάνια. Ο συνδυασμός χάλκινου εξάρματος και σιδερένιου στελέχους συνιστάται σε περιόδους της Αττικής.

ΤΑΦΗ 3

Βρέθηκε προς το βόρειο τμήμα του τάφου με ακριβώς αντίθετο προσανατολισμό από όλες τις υπόλοιπες ταφές, δηλ. με το κρανίο στα βόρεια. Από το σκελετό σώθηκαν οι κλείδες των ώμων, οι βραχίονες, η κερκίδα και η ωλένη του αριστερού χεριού, οι μηροί και οι κνήμες. Το αριστερό χέρι ήταν λογισμένο στον αγκώνα, προς το στήθος. Δύο χάλκινα δαχτυλίδια, απλοί κρίκοι, ήταν φορεμένα στον παράμεσο, ΒΕ 11688 και στον δείκτη, ΒΕ 11689, του αριστερού χεριού. Πάνω στο στέρνο και κάτω από το στέρνο κλείδια βρέθηκε τμήμα σιδερένιας περόνης με χάλκινο εξάρμα, ΒΕ 11685. Κάτω από τον αριστερό αγκώνα βρέθηκε λίθινο κωνικό κουμπί, ΒΕ 6449, με την κορυφή του κόνου προς το κάτω τμήμα του σώματος. Κάτω από το αριστερό χέρι-κατά την αφαίρεσή του-βρέθηκαν χάνδρες περιδέραιου ΒΕ 11219 και ένας χάλκινος, επίχρυσος σφηκωτήρας ΒΕ 11685 εντοπίστηκε στη θέση όπου θα βρίσκοταν το κρανίο.

ΤΑΦΗ 4

Βρέθηκε δεξιά της εισόδου, προς το BA τμήμα του τάφου, σε υπταίθες σε κρανίο
Κτερίσματα:

1. BE 11220 (εικ. 8)

Αμφότερα με λαβές στο λαιμό. Συγκαλλημένοι και συμπληρωμένοι. Σάμια απόποση, λαιμός ψηλός, χείλια σε σχήμα εχύνων, βάση χαμηλή. Τα λαβίδια ταινιών. Πλημμύρα πορτακαλίου χρώματος, μακρύ καστανό. Τα λαβίδια του αμφοτέρων σε σχήμα διακόσμηση με δύο ταινίες συναφείς στη μεγαλύτερη διώμο το μοτίβο των επτά ομόκεντρων κύκλων επαναλαμβάνονται στον πίεστα και στον κάτω τμήμα της κοιλικής (εικ. 9).

2. BE 11221 (εικ. 9)

Αμφότερα με λαβές στο λαιμό. Συγκαλλημένοι και συμπληρωμένοι. Σάμια επανάληψη, λαμοί στενοί και στενοί, χείλια σε σχήμα εχύνων, βάση χαμηλή. Τα λαβίδια ταινιών. Πλημμύρα πορτακαλίου χρώματος, μακρύ καστανό. Τα λαβίδια του αμφοτέρων σε σχήμα διακόσμηση με δύο ταινίες συναφείς στη μεγαλύτερη διώμο το μοτίβο των επτά ομόκεντρων κύκλων επαναλαμβάνονται στον πίεστα και στον κάτω τμήμα της κοιλικής (εικ. 9).

3. BE 6440 (εικ. 10)

Τριφυλλόδοχη οινοχοή ακεραία. Σάμια ωοειδή, βάση πολύ χαμηλή, δακτυλιοδοχή, λαβή κάθετη ταινιοποιημένη.
που εκφέρεται από το χείλος και καταλήγει στον όμο. Πηλός πορτοκαλίχρωμος, επιχρίσμα λευκώτατο, βαφή καστανή. Λαιμός ολόβαφος εξωτερικά. Κάτω από το λαιμό μια καστανή ταινία λεπτή. Στον όμο του αγγείου το θέμα των ετών αίμων των μικρών, τα οποία σχεδίασαν αρκετά ως πλήρες κύκλους και έπειτα καλοφηνιάζοντας κατά το κάτω ήμισυ, επαναλαμβάνοντας τρεις φορές. Η υπόλοιπη επιφάνεια του αγγείου και η βάση είναι βαμμένες. Η λαβή εσωτερικά είναι ολόβαφη και εξωτερικά ηρεμεί δύο ταινίες συμπλέκονται χαστούκια.

Θόλος ολόβαφος, εξωτερικά δύο μετόπες στη ζώνη των λαβών στον ώμο του αγγείου το θέμα των υποδομών κοντά στη λαβή. Άλλοι αρχαιοελληνικοί περιβάλλοντας το αγγείο κατά το τμήμα του ύψους του θέματος των σκύμματος κατά τη χρονολογήσεις της θεωρικής πίεσης της περιοχής των Φερών (Αραχωβίτης 1994, 128, εικ. 9δ) καθώς και άλλων. Η επιφάνεια του αγγείου και η βάση είναι χαστούκια. Η λαβή εσωτερικά είναι ολόβαφη και εξωτερικά ηρεμεί δύο ταινίες συμπλέκονται χαστούκια.

5. BE 6442

Σκύφος ελλιπής. Πηλός πορτοκαλίχρωμος στον πυρήνα, κατασκευής εξωτερικά, βαφή καστανή. Ολόβαφος εσωτερικά και εξωτερικά με εξωτερική μάσκα ενός μπαλονιού κοντά στη σακούλα του χείλους. Περιβάλλοντας το αγγείο κατά τη χρονολογήσεις της θεωρικής πίεσης της περιοχής των Φερών (Αραχωβίτης 1994, 268, εικ. 9δ) καθώς και άλλων. Η επιφάνεια του αγγείου και η βάση είναι χαστούκια. Η λαβή εσωτερικά είναι ολόβαφη και εξωτερικά ηρεμεί δύο ταινίες συμπλέκονται χαστούκια.

6. BE 6443 (εικ. 11)

Σκύφος ακέραιος. Πηλός πορτοκαλίχρωμος στον πυρήνα, κατασκευής εξωτερικά, βαφή καστανή. Ολόβαφος εσωτερικά και εξωτερικά με εξωτερική μάσκα ενός μπαλονιού κοντά στη σακούλα του χείλους. Περιβάλλοντας το αγγείο κατά τη χρονολογήσεις της θεωρικής πίεσης της περιοχής των Φερών (Αραχωβίτης 1994, 268, εικ. 9δ) καθώς και άλλων. Η επιφάνεια του αγγείου και η βάση είναι χαστούκια. Η λαβή εσωτερικά είναι ολόβαφη και εξωτερικά ηρεμεί δύο ταινίες συμπλέκονται χαστούκια.

7. BE 6444 (εικ. 6)

Καρφωτός ακέραιος. Πηλός πορτοκαλίχρωμος, βαφή καστανή. Χείλος ευθύ με ελαφρά κλίση καμπύλων και καταλήγει στον όμο. Περιβάλλοντας το αγγείο κατά τη χρονολογήσεις της θεωρικής πίεσης της περιοχής των Φερών (Αραχωβίτης 1994, 268, εικ. 9δ) καθώς και άλλων. Η επιφάνεια του αγγείου και η βάση είναι χαστούκια. Η λαβή εσωτερικά είναι ολόβαφη και εξωτερικά ηρεμεί δύο ταινίες συμπλέκονται χαστούκια.

8. BE 6445 (εικ. 11)

Σκύφος ακέραιος. Πηλός πορτοκαλίχρωμος, βαφή καστανή-κόκκινη κατά τόπους.

9. BE 6446 (εικ. 10)

Χρονολογήσεις: Τελευταία ΠΓ.

10. BE 11223-β

Δύο διερεύνηση εγχειρίδια: α) Αλαράρ γαμπό μονόστομο. Μηκ. 0,102 (μαμ. με τη λαβή), μηκ. λαβής 0,03-0,038, μεγ. παχ., στη ράχη 0,004 κοντά στη λαβή ενώ προς την αγκάθι λεπτότερη. β) Καμπύλιο μονόστομο. Μηκ. 0,195, παχ., στη ράχη 0,004 μ.

11. BE 11687

Χάλκινη περίπλογη με κωνική κεφαλή και αντικύκλιο σεμάτα.

12. BE 11691 (εικ. 7)

Χάλκινη περίπλογη με συνδεσμοποιημένη συναρμολόγηση με δύο χάλκινα καρφάκια.

13. BE 41289

Χάλκινη περίπλογη με εξαρτήματα στον κορμό του τόξου που περιβάλλεται από δρόμους διακόσμησης, εκ των οποίων ο πρώτος και ο τρίτος είναι καταλήγοντας σε πάνω πέρα από τον ουρανό.
Η Ιωλκός είναι παραδεκτό ότι αποτελεί το μεγαλύτερο κέντρο της εποχής στο θεσσαλικό χώρο που είχε επαφές με τη Μακεδονία μέσω των Φερών, Μαρμαριάνης, Ελασσόνας, με το ανατολικό Πήλιο (Θεσπόνδυλος κ.ά.) αλλά και με την περιοχή του Κρόκιου πεδίου όπου βρίσκονταν η Άλος και ο Πτελεός. Η θέση της Ιωλκού πάνω στον παραβαλλασσό δρόμο που συνδέει την Ιωλκό με την περιοχή της Άλος και νοτιότερα, αλλά και τη δυνατότητά της για θαλάσσια επικοινωνία αφού διέθετε ένα ασφαλές κλειστό τερα, αλλά και η δυναμική της παραδοσιακής αρχαίας κατασκευής του τάφου. Η διαφορά του τάφου και τα οστά περισυλλέγονταν στον έξω χώρο της κατασκευής του τάφου. Η διαφορά του τάφου και τα οστά περισυλλέγονταν στον έξω χώρο της κατασκευής του τάφου. Η διαφορά του τάφου και τα οστά περισυλλέγονταν στον έξω χώρο της κατασκευής του τάφου. Η διαφορά του τάφου και τα οστά περισυλλέγονταν στον έξω χώρο της κατασκευής του τάφου.

Χρονολόγηση: Ύστερη ΠΓ.


Η πυκνότητά τους είναι μεγαλύτερη στο νοτιοτέρω τμήμα στον άξονα Ελασσόνας-Λάρισας, Βόλου-Πτελεώς, αλλά υπάρχουν και στο δυτικό τμήμα από την περιοχή της Αλυτρίας ως την Ανάβαρα της Θήβας. Οι θαλασσίοι δαχτυλίδιοι αναφέρονται από τη Θεσσαλία αρχαίου πόλου πέλους, πολύ εις την πρώιμο περιοδό της Μακροδαχτυλίδας (Ανδρόνικος 1969, 240. Αραχωβίτη 1994, 132, εικ. 11).

ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΗΣΗ-ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Είναι παραδεκτό ότι αποτελεί το μεγαλύτερο κέντρο της εποχής στο θεσσαλικό χώρο που είχε επαφές με τη Μακεδονία μέσω των Φερών, Μαρμαριάνης, Ελασσόνας, με το ανατολικό Πήλιο (Θεσπόνδυλος) και με την περιοχή του Κρόκιου πεδίου όπου βρίσκονταν η Άλος και ο Πτελεός. Η θέση της Ιωλκού πάνω στον παραβαλλασσό δρόμο που συνδέει την Ιωλκό με την περιοχή της Άλος και νοτιότερα, αλλά και τη δυνατότητά της για θαλάσσια επικοινωνία αφού διέθετε ένα ασφαλές κλειστό τερα, αλλά και η δυναμική της παραδοσιακής αρχαίας κατασκευής του τάφου. Η διαφορά του τάφου και τα οστά περισυλλέγονταν στον έξω χώρο της κατασκευής του τάφου. Η διαφορά του τάφου και τα οστά περισυλλέγονταν στον έξω χώρο της κατασκευής του τάφου. Η διαφορά του τάφου και τα οστά περισυλλέγονταν στον έξω χώρο της κατασκευής του τάφου. Η διαφορά του τάφου και τα οστά περισυλλέγονταν στον έξω χώρο της κατασκευής του τάφου. Η διαφορά του τάφου και τα οστά περισυλλέγονταν στον έξω χώρο της κατασκευής του τάφου. Η διαφορά του τάφου και τα οστά περισυλλέγονταν στον έξω χώρο της κατασκευής του τάφου. Η διαφορά του τάφου και τα οστά περισυλλέγονταν στον έξω χώρο της κατασκευής του τάφου. Η διαφορά του τάφου και τα οστά περισυλλέγονταν στον έξω χώρο της κατασκευής του τάφου.
ΘΟΛΩΤΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ ΠΥΡΑΣΟΥ

Φου του Αργυροπουλίου με τον τάφο της Πυράσου έγκειται στο Αργυροπούλι με τον τάφο της Πυράσου έγκειται στο Αργυροπούλι μετά και τοποθετήθηκαν σε αβαθή λάκκο και τα κτερίσματα τοποθετήθηκαν ακανόνιστα στο δάπεδο γύρω από το λάκκο, ενώ στην Πύρασο οι νεκροί ενταφιάστηκαν και δεν μετακινήθηκαν ούτε τα οστά που απέμειναν ούτε τα κτερίσματα που συνόδευαν κάθε νεκρό. Ο Απ. Αρβανίτοπουλος αναφέρει το έθιμο της καύσης για τον τάφο της Δράνιστας ο οποίος όμως δεν είναι Γεωμετρικός αλλά Μυκηναϊκός, όπως διαφαίνεται από τη μελέτη των λίγων ευρημάτων που υπάρχουν στις αποθήκες του Μουσείου Βόλου, καθώς και για τους Γεωμετρικούς τάφους της Λέστιανης (Αρβανίτοπουλος 1911, 292 κ.ε.) και του Σέσκλου. Για τον θολωτό τάφο 4 του Σέσκλου (Αρβανίτοπουλος 1911, 294 κ.ε.) εκφράζει την εντύπωση ότι οι τέσσερις νεκροί "τεθέντες επί μικρός πυράς έκαησαν ουχί καλώς επί τόπου". Για τον θολωτό τάφο 5 του Σέσκλου αναφέρει ότι ο νεκρός κάηκε μέσα σε λάκκο στο εσωτερικό της θόλου. Ωστόσο λόγω της ελλιπούς δημοσίευσης των παραπάνω ανασκαφών δεν είναι δυνατή η εκμετάλλευση της πληροφορίας περαιτέρω.

Για τη μυκηναϊκή εποχή είμαστε πια σε θέση να γνωρίζουμε ότι στην περιοχή του Βόλου στον θολωτό τάφο της Αγ. Παρασκευής όπως και στον τάφο της Δράνιστας η πρακτική της καύσης και του ενταφιασμού ήταν σε παράλληλη χρήση. Ο τύπος του μικρού κτιστού θολωτού τάφου ως επιβίωση της μυκηναϊκής πρακτικής αποτελεί χαρακτηριστικό του θεσσαλικού χώρου. Τα παραδείγματα του Αργυροπουλίου (καύση), της Μεσορράχης (νότια της Λάρισας) και των Φερών (ενταφιασμοί) και της Πυράσου (καύση και ενταφιασμοί) μαρτυρούν τη συνύπαρξη των δύο εθίμων.

Οι πρόσφατες ανασκαφές στην Άλο (Μαλακασιώτη - Μουσιώνη 2004, 353-367) έφεραν στο φως εκτεταμένα νεκροταφεία της Πρωτογεωμετρικής εποχής στη θέση "Αγριελιά", 1 χλμ. νότια της Άλου και στη θέση "Βουλοκάλυβα", όπου βρέθηκαν κυκλικοί λάκκοι με καύση, ενταφιασμοί, θολωτοί τάφοι μικρού μεγέθους και ταφικός τύμβος. Γενικά παρατηρείται η σύγχρονη θαλάκη πρακτική της καύσης και ενταφιασμού αλλά ότι αυτή έγινε σε γεωμετρικό χώρος και για τους τέσσερις νεκρούς. Ο τάφος της Πυράσου κατά πάσα πιθανότητα χτίστηκε μετά την καύση εύθυμη μετά την καύση, εφ' όσον τα τοιχώματα της θόλου δεν έχουν ιχνή καύσης και απέχουν από τα ταφικά και το στρώμα καύσης από 0,05-0,20 μ. Αν δεχθούμε αυτή την υπόθεση, ότι διαθέτουμε ένα κλειστό αδιατάρακτο σύνολο, όλα τα ευρήματα θα πρέπει να συγκλίνουν χρονολογικά. Με δεδομένα: α) την ύπαρξη του αμφορέα BE 11221 που θεωρείται προϊόν του εργαστηρίου της Ιωλκού και χρονολογείται μεταξύ του 950-850 π.Χ, β) την ύπαρξη του αμφορέα τύπου Μπουμπούστι BE 6438 που κατά τον Βερδελή (Βερδελής 1958, 71-73) χρονολογείται στην μεταβατική περίοδο από την ΠΓ στη Γ εποχή ή το πολύ στην πρώιμη περίοδο του γεωμετρικού ρυθμού δηλ. σύμφωνα με τη χρονολόγηση που δίνει ο ίδιος (Βερδελής 1958, 97) γύρω στο 900 π.Χ. Ο Πρωτογεωμετρικός ρυθμός έπαυε να υφίσταται στην Ιωλκό, ο θολωτός τάφος της Πυράσου θα πρέπει να χρονολογηθεί κατά την Ύστερη ΠΓ και την ΥποΠΓ I εποχή.

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Σεπτεμβρίου 1994, Λαμία, 143-151.
**Εικ. 1.** Θολωτός τάφος Πυράσου. Τοπογραφικό σχέδιο.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ταχυδρομικός Χώρος</th>
<th>Περιοχής Μαγνησίας</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Θεσσαλονίκη</td>
<td>Νοτιοανατολικής Αχαΐας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Τοπογραφικό Διάγραμμα</td>
<td>Θολωτός Τάφος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Θεοδώρου, Αυγούστου 1985</td>
<td>Κλιμακά 1:200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εκτίμηση</td>
<td>Σχεδία Τοπογράφων, Ερασίμων</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Εικ. 2.** Θολωτός τάφος Πυράσου. Τομές.
Εικ. 3. Θολωτός τάφος Πυρώσου. Κατόψεις.

Εικ. 4. Θολωτός τάφος Πυρώσου. Άποψη της ανασκαφής.
Εικ. 5. Θολωτός τάφος Πυράσου. Σιδερένια αιχμή δόρατος BE 11222.

Εικ. 6. Θολωτός τάφος Πυράσου. Σκύφος BE 6439, κρατηρίσκος BE 6444.

Εικ. 7. Θολωτός τάφος Πυράσου. Χάλκινη περόνη BE 11687, χάλκινο περίαπτρο BE 11686, επίχρυσος σφηκωτήρας BE 11685, χάλκινη πόρπη BE 11691.
Εικ. 8. Θολωτός τάφος Πυράσου. Αμφορείς ΒΕ 11220, 6438.

Εικ. 9. Θολωτός τάφος Πυράσου. Αμφορέας ΒΕ 11221.
Εικ. 10. Θολωτός τάφος Πυράσου. Οινοχόες ΒΕ 6440, 6446.

Εικ. 11. Θολωτός τάφος Πυράσου. Σκύφοι ΒΕ 6445, 6443, 6441.
ΖΗΤΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΑΦΙΚΩΝ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΝΕΚΡΟΤΑΦΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΟΧΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ ΑΛΟΥ, ΘΕΣΗ «ΒΟΥΛΟΚΑΛΥΒΑ»


Η μελέτη των νεκροταφειών στη Βουλοκαλύβα αποτελεί σταθερό σταθμό στην κατανόηση των αρχαίων κοινωνιών και της δομής τους, την πολιτική και οικονομική οργάνωσή τους, την ιδεολογία τους και τις εν γένει αντιλήψεις των ανθρώπων για τον τρόπο με τον οποίο αντιμετωπίζουν το θάνατο. Οι ταφικές πράξεις χρησιμοποιούνται ως εργαλεία, καθώς είναι το αποτέλεσμα πράξεων και επιλογών των ζωντανών για τους νεκρούς τους (Parker Pearson 2003, 3).

1. Κατά τις επιφανειακές έρευνες του 1990 στην περιοχή της Βουλοκαλύβας, οι τύμβοι τοπογραφήθηκαν και έλαβαν αύξοντα αριθμό, βλ. Stissi – Kwak – de Winter 2004, 95, 71.1

2. Η έρευνα πραγματοποιήθηκε στη πλαίσια του έργου της διαπίστωσης του οικικού Άξονα Π.Α.ΘΕ., ανατολικά και δυτικά από την Χ.Θ. 281.500-281.900. 281.500-281.900.

3. Η ελληνιστική πόλη της Άλου εκτείνεται στη θέση Κεφάλωση, πλησίον του χωριού Πλάτανος του Δ. Αλμυρού (Νομός Μαγνησίας) και στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της ανήκουν οι θέσεις Βουλοκαλύβα και Αγριελιά, 1,5 χλμ βόρεια της Κεφάλωσης και 1 χλμ νότια αυτής αντίστοιχα.
ΤΟ ΝΕΚΡΟΤΑΦΕΙΟ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΤΑΦΙΑΣΜΩΝ

Στην περιοχή της «Βουλοκαλύβας», σε έκταση 14 στρεμμάτων ανατολικά και δυτικά του Οδικού Άξονα ΠΑΘΕ (Χ.Θ. 281.500 – 281.900) αποκαλύφθηκαν συνολικά 141 τάφοι που χρονολογούνται στην Υστεροελλαδική Περίοδο, την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου και την Ελληνιστική Περίοδο και αποτελούν τμήμα ενός ευρύτερου νεκροταφείου, τα όρια του οποίου δεν έχουν προς το παρόν αποδειχθεί ανασκαφικά. Μεταξύ των τάφων και κάποιες φορές σε άμεση συνάφεια με αυτούς, εντοπίστηκαν και ανασκάφηκαν 36 αποθέτες, που απέδωσαν θραυσμένη κεραμική, συναφή με το χρονολογικό εύρος του νεκροταφείου (εικ. 2).

Από το σύνολο των τάφων, οι τριάντα οκτώ χρονολογούνται από τη ΥΜ, ΥΜ/ΠΠΓ έως την ΥΠΓ/ΥπΠΓ I περίοδο και καλύπτουν όλες τις υποφάσεις της Πρωτογεωμετρικής Εποχής χωρίς διακοπή. Η Υπομυκηναϊκή Περίοδος απαντάται σε δύο τάφους κτερισμένους αποκλειστικά με μεταλλικά αντικείμενα (χάλκινη πορπή και χάλκινη πέρονη) με την επιβίωση των τύπων. Στα αγγεία των τάφων αναγνωρίζεται μόνο η φάση μετάβασης της ΥΜ προς την Πρώιμη Πρωτογεωμετρική. Η απουσία της Υπομυκηναϊκής κεραμικής φάσης θα μπορούσε να αποδοθεί σε ανασκαφική συγκυρία, καθώς η παραγωγή υπομυκηναϊκών αγγείων εντοπίζεται στη Ν.Α. Θεσσαλία (Lemos 2002, 7-8).

5. Για την Υπομυκηναϊκή κεραμική φάση στη Θεσσαλία, βλ. Lemos 2002, 6, υποσ. 30, όπου αναφέρονται παραδείγματα από την Ιωλκό, τις Φερές και πιθανόν τη Θεοτόκο. Επιπλέον, για ΥΜ αρυβαλλοειδές ληκύθιο από θολωτό τάφο στη Γρίσα Πτελεού, βλ. Βερδελής 1958, 16, 62, πιν. 5, 27, (χρονολογείται στην ΥΜ, Βερδελής 1953, 126, εικ. 6, αρ.2).
7. Στην Τίρυνθα, οι ταφικές συστάδες ταυτίζονται με αυτοδύναμους ταφικούς, βλ. Παπαδημητρίου 2003, 725.
φικό τύπο συνιστά ο τάφος κυκλικής κάτωψης της ΜΠΓ (διαμ. 1,70μ. και ύψους 0,30μ.), που περιείχε δύο ταφές και κατασκευάστηκε εκροικηχοπίστει πλακαρώς ασβεστοπλάκης (εικ. 6). Η αρχική του ταυτότητα με θολωτό δεν μπορεί να βεβαιωθεί εξαιτίας της απουσίας διαμορφωμένης είσοδου και της καταστροφής της ανώδυνης. Η ταυτότητα του ταφικού αυτού τύπου είναι προβληματική και το μόνο παράλληλο παραμένει ο τάφος 6 (ΥπΠΓ I), που είχαν ανασκάψει οι Wace και Thompson15, καθώς ούτε η μεταγενέστερη ερμηνεία του ως ταφικού περιβόλου στοιχειοθετείται με συναφή παράλληλα (Τζαφάλιας - Ζαύφη 1999, 146-147)11.


Η Σταμούδη αναφέρεται σε συνεσταλμένη στάση σε νεκροταφείο αρχαίας Αλου, θέση «Βουλοκαλύβα» 611. Οι ταφές φέρουν ως κτερίσματα αγγεία, κοσμήματα, εξαρτήματα ένδυσης και όπλα. Τα αγγεία είναι κυρίως τροχήλατα, πιθανότατα τοπικής παραγωγής, όπως πρόχοδοι, τριφυλλικά, αγγεία μονοκοίτα, κύπελλα και αμφορές καθώς και κάθετα λαβές (εικ. 7), ενώ απουσιάζουν αρκετά συνήθη σχήματα της ΠΓ περιόδου. Η εύρεση των συγκεκριμένων τύπων ως κτερίσματα σχετίζεται πιθανόν με τα ταφικά έθιμα και όχι με την έλευση ποικιλίας της τοπικής παραγωγής, όπως μαρτυρεί η εύρεση των μικρών οινοχονίων αποκλειστικά σε παιδικές ταφές.

Η σύνδεση μεταξύ κτερισμάτων και είδος μετάλλου, που πιθανά σχετίζεται με τις ιδιότητες των μετάλλων ή με την αισθητική. Από σίδηρο κατασκευάζονται τα όπλα και οι περόνες και οι πόρπες και τα βραχιόλια από μπρούτζο, ενώ τα δαχτυλίδια κατασκευάστηκαν από χαλκό ή σίδηρο (εικ. 8). Η επιλογή του είδους των μεταλλικών κτερισμάτων εξαρτάται πιθανά από την ηλικία και το φύλλο του νεκρού, καθώς στις παιδικές ταφές δεν εντοπίζονται σιδερένια όπλα και σιδερένιες περόνες, ενώ στις δύο ταφές ανδρών - πολεμιστών δεν περιέχονται άλλα προσωπικά αντικείμενα παρά μόνο όπλα, τονίζοντας τη σημασία, που δινόταν στην ανάγκη προβολής του φύλου και κυρίως της ιδιότητας του πολεμιστή.

Η στυλιστική ανάλυση των μεταλλικών αντικειμένων αποτυπώνει επιρροές από ένα πιο διευρυμένο γεωγραφικό χώρο από αυτό της κεραμικής, που υπερβαίνει τα όρια της «Θεσσαλοευβοϊκής Κοινής», καθώς τώρα εντοπίζονται συσχέτισμα και με τον Βορρά.

Η ερμηνεία των ταφικών δεδομένων από το νεκροταφείο της Βουλοκαλύβας ίσως απαιτεί μια εκτενέστερη μελέτη, καθώς τα μέχρι σήμερα δεδομένα αφορούν ουσιαστικά ένα μέρος μιας πολύ μεγάλης ταφικής γης.
ζητάει σαφής κοινωνική διαφοροποίηση μέσω ση με το γειτονικό Λευκαντί, όπου αναγνωρίζεται σαφής κοινωνική διαφοροποίηση μέσω της επένδυσης πλούτου στην «ταφική αρένα» (Lemos στον παρόντα τόμο. Για την αντίθετη άποψη, βλ. Dickinson 2007, 120).

ΤΥΜΒΟΣ 36
Στην ΥποΠΠ περίοδο, στην περιοχή της Άλου, ο ενταφιασμός παίει να αποτελεί την αποκλειστική ταφική πράκτορα και υιοθετείται η καύση των ενθηλικών νεκρών σε οργανωμένους τύμβους με ατομικές, κυρίως, ταφές/καύσεις. Ωστόσο, τα παιδιά ενταφιάζονται σε κιβωτοσχήμους τάφους (Liston – Papadopoulos 2004, 26, για την καύση και τον ενταφιασμό των παιδιών).

Ο τύμβος 36 βρίσκεται στα ΝΑ της περιοχής της Βουλοκαλύβας και ανήκει στο νεκροταφείο των τύμβων έκτασης 2,5 χλμ.² Μέχρι τον 19ο και αρχές 20ο αιώνα, από τους Wake and Thompson είχαν εντοπιστεί 10 ταφικοί τύμβοι (Wake – Thompson 1911-1912, 2), ενώ ο αριθμός τους, μετά τις εκτεταμένες επιφανειακές έρευνες (Efstathiou – Malakasioti – Reinders 1990, 31. Stisi – Kwak – de Winter 2004, 94-98), έφτασε τελικά περί τους σαράντα. Η αρχική εικόνα του τύμβου, όπως απαντάται συνήθως, ήταν ένα χαμηλό έξαρμα γης και μετά την αναφέρεται επίσης τη σύγχρονη επίσης αποκαλύφθηκε ο λίθινος μανδύας από κροκάλες και χώμα, που κάλυπτε τους λάκκους των κάυσεων με διαστάσεις 30,60μ. x 30,20μ. και ύψος 1μ. Κάτω από τον λίθινο μανδύα, διαπιστώθηκε ότι οι λάκκοι με τις ταφές/καύσεις ήταν ιδιαίτερα πυκνές στο νότιο τμήμα του τύμβου, σε αντίθεση με το βόρειο μισό του τύμβου, στο μέσο του τύμβου, ταφές/καύσεις, 3 τετραμετρικά κατασκευάστηκαν τέσσερις λάκκοι με διαστάσεις 30,60μ. και ύψος 1μ. Κάτω από τον λίθινο μανδύα, διαπιστώθηκε ότι οι λάκκοι με τις ταφές/καύσεις ήταν ιδιαίτερα πυκνές στο νότιο τμήμα του τύμβου, σε αντίθεση με το βόρειο μισό του τύμβου, στο παρόντα τέμπο, Δ. Αποστολάκη 21. Κάτω από τον λίθινο μανδύα, διαπιστώθηκε ότι οι λάκκοι με τις ταφές/καύσεις ήταν ιδιαίτερα πυκνές στο νότιο τμήμα του τύμβου, σε αντίθεση με το βόρειο μισό του τύμβου, στο παρόντα τέμπο, Δ. Αποστολάκη 21. Κάτω από τον λίθινο μανδύα, διαπιστώθηκε ότι οι λάκκοι με τις ταφές/καύσεις ήταν ιδιαίτερα πυκνές στο νότιο τμήμα του τύμβου, σε αντίθεση με το βόρειο μισό του τύμβου, στο παρόντα τέμπο, Δ. Αποστολάκη 21. Κάτω από τον λίθινο μανδύα, διαπιστώθηκε ότι οι λάκκοι με τις ταφές/καύσεις ήταν ιδιαίτερα πυκνές στο νότιο τμήμα του τύμβου, σε αντίθεση με το βόρειο μισό του τύμβου, στο παρόντα τέμπο, Δ. Αποστολάκη.
σφορών ήταν κατασκευασμένες από δύο πλάκες: η ορίζοντια προσοριζόταν για ταφικές προσοριές, ενώ η κάθετη επέχει τη θέση ταφικού σήματος. Οι τραπέζες απαντώνται α) μέσα στους λάκκους των κατσέων για την εναπόθεση προσοριών την ώρα της ταφικής τελετουργίας και β) εκτός αυτών για μεταταφικές τελετές. Ως ταφικό σήμα λειτουργούσαν, επίσης, μεμονωμένες πλάκες, κάθετα τοποθετημένες που ξεπερνούσαν το ύψος των λάκκων και πιθανόν σήματος καταδεικνύει μία συστάδα καύσεων (ΕΙΚ. 11).

Κυρίως, η κεραμική, το κύριο εύρημα κτερίσματος, συνεισφέρει στην χρονολόγηση του τύμβου. Στο σχηματολόγιο (Μαλακασιώτη - Μουσιών 2004, 362, πιν. 13 με σχετική βιβλιογραφία) της τροχηλατής κεραμικής, που συλλέχθηκε, αναγνωρίζονται τύποι κλειστών και ανοιχτών αγγείων: πυξίδες, αμφορείς από χονδρόφια, σκυαφοειδείς κρατήρες κού σήματος. Οι οπισθότητες προόριζαν με εγχειρίδιο ή αιχμή δόρατος, ενώ η κάθετη επείχε τη θέση ταφικής τελετουργίας. Οι τράπεζες απαντώνται α) μέσα στους λάκκους και πιθανόν σήματος καταδεικνύει μία συστάδα καύσεων (ΕΙΚ. 11).


Τα κοσμήματα και τα εξαρτήματα ενδυσης (σχετική αναφορά για τα κοσμήματα και τα εξαρτήματα ενδυσης, βλ. Μαλακασιώτη - Μουσιών 2004, 366, εικ. 16) είναι των γνωστώς τυπών: χάλκινες και σιδερένιες πόρπες και περόνες, κατά χειροτεχνικής κατάχωρος, βραχιόνες και ενετία από χαλκό. Οι πόρπες εντοπίζονται κατά έως (ξίφος, όλοι οι όροις: όλοι οι αρχαιοευρετικοί, ενώ σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις συνυπάρχουν με περισσότερες. Σύμφωνα με μία πρώτη ελληνική ανάλυση, κατά την ΥπΠΙ και ΙΙΙ περίοδο τα χάλκινα κτερίσματα φαίνεται να υπερτερούν των σιδερένων.
ΖΗΤΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΑΦΙΚΩΝ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΝΕΚΡΟΤΑΦΕΙΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ ΑΛΟΥ, ΘΕΣΗ «ΒΟΥΛΟΚΑΛΥΒΑ» 615

λογείται τελετουργική εναπόθεση όπλων πάνω και κάτω από τράπεζα προσφορών. Η παρουσία όπλων και μάλιστα πολλών σε ταφές/καύσεις, ιδιαίτερα στην αρχαϊκή εποχή, επιτρέπει την υπόθεση για επειδήκη κοινωνικού γοήτρου, πλούτου και επιθυμία προβολής του νεκρού ως ικανού πολεμιστή.

Τα σιδερένια εγχείρια συνιστούν μια ιδιαίτερη κατηγορία σε σχέση με τα όπλα και απαντώνται συχνά σε όλη την περίοδο χρήσης του τύμβου, όπου συνυπάρχουν με όλες τις κατηγορίες κτέρισης δηλώνοντας μάλλον χρηστικό χαρακτήρα. Όταν συνδυάζονται όμως με ξίφη ή μάχαιρες, ίσως τονίζεται συμπληρωματικό ρόλο στην πολεμική εξάρτυση, ενώ η συχνή τους παρουσία σε ανδρικές και γυναικείες ταφές/καύσεις έχει ενδεχομένως και συμβολικό χαρακτήρα (Georganas 2005, 70).


ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Στην περιοχή της Άλου, όπως προκύπτει από τα μέχρι τώρα δεδομένα, οι ταφικές πρακτικές διαφοροποιούνται κατά την ΥπΠΓ με την υιοθέτηση της καύσης, την σπονδυλωτή οργάνωση των ταφών/καύσεων σε τύμβο, την ανάπτυξη πολυπλοκότερης ταφικής τελετουργίας και την αύξηση κτέρισης.

τους λάκκους με τις καΐσεις είναι πολύπλοκες, όπως στοιχειοθετείται από την παρουσία τε­
φροδόχων αγγείων, τραπεζών, ταφικών σημά­
tων και από την καταστροφή αντικειμένων κοι
νωνικού κύρους. Με τις τελετουργίες συνδέο­
νται τα αποτεφρωμένα κατάλοιπα οικό-
σιτων ζώων, καρπών, όπως και η μεγάλη ποσό­
tητα αγγείων πόσεως και χοής. Κέρατο κόκκι­
νου ελαφιού και δόντι αλόγου δεν είχαν υπο-
στεί καύση και ίσως αποτελούσαν αφιερώματα
συμβολικού χαρακτήρα.

Σε όλη τη διάρκεια χρήσης του τύμβου, η
κτέριση είναι αυξημένη σε σύγκριση με τα επί-
pεδα κτέρισης των επίπεδων του νεκροταφείου (ΥΜ/ΠΠΓ 01)
αποτελούν πολυάριθμη κατηγορία κτέρισης με ακό­
λουθα τα κοσμήματα και τα εξαρτήματα έν­
dύσης, που είναν, κυρίως, χάλκινα. Αντικείμε­
να από εισαγόμενες πρώτες ύλες, όπως τα ελε­
φαντοστέινα πλακίδια και η ελεφαντοστέινη
σφραγίδα με εγχάρακτη διακόσμηση, απαντή-
θηκαν για πρώτη φορά σε καύση της ΥΓ περιό­
dου. Στα αρχαϊκά χρόνια, αποκαλύπτεται μία δι­
αφορετική εικόνα ως προς την επιμελημένη αρ­
cχιτεκτονική των κιβωτιόσχημων λάκκων/καύ­
σεων, την αύξηση της κτέρισης (Dickinson 2006,
195, για τα επίπεδα κτέρισης και την επένδυση
πλούτου κατά την αρχαϊκή περίοδο) και ιδιαίτε­
ρα την παρουσία σιδερένιων όπλων και εργα­
λείων, πολυτελών αντικειμένων και τις ενδια­
φέρουσες ταφικές τελετουργίες. Μέσα από τις
παρατηρήσεις των δεδομένων, σε κάποιες από
τις καύσεις αναγνωρίζονται στοιχεία επίδειξης
πλούτου και προβολής της πολεμικής ιδιότητας
του νεκρού (Stamatopoulou 2007, 320).

Όλα τα παραπάνω στοιχεία εμπλουτίζουν
την εικόνα της Θεσσαλίας στην Εποχή του Σι­
δήρου και την Αρχαϊκή περίοδο, εικόνα που
εξακολουθεί να είναι αποσπασματική, καθώς
η μελέτη του συνόλου των αρχαιολογικών δε­
dομένων συνεχίζεται. Η συνέχιση των ανασκα­
φών και η συλλογή δεδομένων πιστεύουμε ότι
θα βοηθήσουν στην εξέλιξη και προώθηση των
μελετών.

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ΖΗΤΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΑΦΙΚΩΝ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΝΕΚΡΟΤΑΦΕΙΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ ΑΛΟΥ, ΘΕΣΗ «ΒΟΥΛΟΚΑΛΥΒΑ» 619


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Εικ. 1. Γενική άποψη της περιοχής της ελληνιστικής Αλου με τις ταφικές και οικιστικές θέσεις της Εποχής του Σιδήρου.

Εικ. 2. Θέση «Βουλοκαλύβα»: άποψη του νεκροταφείου των ενταφιασμών.
Εικ. 3. Θέση «Βουλοκαλύβα»: κάτοψη του νεκροταφείου των ενταφιασμών (νότιο τμήμα).

Εικ. 4. Θέση «Βουλοκαλύβα»: κάτοψη του νεκροταφείου των ενταφιασμών (βόρειο τμήμα).
Εικ. 5. Εγχυτρισμός βρέφους σε υδρία της ΥΠΠ Περιόδου.

Εικ. 6. Κάτοψη του κυκλικού τάφου της ΜΠΠ περιόδου.
Εικ. 7. Αγγεία/κτερίσματα από τάφους (κύπελλο της ΥΜ/ΠΠΓ, τρ. οινοχόη της ΜΠΓ και οινοχόη της ΥΜ/ΠΠΓ).

Εικ. 8. Μεταλλικά κτερίσματα από τους τάφους του νεκροταφείου.
Εικ. 9. Θέση «Βουλοκαλύβα»: Κάτοψη του Τύμβου 36.

Εικ. 10. Τεφροδόχο αγγείο/πυξίδα από την καύση 56 της ΥπΠ Γ II περιόδου.
Εικ. 11. Τράπεζες προσφορών με ταφικά σήματα της ΥπΠΓ ΙΙΙ περιόδου (καύση 39).

Εικ. 12. Σχεδιαστική απόδοση της ελεφαντοστέινης σφραγίδας της ΥΓ περιόδου (καύση 34).
THE TRANSITION FROM THE LATE BRONZE TO THE EARLY IRON AGE IN TESSALY: SOME THOUGHTS

The aim of this paper is to present some thoughts on the issues of transition and continuity between the Late Bronze and the Iron Age in Thessaly in the field of burial customs. Research so far has indicated that while Thessaly did not escape the catastrophe during this crucial period, the effects seem to have been less dramatic (Feuer 1983, 53). Therefore continuity can be seen in settlement occupation (at least in the most archaeologically visible sites like Volos and Pherai), burial customs and in some aspects of the material culture. In this paper, focus will be given to the evidence for continuity in burial customs, especially as it is suggested by: a) the use of the same burial grounds in both the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, b) the continuous construction and use of tholos tombs, and c) the reuse of Mycenaean tholos tombs.

Starting with the use of the same burial grounds, our first stop is the cemetery of Nea Ionia at Volos. The cemetery has yielded over 500 graves and except for a break during the LH IIIB period it seems to have been in use from the LH IIB until the Geometric period (Batziou-Efstathiou 1999). The great significance of this cemetery lies in the fact that some of the graves are dated between the LH IIIC Late and EPG periods and are indicative of a smooth and uninterrupted transition between the LBA and the EIA.

Grave T. 57 is the earliest, dating to the LH IIIC Late/SM period (fig. 1). It is built of several stones and covered with slabs. Its construction method is very similar to that of the earlier Mycenaean cists in the cemetery (Batziou-Efstathiou 1999, 119-120, figs. 7-10). The occupant of the grave was placed on its back with the knees bent and it was accompanied by an amphora, a stirrup-jar, a bronze ring and two long bronze pins which were placed diagonally on the sternum. Although the grave's construction method and pottery are typical of the LH IIIC Late period, the slightly less contracted posture of the dead and the presence of the long bronze pins hint at the new Iron Age customs.

The next grave, T. 197, was built of four schist slabs, roofed with a fifth and floored by yet a further one (fig. 2). The grave contained the skeleton of a young female, lying on the left side with the legs slightly bent. She was accompanied by several bronze ornaments such as pins, arched fibulae and rings, as well as stone and clay buttons and a glass bead (Batziou-Efstathiou 1999, 121-122, figs. 12-14). As no pottery was found, a precise dating is not feasible but the use of schist slabs and the posture of the dead are indicative of a slightly later date than that of T. 57.

Finally, grave T. 202, which takes us into the proper PG, held the skeleton of another female lying on her back (fig. 3). The deceased was accompanied by a large number of offerings including three iron fibulae, two pins and five rings of different types in addition to three bronze fibulae, a small lekythos and a fragment of a red cloth (Batziou-Efstathiou 1999, 123-124, figs. 18-21). This is the first grave of the cemetery that produced iron artifacts and by the lekythos can be dated to the EPG period.
From the above three examples it becomes evident that the transition from the LBA to the EIA was virtually uninterrupted, indicating continuity in the choice of final resting place for the local population. Moreover, the deposition of both LBA and EIA offerings in grave T. 57 points to a smooth transition in the material expression of the people's beliefs concerning death and the afterlife.

This continuity is also reflected in the evidence from the nearby settlement at Palia where excavations by Theocharis in the early 1960s brought to light substantial architectural remains dating to the PG and G periods. Even though Theocharis in his 1960 excavation report mentioned a destruction level in the so-called 'megaron' dated to LH III C1 (Theocharis 1960, 50), in his 1961 report he stated that no destruction level was present in the nearby settlement area (Theocharis 1961, 47-48). Moreover, a later re-examination of the area yielded no concrete evidence for a major conflagration, but only for some scattered and lightly burnt areas (Malakasioti 1994, 53). It becomes evident, therefore, that no destruction took place at Volos during the LH IIIB/IIIC period. In addition, the analysis of the settlement pottery proved that 'the one generation gap' in the occupation of the site suggested by Theocharis (Theocharis 1961, 59) is not present, as LH III C/SM pottery seems to co-exist with pottery showing early PG elements (Sipsie-Eschbach 1991, 239-240). All these point out that in Volos the transition between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age was smooth and peaceful.

Our second stop is the site of Halos and in particular the localities of Agrielia and Voulokalyva. Excavations for the expansion of the National Road at the area of Agrielia brought to light an extensive EIA cemetery consisting of various types of cist and pit graves and small tholos-like structures that contained both inhumations and cremations. What is really interesting, however, is the presence of a round eschara (4.70 x 3.70 m., 0.90 m. deep), which yielded numerous animal bones, shells, pottery shreds and fragments of psi figurines dating to LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC1 (Malakasioti 1999, 393; 2003, 113). Although no LBA graves have been reported so far, the presence of the eschara indicates that the area was in use from at least the LH IIIB2 period.

In the neighbouring locality of Voulokalyva (fig. 4), where earlier research had revealed an extensive EIA tumulus cemetery (Malakasioti 2000; Georganas 2002; Stissi et al. 2004), recent excavations have brought to light another tumulus, 141 cist graves and 36 apothetai (Malakasioti 2003, 113). The graves were divided into small clusters, maybe designating different social groups, and date from the LH IIIB to the G period. These two areas formed a unique funerary and ritual landscape that was in use, with no break, from at least the LH IIIB to the LG period.

At this point it should be mentioned that in addition to the cemeteries discussed above, there is evidence for continuous use of burial grounds in other sites as well, like Pherai and Aerinos to name but two. In the latter, a PG tholos and several G graves were found in an area where seven Mycenaean tholos and two chamber tombs were also found (Blackman 1999, 69).

The second and I believe strongest evidence for continuity comes in the form of the EIA tholos tombs. It is well known that Thessaly is one of the very few regions of Greece where tholos tombs continued to be built and used throughout the EIA. So far, over 55 of them have been reported coming from some 23 sites (Arachoviti 1994, 134-137; Georganas 2000). With the exception of a SM/EPG example reported from Pharsala, all tombs seem to date from the LPG period onwards, and we even have instances where tholos tombs were used in the Archaic period (Morris 1998, 36-39 with references).

The Thessalian Iron Age tholos tombs are usually small, with a diameter ranging between 2 and 4 m, although we do have cases of bigger ones (e.g. Kapakli 6.67 m.). The tombs have no
elaborate entrances like some of their Mycenaean predecessors and in most cases the doorway is not distinguished from the dromos, which leads straight into the chamber, and there are no proper jambs. It is also worth mentioning that the Thessalian tholos tombs do not have a relieving triangle. The walls are built of schist or limestone blocks and slabs, mostly unworked, except the large slabs forming the lintel, which are roughly trimmed. The wall-slabs are usually of small or medium size becoming smaller towards the upper part of the tholos.

It is important to examine the LBA tholos tombs in order to have a better understanding of their significance in the EIA. The Mycenaean tholos tombs in Thessaly generally fall into two groups based upon their size and quality of construction. On the one hand, tholoi such as those at Volos, Dimini and Georgikon, have diameters ranging roughly from 8 to 10 m, while on the other hand those found in other parts of Thessaly have diameters ranging from about 2 to 5 m. According to Feuer this “bimodal distribution strongly suggests the existence of two types of tholos tombs in Thessaly probably corresponding to two levels or degrees of social status, wealth and/or political power” (Feuer 1983, 75). This view seems to be reinforced by the analysis made by Voutsaki, which showed that the larger tholoi were also the richest in finds, presenting both high diversity and quantity of grave goods (Voutsaki 1992, 117-122).

All the large tholoi (with the exception of the one at Georgikon) are located in the greater Volos and Dimini areas while the smaller ones are found almost everywhere in Thessaly, except in the far western part (Voutsaki 1992, 109). The fact that all the large examples are located in the eastern coastal area of Volos is not a coincidence. Many scholars have argued that the sites in eastern Thessaly in general and of the Volos area in particular played a prominent role during the Late Helladic period, something which is supported by the presence of the palatial centre recently discovered at Dimini (Halstead 1976; Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979, 272-273; Feuer 1983; Voutsaki 1992, Adrimi-Sismani 1999-2001). This East-West differentiation, which seems to have begun as early as the Early Bronze Age, is mainly due to climatic and geographical factors that favored economic diversification and intensification in the coastal region and to its communication with the wider Aegean area (Feuer 1983, 53). It was that communication with the rest of Mycenaean Greece that helped the coastal sites to play a prominent role in Thessaly, mainly due to their control of socially valued goods to the inhabitants of the interior (Voutsaki 1992, 128).

It is not a coincidence that the majority of the 55 EIA tholos tombs are also located in eastern Thessaly. In particular, 17 sites are situated in eastern Thessaly and only six sites in the central-western part of Thessaly. From the former, 11 are to be found around the Pagasitikos Gulf and six in the areas of Larisa and Elassona. From the remaining six sites, two are located in the area of Pharsala, three in the wider Karditsa area and one near the southern foot of Pindos. This high concentration of Iron Age tholoi in eastern Thessaly parallels that of the Mycenaean tombs (fig. 5). Although some scholars have argued for an archaeological bias attributed to the lack of systematic research in western Thessaly (Arachoviti 1994, 135), I suggest that this concentration is the result of a Mycenaean heritage, which becomes even more obvious after comparing the EIA tholoi to the Mycenaean ones.

In terms of size, shape and method of construction, at first glance the EIA tombs seem to share no similarities with the Mycenaean ones. They are much smaller, with the largest one at Kapakli having a diameter of only 6.67 m. Their construction method seems to be of inferior quality with not much attempt at building regular courses. Some similarities, however, both in size and architecture, can be found with the smaller Mycenaean tholoi of Pteleos, Agioi Theodoroi and Spilia. These tombs, as the majority of those constructed in the periphery of the Mycenaean world, are of small size (diameter 3-6 m.) and most of them do not have reliev-
ing triangles (Arachoviti 1994, 136; Pelon 1976, 314; Cavanagh – Mee 1998, 63). Additionally, in a northern group of Mycenaean tholos tombs, including the Thessalian, the stomion seems to be transformed into a long entrance passage not clearly distinguished from the dromos by a proper façade (e.g. Georgikon) (Cavanagh – Mee 1998, 6). As we have already seen, all these features are present in the EIA tholoi and so it could be argued that, architecturally speaking, they follow the Mycenaean model.

Secondly, we should examine whether the location of the LBA tholos tombs affected in any way the spatial organisation of the EIA ones. We are certain that, at least in three cases, EIA tholoi were constructed very near to Mycenaean tholos tombs. The two tholoi at Kapakli are situated near to the Mycenaean tholos excavated by Kourouniotis. At Marmariani, the six EIA tholoi were constructed on top of a mound where a Mycenaean tholos tomb was also located (Heurtley – Skeat 1930-1931, 3, 10), while at Aerinos the PG tholos was built in the immediate vicinity of seven Mycenaean tholos and two chamber tombs (Blackman 1999, 69).

The practice of building tombs within or in the proximity of earlier cemeteries is well attested during both the LBA and EIA and it is usually explained as a sign of respect and/or reverence. It also implies a desire for status by association (Mee – Cavanagh 1990, 227-228). This means that by building their tombs near to Mycenaean ones, some members of the Thessalian élite attempted to gain authority by forging links with distant 'ancestors', most probably for the purpose of legitimising territorial and socio-political claims (Hall 1997, 138-139). Of course it could be argued that this should not be perceived as a sign of 'real' continuity as most probably the Iron Age people would have had no physical ties to those buried in the nearby Mycenaean tombs.

The same could apply in the case of the reuse of LBA tholos tombs. So far, there are only two such instances. The first is the Mycenaean tholos tomb excavated by Kourouniotis at Volos-Kapakli. Amongst the pottery retrieved were vases dated to the LPG and SPG periods although some which might be associated with the tomb were earlier (EPG/MPG) (Lemos 2002, 174, n. 261 with references). The second case comes from Pteleos. In 1952 Verdelis excavated a LH IIIC tholos tomb (Tholos D) at the locality of Gritsa (Verdelis 1953, 123). Among its finds were a SM amphoriskos and two PG trefoil-lipped oinochoai, indicating the use of the tomb over a considerable period of time. Again, we cannot be sure whether those buried in the Mycenaean tombs during the EIA were physically related to the earlier occupants or if their families were simply attempting to forge a link in order to have claims on land and so forth. Either way we have a sense of continuity, 'real' or 'constructed'.

Whatever the case may be, it is above all the ability of the EIA Thessalians to build tholos tombs that is a very strong sign of continuity since the technological know-how needed to construct such tombs is quite specialised and could not be acquired merely by observation. Just to see a tholos tomb is simply not sufficient experience to be able to build one. There must be some actual experience of the process. I believe that this technological knowledge was never lost after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation but it was passed down from generation to generation. This suggestion of a fully continuous series seems to be reinforced by the presence of a SM/EPG tholos tomb from Pharsala, which seems to be the earliest example in EIA Thessaly (Blackman 1999, 76). It is therefore beyond doubt that the Mycenaean background did influence the decisions and mechanisms behind the construction and use of the EIA tholos tombs, an influence that was to last until the Archaic period.

To sum up, continuity in the field of burial practices can be demonstrated by the continuous use of the same burial grounds (e.g. Volos-Nea Ionia and Halos greater area), by the construction of tholos tombs throughout the EIA and by the reuse of Mycenaean tholos tombs.
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Fig. 1. Grave T.57, Nea Ionia cemetery, Volos (Batziou-Efstathiou 1999, 119, fig. 7).

Fig. 2. Grave T.197, Nea Ionia cemetery, Volos (Batziou-Efstathiou 1999, 121, fig. 11).

Fig. 3. Grave T.202, Nea Ionia cemetery, Volos (Batziou-Efstathiou 1999, 123, fig. 17).
Fig. 4. The EIA cemetery at Voulokalyva (Stissi et al. 2004, 95, fig. 7.1).

Fig. 5. Distribution of LBA and EIA tholos tombs (Arachoviti 1994, 135, fig. 13).
ELITE BURIALS IN EARLY IRON AGE AEGEAN.
SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS CONSIDERING THE SPATIAL
ORGANIZATION OF THE TOUMBA CEMETERY AT LEFKANDI

The so-called Dark Age of Greece is a significant and complex period and certainty not Dark. Lefkandi is without doubt one of the sites which has contributed greatly to change the perception of its 'darkness'. Moreover, one of the richest cemeteries in the Aegean during this period is that of Toumba at Lefkandi (Popham et al. 1980; Popham – Lemos 1996). This cemetery – with its close association to the Toumba building – is perhaps one of the most fascinating and at the same time extensively discussed sites in Early Iron Age Greece.

While the publication of the text of Popham and Lemos 1996 is in progress, preliminary reports regarding some of the finds have already appeared in press (Ridgway 1997; Nightingale 2007; Lemos 2007; Kroll 2007). Here, we would like to present some preliminary observations regarding the spatial organization of this important cemetery.

Our aim is to follow the use of the cemetery in each chronological stage from the Middle Protogeometric period (MPG) – when the burial ground in front of the Toumba building was first used - to its abandonment in the Sub-Protogeometric III period (SPG). In order to achieve this, first the plan of the excavation was digitised showing the position of the burials and then transferred into a CAD program. We also plotted the dimensions of the tombs and in situ pyres to provide a 3D representation. This data is further explored in the final publication of the cemetery.

By using the above approaches, it was possible to trace the expansion of the cemetery in each of its chronological stages. In this way we could assess the spatial organization of the Toumba cemetery during the course of its use and focus on issues related with the decisions taken by the local elite where to bury their dead within the cemetery. In this paper we only consider those burials which can be securely dated, excluding tombs and in situ cremations which cannot be assigned to a specific date or were found without finds (Fig. 1: all the excavated burials). In the final publication, we plan to address the problem of those burials which cannot be securely dated. For the dates used in this paper see Table 1. It should be noted, however, that the dates assigned to the burials in Toumba might be further modified in the final publication.

First, we want to stress the close association of the cemetery and the building. The cemetery started after the demolition of the building and the formation of the mound. This took place during the course of the MPG period. In fact, it has become clear that a number of tombs were cut after the erection of the mound above the building (Popham et al. 1993, 9, 99). Our attempt to reconstruct the mound might seem exaggerated, especially on its east side. The elevation of the mound above the building was reconstructed at 2 m high which was the preserved height of the south wall of the building (Coulton, in Popham et al. 1993, 53-56).

Figure 2 reconstructs the MPG phase of the cemetery. The most impressive tomb is the double burial in tomb T 49. The construction
of this tomb recalls that of the exceptional burials found under the Toumba building. It is interesting to note that both tombs have a similar timber lining and are of a large size (Popham et al. 1993, 18-21; Popham et al. 1988-1989, 118). T 49 is in fact the largest tomb in the cemetery. Moreover, one of the burials of this tomb was given jewels very similar to those offered to the female burial in the building (Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 56). The proximity to the mound and building is clear and apart from one late MPG or Late Protogeometric (LPG) burial in tomb T 18, the area around this tomb was left without other burials. (see Fig. 3). Moreover, it is possible to associate these burials with the horses buried in T 68, though this remains hypothetical since the horse burials cannot be dated with great security (Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 35).

It is, however, the next period that allows us to make a number of important observations concerning the organization of the burial ground in front of the mound (Fig. 3). During the LPG period some twenty-six burials were made and another twelve in the transitional stage from LPG to SPG I. In addition to those buried in shafts, a number of burials were cremated in situ for the first time (eight burials with one more dated to LPG/SPG I, marked in black in Fig. 3). Interestingly, Pyre (P.) 1 is located in front of the mound, while two more in situ cremations (P. 32 and P. 34) were noticeably located in the southern limits of the cemetery.

Another important development during this period is the formation of a passage which divided the burial ground into two parts, allowing access to both areas. It is clear that the earlier T 49 was located to the west of this passage and close to the mound. What is equally noticeable is that most of the burials, apart from the two mentioned above, were placed in front of the mound on both sides of the passage. What is less clear, however, is the reason for placing the two in situ cremations in a peripheral area to the south. It cannot be because of the rite of cremating burials in situ since a number of such cremations were also made in the area in front of the mound. As we will see, however, this part of the cemetery hosted a number of important burials during the later stages of its use.

During LPG, a rich burial was placed in tomb T 63 (Popham – Lemos 1996, pls. 68-69). This was a female burial who was given a number of golden discs similar in technique and design but smaller that those found on the woman buried in the building. The burial in tomb T 63 also had elaborate gilt pins and spirals, and a golden pendant, the same set of jewels which were also given to the woman buried under the building (Lemos 2007). Pendants are not given to all rich female burials. For example, in the same period (LPG), T 71 was the tomb of another rich woman but she was not offered a golden pendant (Popham – Lemos 1996, pls. 72-73). This tomb is located near the southeastern edge of the LPG burial plot.

Another interesting LPG tomb is tomb T 39, perhaps another double burial (Popham et al. 1982, 217-219, 230; Popham – Lemos 1996, pls. 41-43; Lemos 2002, 165). If so, one of them was a child as the only osteological remains found in the tomb was the tooth of a six year old. The rich finds in the tomb combine offerings given to a woman (such as jewels and Near Eastern imports) and to a man (such as weapons). The size of the tomb is large enough to accommodate two burials (Popham et al. 1982, 217). Nevertheless we cannot be sure whether the child was the male or the female burial in the grave.

T 55 is the richest tomb in the transitional period LPG/SPGI and it is located on the eastern side of the passage (Fig. 4). This was another large tomb and it is possible that it contained a double burial: an inhumation and a cremation in an urn (Popham – Lemos 1996, pls. 15, 61-63). Noticeably, there is an empty space left in front of tomb T 55 (Fig. 4). The area has been investigated and no burials were found there.
The possibility of another double burial in T 55 and the position of the tomb along the central axis of the mound and the building invites further speculation on the significance of this particular tomb and the status of the burials found in it.

In LPG/SPG I, one in situ pyre (P. 28) was located in the southern area of the burial ground. In the next SPG I stage, two female burials were made in the area in front of the mound (T 45 and 51 in Fig. 5). The most important development in the next stages of the use of the cemetery is that more burials were located to the southern area. This trend appears already in SPGI/II with tomb T 83 dated to SPGI/II, illustrating the expansion of the burial ground in this area. In the next SPG II stage, however, some of the richest in offerings burials were placed there (Fig. 6).

This is for example, the case of the so-called ‘warrior-trader’ buried in tomb T 79 (Popham – Lemos 1995). This was a secondary cremation of a man of high status. Close to this burial was T 80 dated to the SPG II/IIa phase (Fig. 7). T 80 contained the burial of a woman together with a spectacular number of offerings, including a gold pendant (Popham – Lemos 1996, 80-85). It seems that the pattern of a man who was given the status of a ‘warrior’ and that of a richly furnished woman buried close to each other, was now also shifted to this area of the cemetery.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that these were the only rich burials in this period. Important burials were still made in the area in front of the mound. One such was in T 13 most probably of a female whose tomb was cut close to the mound (Fig. 6). T 13 is actually cut into the mudbrick used for the surround of the mound (Popham et al. 1980, 174). This tomb is dated to SPG II and it is contemporary with the in situ cremation P. 13 of a man who was given an amazing array of iron weapons and tools (Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 48). These two burials, however, were not placed close to each other. P.13 is located in front of the mound but at the eastern edge of the so far excavated burial ground. Yet, in the SPG IIIa period, another in situ cremation, P.14, is located in the northern end of the burial ground (Fig. 6). This was the cremation of another ‘warrior’ who took with him apart from his iron sword and bronze grater an amazing number of pendant semicircle skyphoi and plates which were thrown in his pyre together with his weapons (Popham – Lemos 1996, pls. 86-88). Is the location of his pyre an indication that another cluster of important burials was located at the other side of the cemetery? P.14 was above another ‘warrior burial’ in tomb T 50 dated to LPG and close to a very disturbed area to the north, where a rich female (LPG) burial in tomb T 63 was also located. Next to this tomb is the even more disturbed burial in T 60 and possibly yet another similarly disturbed burial was located near by. The latter, with very rich finds, might have been of a woman (Popham – Lemos 1996, pls. 92-95 where the pottery found in this area is illustrated).

An interesting observation related to the female burials at Toumba is that although there are a number of rich burials in each chronological stage, only a small number of them were offered an golden pendant. In MPG, this is the female buried in the building. The woman buried in the building was given the exceptional heirloom pendant dated to 1600 BC (Popham et al. 1993, pls. 13, 15). T 63 in LPG is the tomb of another female burial with a pendant (Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 69). Two more pendants are dated to the SPG II and SPG IIIa stages: one was found in the SPG II/III burial in tomb T 38 (Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 40) and the other in tomb T 80 (Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 85). T 38 is located in an area very close to the mound, while T 80, as we have already noted, was located in the southern part of the cemetery. Finally, another pendant came from the disturbed area of tomb T 59 (Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 136a). Thus, we would like to propose that this particular jewel was given to female burials whose status was considered higher than that of oth-
er rich women buried in Toumba. We may further suggest that these women were often buried close to men who were given the status of a ‘warrior’. If this is the case, the woman in the building is clearly associated with the man found cremated next to her, while the LPG burial in T 63 might be associated with another inhumation in the area, that of a ‘warrior’ in T 60. This burial is given an iron sword and differs from other ‘warriors’ in that he was most probably inhumed (Popham – Lemos 1996, pls. 66-67). Another inhumed ‘warrior’ was found in tomb T 26; this was the burial of a man who was given an iron sword and arrow heads (Popham et al. 1980, pls. 182-184; Musgrave, in Popham et al. 1980, 437). The only female burial without a male burial located near by is that in tomb T 38. This area, however, has been heavily disturbed by ploughing and we may have lost burials located to this particular part of the cemetery (Popham et al. 1982, 214). Finally, the woman in T 80 could be associated with the male burial in T 79. Although the above discussion can only be considered speculative, the analysis undertaken in this paper urges us to consider such possibilities.

We know that children were buried in the Toumba cemetery and in some cases they might have been included in double burials such as in tomb T 39. Other burials might have belonged to children because of the size of a tomb or because they were given miniature vases (Lemos 2002, 165-166). One area in particular appears to have a concentration of small sized graves. This is located in the north-western edge of the cemetery and rather close to the extend of the mound in this area (Popham et al. 1988-1989, 118). It should be noted, however, that an in situ cremation was also located in this area (Fig. 1). Interestingly, another cluster of small sized tombs was located at the south-western edge of the mound. Is this a coincidence or were these clusters at both sides of the mound devoted to child burials?

Additional information can be also gained from the location of the other two ground plots at Lefkandi. It is possible to suggest, for example that the Palia Perivolia burial ground which is located some 80 m to the east of the Toumba cemetery could have been part of the same cemetery. The analysis of the finds and rites there, however, do not allow such an affiliation. But what must be significant for the group buried in this cemetery is that the orientation of the graves follows the same radial pattern as observed for the MPG and LPG burials in the Toumba cemetery; they appear to be aligned or perpendicular to the axis of the mound. Palia Perivolia was also established in the MPG period acquiring more burials in the LPG. On the other hand, the Skoubris cemetery belonged to a group which does not appear to display any connection with the Toumba cemetery and the mound nor to acknowledge their location. Skoubris is, at present, the earliest burial ground excavated, but tombs in the Khaliotis area must have been even earlier as Late Helladic IIIC finds located there are associated with tombs (Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 2). This area, however, which lies even further to the east and closer to the direction of Xeropolis, has not been excavated yet.

Although this is a preliminary study of the spatial organization of the cemetery, it becomes clear that there were patterns in the way burials were located in the cemetery. There was, as we noted before, an extension to the southern area of the cemetery which received some prominent burials. At the same time important burials were also made in front of the mound. We could compare the burials in P. 13 and P. 14 located in the area in front of the mound with that of the so-called ‘warrior-trader’ in the southern area of the cemetery (in T 79). Could we assume that two or even three different elite groups were using these two areas of the cemetery to bury their members? Such suggestions require more detailed analysis of the available data in order to conclude that such patterns in the spatial organization of the cemetery could reflect specific strategies in burying the members of the local elite.
It is clear, however, that a detailed analysis of the spatial organisation of the cemetery combined with a full study of the offerings given to different genders and ages buried in the Toumba burial ground will illuminate further the study of this cemetery which evidently did not belong to a Greek 'dark age'.

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Table 1. Toumba tombs and Pyres by chronological stages (as in Popham - Lemos 1996).
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fig. 1. The Toumba cemetery.
Fig. 2. MPG burials in the Toumba cemetery.

Fig. 3. MPG – LPG: MPG to LPG burials.
Fig. 4. MPG – LPG/SPG I: LPG to SPG I burials at the Toumba cemetery.

Fig. 5. MPG – SPG I/II: MPG to SPG I/II burials at the Toumba cemetery.
Fig. 6. MPG to SPG II burials at the Toumba cemetery.

Fig. 7. MPG – SPG III burials at the Toumba cemetery.
ATHENIAN BURIALS WITH WEAPONS: THE ATHENIAN WARRIOR GRAVES REVISITED

FROM “WARRIOR GRAVES” TO “BURIALS WITH WEAPONS”

A heirloom of Homeric archaeology, the category of “warrior grave” has become part and parcel of the theoretical and interpretive background of Aegean archaeology; thus, every burial with weapons is assumed to have belonged to a warrior (Coldstream 1977; Buchholz – Wiesner, 1977; Buchholz 1980). Burials with weapons of the LH IIIC and the EIA/IA, however, have been the focus of some important recent studies, both from a general methodological perspective while regarding specific evidence from these periods, most notably from Athens, Lefkandi, and Eretria (van Wees 1998; Whitley 2002; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006; Lemos 2002; 2006; 2007; Blandin 2007). These studies have shed new light on these burials, highlighting local differences and raising the issue of determining the physical anthropological characteristics of individuals who were given a weapon burial ritual. Also, they highlighted the metaphorical significance of these weapons, and thus steered research onto a methodologically more sophisticated terrain. Redefining, as Whitley suggested, “warrior graves” as “burials with weapons” – a designation borrowed from the archaeology of Saxon graves – offers the great advantage of providing an active descriptive structure that is ready to incorporate any departure from the “biographic” assumptions implied in the traditional definition, which, as we shall see, in some cases turns out to be misleading.

In the context of a general reflection on the circulation of weapons, Bouvier has recently criticized archaeologists’ tendency to regard the presence of weapons in a tomb as a Homeric trait, observing that “...dans le monde homérique, les armes ne sont pas enterrées mais transmises à ceux qui méritent de gagner pour eux la valeur du mort” and that when they are indeed buried with the deceased, as in the case of Eetion and Elpenor, “dans les deux cas, le mort ne laisse derrière lui aucun survivant mâle susceptible d’hériter de la valeur du mort” (Bouvier 2002, 544). These critical observations have been fruitful: In a recent re-examination of Eretrian burials, B. Blandin has devoted special attention to various aspects of burial ritual, especially the killing of the sword (Blandin 2007, 113ff.). The subject is a thorny one, but we have finally reached a stage of open investigation. Future research may avail itself of further archaeometric investigations, which are indispensable to reconstruct the treatment the weapons were subjected to.

Latching onto this general critical renovation, I propose here a reconsideration of the Athenian evidence. This is especially abundant and remarkable; indeed, the number of burials with weapons from Athens is unparalleled

1. I wish to carry out experimental investigations with Claudio Giardino on the process of killing the sword see infra. For wide-ranging investigations in the field of archaeo-metallurgy, see Thornton – Giardino 2008.
elsewhere: 45 have been reported in the Asty, concentrated in the area of Marathon (Catalogue 1), as is the variety of grave-goods and the age-group representativeness documented over a span of about four centuries, from the so-called SM to the LG (ca. 1100-700 BC)\(^2\). I judged it preferable to distinguish burials with sword and dagger – the weapons of single combat par excellence – from those with other weapons (lance and shield), since the sword and dagger are regarded as distinctive of post-palatial warrior graves earlier than the EIA/IA burials studied here, and graves displaying these weapons are hence an indicator of continuity between the two periods (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 169; cf. Catalogue 1).

In my search for possible models underlying the great variety of grave-goods and ritual practices, I arranged the burials first of all according to topographical criteria, in consideration of the importance archaeologists attribute to necropoleis as testimonies of continuity in settlement. I then divided each topographical unit by chronology, to derive significant information about the burying groups and their behavior in a generational perspective (for the topographic criteria employed here, see my research on the EIA/IA Athenian settlement: D'Onofrio 2007-2008). This approach allowed me to analytically evaluate the phenomenon of “warriors”, and facilitated comparisons between the funerary customs of the different groups, restricted or extensive, that formed the population of the Asty in the post-palatial and pre-political period.

Taking for granted that, according to a widely accepted view, “...there were some small groups of houses with associated burial grounds and larger units which used the cemeteries”, it is logical to assume that these local units were placed under the authority of a chief: “these might have formed smaller or larger social units which were managed by a local leader” (Lemos 2002, 219; cf. Marini 2003, 31)\(^3\). This model, however, needs to be verified archaeologically. We must attempt to ascertain whether one can find traces of these “local leaders” among the tombs with weapons come down to us, moving from the consideration that in Athens, differently than in other coeval societies, in none of the chronological segments examined in the present study were weapons an anapage of the whole male population; they were reserved, instead, to a small group of “warriors”, whether these had been actually such in their lifetime or were portrayed as such by an ideal metaphorical projection (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 160 and n. 105; Strömberg 1993, 83; van Wees 1998, 338ff.; Lemos 2002, 156, 198).

LH IIIC AND SM – PG BURIALS WITH WEAPONS

The discontinuity in the burial-with-weapons model observable between the EIA and LH IIIC is first and foremost a consequence of the general transition from multiple to individual burials and the spread of the rite of cremation, as several scholars have noted; also, by the disappearance of the helmet and body-armour (Snodgrass 1971, 279; Strömberg 1993, 81).

Most post-palatial “warrior burials” were found in Achaia and yielded weapons of European types developed in the areas of the so-called “metallurgic koine”, thus bearing witness

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2. An examination of the issue of chronology is beyond the scope of the present essay. This issue was brought to the fore for the so-called SM by Ruppenstein 2007, cf. J.K. Papadopoulos’ review, University of California, Los Angeles Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2008.06.16, whose perplexities I share; for a short duration of SM, “covering two generations of potters”, see Lemos 2002, 7ff., and n. 55 (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 152ff., n. 31). I followed the chronologies of Lemos 2002 for SM-PG contexts and those of Whitley for the more recent ones (Whitley 1991, 80-84).

3. I am preparing an overall study of “Dark Age” Athens that I hope to publish soon. My intention is to analyze the available archaeological data within a processual framework to make them better comparable with those of other sites of European and Aegean prehistory. For a new and stimulant approach of the Athenian record see now Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 386-388.
to the role of local elites as go-betweens in the weapons trade; what concerns us here, however, is the distribution model of these LH IIIC burials, which mark out the territory, in Achaia as elsewhere, suggesting that it was divided into "small autonomous polities, each under a local political leadership" (Deger-Jalkotzi 2006, 169). The majority of these graves are dated to the advanced and late LH IIIC; the most recent are those of Perati and Hexalophos, and the East Cretan tholoi. Interestingly, even in large necropoleis, such as Perati, Palaikastro, and Achaia Klauss, not more than one or two burials with weapons have been found (Deger-Jalkotzi 2006, 173). According to some scholars, these reflect the aspiration of some families or lineages to establish a monocratic form of government, possibly patterned after the palace kingship of the Mycenaean period, but applying it to village-type communities consisting of "self-contained and economically independent households" (Deger-Jalkotzi 2006, 174-176; Maran 2006).

This hypothesis could provide a point of departure for an investigation of the Athenian model, which is characterized by a scattered distribution of burials with weapons – with some significant concentrations – and by their elite character. The available data, although not exhaustive (but was there ever a site that was excavated in its entirety for the whole duration of its life?), are numerically consistent and lend themselves to an experimental calculation of the occurrence of burials with weapons in the whole funerary sequence: around 5% of the total.4 A remarkable phenomenon is the concentration of EIA "warriors" in Athens and, conversely, their rarity in the rest of Attica (Catalogue 1). On the contrary, in the table of warrior graves drawn up by Deger-Jalkotzi, Athens is absent, while Perati on the east coast of Attica has 3 burials with weapons (among the 219 tombs) dating from the middle and late LH IIIC: two "warrior graves", T. 12 and T. 38 – the more recent and wealthier one – with Aegean-type swords, and T. 123, lacking a sword and with a spearhead (cf. Deger-Jalkotzi 2006, 154-157, 171, with a relevant discussion of the ritual and chronological aspects of these burial contexts).

At this point, I need to briefly mention a serious chronological problem regarding the transition from LH IIIC to EIA: that of the significance, in terms of chronology and duration, of the Sub-Mycenaean style, which according to some lasted for about a century, while others believe that its life span was a lot shorter, or even that it is coeval with other LH IIIC productions (cf. supra n.1). The issue of the chronological overlapping of the necropoleis of Perati and Kerameikos, respectively in their later and initial phases, remains open (Mountjoy 1988; Lemos 2006, 512).

Scholars have stressed the absence of weapons in SM burials and their reappearance in PG, which suggests a clear-cut break in funerary customs (Müller-Karpe 1962, 61; Snodgrass 1977, 222; most recently, Lemos 2006, 516; Marini 2003, 28 f.). Regardless of the controversy over the absolute chronology of the SM style, however, some new elements call for a cautious reopening of the question; above all, two still unpublished burials from Kriezi, which Alexandri places in the SM phase of the necropoleis: T. LXX, with a pair of bronze spearheads and a large clay-ground neck-amphora with a decoration reminiscent of the Granary style (fig. 1)5; and T. LXXIX, with an iron sword of indeterminable type and an amphora similar to the previous one, not illustrated (Alexandri 1967, 93)6.

Further new evidence includes Kerameikos

4. Strömberg 1993, 83; van Wees proposes a more speculative calculation, assuming that "at most 1:5 men would have taken weapons to the grave" (van Wees 1998, 338); on the other hand some scholars reject any statistical approach to the evidence, cf. Marini 2003, 32 and n. 96.

5. A similar pattern of antithetic S occurs on a belly-handled amphora from Erechtheiou St. associated with a coarse handmade vessel with a lid, of a common LH IIIC shape, cf. Brouskari 1980, 24, Tomb 1.19, pl. 4.d

6. For the sword see Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 112, no. 337, who dates the tomb to PGI; Ruppenstein 2007, 202 f., and no. 850, attributes the amphora from T. LXX to Stufe
Steinkistengrab 128 N, with a bronze spearhead ascribed to Avila's type IX, whose chronology is not based on archaeological find contexts, as Avila mentions (fig. 2; Avila 1983, 54, no. 114; Ruppenstein 2007, 18). Also, among the SM burials of the Kerameikos, Erdbestattung 147, with its iron arrowhead. This burial is located at the lower limit of this chronological range (SM III-SM/PG according to Ruppenstein 2007, 35, pls. 15 and 40, Beil. 17, cf. Lemos 2002, 123: "probably dated to EPG"). It belonged to a child of 8.5 to 11.5 years who showed wounds at the right femur and left humerus and whose only grave-goods were an iron arrowhead and a lekythos; it is far from sure, however, that the arrow was the weapon that caused the child's death, or that the grave is "a rare archaeological testimony of a warrior who died on the battlefield and was buried without his weapons" (Marini 2003, 30, my translation). As Lagia observes, "the anatomical location of the base of the arrow in the groove and its orientation toward the feet make it rather unlikely that this was the original location of the arrow at the time of death" (Lagia 2007, 277). Arrowheads are present in a series of Athenian and Attic graves of the LBA (Avila 1983: on the Agora, nos. 545-549; Marathon, no. 534; Menidi, nos. 179, 725-822; Spata, nos. 164-178, 533, 574, 703, 705, 713-714, 737-748, 826-828). The only known arrowhead from an EIA funerary context comes from PG 28, datable to EPG, "together with an iron sword, knife (both killed) and a shield-boss" (Kübler 1943, 27, 35, pl. 38; Avila 1983, no. 1074). This is an outstanding burial. The knife found here is comparable in size and decoration to another from T. 3 in the necropolis of Toumba at Lefkandi (Lemos 2002, 123). In conclusion, the child burial, with its simple Bowman's grave-goods, could be ascribed to the LBA tradition (cf. Ruppenstein 2007, 204, who classifies the arrowhead in the "Stiel- oder Dornpfelspitzen" group, well attested in the LBA).

According to lakovidis, the dagger from Chamber Tomb 38 must be associated with the last, or one of the last burials in the tomb, dated to LH IIIC i e (cf. Papadopoulos 1998, 25, no. 117; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 201; Deger-Jalkotzi 2006, 155ff.). Now, if LH IIIC T. 38 in the necropolis of Perati was only slightly earlier than Kerameikos SM grave 128 N and the above-mentioned Kriezi burials, this would mean that there was no significant lapse in the presence of weapons in Attic graves between the Final BA and the EIA, and that the publication of the burials could shed light on the chronological sequence of burials with weapons in the transition from one period to the next (Although a final answer cannot be given as yet, my study strives for a more accurate definition of the issue).

Tombs PG 2 N and PG 24, on the N bank of the Eridanos, have been ascribed to the transition from SM to PG. The former is a Steinkistengrab (fig. 3a-b). It yielded a sword with remains of a wooden sheath on the blade, which is the first entry in the catalogue of Type 1 iron Griffzungen Schwertw. and is "one of the very earliest all-iron weapons from Greece" (fig. 3c: Snodgrass 1971, 223; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 106, no. 273, Type I; Lemos 2002, 118; Ruppenstein 2007, 202 f.). There are so far no parallels for this sword in Athens, where the other specimens belong to types 2 and 4 of Kilian-Dirlmeier. The grave also contained two lekythoi, recently illustrated in Ruppenstein's book (fig. 3d-e: Ruppenstein 2007, pl. 45). This burial appears to be closely connected with two other graves: a nearby one of a girl, PG 1 N, containing a lekythos ascribed to the same workshop, and PG 3 N, with contained an accumulation of "Branderde, Asche, verbrannten Scherben, dazwischen Reste wohl mehrerer eiserener Ringe aus breiten Blechstreifen", possibly from the wheels of a carriage (Kübler 1943, 47; Ruppenstein 2007, 252 f.). In the same sector of the necropolis, tomb PG E, an unusual cremation in an earth-cut pit datable to the MPG, yielded a sword with remains of a wooden scabbard, placed intact on the
ATHENIAN BURIALS WITH WEAPONS

649

floor of the pit (Harrison 1974, 341). The PG 2 N – PG E sequence of burials with weapons seems to indicate a change in ritual from one generation to another within the same burial group, a switch from inhumation in a cist to incineration that does not, however, involve the killing of the sword. The placing of the weapon intact in the grave remains anchored to an earlier vision, documented in Euboea by the male burial in the Heroon of Toumba dating back to the final phase of the MPG. Here the cremated remains were stored in a large Cypriot-made bronze amphoroid crater, beside which an iron sword was laid, associated with a spear and a whetstone (Popham et al. 1993, 17-22, pls. 12-13; Lemos 2007, 276).

A certain continuity between the world of LBA warriors and their EIA heirs is also suggested by a bronze spearhead found in Tomb AR II in the small necropolis of the Aeropagus (EGI or II), probably an heirloom. The weapon possibly belonged to Avilas Type VII, but this cannot be verified, since it is lost, known only from Dorpfeld’s Daybook sketch (D’Onofrio 2001, 265-270, with further literature).

Finally, I would like to briefly mention the issue of phalara or shield-bosses, which are also ascribable to the earlier period examined in the present article; a complex matter that requires separate investigation (Snodgrass 1964, 39, A16-20; cf. Lemos 2002, 124ff.; Ruppenstein 2007, 205ff.; LH IIIIC examples in Deger-Jalkotzy 2006). A shield-boss was found in PG 24 (SM/EPG), a cremation in a belly-handled amphora (regarded as one of the earliest examples of the type), whose attribution to the male gender is based on the presence of the shield-boss, not on the evidence of the charred human remains (Breitinger 1943, 2). One should consider, however, that objects resembling shield-bosses, although smaller, were used as ornaments for the belt of a dead woman in a tomb at Vergina (AZ VII), and shield-bosses were associated with a miniature triple axe in another tomb with female grave-goods (AH II), suggesting in my opinion a connection with the sacral/sacrificial sphere (Daux 1962, 800-803, figs. 11-13; Andronikos 1969, 243-247; cf. Snodgrass 1964, 39; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 156, with further references; Catling 1996, 524; about symbolic miniature double axes cf. Bouzek 1997, 106, fig. 103; see also Colonna 1991, 38). On the opposite bank of the Eridanos river, in the denser southern necropolis, a shield-boss was the only grave-good in PG 43 (EPG), where it was used as a stopper for a neck-handled amphora containing ashes defined as male, again, merely on the basis of their association with a shield. Traces of leather on the lower surface of the boss provide precious evidence that it belonged indeed to a shield (Kübler 1943, 2, 42; pl. 38). In the same necropolis, finally, PG 40 (LPG) contained a more elaborate burial equipment, including an axe and an asymmetrical bow fibula with a swelling recalling the Eubocean series, well attested in the Lefkandi cemeteries, usually in female graves (fig. 4: Kübler 1943, 27, 41, pl. 37; Lemos 2002, 109-112; 2003, 188). In spite of common opinion, fibulae and other ornaments like rings, pins, fibulae – along with the well-known gold bands – are not unusual in Athenian burials with weapons (Catalogue 1: Kriezi, 1-6; Dipyonplot, 2; Kerameikos southern bank, 7, 9, 11, 12; Agora, 2, 3; other sites, 1 (?); southern Asty, 2; Attica, 1 (?)). Their presence, in itself, is not sufficient to cast doubt on the male gender of a buried individual, but the topic is worthy of further investigation. However, while I leave the question open, I would like to stress that the only weapons in the three above graves were the shields and the axe, objects which can have much broader connotations than those associated with warrior status, 8. Whitley 1991, 132; cf. Lemos 2002, 155, 198: here Athens is opposed to Lefkandi, where personal ornaments have been noticed in male burials, Lemos 2002, 165 and n. 166; this opposition, after a careful recognition of the available record, seems to me untenable, see infra.

7. See also infra. Cf. Blandin 2007, 117, who only reports the two specimens from double burial PG A, for which she indicates parallels at Argos, Tirynth, and Delphi.
as Colonna’s investigations in another context suggest (Colonna 1991; see also Lemos 2002, 164ff.). Only a fourth specimen, made of iron and of Geometric date, is known “from a grave” in the Kynosarges cemetery, on the opposite side of the Asty (Snodgrass 1964, 40, A26; cf. van Wees 1998, 372, n. 23).

In conclusion, the Athenian tombs with shield-bosses are concentrated in the PG and distributed in its three phases, clearly at generational intervals. The rarity and local concentration of this symbolic package appear to match a more general trend towards intra-elite diversification of funerary customs.

THE SWORD AND BURIAL RITES

The most conspicuous PG finds of weapons and armour come from Athens and Lefkandi. Both sites have yielded the same types of swords (“Naue II”) and daggers as the rest of the Hellenic world. The weapons’ ivory handles and wooden sheaths sometimes survive. At least 10 bladed weapons have been found at Lefkandi, at least 32 at Athens (Lemos 2002, 118, 125; see Catalogue 1).

The iron sword is the prevalent weapon in the PG. It is a personal object, custom made, and only owned by members of a limited stratum of the population (Blandin 2007, 113). Snodgrass observed that “while the throwing-spear was in use, both spearheads and arrowheads had to be expendable: they were therefore likelier to be made in bronze, when this was more plentiful, than was the sword which a soldier would expect to keep as long as his life” (Snodgrass 1964, 104). Usually only a single sword is placed in a tomb, and it is hence assumed that it belonged to the deceased, whether one believes that swords were withdrawn from circulation only when none living was left who was worthy of it, or that the sword normally followed its owner in the Beyond (Strömberg 1993, 82; Marini 2003).

At Eretria, where the evidence is concentrated within the LG with 10 specimens of the Naue II type, one observes an exclusive connection of the sword with cremation tombs and, above all, the exceptional presence of several swords, all ritually killed, in the same burial (Blandin 2007, 110-113; respectively 4 swords in T. 6 and 2 in T. 9 of the Heroon). At Lefkandi and Athens, instead, inhumation and incinération intertwine diachronically, and there is a remarkable variety both of grave-goods and in the ritual use of weapons in general, but this does not make the burials appear any less “prestigious”.

There is a problem of definition as regards the length of the blade: Kilian-Dirlmeier identifies as swords specimens with blades from 30 cm upward, whereas Snodgrass and other scholars fix the minimum length at 50 cm (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 5, 152ff.; Snodgrass 1964, 104, cf. Snodgrass 1996a, 181; Lemos 2002, 120, n. 129). There is no relationship between the length of swords and their chronology; their dimensions were at least in part adapted to the stature and build of each individual, as confirmed by mythological and literary images of the forging of weapons (Achilles model). Some reflections are called for, however, on the possible functional implications of the length of the weapon and the tactical (and social) consequences thereof. Swords with blades over 70 cm in length were presumably used by mounted or chariot-riding warriors (for such an interpretation of very long swords in Italian and European protohistory, cf. Pacciarelli 2006; De Marinis-Salzani 2005).

A useful comparison can be drawn with M. Pacciarelli’s functional interpretation of bladed weapons in peninsular Italy and LBA Sicily: Pacciarelli classifies as long swords those with blades with lengths of 48-49 cm and upward (for stabbing or cutting); as middle-length swords those with blades between ca. 40 and 48-49 cm; and as short swords those with blades between ca. 30 and 40 cm. In this context, too, the longer swords were used from the chariot or horseback; the shorter and lighter ones in razzias and
Athenian Burials with Weapons

Single combat (Pacciarelli 2006). In continental Europe, including Greece, cutting swords are prevalent by far until the ninth century and beyond; in proto-Doric Crete, instead, between the eleventh and ninth century, the evidence from the Knossos North Cemetery indicates that swords were prevalently short ("dirks"), while one observes a spread of spearheads as long as 40 cm and more (Pacciarelli 2006; cf. Snodgrass 1996a, 577, who mentions a 50-cm-long Athenian spearhead from G 38, on which see further). Long swords are typical, instead, of Vergina, where they can reach a length of 110 cm (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 152). The killed specimens from Eretria, mentioned above, also range from 80 to 87 cm.

This general picture provides a useful framework for the interpretation of the Athenian evidence, where the swords are subjected to a local pattern of ritual killing (bent and wrapped around the shoulder of the urn-amphora) when associated with the ritual of cremation (fig. 5a-e); remarkable exceptions are burials Kerameikos G 13, Agora N 16:4 and R 20:1 (Catalogue 2). The question of the origin and meaning of this practice remains open: Whitley attributes the ritual to Crete, Blandin to Attica, without examining the different varieties of the killing ritual (Whitley 2002, 224; cf. Whitley 1991, 116-137; Blandin 2007, 113). One could opt for a generalist perspective that sees the breaking of the sword in the broader context of the defunctionalization of various classes of objects in graves, as suggested by Åström (Åström 1987; Grinsell 1961); or focus, as I propose, on the weapons themselves, on their intrinsic meaning, on their indissoluble connection with the buried individual, and on the fact that the desired warping had to be carried out by a smith by heating and hammering, contributing to the lavishness of the funerary ceremony. Swords cannot be reduced to that state simply by being thrown onto a pyre, as Blandin explains, challenging an earlier hypothesis by Bédard (Blandin 2007, 113, with further literature; 134 and note 1493). Furthermore, not all swords associated with cremations are bent; finally, only in some cases did I find an indication that the swords were actually burnt with the corpse: that of the double burial of Metropolitan Church, concerning which Dontas explicitly mentions incinerated human remains adhering to the sword (and the spear) (fig. 6); that of G 38, whose weapons, Kübler affirms, were burnt on the pyra (fig. 7a-b); the Areopagus Warrior (Agora grave D 16:4), whose iron weapons and tools "had apparently been placed on the pyre with the body and after the cremation was completed were gathered up in a cloth parcel or parcels and inserted into the cavity beside the urn", and the cases of the "burnt" swords from PG 28 and G 13 (Dontas 1953-54; Kübler 1954, 26; Blegen 1952, 281; Kübler 1943, 34; 1954, 219).

An interesting parallel for this apparently rare rite is provided by Tomb 14, at Toumba (fig. 8a-b), one of "five cremations in which the ashes were treated in the Athenian manner" (Coldstream 2007, 138; cf. Marini 2003, 42 f., 51). This is a double burial of the late 10th century where "the female urn is an import, though not certainly from Athens; but the male vessel is a close local copy of an Athenian prototype, and belonged to a warrior whose sword was 'killed' in the Athenian manner, curled round the neck of his urn so that no one might use it again". Coldstream assumes that the Athenian married couple came to live in Lefkandi and that the warrior and his wife were "in view of their burial in the Toumba cemetery, connected in some way with the royal clan". According to the preliminary report, both the killed sword and the spearhead "had been previously placed in the pyre and were partly melted which in the case of the sword had preserved the imprint of the cloth with which it had been in contact in the fire" (Fraser 1969, 9; cf. Popham et al. 1980, 9. Coldstream 2007, 138. The sword was found "bent double at burial" and not curled around the vase, cf. Popham et al. 1980, 175ff., pls. 159, 174-175, 202 d-f; 237a; 245d; the blade is c. 74 cm long. cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 318.
A bent sword associated with a spearhead, a knife and a whetstone comes from "Athenian" hole-in-trench urn cremation Tomb 50 (fig. 8c-d), dating to LPG/SPG I (Coldstream 2007, 138; cf. Popham et al., 1988-1989, 118; Popham – Lemos 1996, pls. 14, 57; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 339A). Pyre 14, "of a warrior who had cremated with his sword and given a fine collection of vases and an Attic import", lies immediately above Tomb 50 and is dated to SPG IIa (Popham et al., 1988-1989, 118, figs. 1, 13; Popham – Lemos 1996, pls. 86-87; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 339B). Nevertheless it seems worth noting that both swords from the above mentioned burials were not found wrapped around the shoulder of the urn but bent and laid beside it, and I know of a single similar case from Athens, i.e., Kerameikos grave G 38.

A further example from the cemetery of Toumba, apart from the above discussed group of burials, is provided by Tomb 79, dated to SPG II, better known as the "Tomb of the Euboean Warrior-Trader" for the exceptional find of 12 stone weights: in the lateral niche, "beside the cauldron had been placed a 'killed' iron sword and a spearhead, both resembling in form others from the cemetery", together with some 25 arrowheads, two iron knives and other grave-goods including exotica (Popham – Lemos 1995, 152, length of blade not indicated; Lemos 2003, 190 f.; cf. Marini 2003, 44 f.). I think the completing of the general study of the necropolis of Toumba will soon shed light on the meaning of this ritual in the broader context of burials with weapons at Lefkandi.

Smithson approached this phenomenon with a positivist spirit, suggesting that the fact that "all swords that had been certainly mutilated come from urn-holes suggests...that only by breaking...a meter long sword could it be fitted in such cramped quarters"; a similar scepticism can be found in Catling (Smithson 1974, 341; Catling 1996, 518). Smithson thus rejected the hypothesis of a "ritual meaning of the killing of the sword...to ensure that it follow its dead master, an explanation proposed for deformed weapons in Northern European warrior burials", adopted by Dontas (Smithson 1974, 342; cf. Dontas 1953-1954, 94). However, Dontas was trying to account for a ritual behavior shared by distant and different societies, in the framework of the "metallurgic koine" I referred to above regarding weapons from LH IIIC Achaean tombs. The subject will need to be further investigated in the future, since many examples of contorted swords have been recorded from the Final Bronze onward in the broader European context (cf. Bianco Peroni 1970; Haffner 1989; Sankot 2003). Finally, some specimens were found broken in a more or less high number of fragments (G 13, hs109, etc.); the cause of the breaking is not mentioned in the excavation reports, nor would I be able to determine it without a re-examination conducted with appropriate techniques. Cases are known where such breakage is regarded as intentional rather than a result of corrosion (Whitley 2002, 223 for the evidence from Sellopoulos and Mavro Spelio, with literature).

The fact that four contorted specimens found in Athens have blades longer than 70 cm is intriguing (Kerameikos G 38, Mitsaion/Zitrou, Agora D 16:4; Kerameikos PG 28)10. The sword in Agora N 16:4, placed outside the amphora holding the ashes, was not bent. With its 70.5-cm blade, it stands at the transition from middle to long blades (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 110, nos. 317 etc.) (Catalogue 2). The sword from hs 109, an inhumation, was also unbent, although its blade was 82 cm long. The length of the sword bent around amphora inv. 6358 in the Museum of Peiraeus, from a recently discovered ELIA cemetery on Salamis, is unknown (fig. 5d: Dekoulakou 1991; Steinhauer 1998, 36-37). Finally, neck-handled amphora MN A1845, whose provenance is unknown, has traces of an iron sword wrapped around it (fig. 5b: Whitley 1991, 130).

10. The case of PG 6 seems to me unclear: I could not find any representation showing the sword killed as it has been described (see Catalogue 1).
The grave-goods from Agora D 16:4 (of the so-called "Areopagus Warrior"), the best known of Athenian burials with killed weapons, includes a rider or charioteer's kit – two iron horse bits (the fact that they are a pair actually evokes a chariot) – and what is probably a goad (figs. 5a, 9a-c). Thus, we can work on the hypothesis that the bent long swords, rather than being typical of an earlier period, as Lemos seems to suggest, are the weapons of elite warriors who fight on horseback or chariots; however, to better understand the phenomenon and its ritual implications, we need adequate analyses of the alloys and the treatment of the objects during the funerary ritual, a treatment that certainly required the intervention of a specialist. The inclusion of equestrian symbols highlights the high status of the deceased. The long procession of the Amarysia festival, which went from Eretria to the sanctuary of Artemis at Amyrnthos, included 60 carriages, 600 riders, and 3000 hoplites, a composition mirroring the hierarchic pyramid of armed men (Strab. X, 10-12; cf. Blandin 2007, 113).

ΦΑΣΓΑΝΑ VERSUS ΞΙΦΟΣ: UNCERTAINTY REGARDING PRODUCTION CENTERS

"Naue II" swords date all the way back to the LBA (LH IIIIB). The model was reproduced in iron in the PG, if not earlier, which suggests that the workshops were the same, although archaeological confirmation is still lacking, no production sites having been identified so far (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 5, 154, 170; cf. Lemos 2002, 117ff., 125; Deger Jalkotzy 2006, 172). In particular, it is not clear whether in the EIA there was a single production center or several local ones; especially since the corrosion of the weapons further complicates their typological classification, and hence the determining of their origin (Lemos 2002, 117 and n. 107; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 8).

A valid alternative to both hypotheses is that of production by itinerant craftsmen. S. Verdan has formulated this theory on the basis of evidence from Eretria, where traces of the working of both iron and bronze were found in the sanctuary of Apollo, suggesting the presence of itinerant craftsmen producing objects for the local community under the patronage of the deity (Verdan 2007; Blandin 2007, 110). This model could explain the drastic simplification of the articulate typology of the BA, which reflected a multiplicity of production centers in the general framework of a palatial economy. Itinerant craftsmen may have followed fixed circuits, and centers such as Athens, Lefkandi, or later Eretria, where swords were of great symbolic significance in funerary ritual, may have been strong links in the productive chain. The same may have been true of Crete, whose necropoleis have yielded early and abundant evidence of the funerary use of swords (Kilian Dirlmeier 1993, 107-109; Catling 1996, 518-21; Snodgrass 1996a, 577-580; cf. Lemos 2002, 118).

Of course, the question remains open, as does that of the term used for sword: φάσγανα in Mycenaean documents12 (with 25 "residual" occurrences) (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 5, 154, 170; cf. Lemos 2002, 117ff., 125; Deger Jalkotzy 2006, 172).

11. Blegen 1952; Müller-Karpe 1962, 127; cf. Lemos 2002, 118, n. 118, who stresses that this burial is coeval with the Toumba warrior tomb (Popham – Lemos 1995, 151-157). I am grateful to Claudio Giardino for clarifying this issue: it is Giardino who realized that the object from burial D 16:4 usually interpreted as a "chisel" (so Blegen, who defines the buried warrior "a craftsman") is actually a goad; such unusual implements are indeed found associated with horse bits in Etruscan graves; e.g., in T. 303 in the necropolis of S. Vitale in Bologna (Pincelli – Morigi Govi 1975, 197, pl. 1603).

12. For this I drew on the competence of Matilde Civitillo, who informed me that: "The term [Ειφος] occurs only once in Mycenaean documents, in a rather controversial context, since it appears in the dual case in PY Ta 716.2, in the form qi-si-pe-e, in association with terms and ideograms (some of them hapax legomena) of very uncertain reading (pa-sa-ro ku-ru-so a-pi to-ni-jo 2 wa-o *232 qi-si-pe-e *234 2). In any case, it does not seem possible that this occurrence refers to the sword (regularly designated by the term pa-ka-na, fasgana) because it is not followed by the ideogram that is usually associated with the term elsewhere (*233 PUG); as a consequence, scholars
currences in Homer), ἵφος in epos and in written sources of the historical period (Foltiny 1980, E 232-236; Papadopoulos 1998, 46). When did the switch occur? Did the function of the weapon change as well, and in what measure? At Athens, in the so called Tomb of the Bronzes (LH IIIA) on the northern slope of the Areopagus, containing three buried individuals, a pair of swords of different lengths were found on either side of a wooden table with traces of blue paint placed at the side of one of the deceased (fig. 10: “Burial C”; a male, ca. 55, Immerwahr 1971, 171, pl. 35.a.b, 81, VI-1; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, nos. 75, 130). At Perati, Tomb 12, the sword and the knife (the famous bronze specimen with a handle in the shape of a duck-head) were deposited near the entrance, “in memory of a warrior who had been once deposited in the tomb” and the hilt of the sword rested on a small thin stone plaque (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 156: the evidence is interpreted in the context of a ceremonious abandonment of the tomb). This arrangement (sword on a table or plaque) evokes ritual forms connected to the sacrifice and the banquet that have been recently investigated with significant results, although mainly in non-funerary contexts (fig. 11a-c: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1990; 1993, 170; Peatfield 2000, 69; Wright 2004).

DAGGERS, SPEARHEADS, SEX AND AGE CLASSES

The distinction between swords, dirks (or short swords) and daggers is based on blade length, irrespective of shape, and is largely conventional. Daggers are commonly found in late Helladic graves associated with other weapons, frequently a sword (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 141-143; Papadopoulos 1998, 46 f.). Small and portable objects, as Papadopoulos remarks, daggers are “an implement at least as much domestic as for warlike use” (Snodgrass 1967, 16; cf. Papadopoulos 1998 and n. 175 for a more in-depth discussion about the function of these weapons).

The two earliest EIA Athenian daggers are patterned after Naue II swords, and are said to be “the earliest iron weapons found in Athens”; on this point, however, I refer the reader to my above considerations on tomb LXXIX at Križei and PG 2 N (cf. Lemos 2002, 120, who, however, correctly dates the latter burial to an earlier period than those with daggers, ibid., 230). Specimens with still preserved ivory hilts and pommels were found in double burial PG A, (fig. 12: of a male, age 20-22, Kraiker 1939, 101, n. 1) and in PG B (probably of a male) (fig. 13); wholly preserved in the latter case, with a blade just 13 cm long out of an overall length of 21 cm. The two daggers are similar and, indeed, the burials were found in the same sector of the necropolis and are chronologically close (fig. 14: Ruppenstein 2007, 203 f.). Müller-Karpe remarked that, because of their exceptionally small size (“Kleinheit namentlich des Griffes”), these two daggers must have been prestige objects, not made for a practical use (“kostbare Repräsentationsstücke”), fashioned in a period when iron was a new material (Müller-Karpe 1962, 61; cf. Lemos 2002, 101, for “iron stage 1”). Inlaid daggers were still used as ceremonial and parade weapons in the LBA (Papadopoulos 1998, 47: two such daggers from tholos tomb 2 at Myrsinochorion-Routsi, of a woman of high social rank). An MPG occurrence is known from Kerameikos grave PG 17 (only the blade survives, L. cm 14.5) (fig. 15); a further specimen from Križei T. II (unpublished) is dated to MGI; a “dagger or dirk” whose handle still survives was found in Gr. V in the Dipylon Plot, associated with a sword; finally, the case of Thorikos remains doubtful due to the poor conservation of the metal finds (Brückner-Pernice 1893, 108; Mc Donald 1961).
ATHENIAN BURIALS WITH WEAPONS

These scanty finds offer a precarious foundation at best for considerations on the association of this type of weapon with very young individuals, although it is indeed well suited to them, since their physical immaturity makes them unfit to wield a sword: “Thus, it is possible that daggers might have been more suitable offerings than swords to youths and boys” (Lemos 2007, 278). Nevertheless, this hypothesis is contradicted by a comparison with grave PG 17, where the set of iron dagger and spearhead (“possibly the earliest iron spearhead in Greece”, according to Snodgrass) was given to a man aged 40-60 (Breitinger 1939, 259; Snodgrass 1964, 114, A8). The association – for which see Catalogue 3 – is well represented in the LBA and occurs at Athens in the recently discovered Chamber Tomb Agora J-K 2:2, north of the Eridanos river, dated to LH IIIA (Camp 2003, 254-262). At any rate, daggers fell out of use in Athenian funerary customs, in parallel with the spread of knives, which are also found in female burials. On the function of knives, which is still insufficiently investigated, I refer the reader to other studies (Lemos 2002, 123; Marini 2003, 34 and note 115; cf. Blandin 2007, 118). I would limit myself to observing that care should be taken to distinguish those found among the charred remains from the filling of the shaft – as in the case of double burial PG A, where the knife is interpreted as the “Opfermesser” used in the funerary rite – from those found among the grave-goods, sometimes associated with other weapons (for which see Catalogue 1: Kerameikos, the southern bank, nos. 7, 11, 14; Agora, nos. 1-3)14.

Spearheads vary in size from one area to the other, and their study requires a contextual approach15. Archaeology usually cannot tell us what woods the hafts were made of (for the rosewood of the specimen from hS 109, see Catalogue 1). Each wood had specific functional characteristics; indeed, in epic the terminology for spears distinguishes them by the different woods they were made of16.

In my re-examination of Athenian burials with weapons, (without considering the scanty and not fully published evidence from Attica), I counted 21 spearheads (Catalogue 3). The 8 earlier ones are of bronze and are distributed over a chronological span going from the SM to the EG (for the use of bronze, cf. Snodgrass 1964, 103ff., 133 f., and above p. 598). They include: Kriezi T. LXX, with two specimens; Kerameikos Gr. 128 N; both burials in PGA, and PG B; and the specimen from ARII (for which see above p. 593). The remaining spearheads are of iron and date from the PG (probably the MPG) to the LG (Catalogue 3). All the bronze specimens whose dimensions are known are well under 27-28 cm, the length starting from which LBA spearheads of peninsular Italy and Sicily are regarded as long enough for single combat between foot soldiers, being heavy enough to have sufficient force of impact, but not so heavy as to be unwieldy (c. 200-500 gr.). The longest and heavier spearheads (30-40 cm and more) obviously belong to weapons “designed not to be hurled, but to be wielded in direct combat, and hence as an alternative to the sword” (Pacciarelli 2006, 251, my translation). At any rate, the problem of distinguishing between throwing and thrusting-spears is a thorny one and, according to Snodgrass who examined the Greek


15. On Eretria, cf. Blandin 2007, 114ff., who observed three length groups: 20-21 cm, c. 29 cm, and 31-36 cm; Blandin notes that the same variations in length are observable at Lefkandi.

16. I owe to my colleague Alberto Manco a lesson on the epic terminology for the spear I wish he will develop into a paper, due to the relevance of the observations made by him from the linguistic point of view in the perspective of the archeological research regarding the weapon.

The longer Athenian specimens come from T. Agora D 16:4 (a pair, with lengths of 27.5 and 37.5 cm), G 2 (L. 32.25), hS 109 (L. 31.1) (fig. 9b), and G 38, which yielded a 50-cm-long spearhead that has no parallels in this archaeological context (fig. 7b); this last one brings to mind Achilles’ lance, the only weapon that Patroclus did not borrow from the invincible hero, because none of the Achaeans was able to lift it (ll. 16, 139-141).

Of the spears from Athenian graves, only 2, as we have seen, were associated with daggers – which are in any case very rare – but 8 with swords, suggesting that spears played a significant role in combat (Catalogue 3). The burials where the only weapon was a spear usually contained few grave-goods. Among these, G 2 is especially remarkable for its pottery, the bronze cup used as a lid for the urn, and the use of a stone and crater as grave markers (Kübler 1954, 210-212).

Greek sanctuaries have yielded a number of very long iron spearheads (Avila 1983, nos. 952-953, 965-966, 970, 991, 1049, 1053, 1064-1066); several parallels for these have been found in Italy, in funerary contexts as well as the Contigliano-Piediluco hoard, which yielded BF-EIA spearheads of exceptional length, 50 cm and more (literature in Pacciarelli 2006). In south-central Italy and Sicily, there is a trend to shorter swords paralleled by one to longer spearheads. Furthermore, several Italian EIA graves have yielded pairs of spearheads with very different lengths and, hence, functions. In this context, the generalization of the use of the spear coincides with the extension of the warrior role to most of the male adult population. The emergence of warriors armed with heavy lances reflects changing war tactics, where battles are no longer a sum of single combats, but frontal clashes between organized infantries, although not necessarily already in close formation. There is decisive evidence in the EIA for the spread all the way to Bologna of a military organization based on spear-wielding soldiers, where the role of swords became accessory and mostly symbolical (Peroni 1989). I find that the general framework reconstructed by Pacciarelli offers a useful comparative reference for Greece, especially as regards connections between functional interpretation and changes in war tactics and society. In this case, however, the comparison results in an opposition: among EIA Athenians, the sword appears to be the principal symbol of the warrior in burials, whereas the spear seems to play a supporting role – the number of observed associations is high –, and no secondary symbolic weapons package – connected, for example, to juvenile age – is observable. The above-mentioned case of Kerameikos grave PG 17, an adult male aged 40-60, buried with a spearhead and a dagger (fig. 15), is remarkable, and does not allow us to regard the association of spearhead and dagger as characteristic of juvenile age, as the evidence of PG A double burial might suggest (see here on p. 598 and Catalogue 1). Distinct weapons for different age-groups are attested, instead, in other contexts, such as Torre Galli in Italy; here, many of the 26 tombs where the only weapon is an 8 to 17 cm long spearhead seem to have belonged to adolescents, whose main weapon must have been the javelin; this, if needed, could also be used as a light lance (Torre Galli). It cannot be ruled out, however, that this model could also apply to some Greek sites; Lemos calls attention to the fact that “in Pieria, iron spearheads are common at Vergina, occurring in a variety of forms. Interestingly, they are rarely associated with swords and are usually found in less wealthy tombs” (Lemos 2002, 122 and n. 141; Andronikos 1969, 269-272; cf. Rhomiopoulou – Kilian-Dirlmeier 1989, 133 and 129, fig. 39).

I think that, for the advancement of research on this subject, an accurate diachronic analysis of weapon associations at the different sites where they occur is called for; and that their cultural interpretation should be based on grave-good associations and, where available, human remains. Although in most cas-
es where skeletal remains were found the use of the weapons found in graves is compatible with the age of the deceased, exceptional burials of children with weapons they clearly never used reflects, instead, the appearance of behaviour that is merely rank-connected. The case of Plasi, so far only documented by a preliminary report, is remarkable: here an adolescent was buried with a long sword among the abandoned Late Helladic ruins. An age of 11-16 years was ascertained for the deceased in Erechtheiou T. Gamma, but, considering the very fragmentary state of the grave-goods, which included pieces of a sword, I doubt that the burial was intact (Brouskari 1980, 21). Lemos herself stresses that, in such cases, status “is ascribed and not achieved”, a situation that is indicative of a rank-based society (Lemos 2007, 275 ff., and n. 9). To avoid jumping to naïve conclusions when studying the evidence, more account should be taken of osteological data, when available, to base interpretation as far as possible on objective information about the sex and, above all, the age group of the deceased; also, a clear awareness should be maintained of the fact that grave-goods do not necessarily reflect the actual life story of the buried individual, nor describe in a form that is clear to us the society to which he or she belongs (Whitley 2002, 227).

In the sites under investigation, only one grave, T. 3 Bouratza at Eretria, yielded a sword ascribable to a woman. Here, however, the gracility of the bones was the only available diagnostic criterion; hence, it cannot be ruled out that the grave actually belonged to an adolescent or an individual in a precarious health condition (Blandin 2007, 112). Nevertheless, if we consider earlier periods, there are the two inlaid - or parade weapons - from a female grave at Myrsinochorion-Routsi (Papadopoulos 1998, 47 and nos. 31-32, LH II-IIIA1). Caution is therefore advisable when osteological data are lacking. Conversely, fibulae, pins, and rings usually regarded as diagnostic of a female burial when found in Athenian graves, sometimes also distinguish individuals of the male gender, as I noted above (593 and Catalogue 1).

**CONCLUSIONS**

Like other EIA settlements, Athens "was made up by an agglomeration of houses and burials", according to a still valid model proposed some time ago (Snodgrass 1980, 28-31; Morris 1987, 62-65; Lemos 2002, 188; 2006, 514; cf. Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 386-388; D’Onofrio 2007-2008). This model applies also to a much earlier settlement pattern, as Mountjoy demonstrated through her study of the LH and SM evidence (Mountjoy 1995, 70-73). To shed light on the societal dynamics underlying this model, however, we need to introduce data that can help us gauge the scale of the peopling of the area. The extension of the more or less discontinuously settled area of the Asty in Geometric times, including both funerary areas and areas that have yielded more or less evident signs of occupation, is c. 475 ha (map in D’Onofrio 2007-2008, fig. 1). This is a vast area, too vast to be regarded as being occupied by a single settlement (the walled area of 5th-century Athens is c. 211 ha., the walled area of Thebes at its apogee may have been 350 ha., cf. Bintliff 1994, 234). Investigations of the archaeological record are hence called for to circumscribe individual settlement units within the area of the Asty where

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17. AD 34, 1979, Χρονικά, 90 (grave 1): The burial (1.56 by 0.55-0.60 m) was covered by a schist slab. Schist slabs also faced the sides. On the bottom, on a floor of small pebbles, was a “heap of bones” of an adolescent (length of skeleton: 1.40) laid out in a supine position. Beside the skull was a trilobate oinochoe, on the left humerus a bronze fibula, and by the left hand a knife and a PG lekythos. A long iron sword with the remains of a bone sheath were found on the pelvis. The sheath was probably attached to the belt. Bronze rings graced the fingers of both hands of the deceased. I could not find any further reference to this find.

18. I am grateful to the architect G.G. Russo Raucci for having calculated the Asty extension by using AUTOCAD program.
the communities were organized in several small family clans, according to the model recently proposed by Mazarakis Ainian for those settlements “which accepted burials within or in close proximity to the space of living, or a more loose organization of the cemeteries according to the clusters of dwellings, into family groups” (Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 389: Athens, Corinth, Argos, Asine, Old Smyrna fall in this category and “withstood better the changes which ended in the formation of the polis”).

The dissemination of tombs with weapons, with their characteristic (and relatively rare) symbolic package, in the several necropoleis or grave plots of the area, provides important clues to the identification of the individual communities residing in the area surrounding the Acropolis (whose degree of autonomy is still being investigated). Besides, the distribution of burials with weapons, and especially with swords, shows changes over time that will need to be interpreted within a comprehensive framework. In the better known northern sector of the Asty, the earliest evidence is that from Kriezi (SM-LG), which is soon joined by that from the northern bank of the Kerameikos (SM/EPG-EGII) and the coeval and more populous necropolis on the south bank of the Eridanos (SM/EPG-EGII); in both of these cemeteries, however, burials with weapons cease to appear before the Dipylon graves (LG) come into the picture. The extensive American excavations in the Agora have yielded a series of burials with weapons that begin later than those in the above-mentioned sites, but are conspicuous and of great symbolic impact (LPG-MGI). In the Metropolis Church and Ag. Markou Street, only two limited trials have yielded isolated burials with weapons, respectively EGII and LPG, whereas the only tomb with a sword from the extensive Vasilissis Sophias necropolis, T. 51 (unpublished), is undated. The exiguous evidence of burials with weapons from the southern sector of the city – 6 in all, datable between LPG and LGI, as far as one can judge from the preliminary information available so far – is not so far comparable with the abundant archaeological record from the northern versant.

Returning to the theme of the evolution of settlement patterns in the middle run, it seems clear that most of the LH III cemeteries continued into the SM and PG, the question, however, is whether this topographic continuity reflects a social one as well, in terms both of kinship groups and of a broader form of social organization (Lemos 2006). Some cases show brisk discontinuities. A significant example can be found in the still unpublished necropolis of Vasilissis Sophias on the east versant of the Asty. This was a burial ground for two generations approximately datable, respectively, to the SM and PG, after which it yields no further evidence. A single “chief” was found here, buried with his sword (T. 51, already mentioned above), according to a model that was well defined by Deger-Jalkotzy for LH IIIC (ΔΔ 38, 1983, Ἡρώικα, B1, 23). Scholars are looking forward to the publication of at least part of the grave-goods, hoping they will shed light on their relationship with Athenian necropoleis. A comparison with the final phase of Perati would be especially interesting.

Still, it is not easy to determine the degree of mutual integration of the groups gathered in the Asty area in their new “Dark Age” configuration, in what Holtzmann poetically defined as the “uncertainties of dawn”. The distance of some necropoleis from both the Acropolis itself and one another suggests that they belonged to distinct communities under “local rulers”; conversely, however, resemblances in funerary rites and material culture indicate a remarkable cultural unity (Lemos 2006, 524, esp. n. 63).

A contextual archaeological analysis of the graves, and especially of burials with weapons, could provide significant clues about socially shared values. In the specific case of the weapons ritual, it reveals that, in the period discussed here, rigid criteria regulated the attribution of weapons as grave-goods within the already selective ensemble of archaeologically visible male burials.
The burial weapon ritual, as is known, disappeared slightly after the middle of the eighth century (c. 735 BC), the celebrated Dipylon graves, excavated in 1893 and well known for the extraordinary vases used as *semata*, being among its latest attestations (graves IV and V, plus a sporadic sword published by Dümmel). In "grave V" the deceased, described as an adult male, was found inhumed, his face turned westwards; beside him were a sword, two spears, and a dirk. "Dipylon grave IV", also a male inhumation, yielded a sword and seems to be connected to one of the huge *semata*. Snodgrass observed about the frequency of this iconographic subject in this specific context: of the 26 Attic vases with battle scenes, 16 come from "a single Athenian workshop whose activity may have lasted little more than a decade, around 750 BC" and "most of these pictures were produced not only by, but also for, a handful of people - the family group or groups that used the Piraeus Street cemetery" (Snodgrass 1987, 148ff.). Even from the scanty available data it is clear that some males were buried with weapons in the Piraeus St. necropolis, at a time when elsewhere the ritual of weapons had been generally abandoned. D'Agostino also notices an evolution in the iconography of warriors on LG vases, where the warrior's weapons are often exhibited in the *prothesis* scenes as part of the lavish funeral celebrating the dead's departure from his own distinguished family and social *entourage* (d'Agostino 2008; see also Brigger – Giovannini 2004).

Catalogue 1. Topographical distribution of burials with weapons in the Asty area. Burials with swords are in bold character (daggers are not). The anthropological data and the ritual treatment of the weapons are indicated, when known. Personal ornaments, when found, are also indicated.

**NORTHERN ASTY**

**KRIEZI**


5. T II. Cremation in neck-handled amphora. MGI. Alexandri 1968, 22ff. The sword and a gold band were inside the amphora. Sword Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 335; Stromberg 1993, 171.


**PIRAEUS St., ‘Dipylon Cemetery’ graves**


2. Grave V. Inhumation, partially excavated. G. Brückner – Pernice 1893, 108. Adult. Two spearheads by the feet of the dead, points (lost) downwards; the sword and a dirk or dagger ("Dolch"), both with their wooden sheath, lay on the right side of the body. A gold band was found under the chin. Sword Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 332; Snodgrass 1964, 97, no. 41; Strömberg 1993, 142b.


**KERAMEIKOS / THE NORTHERN BANK OF ERIDANOS**

1. Grave 128 N. Inhumation (Steinkistengrab), disturbed. SM ("Stufe III"). Ruppenstein 2007, 17 f., pl. 13. Bronze spearhead (Avila type IX) found in the left upper corner of the tomb. The point was directed towards the deceased's head (plan in Hoepfner 1976, pl. 21).

3. PG Grave A, amphora on the west. Cremation in neck-handled amphora. Double burial (with amphora on the east). EPG. Male, age 20-22. Kraiker – Kübler 1939, 100-103, pls. 3-4, 29-31. Bronze spearhead "bei der Präparation stark angeschrägt" (Müller-Karpe 1962, 120), and iron dagger ("Dolch"), both deposited outside the amphora. A fragment of the socket was found inside the amphora. Avila 1983, no. 882; Snodgrass 1964, 120ff., D2; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 180 (A); Strömberg 1993, 53. The iron blade of a knife – perhaps the "Opfermesser" used in the funerary rites – comes from the ashes filling the shaft, above both burials.


6. PG E. Cremation in earth-cut pit. MPG. Kraiker – Kübler 1939, 106 f., fig. 8, pl. 36. The sword with its wooden sheath, slightly bent, struck at the hilt and broken in 8 pieces, had been deposited onto the floor of the trench. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 326; Strömberg 1993, 150; Snodgrass 1964, 98, no. 2 (Type IA, short blades, considered as dirks)

7. G 74. Cremation in neck-handled amphora. EGII. Kübler 1954, 260 f., pls. 25-26, 68, 70, 84, 105, 163. The hilt and the tip of the blade of a sword were found inside the amphora, along with a badly damaged fragment of an iron spearhead. Sword Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, cat. 327A; Snodgrass 1964, 103, no. 3; Strömberg 1993, 157.

KERAMEIKOS / THE SOUTHERN BANK OF ERIDANOS


7. PG 28. Cremation in neck-handled amphora. LPG. Kübler 1943, 34ff., pls. 6, 8, 15, 20, 38. Sword (killed, "verbranntes", Kübler 1943, 34; "naha der Spitzte spitzig umgewickelter Eisendraht", ibid. 35; but Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993 mentions "two iron rings" on the tip of the blade). One exceptional iron knife (L. 27), also killed. An iron arrowhead was found inside the amphora. Sword Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 274 (on pl. 40 the rings are illustrated). Snodgrass 1964, 94, n. 5; Strömberg 1993, 75.


1. Agora grave N 16:4. Cremation in neck-handled amphora. LPG. Thompson, Hesperia 25, 1956, 48f; Jdl 77, 1962, fig. 27.6. The sword (broken in 7 pieces) lay fully stretched out in the pyre trench, the hilt tangent to the urn-hole. Sword Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 317; Snodgrass 1964, 94, n. 11.

2. Agora grave D 16:4 (Grave XXVII). Cremation in neck-handled amphora. EGI. Male, age ca. 34. Blegen 1952, 279-293, figs. 1-4, pls. 73-75. Sword broken in 3 pieces, killed and wrapped around the urn (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 278; Snodgrass 1964, 94, no. 10). The iron weapons and tools had apparently been placed on the pyre with the body and after the cremation was completed were gathered up in a cloth parcel or parcels and inserted into the cavity beside the urn. Among the metal finds: a pair of spearheads (Avila 1983, nos. 888-889; Snodgrass 1964, 122, G3-G4), a broad axe-head; a pair of snaffle-bits and two knives. Two small bone rings found in the ashes in the urn. Avila 1983, no. 893; Snodgrass 1964, 121, D4; Stromberg 1993, 109.

3. Agora grave R 20:1, disturbed. Cremation in neck-handled amphora. EGI. Thompson, Hesperia 16, 1947, 196f, fig. 1, pl. XLII. Sword, with traces of wooden sheath on blade, leaning against the amphora, alongside with the shaft of a pin (?). Sword Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 324; Stromberg 1993, 135.

4. Areopagus grave AR II. Cremation in trench cut in bedrock. EGI. Thompson, Hesperia 43, 1974, 340-343, pls. 69a, 71f, h-i. In the layer of ash and earth filled with burnt matter which covered the floor of the trench, beneath a deep skyphos, a bronze spearhead and, to the S of that, pieces of an iron sword. Both the weapons went lost without documentation, apart from the sketches in Dörpfeld’s diary, 1897. Strömberg 1993, 138.

5. Areopagus grave AR V. Cremation in earth-cut trench. MGI. Smithson, Hesperia 43, 1974, 347-349, 365, pl. 68c. An iron sword (but in AM 22, 1897, 478, it becomes "ein eiternes Messer"), found in the ash layer went lost without any documentation; it is mentioned in Dörpfeld’s diary, 1897. Strömberg 1993, 140.

AGORA AND AREOPAGUS NORTH SLOPES


2. Mitsaion/Zitrou. Cremation in neck-handled amphora. EGI. Sword (hilt and tip of the blade broken) bent around the shoulder of the ash urn. The hilt of a sword or knife was found inside the amphora, alongside with a pin. O. Alexandri, Ad 22, 1967, Χρονικά, 102 f., pl. 94b; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, cat. 276 (killed, MG); Strömberg 1993, 173a.
3. Erechtheiou, T VI. Cremation in neck-handled amphora. MGII/LGI. Alexandri 1968, 55ff. The sword, with traces of the wooden sheath, lay beside the amphora. A gold band was found inside it. Sword Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 319; Strömberg 1993, 161.


ATTICA

1. Eleusis. Tomb. G. A spearhead found with iron implements, etc., but no other weapons. No measurements. AE 1889, 181; Snodgrass 1964, 123, G7.

2. Marathon (Plasi). Inhumation (cist tomb) in LH structures. PG or G. Ad 34, 1979, Χρονικά, 90. Adolescent (skeleton L. 1.40). A long iron sword with its bone sheath was found on the pelvis, probably tied on the belt. A hilted knife by the left hand. Bronze rings on the fingers of both hands and a bronze fibula on the left upper arm.


ATHENS OR ATTICA (provenance unknown)

1. Neck-handled amphora, NM, inv. A 18045. EG? Coldstream 1968, 13, pl. 1 c; Benson 1970, 26ff., pl. IV, fig. 1, pl. V, fig.1-2; Whitley 1991, 130, pl. 5. Fragment of a killed sword bent around the shoulder of the vase.


Catalogue 2: The length of the Athenian swords (blades go from a minimum of 44.8 to a maximum of 90 (cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 53, fig. 32). The numbers on the left refer to Kilian-Dirlmeier's catalogue; the grave reference is in brackets (cf. Catalogue 1 for bibliographical references), followed by the length of the blade. Measures are in cm.

Blade over 30 up to 70:

316 (PG 6: still 44.8 tip of blade broken, killed?)

326 (PG E: still 465)

273 (G 2: 482)

277 (Kavalotti Gr. 4: still 49.1, tip of blade broken)

324 (Agora R 20:1: still 555)

319 (Erechtheion T. IV: 66)

332 (Dipylon Gr. V: ca. 70)

Blade over 70 up to 90:

317 (Agora N 16:4: 705)

329 (Ilissos grave: 72)

275 (G 38: still ca. 80) killed

276 (Mitsaoion/Zitrou: still 815) killed

322 (hs 109, inhumation: still 82)

323 (G 13: 83 according to Kübler 1954, 219)

278 (Agora D 16:4: 883) killed

274 (PG 28: ca. 90) killed

Catalogue 3: Bronze and iron spearheads in the Athenian burials. Bold font indicates those associated with a sword, italics those associated with a dagger, bold and italics those associated with both a sword and a dagger.

BRONZE

SM

Krieki T. LXX (a pair)

Tr. Kerameikos Grave 128

EPG

PG A 1: Avila 1983, no. 882 (age 20-22)


EPG

PG B: Avila 1983, no. 883 (adolescent)

EG

Krieki T. X (unpublished)

EGII

Areopagus N Slope AR II

(lost; heirloom?)

IRON

PG (MPG?) Metropolitan church

(association uncertain)

MPG

PG 34: Avila1983, no. 885

LPG

PG 17: Avila 1983, no. 886 (age 40-60)

LPG

PG 32: Avila 1983, no. 887
ATHENIAN BURIALS WITH WEAPONS

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Fig. 1. Neck-amphora from an unpublished SM burial excavated in Kriezi st., T. LXX, which contained a pair of bronze spearheads (Alexandri 1967, pl. 85a).

Fig. 2. Bronze spearhead from Gr. 128/1, L. 18.0 cm, ascribed to Avila's type IX, from Kerameikos grave N 128 (Ruppenstein 2007, pl. 26).

Fig. 3. Kerameikos, the SM/EPG inhumation (disturbed). PG 2 N. a-b) the cist tomb before and after the removal of the cover slabs (Kubler 1943, pl. 2). c) Sword inv. M115, with its wooden sheath, L. 48.2 cm (Kilian – Dirlmeier 1993, pl. 40, n. 273). d-e) the lekythoi inv.nos. 847, 848 (Ruppenstein 2007, pl. 45).
Fig. 4. Kerameikos grave PG 40 (LPG). Content of the tomb (Müller-Karpe 1962, fig. 11).
Fig. 6. Spearhead and killed sword from the double burial of Metropolitan Church (Dontas 1953-1954, fig. 6).

Fig. 7. Kerameikos grave G 38. a) The killed sword, L. still ca. 80 cm (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, no. 275, pl. 40). b) The iron spearhead, L. 50 cm (Avila 1983, no. 892, pl. 36).

Fig. 9. Agora D 16:4, of the so-called "Areopagus Warrior". a) Plan and section of the tomb (after Blegen 1952, figs. 1-2). b) The metal finds from the grave (Blegen 1952, fig. 3).
Fig. 10. Tomb of the Bronzes (LH IIIA) on the northern slope of the Areopagus. A pair of bronze swords lay on a wooden table at the side of “Burial C” (Immerwahr 1971, pl. 81).

Fig. 11. Seal imprints showing a sacrificial table and the sword among other sacrificial paraphernalia (after Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 133 f., nos. 26-27, 37). a) Malta, by House E. Sealed cretula (SM/SH II). b) "Mycenae", Lentoid (SM/SH II). c) Aplomata, Naxos, Chamber Tomb B. Agate cushion seal (SM/SH III A).
Fig. 12. Kerameikos, grave PG A. Bronze spearhead (L. 26 cm) and iron dagger (L. 13.5 cm) (Kraiker – Kübler 1939, pl. 76).

Fig. 13. Kerameikos, grave PG B. Bronze spearhead (L. 19.5 cm) and iron dagger (L. 21 cm) (Kraiker – Kübler 1939, pl. 32).

Fig. 15. Kerameikos, PG 17. The iron spearhead (L. 23.5 cm) and the blade of an iron dagger with traces of bronze at the joint of the hilt (L. 14.5 cm) (Kraiker – Kübler 1939, pl. 76).

Fig. 14. Kerameikos, plan of the cemetery by the Sacred Gate, showing the location of burials PG A and PG B (Ruppenstein 2007, Faltplan).
Εν εις σωστική ανασκαφή πο πιδεμνήθηκε από την Β' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων το 2001-2002, σε κεντρική θέση της Κηφισιάς (εικ. 1), αποκαλύφθηκε εκτεταμένο νεκροταφείο με ευρήματα που χρονολογούνται από τη Γεωμετρική περίοδο και τον 4ο αι. μ.Χ. Ιδιαίτερα σημαντικά είναι οι ευρήματα της Κηφισιάς, για επαγωγικές συζητήσεις και τη συγκεκριμένη περίοδο της Κηφισιάς (Wiener, όπως και τον καθ. κ. Philip Betancourt. Ευχαριστώ τον ιδρυτή του Δρ. Malcolm Petouris για διευκολύνσεις στην εκτέλεση της ανασκαφής και για ευκαιρία να επηρεαστούμε σημαντικά από την ημετερή περιοδική περίοδο του νεκροταφείου. Τα εντυπωσιακά μνημεία και το πλούσιο των κτερισμάτων επιβεβαιώθηκαν αμέσως τον ιδιαίτερο χαρακτήρα του νεκροταφείου, που πιστεύεται ότι ήταν το κεντρικό αρχαίο δημοτικό νεκροταφείο της Κηφισιάς. 

Η ανασκαφή διενεργήθηκε περί τα 200 μ. προς τα ΒΔ του ηλεκτρικού σταθμού των ΗΣΑΠ Κηφισιάς, σε οικόπεδο ιδιοκτησίας Αριστ. Ζκοτίδα, κοντά στον γεωλόγο του ΠΓΜΕ κ. Στάθη Χιώτη, καθώς και προς τα μέλη του Δημοτικού Μουσείου της Κηφισιάς κκ. Α. Χιώτη και Κ. Καλαποτάκα για πολλές διευκολύνσεις και στήριξη του έργου κατά τη φάση της εκτέλεσης του.

1. Η ανασκαφή εκτελέσθηκε σε δύο φάσεις, το 2001-2002, επί υπογραφής Ευάγγελου Βενίζελου. Ευχαριστώ τον καθημερινό ηγετή της Κηφισιάς, καθώς και τον καθημερινό φορέα των αρχαίων θέσεων της Κηφισιάς. Μετά την ολοκλήρωση του έργου, ασκώντας αφής την επιλογή της θέσης του νεκροταφείου, την ανάπλαση και την ένταξη του νεκροταφείου σε οικόπεδο ιδιοκτησίας Αριστ. Ζκοτίδα, κοντά στον καθημερινό φορέα των αρχαίων θέσεων της Κηφισιάς. Μετά την ολοκλήρωση του έργου, ασκώντας αφής την επιλογή της θέσης του νεκροταφείου, την ανάπλαση και την ένταξη του νεκροταφείου σε οικόπεδο ιδιοκτησίας Αριστ. Ζκοτίδα, κοντά στον καθημερινό φορέα των αρχαίων θέσεων της Κηφισιάς.
ντά στη συμβολή των οδών Σωκράτους 21 και Αχαρνών (εικ. 2). Η έρευνα εδείξει ότι το γεω-
μετρικό νεκροταφείο της Κηφισιάς συγκατα-
lέγεται ανάμεσα στα σημαντικότερα της Αττι-
κής, όπως εκείνα της Μερέντας, της Αναβύσ-
σου, της Ελευσίνας και άλλων; Στην παρούσα έκθεση δίνεται η πρώτη συνοπτική παρουσία-
ση μίας σχετικά μικρής ομάδας τάφων, ιδιαίτε-
ρως σημαντικών, που ανήκαν στην αριστοκρα-
tία της γεωμετρικής Κηφισιάς. Η πλειονότητα των ευρημάτων που περιγράφονται παρακάτω εκτίθενται στο αρχαιολογικό μουσείο Κηφισιάς (Συλλογή Κηφισιάς). Στην Κηφισιά, ανέκαθεν γνωστή για τα πολυάριθμα ρωμαϊκά, ο Ηρώδης Αττικός. Ο Ηρώ-
δης είχε αναγεννησία στην περιοχή έπαυλη μονα-
dικής πολυτέλειας με θελκτικούς κήπους, δίπλα σε βαθιά δέντρα και πηγές με αναβλύζοντα νερά (A. Gellius Noctes Atticae I.2.1). Μοναδι-
κή ένδειξη της παρουσίας γεωμετρικού οικι-
σμού στην περιοχή, ήταν κάποιες σποραδικές και περιορισμένης έκτασης αναφορές σε κερα-
μακά ανακαλύφθηκαν στην ανατολική πλευρά της Αρχαϊ-
κής και Κλασικής περιόδου. Το γεωμετρικό νε-
κροταφείο περιλάμβανε τις εξής είκοσι-μία τάφο-
φεις, ενταφιασμούς σε λακκοειδείς τάφους και τάφος καυσίμου (πυρές: 53, 54, 55, 148, 178, 145, 126, 127, 124, 128, 51, 56, 100, 123, 132, 116, 7, 118, 150, 114, 38. Η πρωτοκαταρκτική εξέταση των τάφων έδειξε ισομετρική κατανομή μεταξύ ενταφια-
σμών και δευτερογενών καύσων. Τούλιχιστον εννέα από τους τάφους ανήκονταν σε τάφους καυ-
σίμους. Συνεπώς, αυτός ο ισομετρικός καταμετρισμός

2. Για τα σημαντικότερα νεκροταφεία της Γεωμετρι-
κής περιόδου, βλ. Coldstream 2003, 428. Η πυκνότερα και η επαλήλωξη των τάφων, ιδιαίτερα δε ο μνημειώδης χα-
ρακτής των πυρών της αρχαϊκής περιόδου του νεκρο-
tαφείου Κηφισιάς βρίσκονται πιοτά παραλλήλα στον Αθη-
Λυπημένοι τομέα (εικ. 4). Οι λάκκοι είχαν σημαντικό μήκος, ενώ οι παρειές είχαν λαξευθεί με ιδιαίτερη προσοχή. Η θέση των τριών τάφων θανάτων πανδούνας πυρήνη του γεωμετρικού νεκροταφείου. Εκτός αυτού, σε μικρή απόσταση και απλωμένοι προς τα δυτικά και τα νότια του τομέα, αποκαλυφθηκαν οι υπόλοιποι τάφοι του γεωμετρικού νεκροταφείου. Η έρευνα των Τάφων 53, 54, 55, έφερε στο φώς τις βλάβες κατά τους αρχαϊκούς χρόνους, οι ανακάλυψε κατά την αρχαϊκή εποχή, πιστεύεται ότι έμειναν με επάλληλη διακόσμηση, με εσωτερικό και έξω. Στην επιφάνεια της τριάδας στην ΥΓ ΙΒ - ΥΓΙ στο κρανίο, δεύτερος επιμήκης λίθος. Κρίνε τα 3.10 μ. ακόμη και παρέμενε σε ανάκλαση και απλωμένος προς τα δυτικά. Η θέση των τριών τάφων έμεινε κατακόμματα, με εσωτερικούς, κυλινδρικούς κύκλους και συστάδες καθετών γραμμών. Στο κόσμο της μεσαίας, ρόδακας με εσωτερικούς κυκλίκους. Οι δύο πλάκες φέρουν ανά ένα πτηνό. Στην έκδοση της λαβής εμφανίζεται "άστρους" (Coldstream 1968, 86, πιν. 10). Η θέση των τριών τάφων έμεινε κατακόμματα, με εσωτερικούς κυκλίκους και συστάδες καθετών γραμμών. Στο κόσμο της μεσαίας, ρόδακας με εσωτερικούς κυκλίκους. Οι δύο πλάκες φέρουν ανά ένα πτηνό. Στην έκδοση της λαβής εμφανίζεται "άστρους" (Coldstream 1968, 86, πιν. 10).
λάκκου. Κοντά του βρέθηκαν επίσης και άλλα τυπώδη στήλη αποτελούσε προφανώς το σήμα εγκάρσια.* 5 Ο επίμηκος λίθος που θυμίζει υποστόμιο του οποίου είχε σφραγισθεί με κάνθαρο, όπως δύο οινοδόκες, δύο πυθμένες με υψηλό χέιλος, σκύφος, πυντίκι, κ.ά. Από τα κτηρίσματα του τάφου, ο οποίος χρονολογείται στην περίοδο ΥΓ Πα (735-720 π.Χ.), θα γίνει αναφορά στα παρακάτω τρία αγγεία:


3. Ο τύπος και η διακόσμηση των αγγείων, βρίσκονται στο μεταίχμιο από την ΥΓ Πα στην ΥΓ Πα. Τυπολογικά, μεταγενέστερος στις ομάδες είναι ο κάνθαρος με το συνεχός χείλος ΜΠ 9808, βλ. κατωτ. σημ. 9.
2. Κάνθαρος (ΜΠ 9808) με ψηφιές κάθετες λαβές και κυρτό χείλος, που νείκει ελαφρώς προς τα εσω (Εικ. 7, αριστ. άνω). Στον κάτω κορμό, επαλλήλες μελανές ξίνες και μία, με αλυσίδα συνεχών ρόμβων. Στο χείλος, παράσταση ζεύγους αντωπών ιππών με μακρείς κορμούς και κυρτούς λαιμούς με χαίτη. Ανάμεσά τους, παράσταση τριπόδων με ζεύγους ορθών κυκλικών λαβών και στο ενδιάμεσο, πτυχοσχήμα κόσμημα 10.

3. Οινοχόη (ΜΠ 9809), με σφαιρικό κορμό και στενό κυλινδρικό λαιμό. Στις αναλογίες τονίζεται το εύρος του αγγείου (Εικ. 7 δεξιά). Όμως, λαιμός και λαβή, φέρουν μελανό γάναμα. Ο κάτω κορμός, από την λαβή και κάτω, φέρει επαλλήλες λεπτές γραμμές 11.


9. Για την καταγωγή του τρίποδου, απονέμεται στον νικητή μεγάλο μεταλλικό τρίποδο του αγώνα, σύφωνα με τις φιλολογικές μαρτυρίες (Κεφαλίδη 2007, 211). Ο τρίποδας ερμηνεύεται ως το κατ έξοχήν έπαθλο του νικητή. Οι μεταλλικοί τριποδικοί λέβητες αναφέρονται ως το πολυτελέστερο επάθλο των αθλητικών αγώνων σε επικτείς διδακτικές και συμβολισμούς που περιλαμβάνει, εναρμονίζεται με την δύναμη των αριστοκρατικών γενών, όπως αναφέρθηκε και στην παράσταση των αλόγων.

8. Για την παράσταση των τρίποδων, η σημασία της πανελλαδικής ιεράς υπήρχε στην πανελλαδική ιερά με δύο αλόγα (της ΥΓ Ιβ), αμφορέα του εφημερίδα Hirschfeld, βλ. Coldstream 1968, 42-43, εικ. 8 σ. Στη γεωμετρική κεραμική του Αρχαίου, από την ΥΓ II, καταγράφεται ενδικτικός τριπόδων δύο αλόγων, εκατέρωθεν ανδρικής μορφής (Coldstream 2003, 142, εικ. 46 α).

7. Η εξέχουσα σημασία του τρίποδου, ως επάθλου αθλητικών αγώνων σε επικτείς διδακτικές και συμβολισμούς που περιλαμβάνει, εναρμονίζεται με την δύναμη των αριστοκρατικών γενών, όπως υπογραμμίζει και η αθηναϊκή παράσταση των αλόγων.

Κεντρική θέση στην ομάδα των τριών πλουσιότερων γεωμετρικών τάφων καταλάμβανε ο Τάφος 55, που ήταν παραλληλόγραμμος λάκκους ενταφιασμού καύσης (εικ. 4). Ο Τάφος 55 αποτελεί ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό εύρημα, τόσο για τις διαστάσεις του όσο και για τα ανευρεθέντα κτερίσματα. Ο τάφος, που ήταν και ο αρχαιότερος της ομάδας, εκτεινόταν ανάμεσα στους 53 και 54. Το μήκος του ορύγματος ανετράπη στα 2.65 μ. Πέρα από τα πολυτελή αγγεία, ο τάφος περιέχει χάλκινο λέβητα εξαιρετικής διατήρησης. Όπως διαπιστώθηκε, ο νεκρός είχε αποκαλύφθηκε σε άλλη θέση του νεκροταφείου. Μέρος από τα καμένα χώματα ανακαλυφθηκαν απλωμένα στο βόρειο άκρο του τάφου, κοντά στην θέση του αμφορέα, που σωζόταν ακόμα όρθιος και ακέραιος στη θέση του, κατά τη στιγμή της αποκάλυψης (εικ. 9). Τα αποτεφρώμενα κατάλοιπα του νεκρού βρέθηκαν στο εσωτερικό μεγάλο χάλκινο λέβητα (διάμ. 0.41 μ.), που εντοπίστηκε και αυτός ακέραιος κοντά στον αμφορέα (εικ. 10). Ο λέβητας, που αποκαλύφθηκε σε κοιλότητα, διανοιγμένη μέσα στην στρώση με τα καμένα χώματα, ανακαλυφθηκε σφραγισμένος με το χάλκινο κυρτό του πώμα, στο βόρειο άκρο του τάφου12. Πέρα από τον αμφορέα και τον λέβητα, στον ίδιο τάφο αποκαλύφθηκαν τρεις σκύφοι και τρία πινάκια με γραπτή διακόσμηση, μια ινοπρόσωπο, μια αμφοτέρως ευρύτομο πρόχος και άλλα θηραμμένα γυναικεία κύρια πινακίδια (εικ. 11). Ο Τάφος 55, που χρονολογείται στην ΥΓ Ιβ περίοδο (750-735 π.Χ.), περιέχει μεταξύ των κτερίσματων (εικ. 10) τα παρακάτω σημαντικά ευρήματα: 1. Χάλκινος σφυρήλατος λέβητας (ΜΠ 9817), διαμ. 0.41 μ. Ο κορμός είναι ευρύς και αμφιμορφικός (εικ. 12). Ο ύμος είναι γυαλιώδης και ελαφράς κεκλιμένος, ενώ το στόμιο σχηματίζεται από το ανορθωτό χείλος. Στο λέβητα συναντάται και χάλκινο πώμα, σφυρήλατο και αυτό, που έχει κυρτή την άνω επιφάνεια και φέτερε λεπτή ταινιόσχημη λαβή13. 2. Αμφορέας (ΜΠ 9816), με διακόσμηση του αυστηρού γεωμετρικού ρυθμού, με αριστερότροφο μαίανδρο στον αμφότερο, στο πεδίο μεταξύ των λαβών (εικ. 11, αριστ.). Εντυπωσιάζει αυστηρό ταφικό περίγραμμα του κορμού, που διανύομενο προς τα επάνω, συνδυάζεται με ευρύ κυλινδρικό λαμβάνοντας μεγίστη διάμετρο στο ύψος της κοιλίας, λογίζονται παλαιότεροι, παρότι το σχήμα των λεβήτων με γωνιώδη ώμο έχει προταθεί η τοποθέτηση των τύπων μεταολίσθησεις και της κυλίνδρου επάνω στη θέση του φιλοκράτη, σημαστικά προς τα κατασκευαστικές περιοδεύσεις της Κυπαρήνης και της Β. Συρίας, ο τύπος μεταφέρεται από την Φρυγία και της Β. Συρίας, ο τύπος μεταφέρεται από την Ελλάδα ο τύπος γίνεται γνωστό από το τρίτο τέταρτο του 8ου αι. π.Χ.
πλάτος\textsuperscript{14}. Στο λαμά υπάρχουν, επάνω από το μαιανδρό ζώνη πτυχών και αποκάτω, ζώνη κυκλικών με στιγμή και ζώνη τριγώνων με γεμίσια δικτυώματα. Ο κάτω κορμός φέρει σειρά επαλλήλων μελανών ταινιών, ενώ στην άνω κολλία διακρίνεται ζώνη με σειρά κυκλικών με στιγμές, ζώνη με συστάδες γραμμών διακοπτώμενες από ποικίλα κλειδώδη και στενή ζώνη με κουκίδες.

3. Οινοχόη (ΜΠ 9818). Ο κάτω κορμός περιβάλλεται από οριζόντιες ταινίες εναλλασσόμενες με σειρά κυκλικών κοσμημάτων. Ο ώμος φέρει μελανό γάνωμα, ενώ ο λαμάς φέρει δύο ιπποί - ένα σε κάθε πλευρά - που κινούνται προς την πρόσοψη του αγγείου\textsuperscript{15}.

Όμως, της ταφής καύσης, όπως στην περιπτώση του σημαντικότερου Τάφου 55, δεν είναι η μοναδική της νεκροταφείου. Στο γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο ανήκουν συνολικά εννέα τάφοι με δευτερογενείς καύσεις. Ανάμεσα στις πυρές, έξω από θέση κατείχαν οι παρακάτω Τάφοι 132 και 126 (εικ. 3). Στη δυτική παρυφή της ομάδας αποκαλύφθηκε ο γεωμετρικός Τάφος 132, στον οποίο αναφέρεται συνολικά για να τονισθεί η ανεξαιρέτητη σημασία της περιοχής. Ο κάτω κορμός φέρει σειρά κυκλικών κοσμημάτων που κρίνονται από την ύλη και το σχήμα του, ανήκει στην Μυκηναϊκή περίοδο\textsuperscript{16}. Αναφέρεται με τη σημασία του ασφαλές και ευπαθές νεκροταφείο, του οποίου η παρουσία υπονοείται από τις αρχαίες πηγές, που αναφέρονται στον αρχαιότητα και την σημασία της Κηφισίας στην πρώιμη αθηναϊκή ιστορία.

Ο Τάφος 126 που ακολουθεί ανήκει επίσης στις ταφές καύσης της ιδιαίτερα γεωμετρικής ομάδας. Αποτελεί ένα ακόμη σημαντικό κέντρο με αριστοκρατική οικογένεια της περιοχής. Ο Τάφος 126 είναι μεταγενέστερος από τους Τάφους 53, 54, 55 και εντάσσεται στην τελευταία 20η χιλιετία του 8ου αι. π.Χ. (εικ. 3, 13, 14). Ο επηρεασμός της Κηφισίας στον Τάφο 126, μήκους 2.50 μ., ανακαλύφθηκε στην ΒΔ πλευρά του γεωμετρικού νεκροταφείου. Τα κτερίσματα, που βρέθηκαν διάσταση στο δάπεδο, κατατάσσονται στην ταφή στην ΥΓ ΠΠ (εικ. 15). Στυλιστικές ενδείξεις στην κεραμική δείχνουν την παρουσία ανατολιζομένων στοιχείων. Η πυρά, που χρονολογείται στην εικοσαετία 720-700 π.Χ. (ΥΓ ΠΠ), περιέχει τα παράκατω κτερίσματα:

1. Υδρία (Κ 112) με πλαστική διακόσμηση όρεων στην λαβή, στο χείλος και γύρω στην βάση του λαμα. Κορμός τυποποιήστηκε στη Κηφισίας στην πρώιμη αθηναϊκή ιστορία. Ο κορμός έχει σειρές σχηματισμού, ενώ ο λαμάς είναι υψηλός και διανύεται προς τα άνω (εικ 20, δεξιά). Ο κάτω κορμός καλύπτεται από επαλλήλες στενές ζώνες, ενώ στο ύψος των οριζόντιων λαβών εκτείνεται περίπλοκη φυτική διακόσμηση σε συνδυασμού με γεωμετρικά ποικίλματα. Διακρίνονται μικρά ανάθη που πλαισιώνονται από οκτώγραμμες ουσιώδεις ταινίες και κυκλικές ποικίλματα. Στον ώμο,


18. Το υπόλοιπο επίπεδο και αριστοκρατική καταγωγή του νεκρού υποδηλώνεται από την πα-
κάτω από το πλαστικό φίδι, διακρίνεται ζώνη με ερωθίους που βόσκουν, κάμπτοντας τις κεφαλές τους προς το έδαφος. Επίσης, κάτω από τις λαβές διακρίνεται ανά ένα ξεχύος ερωθίων που βόσκουν. Το κύριο διακοσμητικό θέμα εκτυλίσσεται γύρω στον λαιμό του αγγείου, όπου υπάρχει σκηνή χορού (εικ. 20). Διακρίνεται σειρά γυναικών που έχουν ενωμένα τα χέρια και κρατούν κλάδους. Την ομάδα γυναικών οδηγούν δύο ανδρικές πηλόλυγες μορφές, και οι δύο γυναίκες. Ο πρώτος νέος παίζει την λύρα, ενώ ο δεύτερος, με υψωμένους βραχίονες φέρει στα χέρια τον διπλό αυλό. Παίζει την κίνηση, οι ανδρικές μορφές πατούν στις άκρες των δακτυλίων των πόδων. Τεχνοτροπικά, σημειώνεται υποχώρηση των γεωμετρικών και επικάταση των φυτικών κοσμημάτων, ενώ η σκηνή του χώρου αποδίδεται με φυσικοκρατική διάθεση. Η υδρία χρονολογείται στην είκοσαετία 720-700 π.X.

2. Πώμα (Κ 111) της παραπάνω υδρίας με κωνική κομβοσχήμα λαβή. Στην ανώ επιφάνεια διακρίνονται ομόκεντρες περιφερειακές γραμμές και ζώνες. Κοντά στο χειλίο, ζώνη όρθιων, παρατακτικώς διατηρούν τριγώνου με δικτυωτό.

3. Ψηφίσκος κρατηρίσκος (Κ 113) με φυτική διακόσμηση. Κρατηρίσκος με ελαφρώς διανοιγμένους χειλός και οριζόντιες λαβές. Περί την γάμα τριφόβολος θυσίας διεξάγεται βλαστοσπειρών και αποκάτω, σε στενότερη ζώνη. Η υδρία χρονολογείται στην είκοσαετία 720-700 π.X.


ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΣΚΙΛΑΡΝΤΙ

30/04/2021 13:35:52 EEST - 54.70.40.11

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ΝΕΚΡΟΠΟΛΗ ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΥ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΗΦΙΣΙΑ

683

ΝΑΟΥ II, μήκους 0.90μ. (Εικ. 20, κάτω) Σώζεται σε καλή κατάσταση, παρότι κατιωμένο. Είναι αυτής της κατηγορίας, ανευρίσκονται σε γεωμετρικούς τάφους και προφανώς συνδέονται με αριστοκράτες πολεμιστές, μέλη ισχυρών οικογενειών της Αθήνας 20.

2. Χάλκινη τριχολαβίδα (ευμεγέθης) μήκους 0.103μ.

3. Οινοχόη, με παράσταση χορού, συγκολλημένη από πολλά θραύσματα (ΜΠ 9827). Ο κωνικός λαιμός επικάθεται σε κορμό σφαιρικού σχήματος (Εικ. 21). Στο πεδίο του λαιμού, ζεύγος ίππων, ανά ένας σε κάθε πλευρά, με κατεύθυνση προς τη λαβή του αγγείου. Ο κορμός περιβάλλεται από οριζόντιες ταινίες και γραμμές που πλαισιώνουν τεθλασμένες, περί τον ώμο και την βάση. Στον ώμο, ταινία με σχηματοποιημένα σκυλιά που τρέχουν προς τα δεξιά. Στον κορμό του αγγείου εκτυλίσσεται σκηνή χορού, με τη συμμετοχή ανδρικών μορφών, εν κινήσει (Εικ. 21). Διακρίνεται ομάδα ανδρών με κεκινημένα μέλη, προφανώς εν ευθυμία, που κρατούν κλάδους, ενώ κεντρική θέση κατέχει ανδρική μορφή, που παίζει τους διπλούς αυλούς. Το σχήμα και η διακόσμηση χρονολογούν την οινοχόη στην ΥΓ ΙΙα περίοδο 21.

20. Ξίφος με δίκοπη λεπίδα, επιμήκη και με παράλλελες πλευρές, οι οποίες συγκλίνουν προς το άκρο για να σχηματίσουν τη μυτερή αιχμή. Στο άλλο άκρο, η λεπίδα καταλήγει στη λαβή, που έχει το πέρας της διαμορφωμένο σε δίωτη απόληξη. Η λαβή έχει ανασηκωμένο περιχείλωμα. Ξίφη αυτής της κατηγορίας, που ανευρίσκονται σε γεωμετρικούς τάφους της Αθήνας, προφανώς σχετίζονται με μέλη ισχυρών αριστοκρατικών οικογενειών.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΣΚΙΛΑΡΝΤΙ

τίας του μεγέθους των λακκοειδών τάφων, όπως και του πλούτου των ευρημάτων. Στο γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο, η περίοδος ακμής αναφέρθηκε στο εσωτερικό του Τάφου 55. Στον τάφο, η παρουσία χάλκινου λέβητα (εικ. 12) που χρησίμευε σαν τεφροδόχο αγγείο και αποτελεί εμβληματικό σκεύος σε ταφές Ευπατριδών, καθιστά τον Τάφο 55 τον σπουδαιότερο του νεκροταφείου. Τα απανθρακωμένα στα οστά και οι ιδιαίτερες προσοχές που οι αριστοκρατικές οικογένειες παρέχουν στην κηρική τελετή, μοιράζονται οι αριστοκρατικές τάξεις της Κηφισιάς, που καταλαμβάνουν την κοινωνική και διοικητική προσοχή από τους αρχαίους αθλητικούς αγώνες (Blandin 2007, 50). Η αποκατάσταση του νεκρού στην ισχύ των αρχαίων αθλητικών αγώνων (Blandin 2007, 50) υιοθετείται σαν αντικείμενο πολλαπλών χρήσεων.

22. Για την σημασία των κτερισμάτων, ως μέσο αναφοράς στην πυραμίδα της τοπικής κοινωνίας και διεθνώς ως μέσα αναφοράς στον πλούτο και την αίγλη του γένους, βλ. Morris 1987, 47.


24. Για την εικονογραφία της Γεωμετρικής περιόδου, οι
ποιήθηκε το θέμα για να προβάλει την αίγλη του γένους. Είναι πιθανό πως στην συγκεκριμένη απεικόνιση του αμφορέα ΜΠ 9807, η οικογένεια του νεκρού οικειοτού ΜΠ 9807 υποδηλώνει την αριστοκρατική δύναμη του δα Πλαταιών, Hall 2007, 267). Εν συνάψει, η παράσταση βραβείο αναδείχθηκε σε ύψιστο σύμβολο νίκης κατά τους


Σχετικά με τον τρόπο ενταφιασμού των νεκρών της Κηφισίας, υπογραμμίζεται η κατά το έθος της εποχής, φροντισμένη από τα γένια επιλογή κτερισμάτων γονότου και τη παραγγελία κατάλληλη διακοσμημένης θεορίας με εμβληματικά θέματα, προκειμένου να προβληθεί η αίγιλη της αριστοκρατίας. Ο αμφορέας ΜΠ 9807, του Τάφου 54, με την απεικόνιση των τριπόδων και η υδρία του Τάφου 126, με τους πλαστικούς όρεις, εντάσσονται στην πρακτική να συνοδεύουν οι νεκροί από κτερισμάτα που περιέλεγαν συμβολισμούς οργών και χθόνιου χαρακτήρα (Coldstream 2003, 117-118). Η ιδία αριστοκρατική αναφορά καταδεικνύεται και η εμβληματική απεικόνιση αλόγων, όπως εκείνων που κοιμούν τον κάνθαρο που σφράγιζε τον αμφορέα ΜΠ 9807 του Τάφου 54 (Εικ. 8), αλλά και των αλόγων στην οινοχόη του κεντρικού Τάφου 55 (Εικ. 11) και στην οινοχόη του Τάφου 78 (Εικ. 20), σε αυθαίρετη απόδοση ή σε συνδυασμό με τρίποδες. Ας σημειωθεί ότι τα αλόγα, μαζί με τους τριποδικούς λέβητες και τις γυναίκες εκλογίζονται σαν το πολυτιμότερο δώρο στην οινοχοή κοινωνίας. Το πάθος της γεωμετρικής κοινωνίας στις παραστάσεις στον κόσμο των λαμπρών πολεμιστών της γεωμετρικής κοινωνίας, σημαντική ήταν η κατοχή και η εκτροφή αλόγων.

Όμως, τα πολυτιμάτα της γεωμετρικής κοινωνίας, στα πλαίσια της οποίας παρήχθησαν τα καλλιτεχνήματα της Κηφισίας, αντανακλώνταν σε μία ακόμα ειδική ομάδα κτερισμάτων γονότου και δύναμης, όπως είναι τα όπλα. Στην Ομηρική ποίηση η δύναμη των πρώτων είναι συνάρτηση της τιμής, της ανδρείας και της πολεμικής δεινότητας. Στον Όμηρο, οι ήρωες εμφανίζονται να καλλιεργούν στην ζωή και στον θάνατο μια σχέση λατρείας προς τα όπλα. Η σημασία που αποδίδοταν στα όπλα προκύπτει και από τις λυσσαλέες μάχες που έζησαν γύρω στο σώμα του νεκρού Πατρόκλου, με σκοπό την σκέψη των όπλων του από τους Τρώες (Ιλιάδα ΧVII, 1-139) Στην ραψωδία XVII (369-617) της Ιλιάδας, η Θήσης σπεύδει στον θεό Ηραίο για να προμηθεύσει με νέα όπλα τον Αχιλλέα, μετά τον θάνατο του Πατρόκλου. Η παρουσία του ξίφους στον Τάφο 78 της Κηφισίας ενέχει ιστορική και συμβολική σημασία. Παρά τον αρχαίο χρόνο, η παρουσία του ξίφους στον πάγο (Εικ. 19), κατά την συγκεκριμένη χρονική στιγμή, είναι γεγονός που...

Η διαπίστωση δεν αποτελεί καινοτομία. Εντυπωσιάζει ωστόσο το γεγονός ότι σε σχετικά μικρή απόσταση (15 χμ.) από την Αθήνα, η επικράτεια της Κηφισιάς βρισκόταν υπό τον έλεγχο των τοπικών Ευπατριδών και μάλιστα ότι, ενώ στην Αθήνα, αναφορικά με τους ευγενείς, ετησίως η παράδοση περί ενταφιασμού των πολεμιστών με την εφαρμογή της καύσης και την εναπόθεση ξίφους (Coldstream 2003, 120, 126, 197), στην Κηφισιά, ο κάτοχος του Τάφου 78, ενταφιάσθηκε χωρίς να γίνει χρήση της παραδοσιακής αποτέφρωσης. Επιλεγείσα μέθοδος ενταφιασμού στον Τάφο 78, προκαλεί έκπληξη και θα ανέμενε κάνεις την αποτέφρωση, αφού ο νεκρός ανήκε στην αριστοκρατία και επομένως σε άκρως συντηρητική τάξη πολιτών με αφοσίωση στην παραδοσιακή παράδοση. Το ερώτημα καθίσταται ακόμα πιο πιεστικό εάν ληφθεί υπάρχει ότι στην ανασκαφή της Κηφισιάς διαπιστώθηκε ότι η παραδοσιακή ταφική πρακτική δεν έπαυσε ποτέ να είναι δημοφιλής, όπως εξάλλου και σε άλλους σύγχρονους οικισμούς.

Anάμεσα στους πολυπληθείς οικισμούς που άνθησαν στην Αττική κατά τη Γεωμετρική περίοδο, δύο αρχαία κέντρα με καθαρά αγροτικό χαρακτήρα αποτελούν χρήσιμο παράδειγμα σύγκρισης με τα ευρήματα της Κηφισιάς. Και οι δύο οικισμοί είναι παλαιότεροι του 730 π.Χ. Και οι δύο έχουν καταστεί γνωστοί από τα νεκροταφεία τους, στην Ανάβυσσο, στη δυτική παραλία της Αττικής, και στην Μερέντα, στην...
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΣΚΙΛΑΡΝΤΙ

πεδιάδα της Μεσογαίας. Η σύγκριση των ευρημάτων της Κηφισιάς προς αυτά τα κέντρα, συμβάλλει στην ανίχνευση της δύναμης των αριστοκρατικών γενών της περιφέρειας, ήτοι στην κατανόηση της μορφής των τάφων της αριστοκρατίας, της θέσης που καταλαμβάνουν οι τάφοι στο νεκροταφείο και τέλος, της χρονικής περιόδου που οι συγκεκριμένες ταφές δημιουργήθηκαν στο υπό έξαταν νεκροταφείο.


Στη Μερέντα η αρχαιότερη φάση του νεκροταφείου ανάγεται στον 9° αι. π.Χ. (Coldstream 2003, 35. Βιβλιοδέτης 2005, 172, σημ. 481), ενώ η φάση ακμής ορίζεται στην ΥΓII περίοδο (Coldstream 2003, 133). Πρόκειται περί-
λυάρισμα κτερισματικά αγγεία, όπως στην περιπτώση του πλούσιου Τάφου 3 (ΑΑΑ, 1968, 33, σχ. 1). Παρότι στην Μερέντα δεν βρέθηκαν κοσμήματα, όμως και μεταλλικά κτερισματα πολυτελείας, οι ομοιότητες προς τους αριστοκρατικούς τάφους της Κηφισιάς είναι προφανείς, στον τόπο και τις διαστάσεις των λακκοειδών τάφων, στην εντυπωσιακή συσσώρευση αγγείων και στην συχνή παρουσία δευτερογενών πυρόν πορών σε ορυγάματα.


μαχαιρίδιο και λεπτό φύλλο χρυσού (ΑΔ 21, 1966, 97). Στα δυτικά του, ο πλούσιος Τάφος 65/Ι, που είναι παλαιότερος και ανήκε σε γυναίκα, χρονολογείται επίσης στη Μέση (πρώ­
θεί μέσα σε μεγάλο αμφορείο, με οριζόντιες λαβ­
βες και αυστηρή γεωμετρική διακόσμηση (ΑΔ 21, 1966, πίν. 95 β). Ο αμφορέας βρέθηκε περί­
στοιχισμένος από πολυάριθμα αγγεία ποικίλων σχημάτων και μεταξύ αυτών, από μία αρτόσχη­
στοιχισμένος από πολυάριθμα αγγεία ποικίλων σχημάτων και μεταξύ αυτών, από μία αρτόσχη­
στοιχισμένος από πολυάριθμα αγγεία ποικίλων σχημάτων και μεταξύ αυτών, από μία αρτόσχη­
στοιχισμένος από πολυάριθμα αγγεία ποικίλων σχημάτων και μεταξύ αυτών, από μία αρτόσχη­
στοιχισμένος από πολυάριθμα αγγεία ποικίλων σχημάτων και μεταξύ αυτών, από μία αρτόσχη­

Για την επόμενη φάση, που συμπίπτει με την μεγάλη ακμή του νεκροταφείου, οι τάφοι της Ύστερης Γεωμετρικής περιόδου (πρώ­
ιμη) ανήκαν σε ενταφιασμούς, χωρίς ωστό­
σο να λείπουν και ταφές κατσών, όπως οι ΧΙ, XII, ΧΧ και Ω (σχετικά με τη διαμόρφω­
ση του νεκροταφείου, βλ. Θέμελης 1973-1974, 109). Το ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρον επικεντρώνεται στους τρεις κεντρικούς τάφους, που ήταν και πάλι τάφοι Ευπατρίδων, τους Τάφους 73/1, 73/ ΙΙ και 73/ΠΙ, στο ΒΑ τμήμα του νεκροταφει­
αρικός ηγεμονικός τάφος του νεκροταφείου. Ο Τάφος 73/1, που αντιστοιχούσε σε ταφή καύ­
σης, περιείχε χάλκινο λέβητα με τα καλώδια αποτελούμενα από στα ενταφιασμούς, χωρίς ωστό­
σο να λείπουν και ταφές κατσών, όπως οι ΧΙ, XII, ΧΧ και Ω (σχετικά με τη διαμόρφω­
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αρικός ηγεμονικός τάφος του νεκροταφείου. Ο Τάφος 73/1, που αντιστοιχούσε σε ταφή καύ­
sις, περιείχε χάλκινο λέβητα με τα καλώδια αποτελούμενα από στα ενταφιασμούς, χωρίς ωστό­
σο να λείπουν και ταφές κατσών, όπως οι ΧΙ, XII, ΧΧ και Ω (σχετικά με τη διαμόρφω­

25. Πληροφορίες για την μορφή του λέβητα, μου παραχώρησε ο ανασκαφέας κ. Π. Θέμελης και η υπε­
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ΝΕΚΡΟΠΟΛΗ ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΥ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΗΦΙΣΙΑ

λους γιαικτήμονες του δήμου, πολιτικούς ή και στρατιωτικούς άρχοντες».

Στην Ανάβυσσο, ένα ακόμα ενδιαφέρον ευρήμα καταδεικνύει τη σπουδαιότητα του νεκροταφείου. Φαίνεται ότι πέρα από τις ατομικές τελετές, το εθίμο επέβαλλε και την τέλεση περιοδικών συλλογικών συναξών προς τιμή των προγόνων, τελετών που περιλάμβαναν την επίτελεση συμποσίων που θα συνοδεύονταν από χορο και μουσική. Παρατηρήθηκε ότι το βόρειο τμήμα του νεκροταφείου περιβαλλόταν στις τρεις πλευρές από τοίχο σχήματος Π (εικ. 22), προφανώς από τοίχο περιβόλου (Θέμελης 1973-1974, 108-109, σχεδ. Γ). Ο δυτικός τοίχος συναπτόταν στο νότιο άκρο του με κτίσμα δύο συνεχομένων δωματίων, εκ των οποίων το προς βορρά περιλάμβανε κτιστό έδρανο, ενώ το νότιο, κτιστό βάθρο διστάσεων 0.45 x 0.70μ. Η ιδιότυπη αρχιτεκτονική μορφή στο δίχωρο κτίσμα και η ανακάλυψη του έδρανου όπως και του βάθρου, οδηγούν σε ταφικές πρακτικές και επιβεβαιώνουν την χρήση του κτηρίου ως χθονίου ιερού σε χώρο νεκροταφείου (Θέμελης 1973-1974, 110). Επείδη στις συναφείς τελετές τελούταν ταφικά συμπόσια και χορευτικές εκδηλώσεις, είναι πιθανόν ότι ο ανοιχτός χώρος προς τα βόρεια και τα ανατολικά του ιερού αποτελούσε ανοιχτό χώρο για τις υπαίθριες εκδηλώσεις. Η ερμηνεία του κτίσματος ως λατρευτικού για τα νεκρόδειπνα που τελούνταν από την κοινότητα για να τιμηθούν οι ένδοξοι πρόγονοι, αποτελεί συμπληρωματική επιβεβαίωση για την σπουδαιότητα των τάφων της Αναβύσσου (Βασιλοπούλου - Κατσαρού-Τζεβελέκη 2009, 195). Στην Ερέτρια και στην Ασίνη σημειώνεται η παρουσία αναλογών κτηρίων, που έχουν επίσης σχετισθεί με την επίτελεση ταφικών συμποσίων (Tandy 1997, 154).

Η περίπτωση της Αναβύσσου εντάσσεται στην ομάδα των αρχαίων περιφερειακών οικισμών, που αναπτύχθηκαν έξω από τα όρια της Αθήνας. Σημειώνεται πως μετά την Πρωτογεωμετρική περίοδο παρατηρείται συγκέντρωση κτοίρισης γύρω στην Αθήνα, ενώ η Αττική παρέμενε σχετικά έρημη. Η κατάσταση ανατράπηκε στη Μέση Γεωμετρική περίοδο, όταν για πρώτη φορά μετά την πτώση του μυκηναϊκού κόσμου, σημειώθηκε στην Αττική στροφή ενδιαφέροντος και επιτάθηκε η κατοίκηση περιφερειακών ζωνών (Coldstream 2003, 133), όπως στην περίπτωση της Αναβύσσου. Στο νεκροταφείο, η διάχυση του πλούτου είναι τόσο έντονη, ώστε να δίνεται η εντύπωση ότι εξυπηρετούσε τα μέλη ενός και μόνο ισχυρού και παλαιού αριστοκρατικού γένους.

Καταλήγοντας επισημαίνεται η δύναμη των πληροφοριών που προκύπτουν από την ανάλυση των δεδομένων που αντλήσαμε από τα γεωμετρικά νεκροταφεία της Κηφισιάς, της Αναβύσσου, της Μερέντας και της Αναβύσσου, τα οποία επιλέξαμε με βάση το μέγεθος και τον πλούτο των δύο θέσεων. Διαπιστώνεται ότι οι αρχαίοι οικισμοί περιλάμβαναν αριθμό ταφικών οικισμών, κάποια από τα οποία προορίζονταν για τα αριστοκρατικά γένη. Διαπιστώνεται επίσης ότι στις παραπάνω θέσεις η περίοδος χρήσης διήρευσε την Μέση και θέσεις, με αισθητή κορύφωση ακμής περί την ΥΓΙ β φάση. Σε αυτή ακριβώς την χρονική στιγμή οι σωζόμενες ταφές αποκαλύπτουν αύξηση στον πλούτο και στη δύναμη των αριστοκρατικών γένων.
Ανακεφαλαιώνοντας, από την αναλυτική περιγραφή των νεκροταφείων στην Ανάβυσσο και στη Μερέντα, διαπιστώθηκε ότι η παρουσία σημαντικών αριστοκρατικών ταφών αντιπροσωπεύεται από τάφους αξιολογού μεγέθους, που φέρουν σήμανση και περίβολο. Γενικά, οι τάφοι περιέχουν κτερίσματα πολυτέλειας. Στη χαρακτηριστική περίπτωση της εκθέσεως τάφου 73/1 της Ανάβυσσου, η τέφρα του Ευπατρίδη, οι τάφοι περιείχαν κτερίσματα πολυτέλειας και στη Μερέντα, διαπιστώθηκε ότι η παρουσία χάλκινου λέβητα αποτελεί σωρό κριτήριο στην αναγνώριση της ταφής Ευπατρίδη.

Πέρα από τα περιφερειακά κέντρα της Αττικής, ο χάλκινος λέβητας, ως σκεύος των αριστοκρατικών, συνδέθηκε και με ταφές της αριστοκρατίας Αθηνών, και στην Αθήνα - το εντάφιασμα της Ευπατρίδης, ένα από τα πιο αρχαία και σημαντικά, ήταν το λεγόμενο “νεκροταφείο του Διπύλου” (ή της οδού Πειραιώς), του οποίου η θέση, μετά την ανέγερση της Θεμιστοκλέους, συνέπεσε σε βοριόλογο συνέπεσε με τις Ηρίες Πόλεις. Η εξέχουσα θέση του τοποθετείται στο νεκροταφείο του Διπύλου, ενθαρρύνοντας να αποτύπωσε στον Θεμιστοκλέους τη θέση του μετά την ανέγερση της Θεμιστοκλέους, του οποίου η θέση, μετά την ανέγερση της Αθηνών, παρατηρούμε ότι η παρουσία χάλκινου λέβητα αποτελεί σωρό κριτήριο στην αναγνώριση της ταφής Ευπατρίδης.

Στην περιοχή Αθηνών, όπου οι πολιτικές εξελίξεις δεν εκφράζονται στις διακυμάνσεις του τρόπου, εκατομμύρια ήταν το εντάφιασμα της Ευπατρίδης, καθώς και με την καύση της αρχαίας διαδικασία του εντάφιασμας. Αντίστοιχα, οι πολυτέλειες των αριστοκρατικών ταφών, παρουσία και πολυτέλειας, αποτελούν σωρό κριτήριο στην αναγνώριση της ταφής Ευπατρίδης.

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Εικ. 1. Κάτοψη Κηφισιάς με τη θέση του αρχαίου νεκροταφείου στα δυτικά της σημερινής πόλης.

Εικ. 2. Κάτοψη της ανασκαφής, της συμβολής των οδών Αχαρνών και Σωκράτους 21, με τη θέση του Ανατολικού και του Δυτικού Τομέα.
Εικ. 3. Αρχαίο νεκροταφείο Κηφισιάς. Κάτοψη ανασκαφής του Δυτικού Τομέα.

Εικ. 4. Κάτοψη με τις τρεις κύριες ταφές Τ53, Τ54, Τ55, του γεωμετρικού νεκροταφείου.
Εικ. 5. Η οινοχόη και η πρόχος του Τάφου 53.

Εικ. 6. Ο λακκοειδής Τάφος 54, με τους πεσμένους λίθους επάνω στον ανδρικό σκελετό. Άποψη από το Νότο.

Εικ. 7. Τα κτερίσματα του Τάφου 54. Προθήκη Συλλογής Κηφισιάς.

Εικ. 8. Ο αμφορέας του Τάφου 54, με παράσταση τριπόδων και το στόμιο σφραγισμένο με κάνθαρο.
Εικ. 9. Γενική άποψη του Τάφου 55, από το Νότο.

Εικ. 10. Τάφος 55. Χάλκινος λέβης και αμφορέας, κατά χώραν.

Εικ. 11. Τα κτερίσματα του Τάφου 55. Προθήκη Συλλογής Κηφισιάς.

Εικ. 12. Ο χάλκινος λέβης του Τάφου 55, μετά τη συντήρησή του.
Εικ. 13. Κάτοψη Τάφου 126. Πυρά καύσης με ευρήματα κατά χώραν.

Εικ. 14. Το εσωτερικό του Τάφου 126, με κατάλοιπα ταφής καύσης. Αμφορέας και κρατηρίσκος, κατά χώραν.

Εικ. 15. Λεπτομέρεια υδρίας από τον Τάφο 126. Παράσταση χορού με τη συμμετοχή μουσικών.

Εικ. 16. Κωνική βάση κρατηρίσκου με παράσταση βλαστοσπειρών από τον Τάφο 126.
Εικ. 17. Ο λακκοειδής Τάφος 78, κατά την ανασκαφή του. Άποψη από Βορρά.

Εικ. 18. Κάτοψη του γεωμετρικού λακκοειδούς Τάφου 78 ή «Τάφου του Πολεμιστή».

Εικ. 19. Τάφος 78. Λεπτομέρεια του σκελετού με το ξίφος.

Εικ. 20. Το περιεχόμενο του Τάφου 78 (αριστερά και κάτω) και του Τάφου 126 (δεξιά). Προθήκη Συλλογής Κηφισιάς.

Εικ. 21. Η οινοχόη του Τάφου 78. Σκηνή χορού.
Εικ. 22. Κάτοψη ανασκαφής Αναβύσσου. Στο ανω τμήμα διακρίνεται η θέση του Τάφου 73/1 και ο τοίχος περιβόλου με το συναπτόμενο ταφικό οικοδόμημα.
A NECTROPOLIS OF THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD AT MARATHON.
THE CONTEXT

In the summer of 1995, when I was working in the 2nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical antiquities, along Marathon avenue, a deep ditch was being opened for placing a central water sewage conduct, leading to the discovery of a necropolis of the Geometric period (fig. 1). The 18th of July, I was urgently summoned to go and supervise work there, as the JCB opening the sewage trench had struck antiquities in front of the enclosure of the former American Base. On my arrival it was apparent that the bulldozer had partly destroyed a complex which gave the impression to be a burial (Pit 1, figs. 1, 2). All that remained was a sort of pit visible in the section of the of the East side of the trench, which contained numerous sherds belonging to large vases. Seemingly, a large section of this pit had been destroyed by the JCB, together with its content too. It was possible to investigate horizontally, beneath the road, the remaining part of the pit, which could have been roughly circular (?), measuring 80cm from N-S, and at least 50cm E-W, and 50cm in depth. Numerous fragments doubtless belonging to at least two large amphorae and a pyxis of the Geometric period were preserved in situ near the bottom of the pit, at a depth of -1,50m from the level of Marathon avenue. The varying dates of the 8th c. B.C. material recovered from the pit (MG II to LG IIA), and the absence of human bones, strengthens this assumption (see V. Vlachou’s paper in this volume).

A destroyed cist tomb (T3), following an E-W orientation was encountered ca. 12 metres to the S of T1 (inclined slab -1 to -1,50m) (fig. 3). Beneath the longer inclined slab several smashed incomplete vases were found: an oenochoe, two pieces belonging to one or two kantharoi, a fragment from an amphora and one from a krater, all apparently belonging to the LG IIb period.

Approximately 3 metres further to the South (ca. 15m from T1), at a depth of -1,40m, a line of three river stones, following a NE-SW orientation, was encountered. Whether these belong to a destroyed burial (T4?) or a section of a peribolos (?) wall (cf. Oinoe Tomb VIII, below) cannot be determined. Only four non-diagnostic sherds were collected here.

A further group of Geometric burials was found some 10 metres to the S of T4. These are three shaft burials, encountered at a depth of ca. -1,80 metres (T5-7) and apparently belong to young individuals (fig. 4).

Tomb 5 was preserved to a length of 1,40m, and its depth would have been ca. 0,70m. It was

* I would like to thank Dr G. Steinhauer for giving me the permission to study with my collaborators the necropolis opposite the former American Base. The late Klairi Eustratiou was also very positive with this prospect and was always eager to support me in practical matters as long as the rescue excavation lasted. I also extend my warmest thanks to Dr V. Vlachou for our fruitful collaboration in the project in view of the publication of this interesting group of Geometric tombs.

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1. The neck of an amphora probably belongs to MG II; a pyxis can be dated to LG IIb or later; the amphora with the prothesis scene belongs to LG IIA (see V. Vlachou’s paper in this volume).
covered by two schist slabs measuring approximately 0.90 by 0.60m. The pit seemed to be semicircular. At the bottom of the pit there were two intact skyphoi of the LG Ia period (fig. 5).

Tomb 6 was a semicircular conical pit 0.65m deep, measuring 0.60m in diameter at the top and covered with one horizontal schist slab (fig. 6). Next, but outside the pit, two knobs from the lid handles from pyxides were collected. Near the bottom of the pit, at a depth of -2.35m, a conical terracotta object was found, probably a model of a granary (fig. 6b).

Tomb 7 may be safely interpreted as a child enchytrism. The pit was covered by three or four schist slabs. The bottom of the pit was approximately -2.40m from the road. In front of the small funerary vase, a one handled handmade jar set on the side (fig. 7), a terracotta figurine was found, in an upright position (fig. 8).

The above mentioned group of child burials appears to have occupied the periphery of the burial plot. For 43 metres to the S, no tombs were encountered. There followed a group of six incinerations of the later Archaic and perhaps Classical periods (T8-T12, and probably 13). These burials were found approximately -1.10/-1.20m from the road. In front of the small funerary vase, a one handled handmade jar set on the side (fig. 7), a terracotta figurine was found, in an upright position (fig. 8).

The next burial of the Geometric period was found in the midst, so it seems, of this later burial ground. In fact, the distance between the aforementioned group of Geometric burials and this one, is almost 80 metres. The early burials and other features belonging to this plot are 14, 15 and 16.

Tomb 14 gave the impression of a disturbed cist grave, following perhaps an E-W or N-S orientation. An upright slab bordered to the South a pyre 10-15cm thick which consisted of charcoal, burnt sherd belonging to vases of the Geometric period (a lip of a skyphos and few fragments from an amphora were noted), as well as weathered animal bones. Part of the thin pyre, which extended at the level -1.22m, was covered by a horizontal slab.

Nearby burial T15 was found (fig. 9-10). No clear shaft was detected, but a smashed pitcher following a N-S orientation lay in situ at a depth of -1.20/-1.30m, the mouth of the vase looking towards the N. At the NW extremity, next to the mouth of the vase, two plain silver rings were found (fig. 11) and next to them fragments of the left hand of an adult individual. The bones lay partly beneath the vase. A high rimmed bowl with fenestrated stand, also smashed, was found by the base of the pitcher. Both vases lay presumably within the burial, which may have followed a N-S orientation and appears to have been partly disturbed during antiquity.

Lastly, less than 3 metres to the South of T15, at a depth of -1.65m, a pyxis-krater with a fenestrated stand of the LG/EA period was found, lying on the side (fig. 12). It was used as a funerary urn of a cremation burial, T16, since the burnt bones found inside belong to the scull, hands and upper part of a young individual, aged between 10 and 20.

OLDER RESEARCH

In the same area, the late Klairi Eustratiou had excavated in 1985 some graves belonging to the same burial plots (published in AD 40, 1985, 72-73, here fig. 13). More precisely, she found, 70m to the N of the entrance of the American base a funerary pithos which contained twenty vases of the late 5th c. Nearby (at the E side of
the trench), at a depth of -1.40m, a tile-covered burial inhumation of the same period was found (it contained seventeen vases). On either side, at the same depth, numerous pyres were noted. Opposite this burial (W side of trench) a pithos burial, set on the side was uncovered.6

At a distance of 80-90 metres to the North of this group of burials, three cist and one shaft burial of the LG I period were excavated. Cist Burial I (2.30 × 0.90m, resting at a depth of -2.50m) followed a N-S orientation. The head of the skeleton was towards the N. It contained four vases (a plate, a tankard and two kantharoi) and an iron knife. Cist Burial II (1.56 × 0.50/0.40m, also resting at a depth of -2.50m) also followed a N-S orientation. The skeleton was well preserved. It contained three pyxides (AA 40, 1985, pl. 21y), and a skyphos. Cist Burial III (1.90 × 0.70m, resting at a depth of -2.30m) was also oriented N-S. A fourth shaft burial was encountered. According to the excavator it contained bones of a possible cremation. The shaft had been opened in the yellow hard earth contained five vases (a plate, two kantharoi – AA 40, 1985, pl. 21a-, 2 skyphoi) and fragments of a big amphora.

A few hundred metres to the West, on the summit +209 of Agrieliki, remains of a circuit wall, ca. 2m wide, and 300m in perimeter, was identified by Sotiriadis as the centre of the Deme of Marathon (McCredie 1966, pl. 9e). His opinion has been challenged (Pritchett 1960, 150-151; McCredie 1966, 35). Nevertheless, if we attempt to locate the settlement associated with the above described burial ground, we should probably seek it towards this direction, on the foot or slopes of the mound, and not towards the sea (i.e. the E), since in antiquity this would have been a marshy area, unfit for permanent habitation. The location of the other burial grounds of the Marathon area may serve as an argument in favour of this assumption.

OTHER BURIALS

EIA burials have been found in three other areas of Marathon (figs. 14-15). At Vranas (near Skorpio Potami, to the North of the Church of Ag. Dimitrios, near the Mycenaean tholos tomb) G. Sotiriadis unearthed twenty-four tombs, dated in the Geometric period (EG II, MG I-II - LGIIa) (Sotiriadis 1932; 1934; 1939). Only the tombs excavated in 1939 are described in more detail. They are oriented East-West (head at the East). Six were shaft inhumation burials with cover slabs. Two inhumations were in cists. Three tombs were cremations in vases, set in almost rectangular cists; the vases were set in one corner, partly submerged inside the floor of the pit and all around them were the burial offerings.

At Plasi several Geometric burials were excavated by E. Mastrokostas, and S. Marinates (Mastrokostas 1970, 17; Marinatos 1970, 153-154; Petrakos 1995, 55-57). This is the only area where evidence for settlement has been produced (from the Neolithic period onwards). The cist tombs were opened upon the ruins of the fortification wall of the Bronze Age (fig. 16). They follow roughly an E-W orientation (head at the East). A cist warrior burial beneath the floor of a PG house has been briefly reported.7 The burial was said to contain “vases, ornaments and weapons”. If this information is correct, and the burial dates to the same period as the house, we could have here a case similar to that of the so-called “heroon” at Toumba (Lefkandi), or the later cases of Athens and Atica (Areopagus, Eleusis).8 It is interesting to note that a well-built square peribolos of the late Archaic – early Classical period was built in the immediate vicinity of the Geometric bursials and upon the architectural remains of the Bronze Age. These details bring to one’s mind

6. See however supra n. 2.
8. See in general Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 48-57, 86-87, 150-153, respectively, with bibliography.
other cases of the veneration of ancestors, but the lack of published information does not allow one to pursue further this idea.

At Oinoe an extensive necropolis was excavated by X. Arapogianni some 700 m to the SE of the Medieval tower of Oinoe (fig. 17: Arapogianni 1985; X. Arapogianni. *AΔ* 42, 1987, *Χρονικά*, 99-100; Mersch 1994, 149-150). It yielded several burials of the 7th c. – 6th centuries B.C. One important cist burial, surrounded by a peribolos, dates to the MG period. It is oriented roughly E-W, and the head of the deceased was here too located at the East. A few other burials date in the beginning of the 7th. A LG krater found in a “cairn” (presumably a clearing deposit) suggests that the area served as a burial ground continuously since the Geometric period (fig. 18). It therefore seems that there was a settlement in the surroundings. From here the gorge of Avlonas, which let to Athens through Mt Pentelikon, was controlled.

Lastly, one should mention the amphora no. 18062 of the Athens National Museum, a late work by the Hirschfeld painter (LG 1b, ca. 740-735 B.C.), which is said to have been found at Marathon (Kourou 2002, 37-38, pls. 30-32).

CONCLUSIONS

It is worth noting that the concentrations of EIA burials in the area of the plain are observed in four areas: at the entrance of the plain the Nea Makri cemetery presented here (American Base, to the West of Brexiza), South of the Archaeological Museum (Vranas) by Skorpio Potami, at Plasi and at Oinoi. The idea that these four areas could represent the original four “poleis” of the “Tetrapolis” is intriguing, but cannot be pursued further at this stage of research. The necropolis by the American Base shows, as the amphora studied in this volume by V. Vlachou a taste for display, as well of originality. The krater from Oinoe too could suggest a similar pattern of display. It is interesting to note that the former burials were situated at the narrow passage between Mt Agrieliki and the swamp of Brexiza to the East, as attested by the maps of the 18th and 19th centuries (figs. 19-20: Fauvel 1792; Curtius – Kaupert 1881, map XIX; Lolling 1882). It is in the surroundings that one should also seek the Herakleion where the Athenians camped before the battle of Marathon, presumably at the Valaria, and not near the church of Ay. Dimitrios, as argued by Sotiriadis (Petrakos 1996, 50-52, esp. 52). Whether this taste for originality and display has something to do with the fact that these two areas were the main passages into the Marathon plain for those arriving from the Mesogaia, and Athens, is a tempting idea that nevertheless cannot be proven.

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Fig. 1. Plan of the necropolis and view of Pit 1 (drawing A. Mazarakis Ainian).

Fig. 2. View of Pit 1.
Fig. 3. View of Tomb 3.

Fig. 4. Section and plan of Tombs 5-7 (drawings A. Mazarakis Ainian).
Fig. 5. The two skyphoi of Tomb 5 in situ.

Fig. 6a-d. Tomb 6. a,d: views, c: section of tomb, b: section of clay model (drawings A. Mazarakis Ainian).
Fig. 7. The hand-made pitcher from Tomb 7, in situ.

Fig. 8. Horse clay figurine from Tomb 7.

Fig. 9. Plan of the pitcher of Tomb 15, in situ (A. Mazarakis Ainian).

Fig. 10. View of pitcher of Tomb 15, in situ.
Fig. 11. Two plain silver rings from Tomb 15.

Fig. 12. View of the pyxis-krater of the LG/EA period of Tomb 16.

A NECROPOLIS OF THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD AT MARATHON

Fig. 14. Plan of the plain of Marathon (Travlos 1988, 223, Abb. 271).

Fig. 15. View of the plain of Marathon (Goette 2004, 15, Abb. 11).
Fig. 16. Plan of Plasi (Travlos 1988, 224, taf. 272).

Fig. 17. View of MG Tomb VIII at Oinoe. Arapogianni 1985, pl. 96a.

Fig. 18. The krater from the "cairn" at Oinoe. Arapogianni 1985, pl. 100a.
Fig. 19. Plan of the plain of Marathon (Curtius - Kaupert 1881, map XIX).
Fig. 20. Plan of the plain of Marathon (Lolling 1882, pl. IV).
MORTUARY PRACTICES AND THE HUMAN REMAINS:
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE GEOMETRIC GRAVES IN ARGOS, ARGOLID

The study of the Early Iron Age at Argos is based almost entirely on the abundant cemetery evidence which present a continuous chronological sequence from LH IIIC until the early Archaic period (1100-700 BC). The rapid growth of the mortuary record mainly due to the intense salvage excavations in a continuously built and rebuilt modern town establishes the urgent need for a systematic study and synthesis of the new evidence in the light of modern theoretical approaches.

In order to fully understand and reconstruct social organization and cultural changes, it is important to point out the significance of mortuary practices in their historical context. Mortuary practices are considered as an especially critical area of social behaviour where social procedures are reflected and social inequalities are expressed. But is there always a direct, predictable correspondence between mortuary practices and the society which produces them? In the last 20 years there is an intense critique on the systemic notion of isomorphism, the reflective relation between mortuary patterning and social structure, formulated by New Archaeology (Saxe 1970; Binford 1971). The Cambridge-based theoretical approaches participated largely in the criticism towards New Archaeology by adding a key issue to the discussion: ideology, the way a society perceives and chooses to represent itself at death (Hodder 1982; for discussion on the relation between mortuary practices and social organization see Morris 1987; Whitley 1991a; Morris 1992, 1-30). That is, the link between the mortuary record and social structure is far more complex than the isomorphic view would have placed it. Mortuary practices may reflect social order, but they may also distort, obscure or idealise social relations.

The aim of the analysis of mortuary practices of the Geometric period at Argos will be the understanding and reconstruction of the social and political processes which led to the gradual emergence of the multivalent institution known as the polis. A series of scholars have attempted to define and explain this historical phenomenon, which, as is generally accepted, was neither uniform, nor simultaneous, nor universal, since not all Geometric settlements developed into poleis (Snodgrass 1980a; Polignac 1984; Coldstream 1984; Morris 1987; Whitley 1991b). The character of the social and political developments that led to the formation of the Argive city state is regional and this becomes obvious in the character of mortuary practices, settlement patterns and pottery style of Argos. Unlike the large quantity of graves, settlement remains are so fragmentary that they do not allow a safe reconstruction of the form and size of the Geometric settlement. Thus the distribution of graves may provide crucial information on settlement patterns in this period. Hägg has proposed the model of a gradual development

* We would like to thank Professor A. Mazarakis Ainian for accepting our contribution to the Conference and also the University of Thessaly for the hospitality during our stay at Volos.
of the post Mycenaean settlements of Argos from a dispersed, loosely grouped agglomeration of farmsteads to the formation of the polis undergoing what seems to be some kind of settlement nucleation (Hagg 1982). The relationship of graves with the settlement patterns remains an open issue. The systematic analysis of the data included in this study that is size, distribution and composition of grave plots and changes through time, is expected to test this hypothesis and help us understand the particular character of the developments that led to state formation in the case of Argos.

Systematic study of about 100 graves which were recovered during the Greek rescue excavations taken place in the modern town of Argos during the last 30 years which are either unpublished or known only from preliminary reports as well as the re-examination of the published graves is expected to shed some light into the spatial distribution of graves, the demographic synthesis of grave plots, patterns of exclusion and inclusion in visible burial etc. (For Argive Geometric burials, see Courbin 1974; Foley 1988; Hägg 1974; 1980; 1998).

Within this general frame current presentation will focus on the investigation of issues related to grave types, frequency of single versus multiple burials, representation of gender and age groups within graves as well as study of the skeletal material of 65 graves recovered so far.

As is already known, throughout the Geometric period, inhumation is the exclusive mode of disposal for all age groups and both genders. Cremation is practically unknown in Argos from the end of the SM/EPG (ca. 1025 BC) until the 7th c. BC. (For SM/EPG cremations, see Hägg 1987; Piteros 2001; Papadimitriou 2006, 532-533). The scarce examples of recorded Geometric cremations are isolated, dispersed and not that clear as regards the type of pyre which might have been incomplete and thus connected to some kind of primary or secondary ritual practice.

The transition between the PG and the EG periods was not a dramatic one as regards the grave types, modes of interment and mortuary ritual. Burial in cist graves continues to be the norm, while there is still limited use of pit burials. Pithos burials also appear by the end of the PG period as well as burials in various types of hand-made vessels, amphorai, hydriai, etc. The typical grave assemblage consists of amphorae, oenochoai and cups. The exceptionally rich cist grave of the Livaditis plot which accommodated a female burial and marked the transition from the PG to the EG should be seen as a divergence from the standard pattern, recalling similar rich female burials from Athens (Protonorariou-Deilaki 1970). During the MG no significant changes occur. Cists continue as the dominant grave type, while burials in vessels other than pithoi are rare. Until the end of the MG period thus there is marked homogeneity, standardization of practices and less marked differentiation (Table 1).

As regards the mode of interment, with the beginning of the Geometric period, the reuse of the graves was introduced. The PG practice of single inhumations is no longer the norm. Throughout the Geometric period multiple burials outnumber the single ones. This phenomenon reaches its peak time in the LG period (Table 2). This change may be connected to a change of perception in social structure ex-

1. The published graves come mainly from the French excavations at Argos.
2. The osteological examination as well as conservation of the material was financed by the Institute of Aegean Prehistory, INSTAP, Philadelphia. The study of the human bones was carried out in different study seasons between 2005 and 2006. We would like to thank Mr. Fotis Dimakis and Ms. Pinka Taratori, Conservators of the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities for the conservation of pottery and metal objects, Mr. Vangelis Giannopoulous, the chief technician at Argos Museum who located the skeletal material in the various storerooms (Αποθήκες) at Argos and Ms. Maria Palaidimou, the chief technician at Nafplion Museum who undertook the difficult task of cleaning the skeletal material. The osteological examination as well as conservation of the material was financed by the Institute of Aegean Prehistory, INSTAP, Philadelphia. The study of the human bones was carried out in different study seasons between 2005 and 2006. We would like to thank Mr. Fotis Dimakis and Ms. Pinka Taratori, Conservators of the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities for the conservation of pottery and metal objects, Mr. Vangelis Giannopoulous, the chief technician at Argos Museum who located the skeletal material in the various storerooms (Αποθήκες) at Argos and Ms. Maria Palaidimou, the chief technician at Nafplion Museum who undertook the difficult task of cleaning the skeletal material.
3. For example graves T 9 and T 15 (Courbin 1974, 25, 32, pl. 24, 27), Manos grave no. 11 (Pappi 1996).
pressed through the need to stress kinship or family ties. Graves therefore were regarded as family disposal areas which give an emphasis on continuity, collectivity and descent.

The LG period witnessed two remarkable changes. Firstly, a spectacular increase in the number of burials: LG burials almost triple those of the earlier periods. This demographic picture may represent either an expansion of population or an increase of the visible graves, in other words an increase in the number of people accorded the privilege of formal burial (Table 3). Secondly, this period is characterized by a greater diversity and choice in burial practices while an increase in the number of grave offerings is also attested. Mortuary practices present a far more complex picture. Variety and differentiation contrast significantly to the standardization of practices taken place during the EG and MG periods. It is interesting to note that these changes coincide with the gradual establishment of iconographic scenes in pottery style which might reflect an intensified social need for elaborate symbolism in order to express identity and social status.

During the LG period, cists continue to represent a substantial segment of the graves, but are no longer the predominant grave type. The richest cists are the so-called warrior graves which appear in the MG II/LG I period (8th c. BC). Their large dimensions give special emphasis on monumentality. Except for the Panoply Grave T 45 (Courbin 1957), and the graves found in Stavropoulos (Deilaki 1971) and Theodoropoulos plots (Deilaki 1973), a series of cists recovered in the last decades fall in the same category. They are all of monumental size with rich equipment and extend along modern Gounari and Irakleous streets, at the eastern foot of Larissa, as well as in the center of the modern town in the area of the Archaeological Museum. In these mortuary assemblages, there is a remarkable increased display of material items and a tendency to correlate weapons, obeloi, bronze objects, certain types of ceramic vessels, like kraters, stands, etc. and specific iconographic elements like horses, horse leaders etc. It is important to point out that some of the finest figured vases are associated with warrior graves. The aristocracy of the period negotiates its position in the new social and historical order by projecting the heroic ideal, a fundamental aspect of which is the ostentation of military prowess expressed symbolically both with the use of iconography and with the high deposition of weapons inside the graves (Pappi 2006, 232-237). Contrary to the general view that the warrior graves belong almost exclusively to single burials of male individuals, some of the case study warrior graves in Argos accommodated multiple burials while women also appear to have had access to them (For the opposite view, see Hägg 1983, 30; Whitley 1991a, 190). In particular, two warrior graves which were included in the study of the human remains, that is Sklavounos grave no. 1 (Kollia 2003) and DEYAAR Gounari street grave no. 29 (Psychoyos 1995; Pappi 2006) accommodated two men and one woman and one man and two women respectively. In addition to the monumental dimensions of the warrior graves as well as the wealth and variety of the associated grave goods, the overall picture of the biological quality of life of the associated skeletal material contributes towards high levels of health status. That is the possessor of DEYAAR Gounari street grave no 29 belongs to a 35 years old male individual with particularly strong musculo-skeletal markers which can be attributed to heavy physical workload due to his involvement in an overall intensive type of labour or physical exercise of his skeleto-muscular system. Besides, the man

4. For a discussion on warrior graves see Hägg 1983; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1984; Whitley 1991a. See also Nikolopoulos grave no. 1 (Spathari 1991; Pappi 2006).

5. Greek salvage excavations grave numbers are indicated with the name of the excavated plot and with continuous numbering in each plot separately as for example DEYAAR Gounari grave no. 1 and Sklavounos grave no 1.
of grave DEYAAAR Gounari street grave no 29 represents particularly high levels of health status suggested also by the overall lack of evidence of non-specific infectious lesions and metabolic disorders as would be the expected picture of a high status “warrior”. Similarly, the two women of the same grave appear to have reached over 40 years of age and to have experienced particularly high levels of health status as has been also suggested for the associated male individual.

Another grave type which shows a high frequency in the LG mortuary repertoire includes burials disposed of in various ceramic vessels. A closer examination of the data shows that the disposal of the deceased in a ceramic container is quite complex and diverse. It ranges from simple plain pithoi – the construction of which required a considerable investment of time and labour – to large decorated vessels e.g. the spectacular LG I pyxis C. 209 of grave T 23 (Courbin 1974, 34-35), and other elaborately decorated vessels, mainly amphorai and kraters. Variations of pithos/pot burials are combinations of ceramic vessels where one serves as the lid of the other or where two kraters are placed mouth to mouth in order to provide enough space for the accommodation of the deceased (figs. 1-2).

Similarly to cist graves, pithos burials also with collective interments stress out continuity and descent. There are examples of pithoi which held up to four individuals (contra Langdon 2001, 585). Both genders have accessibility to pithos burials, while they are not spatially segregated since they co-exist in the same burial grounds with other grave types. As regards the levels of health status, no clear differences can be observed between the individuals accommodated in pithoi and those in cists. Instead, the possessors of the pit graves appear to have had low levels of health status. Thus the individuals in three out of four pit graves examined showed high incidence of non-specific infections, trauma and metabolic disease suggesting harsh living conditions. Although the sample is too small, the association of individuals with low levels of health status with the pit graves which represent simple grave types as regards their constructional features as well as the poor quality of the associated grave goods or their relative absence would possibly suggest that pits accommodated low status individuals.

The question thus which arises from the above discussion would be related to the social status held during life of the individuals disposed of in the cists and those in the pithoi. According to Hägg, different grave types correspond to different social classes, that is why pithos burials were attributed to a low status and poor class, while cists were associated with a high status social class (Hägg 1983, 28). The association of pithoi with low status classes was based largely on the absence of associated grave goods in pithoi e.g. the cluster of pithos burials excavated in the Argos Hospital plot (Protonotariou-Deiligaki 1964). Yet the absence of grave offerings in this particular cluster in addition to the scarce stratigraphical evidence make their dating difficult if not impossible. A provisional dating of the Hospital pithos burials either to the Middle Helladic (Papadimitriou in press) or to the early Archaic (Hägg 1983, 29) period cannot be excluded. In the latter case the relative lack of grave offerings could be interpreted as a shift in depositional practices with valuables once consumed in graves now being dedicated to sanctuaries (Antonaccio 1995, 1-9). Whitley, on the other hand, has associated cist graves with male burials (Whitley 1991a, 189-191). The evident symbolism such as the occurrence of weapons and the associated horse leader symbolism indeed

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6. In Table 1, the general category of burial in a ceramic vessel has been subdivided in pithos burials and burials in other types of vessels.

7. For further examples see Charitonides 1966; Banaka-Dimaki 1998; Piteros 1999.

8. See for example the LG II krater C. 210 of grave T 23; graves T 298 (Hägg 1974, 146, Abb. 42) and T 317 (Foley 1988, 37); Giarentis grave no. 3 (Papadimitriou 1997).

would be consistent with a male world. But as has been suggested earlier in this paper, in Argos elderly women appear to have had access even in warrior graves. It is thus possible that family or kinship was the organizing principle that determined the mode of disposal, while age must have been a crucial factor in the construction of social identity. For example both women of the Sklavounos warrior grave discussed above were between 40 and 50 years of age. This scheme reinforces Langdon's convincing argument according to which middle-aged women in Geometric Argos had access to the symbolic system of men. Another interesting aspect with regard to mortuary practices in Geometric Argos is the treatment of children at death. Throughout the period, children seem to have been considered as a separate category. The distribution of adult (over 18 years old) versus subadult individuals through the different subphases of the Geometric period presents an interesting pattern (Table 4). During the EG and MG periods (9th - first half of 8th c. BC), the frequency of subadult versus adult individuals is significantly low. Argos children were not regarded as full members of the society and thus they were possibly disposed of in a mode which was archaeologically invisible. Conversely, in the LG period, the subadults and in particular the neonates, that is individuals under one year old, appear significantly more frequently than the adults suggesting a notable shift as regards the disposal of the subadult age categories – individuals under 18 years old – during this period. Age again seems to be a crucial factor of differentiation in the subadult age categories. That is neonates, 0 to 12 months, as well as infants, 1 to 6 years, were interred individually in ceramic vessels consisting mainly of elaborately decorated kraters, in close proximity to the adult cist and pithos burials. Contrary to the earlier periods, evidence which contribute towards an archaeologically visible mode of disposal of individuals under 6 years of age would include special treatment at death, access to the adults’ burial ground as well as to their elaborate symbolic system as expressed through the use of a distinct types of burial pots mainly kraters, decorated with elaborate iconographic scenery but also a clear exclusion from adults’ individual graves. This practice can be interpreted in two ways. Inclusion on the one hand, of individual subadult burials in the same burial ground with the adult graves would further suggest an attempt to stress family ties. On the other hand, exclusion of the subadult age categories from adult grave types either cists or pithoi would be consistent with some type of spatial segregation and differential status of the neonates and infants.

On the contrary, this distinction does not seem to exist for individuals between 6 to 12 years old which were interred in pithoi and pits as single or multiple burials together with adults, but never in cist graves. As already discussed earlier, it seems that age was a crucial factor in the construction of social identity in the case of children too. Social divisions appear to have been made along lines of age categories. Non-initiated children would probably comprise a marginal category and were assigned thus a marginal position outside the community of the adult members of their society.

The study of the human remains from Geometric Argos will discuss briefly aspects of skeletal...
tal preservation, demography that is the composition of the case study population and health and oral status as well as diet. A large part of the Geometric skeletal material which was excavated by the French Archaeological School was previously studied and published by R.P. Charles (Charles 1963). Charles focused his study on craniometrics following the methodological approaches of his era which gave special emphasis on the cephalometrics and the physical appearance of the skulls. It is necessary to point out here that human skulls were possibly the only parts of the skeletons which were systematically collected in archaeological excavations at that time.

The preservation of the skeletal material ranges from moderately to very badly represented skeletons. According to Table 5, although a large segment of the skeletal material examined shows a high incidence of the cranial and post-cranial skeleton, half of them produced no teeth. Furthermore, very few cases provided complete skeletons which would offer all diagnostic anatomical parts for sexing and ageing. The relatively bad skeletal representation of the human remains could be the result of a number of reasons involving the rescue character of the excavation as well as the post-excavation treatment of the skeletal material. Besides, aspects such as the intensive use of the burial ground as well as multiple robbery episodes which have taken place throughout antiquity should also be considered seriously.

As regards the demographic composition of the case study population, the mortality curves of the Geometric Argos population have been plotted together with the mortality rates of other Early Iron Age populations from Macedonia e.g. the Olympus tumuli, Treis Elies and Pydna in northern Pieria for comparative reasons (Table 6: Triantaphyllou 2001, fig. 4.4; Karliabas et al. 2005, fig. 11). Additionally, the line superimposed on the bar graphs corresponds to the mortality profile calculated from model life table West series (Coale – Demeny 1969) with a life expectancy at birth of forty ($E_0 = 40$). Table 6 reveals an interesting pattern where the mortality curve of Geometric Argos contrary to the Early Iron Age populations of Macedonia tends to be similar in shape to the model West series mortality profile which represents a slightly U-shaped trend with two peaks: one in neonates – individuals under one year of age – and the other in mature adulthood – individuals between 40 and 50 years old. It is notable that old aged individuals that is over 50 years old are completely missing. It is necessary to point out however that in 37 adult individuals out of 81 examined in total, age could not be securely recognised due to the overall lack or insufficient preservation of diagnostic anatomical parts.

The distribution of the two sex groups reveals an overall significantly higher prevalence of men as opposed to women (49 men versus 28 women) (Table 7). This picture may reflect some differential treatment according to gender distinction suggesting possibly that only certain women had rights of accessibility to the burial ground. Additionally, while men appear to die progressively more frequently in the age groups over 40 years old as would be expected in a normal population, women show the peak time of their deaths in the young adulthood – between 18 and 30 years old – associated possibly with difficulties during childbirth and pregnancy complications.

Turning now to health status, the examination has focused on two broad pathological categories:

- First, bone lesions, such as osteoarthritis\text{11}, vertebral arthritis\text{12}, trauma\text{13}, enthesopa-
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE GEOMETRIC GRAVES IN ARGOS

The distribution of pathological conditions in the two sexes reveals an overall high incidence of pathological conditions affecting the skeletal-muscular system that is osteoarthritis, vertebral arthritis, enthesopathies and musculoskeletal markers as well as trauma through the Geometric period while it is worth noting the high occurrence of trauma (37%) in the EG period. Traumatic episodes are represented by well-healed fractures which affected equally the upper and lower skeleton as well as the ribs. Besides, non-specific infections and to a lesser degree metabolic disease that is anaemia and enamel hypoplasia defects show a progressive increase from the EG to the LG periods. The prevalence of non-specific infections in particular is highly favoured by population aggregation and increase, sub-optimal living conditions, poor nutrition and contacts with the outside world. The outstanding rise of the graves during the LG period suggesting possibly a similar population increase has already been pointed out earlier in this paper (Table 3).

The distribution of pathological conditions has been plotted as measured among the total of 113 individuals represented through the different subphases of the Geometric Argos according to the individual count analysis (Table 9). At this point it is necessary to point out that the results are only preliminary since in population assemblages with differential skeletal preservation the individual count analysis is recommended to be applied in combination with the skeletal element count analysis whereby the occurrence of pathological conditions is measured out of the total number of the skeletal elements represented (Waldron 1994, 63-67; Triantaphyllou 2001, 67).

Table 8 reveals an overall high incidence of pathological conditions affecting the skeletal-muscular system that is osteoarthritis, vertebral arthritis, enthesopathies and musculoskeletal markers as well as trauma through the Geometric period while it is worth noting the high occurrence of trauma (37%) in the EG period. Traumatic episodes are represented by well-healed fractures which affected equally the upper and lower skeleton as well as the ribs. Besides, non-specific infections and to a lesser degree metabolic disease that is anaemia and enamel hypoplasia defects show a progressive increase from the EG to the LG periods. The prevalence of non-specific infections in particular is highly favoured by population aggregation and increase, sub-optimal living conditions, poor nutrition and contacts with the outside world. The outstanding rise of the graves during the LG period suggesting possibly a similar population increase has already been pointed out earlier in this paper (Table 3).

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The distribution of pathological conditions in the two sexes reveals an interesting picture (Table 9). Men as well as women show similarly elevated rates of pathological conditions. Similar levels of prevalence in trauma, enthesopathies and musculoskeletal markers as well as in non-specific lesions in both men and women would suggest that both sexes and not only men were equally involved to a different possibly degree in similar types of physical workload and exposure to pathogens. This picture is consistent with an overall equal participation of the two sexes suggested by the distribution of pathological lesions in prehistoric assemblages of Macedonia (Triantaphyllou 2001, 144) but contradicts to the picture provided from the Middle Helladic populations of the Argolid (Voutsaki et al. 2006, 99-100; Triantaphyllou in press).

Dental lesions which show also high rates in both sexes were represented mainly by particularly elevated levels of caries which possibly contributed to the high occurrence of teeth lost prior to death (antemortem tooth loss) and the frequent incidence of abscesses. Although there are a number of factors involved in the development of cariogenic lesions (Larsen 1997, 65), their prevalence in archaeological populations is of-
EVANGELIA PAPPI, SEVI TRIANTAPYLLOU

ten associated with the consumption of soft and processed foodstuffs which are rich in carbohydrates (Powell 1985, 314). The high prevalence of caries in the Geometric Argos skeletal population therefore would suggest the consumption of a diet rich in carbohydrates which is also the case for the Early Iron Age skeletal populations of Macedonia (Triantaphyllou 2001, 122). In order to define the dietary profile of the Geometric Argos population, a large-scale sampling of 56 human ribs from different age and sex groups was carried out for a carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analysis\(^{19}\). The aims of the stable isotope analysis are: a) the definition of broad dietary patterns such as terrestrial (animal and plant protein) versus marine (marine protein) foodstuffs consumed by the inhabitants of Geometric Argos and b) the investigation of possible differences of the isotopic signals between population subgroups defined by age, sex or social status (Richards \textit{et al.} 1998; 2002; Privat \textit{et al.} 2002).

To conclude, the picture that emerges from the discussion of the mortuary practices in Geometric Argos can be summarized as follows: 1) \textit{emphasis on family and kinship ties} throughout the period as expressed by collective burial which began to intensify in the LG period 2) \textit{homogeneity and standardization} of EG and MG practices as well as selectivity and exclusivity detected in the number and kinds of persons accorded the right of visible burial, followed by intensified complexity in mortuary behaviour during the LG period, 3) \textit{association of formal burial} with certain population groups defined by social status, kinship and/or age groups during the LG period. Emphasis on collectivity and continuity in particular, as well as on the heroic ideal expressed by horse leader symbolism and warrior status were the elements that dominated in shaping social identity and negotiating social status during a period of intense social flux and developments that would lead to the rise of the \textit{polis}.

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\(^{19}\) Professor M.P. Richards, Department of Human Evolution, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig, will carry out the analysis, for first time in this large scale in Geometric skeletal material from the Aegean. We would like to thank the Greek Ministry of Culture for granting us permission to extract human bone material. The results of the analysis are under way.


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Fig. 1. Giarentis plot, grave no 3 (Courtesy of the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities).

Fig. 2. Kraters from Argos, Giarentis plot, grave no. 3.
Table 1. Distribution of burial types through the Geometric period at Argos.

Table 2. Distribution of single versus multiple burials through the Geometric period at Argos.
Table 3. Number of burials through the Geometric period at Argos.

Table 4. Distribution of adult versus subadult individuals in the Geometric Argos skeletal assemblage through time.
Table 5. Bone part representation in the Geometric Argos skeletal assemblage

Table 6. Mortality profiles of Early Iron Age skeletal populations in the Aegean
Table 7. Distribution of sex versus age groups in the Geometric Argos skeletal assemblage through time.

Table 8. Distribution of pathological conditions in the Geometric Argos skeletal assemblage through time.
Table 9. Distribution of pathological conditions by sex groups in the Geometric Argos skeletal assemblage through time.
Η θέση Πλίθος βρίσκεται στη βορειοανατολική πλευρά του σύγχρονου οικισμού της Χώρας (εικ. 1-2) –τουλάχιστον όπως ήταν την εποχή της αποκάλυψης του νεκροταφείου– στα Ν. του παραλιακού υψώματος των Απλωμάτων με το προϊστορικό νεκροταφείο και περί τα 200 μ. ανατολικά από την επίσης παραλιακή περιοχή της Ιρόττας με τον προϊστορικό οικισμό και με μερικές ταφές πρωτογεωμετρικούς χρόνων στη θέση Πλίθος (Ζαφειροπούλου 1984, 121 κ.ε. 2001, 292-295 κ.ε.). Οι ανασκαφές στην τελευταία περίοδο της Χώρας, την πρωτεύουσα δηλαδή της Νάξου, έφεραν στο φως πολλά στοιχεία με βάση τα οποία είναι δυνατόν πλέον να επιβεβαιωθεί η θεωρία ότι η γεωμετρική πόλη, ασφαλώς πολυάνθρωπη και με οικονομικά εύρωστη αστική κοινωνία, πρέπει να έχει οικοδομηθεί επάνω στο λόφο του ενετικού κάστρου, ενώ στα πεδινά και παράκτια μέρη, σε αρκετά μεγάλη ακτίνα, εκτείνονταν τα νεκροταφεία, συχνά σε συστάδες τάφων ή σε πιο οργανωμένη μορφή, όπως το νεκροταφείο στον Πλίθο (εικ. 3) ανήκει επομένως στο Βόρειο Νεκροταφείο, είναι το σημαντικότερο σύνολο γεωμετρικών ταφών που έχει βρεθεί ως τώρα στη Νάξο με άφθονη κεραμεική σε ποικιλία σχημάτων και διακοσμητικών θεμάτων και διακοσμητικών υλικών, καθώς και με περισσότερα από τα οικονομικά εύρωστα κεραμικά (εικ. 4-8). Η αποκάλυψη του οφείλεται στις «σωστικές» λεγόμενες ανασκαφές, δηλαδή σε ανασκαφές οικόπεδων, που στην περίπτωση του νεκροταφείου αυτού έτυχε να είναι στην ίδια περιοχή και σε γειτονικά οικόπεδα.

Στο νεκροταφείο αυτό γίνονταν διάφορων ειδών ταφές και ταφικά τελετουργικά. 1. Ταφές απλές με τον νεκρό κατευθείαν στο χώμα, δηλαδή σε στρώμα άμμου σε ύπτια θέση ή στο δεξιό πλευρό με το αριστερό χέρι στο στήθος και τα πόδια το ένα επάνω στο άλλο (εικ. 9). Οι σκελετοί ήταν συνήθως ακτέριστοι εκτός από τρεις περιπτώσεις: μία στην οποία είχαν αποθετεί μαζί με το νεκρό πολλά κεραμικά, κυρίως κοντά στο κεφάλι και προς το επάνω μέρος του σώματος και δύο άλλες στις οποίες ο νεκρός είχε ταφεί με λίγα κοσμήματα, με δύο βραχιόλια στον αριστερό βραχίονα ο ένας, με βραχιόλι ή περιδέραιο από οστέους μικρούς κρίκους και δύο βραχιόλια στον δεξιό βραχίονα ο άλλος. Παρά το γεγονός επίσης ότι μάλλον δεν λάβανε υπόψη ένα συγκεκριμένο προσανατολισμό για την τοποθέτηση του νεκρού στο έδαφος.

1. Για τις ανασκαφές στην περιοχή βλ. Ανασκαφή Νάξου, ΠΑΕ 1949-1995, καθώς και στο Νάξο, Αριμένιοι οικισμοί στο Χρόνο, τη βιβλιογραφία στα σχετικά άρθρα 41, 54, 63, 77, 86.
ΦΩΤΕΙΝΗ ΖΑΦΕΙΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ

φος οι περισσότεροι σκελετοί ήταν στον άξονα Α-Δ. Πρόκειται πιθανότατα για τις πρωιμότερες ταφές ενός συγκεκριμένου χώρου, ισως και οικογενειακής ομάδας, τις οποίες διατήρησαν άθετες περιλαμβάνοντας τις μάλιστα στον χώρο μεταγενέστερων ταφών.

2. Εγχυτρισμοί, ταφές σε αγγεία συνήθως μικρών παιδιών που δεν τα έκαιγαν, αλλά ορισμένες και ενηλίκων, ίσως και με μερικά μικρά αγγεία, ως πέτρες της ταφής, τούτοις, αφού υπάρχει υποψία πάνω στις πρωιμότερες ταφές ενός συγκεκριμένου χώρου, ίσως και οικογενειακής ομάδας, τις οποίες διατήρησαν άθετες περιλαμβάνοντας τις μάλιστα στον χώρο μεταγενέστερων ταφών.

3. Καύση νεκρού, α) Ο νεκρός καίγεται σε πυρά από ξύλα που συχνά έχει ως υπόστρωμα βότσαλα ή και στρώμα πηλού, ωστόσο, οστά παραμένουν στον τόπο καύσης μαζί με τα κτερίσματα από τις οποίες τα περισσότερα είναι κεραμεικά, αλλά και μεταλλικά αντικείμενα κυρίως πόρπες χάλκινες και σιδερένια ξίφη ή εγχειρίδια σπασμένα, σε μια μάλιστα πυρά είχε αποτεθεί και το κράνος, του οποίου σώθηκε ένα κομμάτι. Το στρώμα της πυράς είχε συνήθως πάχος γύρω στα 8-10 εκ. χωρίς να αποκλείεται η περίπτωση καύσης άλλου νεκρού στην ίδια θέση και σε αρκετά ψηλότερο επίπεδο, β) Τα οστά δεν αφήνοντας στη θέση που κάηκαν, αλλά περισσότεροι σκελετοί ήταν στον άξονα Α-Δ. Πρόκειται πιθανότατα για τις πρωιμότερες ταφές ενός συγκεκριμένου χώρου, ισως και οικογενειακής ομάδας, τις οποίες διατήρησαν άθετες περιλαμβάνοντας τις μάλιστα στον χώρο μεταγενέστερων ταφών.

2. Η εξέταση και μελέτη του οστεολογικού υλικού έγινε από ομάδα ειδικών επικεφαλής των οποίων είναι ο αρχαιολόγος καθ. της Ανθρωπολογίας στο Πανεπιστήμιο Adelphi της Ν. Υορκής, Αναγνώστη Αγγελαράκης και τα στοιχεία αυτά προέρχονται από μία πρώτη διάγνωση, που θα οριστικοποιηθεί με την κανονική παρουσίαση του υλικού.
τα κτερίσματα εκτείνονταν κάτω από τους τοίχους που τις περικλείουν.

Από έλλειψη άλλων στοιχείων φαίνεται ότι η τελική επικάλυψη των ταφών, εκτός από τους μικρούς λιθοσωρούς που παρατηρήθηκαν σε ορισμένες ταφές θα γίνοταν με επιχωμάτιση. Ίσως επομένως αυτός να ήταν ο λόγος, δηλαδή η μή ύπαρξη κάποιου είδους σήματος ή γενικά προεξοχής, που προκάλεσε και την εξαφάνιση του νεκροταφείου στους επόμενους αιώνες, αφού στην περιοχή επεκτάθηκε η ελληνιστική πόλη και αργότερα το ρωμαϊκό νεκροταφείο που κατέστρεψε, όπως και οι αγωγοί του οικισμού, μέρος του γεωμετρικού νεκροταφείου, του οποίου η χρήση πρέπει να διάρκει δύο-τριών γενεών μέσα στον 9ο αι.π.Χ. - ΥΠΓ ως ύστερη ΜΓ περίοδος.

Το θέμα των επάλληλων ταφών-καύσεων θα μπορούσε να ερμηνευθεί και από την άποψη των μελών μιας οικογένειας ή ακόμη ενός γένους που θα είχε έναν ορισμένο χώρο σύμφωνα με την κοινωνική διάρθρωση της εποχής αλλά και με τα τοπικά ταφικά έθιμα. Εξάλλου σύμφωνα με τα στοιχεία που έχουν προκύψει προς το παρόν από την οστεολογική εξέταση γνωρίζουμε ότι σε 43 περιπτώσεις που περιλάμβαναν ανθρώπινα οστά οι 28 αφορούσαν άνδρες και αγόρια από 15-16 έως περίπου 50 χρόνων και μόνο 5 γυναίκες - μία δεκαχρόνη κοπελίστα, μία άλλη 18-19 χρονών, δύο 25-35 και μία ηλικιωμένη γύρω στα 603. Τα αποτελέσματα αυτά οδηγούν στην πιθανότητα να υπήρχαν νεκροταφεία χωρίς για άνδρες, ίσως μιας ορισμένης τάξης και για κάποιες επίλεκτες γυναίκες, πιθανός, ότι η ιδία παρουσίασε ανήκει σε ατόμο 59-63 ετών

3. Σύμφωνα με τους μελετητές του οστεολογικού υλικού (βλ. σημ. 2) ο γυναικείος αυτός σκελετός ανήκει σε ατόμο 59-63 ετών. Η πυρά είναι το είδος ταφής που αποτελεί την απόδοση υψηλής τιμής στον νεκρό. Σε πυρά είχε επίσης και το σώμα της ηλικιωμένης γυναίκας, μόνο αυτής, ενώ είναι περίπου να βρίσκονται σε μια ταφή ο σκελετός ενός νεού ανδρά 25 χρονών μαζί με τα οστά βρέφους 6 μηνών, που φυλάχθηκαν σε αγγείο το οποίο τοποθετήθηκε σχεδόν επάνω στο κεφάλι του (εικ. 16). Είναι όμως επισής γνωστό ότι στις αρχαίες κοινωνίες έτρεφαν μεγάλο σεβασμό για τα νήπια και τα βρέφη, για το λόγο αυτό φαντάζει ότι θα έγινε και η ταφή τους εδώ μαζί με τους άνδρες. Θα πρέπει επίσης το νεκροταφείο αυτό να συνεξετασθεί με το νεκροταφείο-ηρώο, των αρχηγετών προφανώς, που θάφτηκαν στα ερείπια της μυκηναϊκής πόλης, περί τα 200μ. δυτικότερα, στη Γρόττα, καθώς και χίλια εσωτερικότερα, στην περιοχή της σημερινής Μητρόπολης (εικ. 2), στις αρχές της πρώτης χιλιετίας π.Χ. και που ήδη από τον 9ο αι. πρωτοποιήθηκαν. Είναι σαφές, σε αντίθεση με το νεκροταφείο των φεουδαρχών της ορεινής ναξιακής υπαίθρου στη θέση του Τσικαλαριού με τα σχετικά κραυγαλέα χαρακτηριστικά - μεγάλους ταφικούς περίβολου (εικ. 17), κατασκευασμένου από πελώριες πλάκες, στους οποίους οδηγούσαν δρόμοι μέσα στο νεκροταφείο, ένα πλατό μενχίρ (εικ. 17) στο τρίστρατο των δρόμων αυτών ως ερμαϊκή στήλη αλλά και ως σήμα στην είσοδο του νεκροταφείου κλπ.- στο νεκροταφείο του Πλίθου πρόκειται για ταφές απλών πολιτών τους οποίους ανήκαν σε μια σιτετένη κοινωνία η οποία είχε αναπτυχθεί νωρίτερα στα γεωμετρικά χρόνια για να φτάσει να κυριαρχεί στο Αιγαίο πολιτικά και πολιτιστικά ως την ύστερη αρχαϊκή εποχή.

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Εικ. 4. Πρωτογεωμετρικός επιγάστριος αμφορέας.

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Εικ. 11. α. Εγχυτρισμός σε δύο πίθους. β. Σχεδιαστική αποτύπωση εγχυτρισμών σε δύο πίθους.

Εικ. 12. Οστεοδόχα αγγεία στη θέση τους.

Εικ. 13. Οστεοδόχα αγγεία στη θέση τους.
Grab XLI a - c Schematische Skizze der Stratigraphie

**Εικ. 14.** Σχεδίασμα στρωματογραφίας επάλληλων πυρών.

**Εικ. 15.** α. Αγγείο με πλάκα ως πώμα. β. Αγγείο με αγγείο ως πώμα.
Εικ. 16. Σχεδιαστική αποτύπωση μέρους του γεωμετρικού νεκροταφείου.

Εικ. 17. Το γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο στο Τσικαλάρι της Νάξου: α) με τους περιβόλους β) με το μενχήρ.
APPROPRIATING THE PAST: EARLY IRON AGE MORTUARY PRACTICES AT KAVOUSI, CRETE

Over a century of archaeological investigation at Kavousi in east Crete has provided detailed information about inhabitation and burials in one area of Greece from the 12th through the 5th centuries BC (figs. 1-2). The material recovered by early explorers (Boyd 1901; 1904) indicated the potential of the area to answer questions about the Dark Ages and spurred the modern investigations by William Coulson, Geraldine Gesell, and the author. In 1978 they established a long-term project at Kavousi with the following goals: to bring to full publication the remains from the early excavations around Kavousi, to establish the place of the known sites in their historical and topographical setting with an archaeological surface survey, and to excavate the settlements at Vronda and the Kastro (1987-1992), along with more tombs from their associated cemeteries. Lack of time and resources precluded the excavation of Azoria, the third site explored by Harriet Boyd, but the recent excavations by Donald Haggis and Margaret Mook (Haggis et al. 2004; 2007) have rectified that omission and added to our knowledge of the area in the Dark Ages. The time has now come to try to understand and explain the complex pattern of settlement and burial in the area. In this article, I will investigate the burials at Vronda and suggest reasons for the reuse of the site and the introduction of new burial practices in the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

The LM IIIC settlement at Vronda contained ordinary houses (Day – Coulson – Gesell 1986; Gesell – Day – Coulson 1988; Gesell – Coulson – Day 1991; Gesell – Day – Coulson 1995; Glowacki 2004; 2007), a temple or shrine with cult equipment and statues of goddesses with upraised arms (Gesell 2004), and a large “ruler’s” dwelling with provision for extensive storage and evidence for social or political drinking rituals within (Day – Snyder 2004). All this material had been left behind when the inhabitants abandoned the site at the end of LM IIIC. The high site of the Kastro produced large, well-constructed houses and evidence for continuous occupation from the beginning of LM IIIC into the 7th century (Coulson et al. 1997; Mook – Coulson 1997; Mook in this volume). The recent work at Azoria has produced a very large settlement with evidence of occupation in all periods of the Dark Ages, but most importantly, one that continued as a major urban area with large civic buildings down into the Classical Period.

What all this investigation has revealed is the following complex and changing pattern of settlement in the area. In LM IIIC all three mountain sites were inhabited, at the beginning
of the period (Kastro) or early in it (Vronda, Azoria), with a pattern of site hierarchy that has not yet been ascertained. Haggis believes that Azoria was the major nucleated settlement in the area (Haggis 1993, 151). At the end of LM IIIC the Vronda settlement was abandoned, while both Azoria and Kastro continued and expanded in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. Wallace suggests that during this time the inhabitants of the Kastro may have maintained a separate, spatially-defined identity even while residing in a large nucleated community (Wallace 2003, 268), and the two communities may have experienced some level of competition or rivalry. Finally, in the late 7th century Kastro was abandoned, and settlement coalesced at Azoria.

Equally complex is the shifting pattern of burials in the area, as revealed by the investigations of Evans (Gesell - Day - Coulson 1983, 380), by the excavations of Boyd in 1900-1901 at Vronda (Boyd 1901, 131-136), Aloni (Boyd 1904, 15-17), and Skouriasmenos (Boyd 1901, 143-148), by chance finds at Vronda in the 1950’s (Gesell - Day - Coulson 1983, 393, 403-404), and by the work of the Kavousi Project at Vronda. A diachronic look at the cemeteries and burial practices throughout the Kavousi area in the Early Iron Age shows some fascinating patterns.

The earliest Dark Age burials in the area are represented by the tholos tombs at Vronda and tombs on the slopes of the Kastro (fig. 1). Eleven tholos tombs are known from Vronda (fig. 3), eight (I-VIII) uncovered by Boyd, one by a local land owner (IX), and two more recovered by the Kavousi Project (X and XI). Only two tholoi were found unrobbed: Vronda IV and IX. The ceramic assemblage of Tomb IV was composed of at least 40 whole vessels of Subminoan to Protogeometric date, while Tomb IX produced some 53 vessels dating from Subminoan into Geometric, along with a few simple bronze fibulas and iron knives. There was some evidence for post-funerary rituals at all of the tholoi: in each tomb, a layer of stones almost like a paving was found in the dromos or pit in front of the entrance, put in after the door was filled in to the top of the lintel (fig. 4), and fragments of drinking and pouring vessels were regularly found above these pavements (Gesell - Day - Coulson 1983, 396-405). Pottery in the all of the tholos tombs ranged in date from Subminoan into the early part of Geometric. While the tombs may have originally been constructed during the LM IIIC occupation, as was the case at nearby Halasmenos (Coulson - Tsiopoulos 1994, 83-88) and also at Karphi (Pendlebury - Pendlebury - Money-Coutts 1937-1938, 100-112), no traces now remain from that period, and in fact one of the tholoi (Tomb VIII) actually cut into the late LM IIIC Building L, suggesting that the whole cemetery post-dates the settlement.

Although the LM IIIC inhabitants of the Kastro may have buried their dead outside the city and down the slopes of the steep peak where later grave groups were recovered, to date no graves of that period have been found. Material from one or more tombs on the southwestern slopes of the Kastro at a place called Plai tou Kastrou was acquired by Sir Arthur Evans (Gesell - Day - Coulson 1983, 412-413). This tomb or tombs seems to have begun in Subminoan and lasted into the Late Geometric-Early Orientalizing period. The Plai tou Kastro tomb included in addition to some 80 ceramic vessels (Levi 1927-1929, figs. 624-627, 630-638, 640, 643; Tsiopoulos 2005, 335-336) many metal objects (Boardman 1971, 5-8): not just weapons but bronze cauldrons, shields, and jewelry. Of particular interest are the gold rings and the iron ship firedogs, both of which indicate the high status of the people using the tomb.

Not far from the tomb on Plai tou Kastro on a lower terrace was a cemetery at Aloni (modern Skala). Here Boyd uncovered at least four tholoi which, although largely robbed, were apparently in use from the Subminoan to the Early Orientalizing period (Boyd 1904, 15-17; Gesell - Day - Coulson 1983, 410-412). Several objects indicate outside contacts with a wider area.
than in the earlier tombs, including a zoomorphic strainer vessel that may have come from Cyprus (Gesell – Day – Coulson 1983, pl. 78b) and a swivel fibula in the shape of a horse with possible connections to South Italy and Sicily (Boyd 1904, 17, fig. 8).

Finally, on a ridge to the southeast of the Kastro at a place called Skouriasmenos, Boyd located another tholos, the largest and most carefully built tomb in the Kavousi area (Boyd 1901, 143-148). Though largely robbed, eight vessels and some metal objects remained, including gold leaf and a gold button, iron swords and spearheads, iron belt attachments, bronze arrowheads and greaves. Objects from this tomb show outside contacts with other parts of Crete or the eastern Mediterranean; for example, a Late Geometric pithos was imported from Knossos (Gesell – Day – Coulson 1983, pl. 78d), and a bronze plate with griffins is possibly of Syrian origin (Boyd 1901, 147-148, figs.10-11; Reed 1976, 366, 371, 375). The Skouriasmenos tholos may also have been one of the richest tombs around the Kastro, to judge from the metal objects found by Boyd. It was the latest in date and lasted well into the Early Orientalizing period; certainly the Late Geometric-Early Orientalizing hydria with a chariot and mourning women (Boyd 1901, pls. 3-4), possibly illustrating funeral games, and the lekythos with scale pattern in white on the black-glazed background (Gesell – Day – Coulson 1983, pl. 78f) belong to this period. Clearly, this tomb also represents the interment of a high-status individual or group.

Another cemetery excavated by Boyd at Chondrovolakes continued later into Orientalizing Period, to judge from a Protocorinthian aryballos, the only find that survives from Boyd's excavations of these shaft graves (Gesell – Day – Coulson 1983, 391; Boyd 1901, 154-155). These graves are not located near one of the settlements, but are closest to Vronda.

The 8th century also saw a new type of grave appearing at Vronda: primary cremation, a type of burial that is rarely found in Greece (Dickinson 2006, 186). On Crete primary cremation is known only at Eleutherna (Stampolidis 2004a, 120-138; 2004b), although it is possible that this type is also represented in the bone enclosures at Vrokastro (Hall 1914, 155-172; Hayden 2003, 12-13). Largely limited to the confines of the former Vronda settlement (fig. 3), these tombs represent both a new method of disposition of the dead (cremation) and a new type of burial, cremations left in situ in the rectangular cist that also contained the pyre (Day 1995). Like the tholos tombs, these cremation cist graves seem to have been family burial spaces, containing the remains of men, women, and children. The cists were used on multiple occasions during the late 8th and early 7th centuries, from two to nine times. The skeletal remains from the final cremations made in the cist were found in rough anatomical order. The cists appear in clusters within the former houses of the LM IIIC settlement, perhaps representing larger kinship groups. The earliest burials seem to belong to the earlier part of the 8th century, while the latest are certainly Early Orientalizing.

Approximately 30 of these cists are known from Vronda; the other six deposits identified as graves have been shown by further study to be dumps from one of the cists or pyre sites for bodies that were interred elsewhere. The largest concentration of graves (Graves 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 20, and 21) appears in the former LM IIIC house complex J-K. To judge by the number of metal and ceramic objects found within them this group of cists includes the richest burials on the site. Of these graves, the wealthiest and possibly the earliest was Grave 9. It contained the bodies of seven individuals (in order of deposition): a man of 20-40 years, a woman of 20-40 years with a 5-6 month-old fetus, a man of 40-60 years, two adults of indeterminate sex, and a 6 month-old infant. Drinking vessels comprised the majority of the pottery (figs. 5.1-11, 5.13-15), especially monochrome cups (figs. 5.1-3, 5.6-11, 5.13-14). These vessels may have been used during the burial ritu-
al, rather than deposited for the use of the dead, given their numbers. The large jugs (figs. 6.3-4, 6.7-9), kalathos (fig. 5.12) and krater (fig. 5.16) may also have functioned in the burial ritual. The small jugs (fig. 6.1), aryballoi (fig. 6.2), pyxis (fig. 6.6) and basket vase (fig. 6.5) may have been placed in the grave for their contents, either as offerings or for some function in the afterlife. There were at least four large, decorated amphoras (fig. 6.10-11) which may have served as grave markers, since none shows signs of burning.

Many metal objects were also included in the burial assemblages (fig. 7). These may have been personal objects: the weapons, tools, and adornments used by the dead men and women. It is also possible that they were placed in the grave for the intrinsic value of the metals, to impress with their wealth. Grave 9 contained an especially large quantity of iron. Weapons included 16 iron spearheads (fig. 7.1-3) and five dirks or daggers (fig. 7.4). Many tools were found: three axes (fig. 7.5), two knives (fig. 7.6), two sickles (fig. 7.7), two scrapers (fig. 7.9), a spatulate tool, and four awls (fig. 7.8). Bronze items included jewelry such as pins and fibulae (fig. 7.10), in addition to a great deal of bronze plate that had been attached to a wooden object (fig. 7.11-12). The importance given to such bronze items is indicated by the repairs visible on many of the items.

Grave 9, then, represents the burials of seven individuals with high status within the burying community. Other groups, possibly asserting their kinship with the original group, may have placed their burials in proximity to this high-status group, themselves depositing more elite objects. Grave 12, for example, had a high proportion of decorated fine pottery and a large quantity of iron, including many iron arrowheads.

Clusters of graves can be found in all the decayed buildings on the site. The one exception is the large ruler's house, Building A-B, although a hoard of iron objects found by Boyd somewhere in that area may have come from a cremation that was unrecognized at the time (Boyd 1901, 132). At least four graves were found in the vicinity of the temple or shrine, one of them directly over the bench where goddess statues may have stood, the others to the west; these contained large amounts of pottery but fewer metal objects than the graves on the top of the hill.

One grave (Grave 3) was actually built within the cemetery of tholos tombs on the periphery, due west of the entrance into Tholos IV. Containing only two burials with pottery and a few metal objects, the grave is nonetheless interesting because of its evidence for post funerary rituals and grave markers. A pavement was laid to the south of the cist, in which, on its southern side, was a depression that may have supported a stone slab or a large vessel (fig. 8). The presence of a pavement suggests that more went on at the site than simply the act of cremation, for it provided a space and a focus for rituals after the cremation. Remains of a postfunerary ritual can be found in a pair of vessels, a cup and small flask, that were buried in the rubble over the tomb, quite close to the pavement (fig. 9).

The Vronda cemetery also shows a degree of mortuary variability. Grave 28, located on the west side of the site, produced in addition to seven primary cremations two sealed amphoras, each one containing a secondary cremation, both set together in the corner (Liston 2007). Secondary burials were also found in a cist near Grave 9 with two levels (Grave 21): the upper level contained three cremations, still articulated, and apparently buried at the same time. Beneath this, however, was a large pithos containing two cremated individuals, a man and a woman, both elderly, and an uncremated child with some grave goods. Finally, inhumations are known: Grave 5 produced an elderly man who was simply buried with a single vessel on top of five earlier cremations in a cist.

Thus variation exists within the Vronda cemetery in the placement of the graves, in the treatment of the bodies, and in the quanti-
ty and types of objects placed within, and this variation may reflect social hierarchies, kinship groups, or other differences.

The history of burial in the Kavousi area is clear. We do not know where the people of LM IIIC buried their dead, or in what sorts of tombs. Soon after Vronda was abandoned, however, the site was used for traditional burials in small tholoi, perhaps by the former inhabitants. At the same time cemeteries of tholos tombs are found around Kastro at Plai tou Kastro and Aloni. These cemeteries, along with the tholos at Skouriasmenos, continued into the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, and they seem to represent elite burials with some variation in size and the wealth of their grave goods. These graves may reflect competition among the elites living on Kastro. But how does the new cremation cemetery at Vronda fit into this picture?

Two major questions present themselves: first, why the people in the Kavousi area buried on Vronda long after the settlement had been abandoned, and second, why they adopted a new form of cremation burial in the 8th century. The answer to these questions may be connected. Although Vronda had been used sporadically for burial into the Geometric period, a gap seems to have existed between the last use of the tholos tombs and the first appearance of the cremation cists; thus there was no continuous mortuary tradition there. Vronda was far from the settlements both on the Kastro and at Azoria, so proximity was not the determining factor in locating the cemetery there. The choice of Vronda was probably also not dictated by the abundance of building materials. The graves demanded only simple unworked stones for the outlines of the cists and the ordinary stones so prolific in the area for the piles on top. Nor is there any indication that wood for the pyres was more plentiful at the Vronda site than anywhere else in the area. So Vronda was a deliberate choice made for other reasons. I suggest that the site was chosen for its associations, whether real or imaginary, and that the burying population may have been staking a claim on the territory of Vronda. The decaying architectural remains of the abandoned earlier settlement were evident to all, and local memory may have placed ancestors or heroic predecessors there or even vested religious power in that site.

The second question is why the burying population adopted cremation as the preferred method of disposal of the dead, breaking with a long-standing tradition of inhumation in tholoi. At the time when the Vronda cemetery of cist graves came into use, cremation had been standard in central Crete and the rest of Greece for centuries, but there is no evidence for any infusion of people from outside the Kavousi area, whether from the Mainland (such as the Dorians) or from elsewhere (such as the Phoenicians). Indeed, continuity can be seen from the fact that the inhabitants of the Kastro continued to bury their dead in the traditional fashion. There is no evident cultural or religious change in the advent of cremation. Both tholos tombs and cremation cists show similar burial and post-burial rituals and similar types of grave goods, although the tholos tombs around the Kastro show a greater level of elite wealth and more extensive outside connections. Both types of burial left as a memorial a heap of stones in the landscape; stones were piled over the entrances of the tholoi to mark them, while the location of cists would also be visible as heaps of stones. Both tholoi and cremation cists contain multiple burials, based on family and perhaps clustered according to larger kinship groups. Similar funerary and postfunerary rituals accompanied both types of burials. The real difference between the two types is in the actual burial event: tholos tombs are meant to impress those who come to the interment both through the size and elaboration of the tomb and its entrance and through the wealth of the objects placed with the dead. Cremation, however, consumes in a conspicuous fashion the wood that is a precious commodity on the island, but more importantly it is much more highly visible to a larger group of people.
The flames and smoke rising from a pyre could be seen all over the northern isthmus for the seven to eight hours needed to complete the cremation. Even today the sun reflecting off the site signs at noon can be seen from Pacheia Ammos. The spectacle would have been especially visible to those living in the area, at Azoria or on the Kastro. A cremation thus results in an impressive display for people in a larger area, not just for the selected members of the community who attended the event. The visible effects of the cremation make a clear statement by the burying population concerning the ownership of Vronda.

The use of burials to make a claim on territory is not unknown in the ethnographic record. Present-day tribal communities on Madagascar, for example, have been cited as parallels for this sort of behavior (Wallace 2003, 272-273; Parker Pearson et al. 1990, 397-410), despite some criticism about the use of this evidence (Whitley 2002, 119-126). The Madagascar tribes make claim on abandoned sites to substantiate authority, especially when the political situation is unsettled and highly competitive elites are involved. By placing their cemetery on Vronda, the burying population may have been making a claim on its territory and on its past history and associations. At the same time, placing burials on the site also made it unclean for the living and hence prevented new habitation or non-burial use by others. Perhaps at the time when the urban center was emerging at Azoria, inter-community rivalry intensified between the aristocratic elites of the Kastro and the increasingly more egalitarian community at Azoria, and both may have tried to claim the territory of Vronda, important not for itself but for its historical and mythological associations.

The question still remains about who was actually using Vronda as a burial ground in the late 8th-7th centuries. The graves, although they do demonstrate a certain variability, are quite homogeneous and lack the greater wealth shown in the tholos tombs around the Kastro. The absence of evidence for competing social hierarchies in the cremation cemetery suggests that it may have been the people of Azoria who buried their dead on Vronda, since within the next century this community developed the more inclusive and institutionalized social and economic systems characteristic of the city-state (Wallace 2003, 251). Since only a single Protogeometric burial is known at Azoria (Haggis 2006), it is tempting to suggest that at least some of the population buried their dead on Vronda. That there were some connections between the burying population at Vronda and the community at Azoria can be seen from a single fragment of a relief pithos found in association with Grave 30 at Vronda: it was manufactured using the same centaur stamp found on a pithos from Azoria (Haggis et al. 2007, 282, fig. 29.10). It is thus possible that, during a period of inter-site rivalry in the Kavousi area in the late 8th-early 7th century, Vronda became the focus for territorial claims, because of its perceived historical, religious, or mythical status, and that the people of Azoria buried their dead there in highly visible form. In this competition, ultimately the aristocratic elites of Kastro lost out to the emergent polis at Azoria, which in the late 7th century became the dominant urban center in the Kavousi area.

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Fig. 1. Topographic map of the Kavousi area showing the location of the sites of the Early Iron Age.

Fig. 2. View of mountain sites above Kavousi from north.
Fig. 3. State plan of Vronda, Kavousi, showing the LM IIIC settlement, tholos tombs I-VIII and XI, and Late Geometric cist graves 1-36.
Fig. 4. Tholos tomb VI showing "pavement" in stomion from southwest.

Fig. 5. Selected drinking vessels from Grave 9.
Fig. 6. Selected closed vessels and large amphorae from Grave 9.

Fig. 7. Selected metal objects from Grave 9 (scale 1:4).
Fig. 8. Vronda, Grave 3, showing pavement and potstand from above. North is to the top, the potstand is at the bottom.

Fig. 9. Vronda, Grave 3, showing cup and lekythos from post-funerary ritual in situ from the south.
NICHOLAOS CHR. STAMPOLIDIS

LUX CRETESIS:
A CRETAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE REVISION
OF THE SO-CALLED DARK AGES

Shortly before the middle of the last decade, the ongoing excavations at the necropolis of Orthi Petra in ancient Eleutherna brought to light chamber tomb A1K1 (fig. 1). Both the chamber and dromos of the tomb were found unplundered; the first use of the monument can therefore be confidently assigned to the second quarter of the 9th century, whereas the chamber was probably sealed for the last time in the second quarter of the 7th century BC (see the latest publications: Stampolidis 2004a, 61-62; 2004b, 122-124; 2005-2006, 157-158; 2007a, 49-51; 2007b, 299-300).

The extensive excavation notes kept, the amount of photographs taken and drawings prepared with grids and benchmarks, record the position of the urns in the tomb (including the way they were standing or leaning, the direction to which their mouths were facing, and the items by which they were covered). They also record the relations of each urn with other urns standing at higher or lower levels, as well as with offerings placed outside vases. Lastly, they show what was placed around the urns and at which level (e.g. the level of the urn's base, belly, shoulder or mouth). The excavation process, which was meticulous and time-consuming, lasted four consecutive seasons1. The study of

1. The tomb was excavated in the summer seasons of 1993-1996, when work lasted for 40-50 days per season. However, the excavation of monument A1K1, which partly overlies the tomb, took place in 1987 (Stampolidis 2007b, 124-125). Further, limited areas around the tomb, such as the north edge of the dromos, which could only

the material suggests that the undisturbed context will contribute widely to the understanding of the Early Iron Age, particularly since most Cretan tombs of similar type and comparable date were found looted or disturbed (some already in antiquity; cf. the relatively recent publication of the Knossos North Cemetery, Coldstream – Catling 1996), while others, like the unplundered tholos tomb of Gortyn – for which permission for publication has been asked—(Alexiou 1966), remain partly or fully unpublished.

Although a place of silence, the cemetery and the tomb speak eloquently about the burial customs in Eleutherna and Crete during the 9th, 8th and 7th centuries BC, as suggested by the author in a number of publications (cf. e.g. Stampolidis 1996a; 2003a; 2004b, 117-138, 224-295). It also furnishes remarkable palaeodemographic and physical anthropological (fig. 2) data on a social group of that period. These data, which have been published in a monograph by Professor A. Agelarakis (Agelarakis 2005), concern the sex, age, pathology, diet, habits and habitual stresses, as well as the ties between the individuals represented in the tomb. Finally, the urns and offerings (weapons, tools, jewellery etc.) suggest the connections between Eleutherna and other Cretan sites, as well as the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean (fig. 3). These connections have been discussed in the

recently (2007) be excavated because of various reasons, still produce small groups of finds.

The time frame of an oral presentation in a specialized conference like the present one or the limitations of space set in its Proceedings do not allow for a full review of such an assemblage, which includes more than one hundred urns and dozens of offerings made of bronze, iron, gold, silver, faience etc. Besides, the full time-span of tomb A1K1 outlasts the period covered by the conference, as described in the latter's title (The Dark Ages Revisited). As already mentioned, the tomb was certainly first used in the second quarter of the 9th century BC (880/860 BC) and its chamber was last sealed in the second quarter of the 7th century, whereas the deposition of urns in the dromos perhaps lasted to the end of the 7th century. I have therefore decided to limit myself to material of the 9th century, which forms the lower chronological limit of the so-called Dark Ages. Some groups of finds will be discussed in brief to illustrate the significance of the undisturbed context for the understanding of the sequence of units deposited and the connection of local, Eleuthernian, and other Cretan material with items imported from the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. The relevant physical anthropological data will also be cited, to allow for the broadest possible view of the society of Eleutherna at the time.

The chamber of tomb A1K1 is roughly square in section, measuring approximately 2m.x2m., displays a height of 1.80m. and carries a rock-cut bench on the north, east and south sides. The first group of finds that was deposited in the tomb includes a necked pithos ΑΚΜ Π16659 (A232) [cf. Stampolidis 2004b, 248, no. 278, 2nd quarter of the 9th c. BC. (A. Kotsonas)], which was covered by the bronze, carinated cauldron AKM M3195 (A232a) (figs. 4a-4b). The pithos was located at a level of 15.80m. over the benchmark and was standing at a level of 15.28m; it was leaning west and was lying on the NE part of the tomb, within the lowest of the three main layers of finds identified. The pithos is assigned to the Cretan LPG period on the basis of its size, outline, proportions and neck height; it contained two dirks, six spear-heads and a javelin-head, two fragmentary blades, an iron axe preserving part of the wooden handle on the shaft, seven arrow-heads, the iron handle of a vase, two bronze pins, a gold band and a rectangular gold sheet showing a goddess with upraised arms (for a similar sheet which turned up on the overlying terrace of Crematorium A, see also Stampolidis 1998, 265-266 no. 332). The fortunate discovery of a small Attic EG II pyxis (AKM M3195, ΑΚΜ Π22923=Α232β) (fig. 5: see Kotsonas 2005, vol. II, 706-707 (I-PY.1), pl. 36, 89) and its lid inside the same pithos suggests the direct or indirect connection between Eleutherna in Crete and Attica during the second quarter of the 9th c. BC. The pyxis confirms the date of the

2. This is estimated on the basis of the date of the urns of the uppermost layer of the tomb, particularly those found directly behind the slab that was closing the upper part of the chamber’s entrance. It also relies on the date of an oinochoe of Early Wild Goat Style, which must be assigned to around 660 BC, according to the latest revision of the Wild Goat style (Kerschner – Scholtzhauser 2005). This presupposes that the fragmentary vase in question was placed in the chamber from the start, rather than fell in after the collapse of the tomb’s roof.

3. The cauldron, which resembles bronze cauldron M1749 (Stampolidis 2004, 274, no. 341) that also comes from the tomb A1K1 and is discussed below, is badly corroded and has not yet been restored because of its size; some more cauldrons from the tomb have not yet been restored. It is hoped that this will be made possible in the new, enlarged facilities of the refurbished Archaeological Museum of Herakleion.
pithos and –along with stratigraphic information– sets a terminus ante quem for the first use of tomb A1K1.

According to the physical anthropological analysis (Agelarakis 2005, 204-205, 215-216), the cremated bones found inside the pithos probably belong to more than one individual. The robust male of circa 25 years that is securely identified was probably a warrior aristocrat, judging by the accompanying weapons. Other bones were assigned to a second individual, aged over 17, which was tentatively identified as male, and possibly a third person, perhaps an infant. Should the second individual be female, however, the deposition of other offerings, including the rectangular sheet with the goddess and possibly the pins, which were perhaps originally contained in the pyxis, is satisfactorily explained. In the latter case, the find brings to mind the identification of the bones of a young woman and an infant among the earliest material from crematorium A and suggests a connection between the two monuments. Like tomb A1K1, crematorium A, which lies a few metres southeast of the tomb, was first used in the second quarter of the 9th c. BC; the two monuments were erected concurrently to serve, most probably, the similar need (cf. Stampolidis 2004b, 120-125), the cremation of the deceased and the depositions of their remains inside urns, which were stored in the rock-cut chamber tomb A1K1. Significantly, the use of both the tomb and the crematorium persisted for over 200 years after the deposition of the LPG pithos.

A date within the second quarter of the 9th century is also suggested for the LPG amphora AKM Π117484 (A246) (fig. 6a: see Kotsonas 2005, vol. II, 357-358, (AM15), pl. 2). The vase was standing at a level of 15.29m., on roughly the centre of the north side of the chamber, and contained dipped cup AKM Π122918 (A161β). Pyxis AKM Π116453 (A161a) (figs. 6b-c) was closing the amphora's mouth. The lack of bones inside the amphora suggests that the early amphorae found in the tomb perhaps did not serve as urns. The date of the ceramic group is important for the local sequence, particularly as far as cups are concerned (cups from Eleutherna and the rest of Crete are also discussed by Kotsonas in the present volume).

Another interesting group is centred on the late 9th century, Attic MG I amphora AKM Π117483 (A246a) (fig. 7a: see above n. 3) and had its mouth probably closed by lid AKM Π117483 (A246a) (fig. 7c). The group suggests the persistence of connections between Attica and Crete in the second half of the 9th century; it also manifests, however, a close link with the Eastern Mediterranean, from where the cauldron is probably imported. The cauldrons of this type that were found inside the tomb seem to be early in date (9th century) and one of them, the well-preserved AKM M1749, is perhaps to be associated with a bronze item, a 'shield', as we shall see below (fig. 10). The connection of the bronze cauldron with the Eastern Mediterranean (Cyprus and the Syro-palestinian coast) and the Near East is further suggested by the discovery of a clay basin (Stampolidis 2004b, 262-263, no. 307) in its interior; the base of the latter vase carries a superb guilloche that is rendered in relief and forms a cross, the quadrant of which are filled with stylized leaves. The relief was made by a mould with oriental, Syrian or Phoenician, prototypes, mostly documented by a later series of clay vases, trays etc. (see e.g. Louvre 2007, 359, nos. 235-237; for the matter see also Stampolidis 2004b, 262-263, no. 307 and Kotsonas 2005, vol. I, 71).

The amphora contained small sherds, particles of bronze and tiny fragments of cremated bones. The bronze particles probably originated from the overlying cauldron, while the small sherds and bone fragments probably slipped in through the opening left by the lid. In this case, the amphora in question, like the mentioned
NICHOLAOS CHR. STAMPOLIDIS

A161, may not have served as an urn; it should perhaps be associated with the group of early, imported amphorae found in Knossos, as well as their locally produced imitations, which, according to Coldstream (Coldstream 2007, 78, n. 16-17; 1996), held wine for funerary banquets.

The PGB period (circa 840-810 BC) is represented by a characteristic group centred on the tripod krater AKM Π16431 (A144β), which was located at a level of 15.81m., by the central part of the south wall of the chamber. The krater contained a small pyxis, three bell skyphoi and four coated cups (fig. 8: see Stampolidis 2004b, 259-261, nos. 298-306), whereas an oinochoe (AKM Π16582, A171) was standing below the krater and in between its legs. The deposition of small open vessels inside kraters is paralleled in Knossos; also, the shape and decoration of the vase find close PGB parallels in Knossos (see Stampolidis - Kotsonas, in Stampolidis 2004b, 258-262, nos. 298-306). The attribution of our vase to a Knossian workshop remains to be determined on the basis of fabric analysis.

Another Cretan PGB vase of much interest is the straight-sided pithos AKM Π16424 (A145) (fig. 9a: see Kotsonas 2005, vol. II, 437) (SSP2), which was standing at a level of 15.68m., on the north side of the chamber, by the northeast corner. The decoration of the vase involves a wavy rope pattern of Minoan type, stylized in Geometric fashion. The pithos was covered by the broken, bronze, carinated cauldron AKM M1746 (A127) (fig. 9b), which was in turn covered by the bronze kalathos (lavamano) AKM M2802 (A121) (fig. 9c: see Stampolidis 1998, 253, no. 316; 2003b, 444, no. 765; 2004a, 279, no. 355). An iron double axe was wedged on the handle of the pithos that was facing east; the missing wooden handle would originally pass through the handle loop. The pithos contained four iron dirks, ten arrowheads and spearheads (including some 'killed' ones), two bronze pins and two PGB perfume vases, AKM Π16425 (A145a) and AKM Π16426 (A145β) (figs. 9d-e); the former resembles an oinochoe with trefoil mouth and the latter is an early aryballos. The cremated bones of an adult aged 17-45/55 were also found inside the pithos, by the mouth of which the bones of another male, aged 14/17-22 (cf. Agelarakis 2005, 223, 262), were located. The double find recalls the testimony of ancient texts, including Aristotle's reference to the Cretan politeia, on the education of young Cretans and the relevant role of older men of aristocratic descent (Aristotle, Pol. II, 1, 1.4.).

The find is also important in providing a date for the iron weapons found inside the pithos; the latter's date actually sets a terminus ante quem for the manufacture and deposition of those weapons. It also suggests, however, the early date of bronze vessels like the bronze kalathos (lavamano), which finds parallels of similar type and iconography in the famous Idaean Cave. Unfortunately, the finds from the Cretan cave were found out of context, are given no fixed date and are occasionally misinterpreted by some scholars as shields (e.g. Sakellarakis 1987, 253; 1988; Galanaki 2001). One such 'shield' (fig. 10) of Idaean Cave type was located inside tomb A1K1 (see Stampolidis 1996b), overlying pithos AKM Π16423 (A143), which dates to around 800 BC (for the pithos see Kotsonas 2005, vol. II, 378 (NDP 19), pl. 5). To my point of view, however originally, the 'shield' could have served as a lid-shield of the bronze, carinated cauldron AKM M1749 (see Stampolidis 2004a, 274, no. 341), which also turned up inside the tomb. The use of the 'shield' as a lid is paralleled in bronze finds from Toprak Kale, in the vicinity of Lake Van in eastern Turkey (see most recently Stampolidis 2007, 299ff., especially 303-304), or clay finds of comparable date from Knossos and Gortyn (see Stampolidis, in Stampolidis - Karetsou 1998, 203-205, nos. 225-227; Stampolidis 2003b, 59-60).

These comparisons suggest that the material connections and ideological correspondences between Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly of the end of the 9th century, are greatly elucidated by the contents of chamber tomb A1K1 in the necropolis of Eleutherna. The finds discussed above only concern the pe-
riod before the conventional date for the establishment of the Olympic games in 776, which is taken by some as the lower limit of the so-called Dark Ages. The forthcoming publication of tomb A1K1, will I believe shed important light on the transformations of some ideas and beliefs of the later part of the so-called Dark Ages.

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Fig. 1. Chamber tomb A1K1 at the necropolis of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna.

Fig. 2. Human bones from the urns of the chamber tomb A1K1 (after A. Agelarakis)
Fig. 3. Connections between Eleutherna and other Cretan sites, as well as the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean, as indicated by the urns and offerings.

Fig. 4. a. The necked pithos ΑΚΜ Π16659, b. Bronze, carinated cauldron AKM M3195 (A232a).
Fig. 5. A small Attic EG II pyxis (AKM M3195, AKM Π22923=A232β).

Fig. 6. a. An LPG amphora AKM Π16452 (A161). b. A dipped cup AKM Π22918 (A161β). c. Pyxis AKM Π16453 (A161α).

Fig. 7. a. An Attic MG I amphora AKM Π17484 (A246). b. A bronze, carinated cauldron AKM M3196 (A214). c. A lid AKM Π17483 (A246a).

Fig. 8. The late 9th c. B.C. tripod krater AKM Π16431 (A144β) of Cretan (Knossian?) origin.
Fig. 9. a. A straight-sided pithos AKM Π16424 (A145). b. A bronze, carinated cauldron AKM M1746 (A127).
e. A PGB perfume vase AKM Π116426 (A145b).

Fig. 10. A bronze 'shield'.
ΝΕΚΡΟΤΑΦΕΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΥΕ ΙΙΙ Γ' - ΥΠΟΜΥΚΗΝΑΪΚΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΥ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΓΙΑ ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΗΣ ΡΟΔΟΥ

Το 1973 ο Desborough τοποθετούσε την αρχή της Εποχής του Σιδήρου στην Ελλάδα λίγο πριν το 1050 π.Χ., όταν οι τεχνίτες της Αττικής, της Αργολίδας και της Εύβοιας απέκτησαν την τεχνογνωσία της κατεργασίας του σιδήρου. Στο ερώτημα πώς απέκτησαν την τεχνογνωσία αυτή, απαντά ο ίδιος:

"I believe the answer to this question is that they did not acquire the knowledge elsewhere, but that it was brought to them...by a group of Cypriotes who settled at least in Athens. And I also think that they were probably of the original Mycenaean stock. So here we have more of a cultural or trade link, we have a case of a reverse movement of people" (Desborough 1973, 86).

Νέες ενδείξεις που υποστηρίζουν την παραπάνω άποψη προκύπτουν από την πρόσφατη σωστική ανασκαφή στην Αγία Αγάθη, στην περιοχή της Λινδίας των ιστορικών χρόνων.

* Θερμές ευχαριστίες εκφράζονται στην Προϊσταμένη της ΚΒ' Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων κ. Μελίνα Φιλήμονος για την υποστήριξη κατά την ανασκαφή και για την άδεια δημοσίευσης του υλικού. Ευχαριστίες εκφράζονται επίσης στις δρ. Έ. Καράντζα, δρ. Μ. Παναγιωτάκη, dr. Β. Schlick-Nolte και στους καθηγητές Α. Βλαχόπουλο και Μ. Ιακώβου, με τους οποίους συζήτησε επιμέρους θέματα του υλικού. Ιδιαίτερα ευχαριστώ τη συνάδελφο και φίλη δρ. Βασιλική Πατσιαδά για την τόση βοήθεια και συμπαράσταση. Η συντήρηση των ευρημάτων έγινε από τους συντηρητές της Εφορείας κ κ. κ. Μ. Καΐκη και Ν. Δασακλή. Τα σχέδια και οι χάρτες εκπονήθηκαν από τους τοπογράφους κ κ. Α. Αγγούρια, Γ. Διακονικόλα σ και τις σχεδιαστριές κ κ. Β. Παπαδάκη, Κ. Κοκκονού και Τ. Αντωναρά. Τέλος, την προκαταρκτική μελέτη του οστεολογικού υλικού συνέταξε η ανθρωπολόγος κ κ. Άννα Σάρδη, του Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου Αιγαίακών Σπουδών.

Τον Απρίλιο του 2004 ο κ. Νίκος Ορφανίδης, υπάλληλος του Δήμου Αρχαγγέλου, παρέδωσε σύνολο ακέραιων μυκηναϊκών αγγείων, χάλκινο κάτοπτρο και οστέινο στέλεχος και υπέδειξε στην Αρχαιολογική Υπηρεσία ως τόπο ευρέσεως τάφο που αποκαλύφθηκε σε διαπλάτυνση του αγροτικού δρόμου που οδηγεί προ το εκκλησάκι της Αγίας Αγάθης, στο Χαράκι Μαλώνας.

Η περιοχή του Χαρακιού (εικ. 1, 2, αρ. 13) παρουσιάζει διαχρονικό και αρχαιολογικό ενδιαφέρον. Ο βράχος όπου υψώνεται το ελληνιστικό και στη συνέχεια μεσαιωνικό κάστρο του Φέρακλου αποτελεί εξαιρετική οχυρή θέση. Δεσπόζει σε διπλό λιμάνι, τον κόλπο του Χαρακιού και τον κολπίσκο της Αγίας Αγάθης και έχει οπτική επαφή με άλλες οχυρωμένες θέσεις: το ύψωμα του Κούμελου και τη νησίδα του Αγίου Νικολάου στα βόρεια και την ακρόπολη της Λίνδου στα νότια. Δυτικά και κάτω ακριβώς από το κάστρο του Φέρακλου, στη θέση Ζαχαρόμυλος, έχουν εντοπιστεί εγκαταστάσεις μεσαιωνικού εργαστηρίου ζαχάρεως, λείψανα παλαιοχριστιανικών και Μεταβυζαντινών εκκλησιών, ενώ η διάσπαρτη κεραμεική χρονολογείται από την ελληνιστική έως και τη μεταβυζαντινή περίοδο.

1. Σχετικά με την τοπογραφία της περιοχής κατά τους ιστορικούς χρόνους βλ. Παπαχριστοδούλου 1989, 69, 74, 76. Σχετικά με τον μεσαιωνικό Ζαχαρόμυλο και τα μεταβυζαντινά εκκλησιών, ενώ η διάσπαρτη κεραμεική χρονολογείται από την ελληνιστική έως και τη μεταβυζαντινή περίοδο. Στην ίδια θέση διακρίνονται τα ιχνή αρχαίων.
ου οικισμού, που πιθανώς ανήκε στο δήμο των Κλασίων ή των Πεδιέων, έναν από τους δώδεκα δήμους της αρχαίας Λυντίας. Βόρεια του κάστρου και σε μικρή απόσταση από την παραλία διατηρούνται λείψανα αρχαίας γέφυρας της ελληνιστικής περιόδου η οποία οδηγούσε προς το κάστρο του Φέρακλου. Βόρεια και βορειοδυτικά συντάξεις λαξευτών λακκοειδών τάφων και θήκες της ελληνιστικής περιόδου, αναφέρονται ως ήδη συλημένες στις αρχές του 20ου αιώνα (Sorensen - Pentz 1992, 91). Σε μεγαλύτερη απόσταση βρίσκονται αρχαία λατομεία πωρόλιθου. Νότια της Μαλώνας, στην περιοχή του χωριού Μάσαρη, υπάρχει η τοποθεσία Λώρυμα, όπου τοποθετείται το ιερό του Απόλλωνος Καρνείου του κατά Λώρυμα.

Ο κόλπος των Λωρύμων ήταν γνωστό λιμάνι στην αρχαιότητα. Σύμφωνα με τον Στέφανο Βυζάντιο «Λώρυμα, πόλις Καρίας... έστι και λιμήν' Ρόδου, δς Λώρυμα λέγεται». Ο κόλπος βόρεια από το κάστρο ονομάστηκε κόλπος της Αγίας Αγάθης από το ομώνυμο ναϊδρίο, κατάγραφο με τοιχογραφίες του 14ου και 15ου αι. μ.Χ., που διαμορφώθηκε στο εσωτερικό λαξευτού θαλαμοειδούς τάφου των ελληνιστικών ή ρωμαϊκών χρόνων. Παρόμοιοι θαλαμοειδείς τάφοι με διαμορφωμένες προσόψεις είναι ορατοί στις δύο απολήξεις του κόλπου.

νεκροταφείο ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ-ΥΠΟΜΥΚΗΝΑΪΚΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΥ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΓΙΑ ΑΓΑΘΗ ΡΟΔΟΥ

ρείται χαρακτηριστικό εύρημα της Υπομυκήναϊκης περιόδου στην Ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα και της Υπομυκηναϊκής περιόδου στην Κρήτη. Η πόρπη αυτή σημαντοδοτεί το τέλος της ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ στη Ρόδο. Τα αμέσως μεταγενέστερα αντικείμενα δεν προέρχονται από ανασκαφικό σύνολο: είναι δύο ψευδόστομοι αμφορείς στην Κοπεγχάγη (12501, 12502), στον ένα από τους οποίους αναγνωρίζονται ομοιότητες με υπομυκηναϊκά αγγεία της Μιλήτου, ενώ στον άλλο, ο οποίος μάλιστα προέρχεται από την περιοχή της Λίνδου, κυπριακές επιρροές (Dietz 1984, 89-90, 115).

Στις παραπάνω πενιχρές ενδείξεις για το τέλος της Εποχής του Χαλκού στην περιοχή ήρθαν να προστεθούν τα ευρήματα από την ανασκαφική έρευνα της ΚΒ’ Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων που ακολούθησε το τυχαίο εύρημα του 2004 στην Αγία Αγάθη.

Συνολικά ερευνήθηκαν επάνω στην πορεία του δρόμου που διαπλάτυνθηκε δέκα τάφοι (εικ. 3), από τους οποίους οι δύο, οι λακκοειδείς Τ. 1 και Τ. 2, ανήκουν στους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους. Από τους υπόλοιπους οκτώ τάφους, που χρονολογούνται στο τέλος της Εποχής του Χαλκού, οι πέντε (Τ. 3, Τ. 4, Τ. 7, Τ. 8 και Τ. 10), ανήκουν στον νεοφανή στη Ρόδο τύπο του θαλάμου-κόγχης με λακκοειδή δρόμο (pit-cave), που αποτελείται από ένα κάθετα λαξευμένο ορθογώνιο λάκκο με συνεχόμενο θάλαμο-κόγχη κατά μήκος της μιας μακράς πλευράς του. Οι Τ. 5, Τ. 6 και Τ. 9) ήταν απλοί λακκοειδείς. Οι περισσότεροι τάφοι είχαν συληθεί, πιθανώς κατά την πρώτη διάνοια του δρόμου στη δεκαετία του 1970, ή και παλαιότερα. Κάποιοι, όπως ο Τ.8, είχαν συληθεί ήδη κατά την αρχαιότητα. Οι Τ. 5, Τ. 6, Τ. 7 και Τ. 8 διέσωζαν μόνον αναμολύνεμα οστά και θραύσματα ενός ή δύο αγγείων ο καθένας. Τα θράυσμα αυτά, από αμφορείς με αγκύλες λαβές, ψευδόστομους αμφο­

θεί στο λυγισμένο δεξί χέρι της νεκρής, η επά-
νω στο στήθος της. Ελεφαντοστέινα αδραχτια
έχουν βρεθεί σε τάφους στην Περατή, στην Κύ-
προ και στη Συροπαλαιστίνα (Ιακωβίδης 1970, 
t.Β. 350-352, Barber 1991, 59-68). Μολυβδι-
νο σύρμα, που βρέθηκε στην περιοχή του δε-
ξιού κεριού, ισως αποτελούσε περικάρπιο. Πε-
νήτα έξι μικρές δισκοειδες χρυσες ψήφοι, οι 
περισσότερες απο τις οποίες βρέθηκαν κατά το 
κοσκίνια, ανήκουν σε περιδέραιο, πιθανώς 
μαζί με τις ψήφους σε σχήμα άνθους μανδρα-
γόρα, ή ήταν ίσως ραμμένες στο ενόδιο ή το 
σάβανο της νεκρής. Φακόσχημη ψήφος από δι-
πλό έλασμα χρυσού, με παράλληλο στον τάφο 
19 της 'Εγκωμης (Courtois et al. 1986, πίν. 20, 
30), βρέθηκε στην περιοχή της λεκάνης χρυσού 
δακτυλίδι ανάμεσα στις φαλαγγές του αριστε-
ρού χεριού και θραύσμα αδιακόσμητης ελε-
φοντοστέινης πυξίδας δίπλα στα δάχτυλα του 
αριστερού χεριού. Βρέθηκαν ακόμη σκαραβα-
ειδής ψήφος από γάββρο και ψήφοι από υπ.
λόμαζα, κορναλίνη, και ορεία κρύσταλλο. Κυ-
λινδρικό αλάβαστρο βρισκόταν εν μέρει επά-
νω στα θραύσματα της πυξίδας και δύο αμφο-
ρίσκου βρέθηκαν στη νυστινική και βορειο-
δυτική γωνία του τάφου.

Στα παραπάνω ευρήματα θα πρέπει να συ-
νυπολογιστεί το σύνολο της παράδοσης από 
τον ίδιο τάφο, που περιλάμβανε έναν αμφορέα 
με αγκύλες λαβές, ένα κυλινδρικό αλάβαστρο-
ειδές ληκύθιο, τρία κυλινδρικά αλάβαστρα,
ένα διπλό αγγείο, καθώς και χάλκινο κάτο-
πτρο του τύπου με γλυσσίδιο που έχει εντοπι-
στεί μόνον στην Ρόδο και στην Κύπρο (Catling 
1964, 224-227) και δύο θραύσματα του στελέ-
χους του αδραχτιού. Οι αμφορεάς με αγκύλες 
λαβές (Π25546), ο οποίος αποτελεί πιθανώς ει-
σαγωγή από την Πελοπόννησο, θα πρέπει να 
τοποθετηθεί στη μέση ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ περίοδο, βάσει 
του σχήματος του κλειστού κυλινδρικού αγγείου 
και της μορφής του κλειστού κυλινδρικού αγγείου 
κατά τον ίδιο τάφο, που περιλαμβάνει έναν αμφο-
ρεας με αγκύλες λαβές, με από τον τάφο 
67 της Ιαλυσού, χρονολογούνται στη μέση/νεώτερη ΥΕ 
ΠΙΠ (Benzi 1992, 371).

3. Οι δύο αμφορεάς με αγκύλες λαβές από τον τάφο 
67 της Ιαλυσού, χρονολογούνται στη μέση/νεώτερη ΥΕ 
ΠΙΠ (Benzi 1992, 371).

4. O Gjerstad πρώτος επεξήγη τη σχέση της κερα-
μηκα χρυσε αμφισβητεί τον κυπριακό πρώιμο Λευκό Γραπτό Ρυθμό με την Υπο-
μινωική πρωτογεωμετρική (Gjerstad 1944). O Furumark αποτελεί τον Πρώιμο Λευκό Γραπτό Ρυθμό με την Υπο-
μινωική πρωτογεωμετρική και την Πρωτογεωμετρική (Furumark 1941α, 122-128). Σύμφωνα με τον Daniel 
σχήμα του κλειστού κυλινδρικού αγγείου σχετίζεται 
με χρυσό White Slip ware της MK-YK 1, δεν θεωρεί 
σχέδια της εποχής που προέρχεται από αυτά (αντίθετα, Karageorghis 
1974, 51). Ο ίδιος θεωρεί ότι οι οριζόντιες λαβές στο ιδίο
της Αγίας Λαγάθης με τις διάτρητες αποφύσεις στον ώμο, τα τρίγωνα είναι διάστικα, όχι διάγραμμα, βρίσκονται δε σε ομάδες των τριών στη ζώνη του σώματος και στη ζώνη του ώμου. Παρόμοιο κυλινδρικό ληκύθιο, με ψηλό λαιμό και δύο μικρές οριζόντιες λαβές στον ώμο, με ταινιωτή όμως διακόσμηση, βρέθηκε στον τάφο 4 της Πιλώνας (Π16796), οι νεώτερες ταφές στον οποίο χρονολογούνται στη νεώτερη ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ (Karantzali 2001, 64-65, εικ. 41, πίν. 45c). Το πλησιέστερο ωστόσο παράλληλο ως προς τις αναλογίες και τη διακόσμηση είναι υπομυκηναϊκό και βρέθηκε στον τάφο 97 του νεκροταφείου του Ηριδανού στον Κεραμεικό (Desborough 1964, πίν. XVI 2). Kraiker - Kübler 1939, 44, no. 507, πίν. 27).

Ο Τ. 7, παρόμοιας μορφής με τον Τ. 3, βρέθηκε συλημένος. Τμήμα της επίχωσης του δρόμου είχε αφαιρεθεί για τη σύληση του λαξευμένου. Επάνω στη λωρίδα επίχωσης του δρόμου που δεν είχε αφαιρεθεί, συλλέχθηκε τμήμα ψευδόστομου αμφορέα. Στο θάλαμο-κόγχη βρέθηκαν αναμοχλευμένα θραύσματα μακρών οστών και κρανίου, καθώς και θραύσμα βάσης ψευδόστομου αμφορέα που φαίνεται να συναντήθηκε με τον αμφορέα της επίχωσης του δρόμου (Π25556, εικ. 9). Τα θραύσματα αυτά δεν συγκολλούνται, φαίνεται όμως ότι ανήκουν σε ένα αγγείο, το οποίο παρουσιάζει πρωτότυπα αποτελέσματα της κεραμικής του Πρώιμου Λευκού Γραπτού Ρυθμού από τον τάφο I της Σαλαμίνας στην Κύπρο (Yon 1971, 92).

Ο Τάλαμος, μήκους 1,95μ, πλάτους 0,75μ. και ύψους 1,05 μ., περιέβαλε την εκτάδε της ταφής του άτομου, πιθανώς γυναίκας, μεταξύ 18 και 7. Τα μοτίβα, μεμονωμένα, αποτελούν πιθανώς εξέλιξη ΥΜ ΙΙΙΒ μοτίβων της Κνωσιακής κεραμικής, βλ. Popham 1970, fig. 3, ar. 45, 46 και πίν. 48-50. Η σύνταξη όμως και η γενική αντιμετώπιση του πεδίου είναι τελείως διαφορετική.

Στον Τ. 9 ήταν ισορροπημένος, διαστάσεων 1,60χ0,55μ., με τοιχώματα που απεκλίναν προς τα κάτω. Βρέθηκε ασύλητος. Φιλοξενούσε ταφές και ανακομιδές δώδεκα τουλάχιστον ατόμων, που χρονολογούνται από το τέλος της Μυκηναϊκής εποχής έως την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα. Στην ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ ανήκουν οι στρώσεις 6 έως 8. Η κατώτατη στρώση 8 περιλάμβανε την ταφή ενός μόνο ατόμου και συνοδευόταν από σφονδύλια, ψήφους, θραύσματα οστέινης περόνης, ασημένιους σφηκωτήρες και δακτυλίους. Ανάμεσα σε αυτή και στην αμέσως υπερκείμενη στρώση μεσολάβησε επίχωση 4 εκ. Οι δύο επόμενες στρώσεις περιλαμβάνουν την ταφή ενός ατόμου και τα μετατοπισμένα λείψανα τριών ακόμη' συνοδευόταν από ψευδόστομο αμφορέα, αμφορέα με λωρίδα που καταλήγει στο χείλος και σιδερένιο μαχαίρι με καμπυλόγραμμη λεπίδα πρόκειται για το αρχαιότερο σιδερένιο όπλο που εντοπίζεται στη Ρόδο 8.

ΝΕΚΡΟΤΑΦΕΙΟ ΥΕ ΙΙΙ-ΥΠΟΜΥΚΗΝΑΪΚΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΥ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΓΙΑ ΑΓΑΘΗ ΡΟΔΟΥ

κανάτα και κατασκευή νέων (Cavanagh - Mee 1978).

Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει ο τύπος του θαλαμοειδούς τάφου με μορφή κόγχης με λακκοειδή δρόμο, άγνωστη έως τώρα στη Ρόδο, τόσο σε προγενέστερα θαλαμοειδή τάφους, όσο και κατά την ΥΕ ΙΙΙ, επαναχρησιμοποίηση παλαιότερων λαξευτών θαλαμοειδών τάφων και κατασκευή νέων (Cavanagh - Mee 1978).

Δεδομένου ότι η σειρά του τύπου της Αγίας Αγάθης ήδη είχε αναφερθεί σε άλλα νεκροταφεία στην Πελοπόννησο, μπορεί να είναι επακριβής (Cavanagh - Mee 1978).

Η συνεχής ανάπτυξη των θαλαμών-κόγχης θαλαμοειδών με δρόμο, άγνωστη έως τώρα στην Κω, στην Μυκηναϊκή Περιόδο, επαναχρησιμοποίηση παλαιότερων λαξευτών θαλαμοειδών τάφων και κατασκευή νέων (Cavanagh - Mee 1978).

Επομένως, επαναχρησιμοποίηση της τεχνικής της Αγίας Αγάθης στην ΥΕ ΙΙΙ, κατά την ΥΕ ΙΙ, επαναχρησιμοποίηση παλαιότερων λαξευτών θαλαμοειδών τάφων και κατασκευή νέων (Cavanagh - Mee 1978).

Παρόμοια ορισμένες θαλαμοειδείς με τη μορφή κόγχης με λακκοειδή δρόμο εντοπίζονται στο νεκροταφείο του Ζακάρια (Zakarias), στην Κυπρία (Zakarias 1975).

Οι αυτοί τύποι πρέπει να εντοπίζονται σε άλλα νεκροταφεία στην Κυπρία, όπως στο νεκροταφείο του Ζακάρια (Zakarias 1975).

Ωστόσο, οι αυτοί τύποι πρέπει να εντοπίζονται σε άλλα νεκροταφεία στην Κυπρία, όπως στο νεκροταφείο του Ζακάρια (Zakarias 1975).

Οι αυτοί τύποι πρέπει να εντοπίζονται σε άλλα νεκροταφεία στην Κυπρία, όπως στο νεκροταφείο του Ζακάρια (Zakarias 1975).

Γραμμικοί πίνακες τεχνικής της Αγίας Αγάθης σε άλλα νεκροταφεία στην Κυπρία, όπως στο νεκροταφείο του Ζακάρια (Zakarias 1975).

Το πλησιέστερο παράλληλο εντοπίζεται στο νεκροταφείο του Αλαά, στην Κύπρο, όπως στο νεκροταφείο του Ζακάρια (Zakarias 1975).

Το πλησιέστερο παράλληλο εντοπίζεται στο νεκροταφείο του Αλαά, στην Κύπρο, όπως στο νεκροταφείο του Ζακάρια (Zakarias 1975).

Στις λιγοστές θέσεις στη Ρόδο, εκτός των νεκροταφείων της Ιαλυσού, που έδωσαν κεραμική της μέσης/νεώτερης ΥΕ ΙΙΓ (Κάμειρο, Φάνες, Απολακκιά, Πασά και Βάτι)10 προστέθηκαν τώρα η Πυλώνα και η Αγία Αγάθη και οι δύο στην ανατολική ακτή του νησιού. Η σωστική ανασκαφή στην Αγία Αγάθη αποκάλυψε ένα νεκροταφείο του τέλους της Εποχής του Χαλκού, σε μια νέα θέση, που δηλώνει πιθανώς την ίδρυση κατά την περίοδο αυτή ενός νέου λιμανιού. Η θέση του οικισμού δεν έχει εντοπιστεί, πιθανώς βρισκόταν στη θέση της ακρόπολης του Φέρακλου, ή ίσως στη θέση του σημερινού οικισμού του Χαρακιού. Οι τάφοι, θαλαμο-κόγχες με λακκοειδή δρόμο, ανήκουν σε απόγνωστο μέχρι τώρα τύπο στη Ρόδο, που παρουσιάζει ομοιότητες με τους περίπου σύγχρονους τάφους της Περατής, του Αλαά στην Κύπρο, αλλά και των νεκροταφείων της Κνωσσού του 11ου αι. Ως προς τον τρόπο ταφής το νεκροταφείο της Αγίας Αγάθης εισάγει το επίσης νέο στη Ρόδο στοιχείο της ατομικής ταφής, που δεν επρόκειτο να επικρατήσει τελικά: στις επόμενες ιστορικές περιόδους η διαδεδομένη ταφική πρακτική στη Ρόδο είναι η καύση των ενηλίκων και ο εγχυτρισμός των παιδιών.


κολούθηται να υπάρχει ένα μεγάλο χρονολογικό κενό ανάμεσα στην ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ και τις αρχαιότερες ταφές από την ίδια περίοδο την Κάμειρο που χρονολογούνται στην ύστερη Πρωτογεωμετρική περίοδο, (Παπαποστόλου 1968). Οι ταφές αυτές έδωσαν κεραμεική με σαφέστατες επιβίωσεις παλαιότερων μυκηναϊκών σχημάτων και εμφανιζόμενη κυπριακή επίδραση στη διάταξη της διακόσμησης, κατάδεικνύοντας ότι οι επαφές με την Κύπρο συνεχίστηκαν αδιάλειπτα στα χρόνια που ακολούθησαν το τέλος της Εποχής του Χαλκού.

Οι σχέσεις της Ρόδου με την Κύπρο είναι βέβαια πολύ αρχαιότερες από το τέλος της Εποχής του Χαλκού και αμφίδρομες. Κυπριακή κεραμεική έχει βρεθεί στον οικισμό και τα νεκροταφεία της Ιαλυσού (Karageorghis - Marketou 2006. Marketou κ.ά. 2006. Benzi 1992, 9-11), ενώ ορισμένα στοιχεία στα νεκροταφεία θαλάμοειδών τάφων της ΥΚIII έχουν ερμηνευθεί ως ροδιακά. Σύμφωνα με τα δεδομένα της ναυπλοΐας εκείνης της εποχής η Ρόδος αποτέλεσε απαραίτητο ενδιάμεσο σταθμό σε ένα ταξίδι προς την Κύπρο, είτε από την Ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα είτε από την Κρήτη. Η έντονη μυκηναϊκή επίδραση στην Ιαλυσό κατά την ΥΕ ΙΙΙΑ και ΙΙΙΓ περίοδο, αλλά και η παρουσία Κρητικής κεραμεικής στα νεκροταφεία της Ιαλυσού κατά τη διάρκεια του 12° αι. π.Χ. (Kanta 1980, 304-306) οφείλεται, τουλάχιστον εν μέρει, στο πέρασμα εμπόρων, τεχνιτών, πολεμιστών, προσφύγων, αποίκων και τυχοδιωκτών προς την Κύπρο, την Κιλικία και την συροπαλαιστινιακή ακτή. Η περίπτωση του νεκροταφείου της Αγίας Αγάθης ενδεχομένως αποτελεί την πρώτη απόδειξη μιας στάσης των Μυκηναίων, ή μάλλον κάπως διαδόχων τους, κατά το ταξίδι της επιστροφής.

ADDENDUM

Στην ανασκαφική έρευνα που ακολούθησε την παρούσα ανακοίνωση, τον Δεκέμβριο του 2007, αποκαλύφθηκαν ακόμα τριάντα πέντε τάφοι, από τους οποίους τριάντα πέντε χρονολογούνται στο τέλος της Εποχής του Χαλκού. Ο ένας μόνον από τους παραπάνω τάφους ανήκει στον τύπο του θαλάμου-κόγχης με λακκοειδή δρόμο, ενώ οι υπόλοιποι ήταν απλοί λακκοειδείς. Όλοι οι τάφοι φιλοξενούσαν ένα μόνο ενταφιασμό, συνοδευόμενο από πολύ μικρό αριθμό αγγείων. Ανάμεσά τους συμπεριλαμβάνονταν πολλές παιδικές και βρεφικές ατομικές ταφές. Η πλήρης δημοσίευση του νεκροταφείου της Αγίας Αγάθης πρόκειται να αποτελέσει αντικείμενο μονογραφίας.

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Εικ. 1. Χάρτης της Ρόδου (Karantzali 2001). Σημειώνεται η περιοχή Χαράκι.

Εικ. 2. Χάρτης με σημειωμένες τις αρχαιολογικές θέσεις στην περιοχή Χαράκι.
Εικ. 3. Η ανασκαφή του 2004.

Εικ. 4. Τ. 3, κάτοψη και τομή.
Εικ. 5. Τ. 3, ο θάλαμος με τα ευρήματα κατά χώραν.

Εικ. 6. Τ. 3, το σύνολο των ευρημάτων από την ανασκαφή και την παράδοση Ορφανίδη.
Εικ. 9. Τ. 7, θραύσματα του ψευδόστομου αμφορέα Π25547 (φωτ.).

Εικ. 10. Τ. 9 και 10, κάτοψη και τομή.
Εικ. 11. Τ. 10, ο θάλαμος με τα ευρήματα κατά χώραν.

Εικ. 12. Τ. 10, το σύνολο των ευρημάτων.
In 1935, in the foreword of Benjamin Meritts’ article on the inscriptions of Colophon, the American archaeologist Hetty Goldman wrote:

“This is the first of a projected series of articles dealing with the results of the excavations carried on jointly by the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens in the spring of 1922 and the fall of 1925. Because of disturbed conditions in Asia Minor in 1922, almost all of the excavated material was lost, and it will, therefore, be impossible to make the publication in any sense complete. It has seemed worthwhile, however, to present even in incomplete form some account of the Inscriptions, the sanctuary of Cybele or the Mother, the Colophonian house-type, and the geometric burials.” (Meritt 1935, 358, n. 1)

The fact is that only the inscriptions (Meritt 1935), the ‘Colophonian house-type’ (Holland 1944), the coins (Milne 1941) and the Mycenaean tholos tomb (Bidges 1974) received this proper publication. The above mentioned Metróon, and the Geometric and Classical cemeteries remained unpublished. Only scanty informations were available, scattered in various reports or general studies (AJA 27, 1923, 67, 79; BCH 46, 1922, 549-550; Picard 1922, 729; Lorimer 1950, 105-106, 345. For the political conditions of the Colophon excavations and their abrupt end, see Davies 2002). The loss of the material was particularly frustrating and has contributed to put an end to the publication process.

Fortunately, the excavation notebooks were carefully preserved and brought back to safer place until they reached Bryn Mawr College archives thanks to Matched Mellink. Their careful examination showed that they contained useful descriptions, drawings and photographs, particularly of the geometric tumuli burials which will be our main point of interest in the present study. These elements provide some invaluable information for a better understanding of burial customs of Ionia between the Protogeometric and the early Archaic age, a period when our knowledge is scarce. Therefore, though incomplete, the evidence from Colophon offers a useful insight of such study and can contribute to a better understanding of the social structure of Early Iron Age Ionia (fig. 1), a region often poorly represented in traditional synthesis.

This short contribution only aims to offer a preliminary overview of the archaeological information about the Geometric burials contained in the notebooks, as a tribute to W.D.E. Coulson. The complete publication will appear...
in a separate volume in preparation (Mariaud forthcoming).

TOPOGRAPHY

Colophon is located in northern Ionia, about thirteen kilometres inland, along the river Ales which stream lead to the sea and to the sanctuary of Apollo Clarios (fig. 1). The only available map of the city was drawn in the 1880's by C. Schuchhardt (fig. 2). It shows a small plain surrounded by low hills. The highest one is the acropolis where the Classical houses (nos. 2-5 on the map) and the Metroon (no. 7) were discovered. The tholos and the first Classical cemetery are located northward (no. 8). The second area where burials of the Classical period came to light lay on the east ridge of the acropolis. The hills encircle a vast plain which is probably the site of Colophons' main city, protected by strong fortification walls also dated of Classical period.

After a long negotiation with local authorities, H. Goldman and her team (including C.W. Blegen, D.H. Cox, B. Meritt) started their investigations the heart of the Classical city, the acropolis. At the same time, excavations were conducted in various places in the vicinity, where graves were supposed to have been found, due to illegal diggers (for the preliminary negotiations, cf. Davies 2002. For the illegal diggings, see Blegen 1922, 148). Unfortunately, the location of a third burial place, those of the Geometric tumuli, is quite allusive. We are then forced to draw hypothesis from the few topographical elements available.

As we can expect in such raw document, no global map were made, and the memory of the context of the discoveries has vanished. The notebook said that the graves were situated "between Degirmendere and Tratscha, along a river bed call Kouroudere" (Blegen 1922, 148). Degirmendere and Tratscha are the two small villages nearby the site of Colophon (map fig. 2). The Kouroudere, which in Turkish means "non permanent river" or "dry river", is more difficult to locate. Some streams are drawn on the Schuschhardt's map reproduce in fig. 2, but none of them is identified as the Kouroudere. Nevertheless, this allows limiting our hypothesis to only two or three places between centre and south of the city.

Some of the photographs of the excavations show undoubtedly that the tumuli are located in a plain slightly sloping1. They also indicate hills on the right when the photograph is said to be taken from South, like in grave E mound II picture (fig. 3). This indicates that the tumuli should be located in an area probably very close to the south part of the classical fortification limits since, according to Fowler, the graves have been found "beyond the city walls" (Fowler 1922, 259). But it remains difficult to be more precise, and only further investigation on the site would be determinant to settle the question down.

THE TUMULI

The excavations of the Geometric graveyard last for one campaign from June the 19th to July the 1st of 1922. It was handled by C. Blegen along with local workers. He uncovered four tumuli, one of which (mound IV) in such bad state of preservation that it was only mentioned. Only two tumuli (mound I and II) were fully excavated and described. Mound III was shortly investigated, but no material has been uncovered at the beginning of the excavations, so the digging stopped (Blegen 1922, 156, 159).

The first element worth notice is the great size of the tumuli. In 1922, according to the excavators' measurements, mound I was the largest, for dimensions ranging from 5 to 9m high for 30m diameter (fig. 4). Mound II was between 1 and 2m high for 25m diameter. Of

1. This contradicts the affirmation of Ch. Picard that the tumuli were situated « on a tepe »; Picard 1922, 729 (540, n. 2).
course, erosion and human action might have lowered them (especially mound II) in unknowable proportions. Still, the size and the visual impression of the mounds must have been particularly impressive compare to other known tumuli of the Greek world during the pre-Classical period, usually much smaller. For instance, in Smyrna, the average size of individual tumuli dated of the Archaic period is between 1 and 5m diameter (Mariaud 2007, 261-262, with reference of Cook 1974, 55) and are only exceptionally larger (Miltner – Miltner 1931, 153-157, who have noticed a tumulus of 24m diameter). Only the largest tumulus of the Keramaikos, the so-called Südhügel, is comparable to those from Colophon with its 30m across and 5m high (Knigge 1991, 101-102; 1976). In Lefkandi, the size of the tumulus is not known, but it has covered an apsidal building of 45m long for 10m wide (Popham et al. 1993). Finally, Lydian giant tumuli of the Archaic period are out of these proportions with diameters varying from 10 to 350m (see Ratte 1994 and more generally MacLauchlin 1985).

All the tumuli from Colophon are collective burials. Mound I contained five burials including two child inhumation in vase (enchytrismoi) and three primary cremations, allegedly adults'. Mound II was also built over five graves, but this time, only one is an adult cremation, and four are enchytrismoi. In each mound, graves are generally very close one to another, forming clusters (fig. 5).

It is not possible from the preliminary study of the notebooks to know if the burials are contemporaneous or not. It is of course most improbable that primary cremation would be made after the erection of the tumulus in the case of mound I. But in both cases, it could be possible for the enchytrismoi to be placed in the mound some times after its erection. For instance, even if no stratigraphy is available, we know that one vase inhumation of the mound II (grave D) was placed in a corner above the cremation E (fig. 5). It is also possible for tumulus I, the higher one, to be made of the reunion of three individual and smaller tumuli, each corresponding to a single cremation, and build one after another. But usually this practice is limited to smaller tumuli, as in the Pithekousian necropolis (Buchner – Ridgway 1993).

Tumuli are not so close to each other. Tumulus II was said to be ca. 100m North of mound I and mound III was 25m South-East (Blegen 1922, 148-149). But the whole area seems to have housed burial mounds since C. Blegen, at the end of his report, said: “Apparently, there are a great many Geometric graves here in the Kouroudere and it should easily be possible to find some good ones.” (Blegen 1922, 189).

THE ADULT GRAVES

As we just saw, primary cremation was one of the two ways of body disposal after the death. Cremation in situ is very specific because it implies that the pyrai and the grave are one and the same place. It also reduces the ceremony to one operation, probably quite long and munificent, if we refer to comparable burials in the literary sources (the obvious reference would be the description of the burial of Patroclus, in Homer’s Iliad, book XVIII; see Zurbach 2005 for a useful summary and methodological considerations).

The cremation itself was done in a shallow rectangular pit (fig. 6a). One grave (grave E mound II, figs. 3, 5) seems more elaborated. The walls of the pit were reinforced by small stones and river boulders. For this reason, it is the best preserved grave. Its pit is around 2m long and wide, for 1.25m deep, including the stones setting (Blegen 1922, 184). But the usual deep of the pits is around 0.80 to 1m, a size which perfectly corresponds to modern examples of pyre in traditional society (see Grévin 2005, 19). The stones of grave E were probably intended to strengthen the pit lateral walls in order to avoid their collapse during the incineration process.

In one case (fig. 6a: grave 3 mound I), C.
Blegen noted the presence of small circular depressions at the four corners of the pit (Blegen 1922, 185, 187). Their size, about 0.23m in diameter, allows them to be the post holes of some wooden structure, undoubtedly the pyre of the cremation. This is an important feature because it underlines the necessity of air circulation for operating a full combustion of the body. This also indicates the possibility of the body to be visible outside the grave if the wooden structure is slightly higher than the pit hole, even if modern comparison shows us that the cremated body is usually covered with wood or wet straw in order to prevent an incomplete burning of its facing side and/or unwelcome body retracement. We also know that during the cremation process, the skull can explode in pieces due to the extraordinary pressure of the burning brain (for ethno-archaeological comparison, see Grévin 2005). Therefore, if the body was in an outstanding position at the beginning of the ritual, there must have existed some kind of body disposal to avoid such unpleasant effects (for modern examples, see Grévin 2005, 17-19). Finally, considering the rather small size of the pit, and the necessity for the pyre to crush inside it, it seems quite probable that the wooden structure must have been quite low, if not inside the hole. The presence of four corner posthole in the grave is not very widespread during the Geometric and Archaic period. Only in the island of Rhodes, and more specifically in the Geometric graves of Tzingana and in the Archaic cemetery of Vroulia, we find similar features [fig. 6b: for complete discussion, see Kinch 1914, 4 (Tzingana), 53-55 (Vroulia)].

Apparently, part of the grave goods were placed near the body and burnt with it since the bones and the objects were mixed all together in the pit, without clear sign of any organizations of the remains except the overall orientation of the skeleton which roughly respects the anatomical order. This shows that the body was left untouched during the cremation process (for anthropo-anatomical consideration of the cremation process, see Grévin – Bailet 2001). The bones were not collected in urns but left scattered in the pit. However, some sherds of decorated pottery have been found above the coal layer of the cremation, indicating the possibility of other vases to be placed after the cremation on the pyre. The bones were severely crushed and dispersed. So were the grave goods. This is not due to the temperature of the pyre, but of its collapse and by a brutal extinction with water or any other liquid (Grévin 2005, 20 for modern comparison; in the Iliad, the pyre of Patroclus is extinguished with wine, but the Homeric cremation in the poems is far from reflecting the mainstream ritual, as Polignac 2005, 179 and Zurbach 2005 pointed out).

The ash layer is said to be at least 0.15m thick (Blegen 1922, 150; for comparison, Kinch estimation of ash layer thickness of an individual cremation is 0.10m, but it is, by his own reckoning, an middle range measurement since pits are usually housing multiple cremations in Vroulia. See Kinch 1914, 55). It is not possible to evaluate the temperature of the pyre, but we know that the ceramics and the metal objects were in a very rotten condition, some barely (but still) recognizable. Even the bronze object are said to have melted (Blegen 1922, 189). The low quality of the ceramics also explains the bad conditions of preservations. Finally, the burning pyre must have been quite hot, but in a way not fully complete, since the excavator have found inside the pits charred remains of timber of great size. The pit was then filled with earth and stones, and sealed by small stones heap or by a layer of hard clay.

THE CHILDREN GRAVES

As we said, unlike the adults, the children are not cremated but interred. Generally the small body is placed in an amphora or a pithos (enchtrismoi). Pithos of grave A, mound II, is more than 1.10m high and 0.50m diameter in the middle. But the amphorae are smaller, ca. 0.50m long (fig. 7). If, as we believe, the size
of the pot is proportional to the size of the infant body (see Morris 1992, 181-183; Mariaud 2006, 194-196), we can consider the age group of such type of inhumation ranging from newborn to young children. The fact that enchétrismoi are not exclusive to new born is confirmed by the discovery of small teeth in some of the jars (grave C mound II; Blegen 1922, 187). The type of vases is not specified, but they are of undecorated coarse ware fabric of homogeneous kind, as the excavators found similar vessel in the same mound or from one mound to the other. One amphora, grave D mound II, seems of finer ware but still bears no decoration. The orientation is usually West-East, but it is not systematic. Sometimes, the notebook mentions a specific stone setting for the enchétrismoi, partly encircling and/or covering the urn (Blegen 1922, 159, 168). Usually, the vase is placed on its side (figs. 5, 7) and closed by a large pottery sherd.

THE GRAVE GOODS

The burial assemblages are very simple. They mainly consist of small coarse ware pots and of bronze fibulae. The vases are often crushed in pieces, and therefore difficult to identify. In grave 3 Mound I, at least one of these pots was a one-handle mug (Blegen 1922, 185). Nevertheless, the excavators were able to recognize some finer ware potsherds bearing "some decoration on a whitish slip" (Blegen 1922, 150). But these decorated sherds are rare and always found above or beside the graves, generally connected to cremations but not in it. This is the case of the discovery 0.75m North of mound II of a trench with very fine pottery sherds, including one baring decoration of rosette, one with spirals and a white slip, as well as couple of sherds "much like Dipylon ware" (Blegen 1922, 160). Though it is clear that these vases are related to the burials, they are not easy to interpret. From the information available, they clearly recall the practice of offering trench uncovered by the German archaeologist in the Kerameikos (See Kübler 1959, part. 87-90). But the Athenian examples are dating to the 7th century BC and are of very specific type of practice (for interpretation of these Opferrinnen, see mainly Houby-Nielsen 1996; see below for the dating of Colophons' graves).

If the ceramics from these trenches seems to be of good quality, the vases accompanying the dead are always simpler. An example is one of the three cups of grave D mound II. The sketch plan distinctly shows the whitish slip and the dark bands on the globular body and the offset rim. The middle band seems wavy and the foot is completely flat. The closest parallel for this kind of vases is the cup found in grave IX of the Athenian agora (fig. 8: Young 1939 and Brann 1962, no. 192, 54, pl. 10), belonging to the 'Phaleron cup' class (see Young 1939, 37 and Brann 1962, 53 for discussion of the type). But the decoration is more elaborated than our Colophonian example. Another discovery, located in the necropolis of Colophons' colony of Siris, in Basilicate (South Italy), also reminds the shape of our cup (fig. 9). But here again, the decoration is quite different, with vertical lines painted on the vase instead of horizontals, which link the cup to Euboean models. As we shall see below, this kind of ordinary one handle and simply decorated cup is much widespread chronologically and geographically.

Other ceramics are described as 'coarse ware badly eroded' and don't allow any description. Some accompanied the cremation and bear traces of the fire which damaged them. It seems there is no difference between cremations and inhumations regarding the quality and type of the ceramics goods.

The fibulae are the other well represented items in the graves. They were of two sizes. One is said 'small' with an arch of ca. 0.025m diameter. The other category is the 'large' fibula, about 0.045m wide. They are both of semicircular type, consisted of an arch composed of three pellets, with a curved reception of the pin. The sizes of the balls vary from 0.001 to 0.007m.
They probably can be described as close to Blinkenberg type III.10 or IV.14. According to H.L. Lorimer, the Colophons’ fibulae closely resemble those from the Geometric ‘bone-enclosure’ of Vrokastro, in Eastern Crete (fig. 10: Lorimer 1950, 348). They usually accompanied the cremation, even if one enchytrismos (grave C mound II) has fourteen of them inside the pithos. The great number of fibulae in grave C can be explained by the unusual position of the body, probably of an adolescent, in half sitting attitude. It is most probable that the fibulae were closing the shroud. Grave E cremation of mound II has 6 (maybe 8) fibulae, which means that the adults too could have had need for many pins to close a shroud or ceremonial clothes.

Other items are few. Pithos burial C of mound II has revealed two bronze rings, two amber beads with other amber fragments, a small terracotta bead and some amber beads probably all belonging to a necklace. Grave E mound II (cremation) has produced, besides the vases and the fibulae, one terracotta spindle whorl. We also have to mention that C. Blegen says to have found in the same cremation some carbonised wheat and charred raisins, indicating the possible deposition of perishable goods before the cremation. But the accuracy of this observation is rather uncertain if we consider the heat of the pyre previously highlighted by the excavator.

THE DATING

The informations concerning the dating of the graves are of two sorts. Those from the notebooks themselves, whether some chronological considerations by the excavators or what we can deduce from their description, and those from other authors who had been in contact with the material before its lost or with someone of the team. They concern the ceramic and the fibulae.

In his notes, C. Blegen has qualified the ceramic material of ‘Geometric’ without further details. The whitish slip mug or cups (very globular, flat bottom, offset rim; esp. grave D mound II) seems to be very widespread, both chronologically and geographically. We found similar forms from Protopgeometric Thessaly or Ionia (Clazomenai, Chios), Middle Geometric Euboea to 7th century BC Mediterranean (Samos, Chios-Rizari, where we found similar wavy lines, Siris; for overview, see Coldstream 2006). But the closest parallel, the Phaleron cups, point to a date late in the geometric period, probably end of 8th-beginning of 7th century BC.

The evidence from the offering trenches is less allusive. But the mention of spirals and rosette in fine ware sherds that are said to be ‘clearly geometric’ remains quite puzzling. After a short study of various publications, it appears that these elements are not systematic but quite familiar in many ceramic traditions. For instance, we find examples of spirals in Late Geometric vases from Boeotia (see Ruckert 1976; kantharos Ka27, from Thebes, 108 and pl. 28.1). The spiral can also been close to ‘tangential compass-drawn circles like those found on Geometric vases brought to light in Samos (Walter 1968, crater 1st half 8th century BC nos. 72, 95, pl. 13) or in Vrokastro, East Crete (see Hayden 2003, amphora MG, nos. 160, 63 and pl. 25, or sherds LG-EOrient nos. 190-193, 71, pls. 29-30). The rosette is also a familiar element of Late Geometric wares (Walter 1968, nos. 105, 115-117, 147, 155, 186, for few examples). The ‘Dipylon like’ shreds are well-known and are dated for the Late Geometric period (see Davidson 1968, esp. 21-35).

For the fibulae, we saw that the parallels in Blinkenbergs’ typology points to examples also in use for a long period of times, from Early Geometric to Archaic periods. To sum up, all the identifiable elements from the Colophons’ graves points to a Middle Geometric-Late Geometric date.

Other sources of informations can be useful. Ch. Picard, who seems to have seen the material, has been more precise. His comment worth full quoting:
"La céramique, quoique brûlée, est nettement reconnaissable; elle s'apparente au géométrique de Milet et de la Carie (Asarlik, Ghiök-Tchi allar, etc.) ; [...] le décor des fibules recueillies dans les tombes attestent des influences occidentales." (Picard 1922, 729 [n.547, n.2]).

The reference to site situated hundreds kilometres south, and specially to Assarlik, is surprising not only because the accepted date of these graves of the Halicarnassos peninsula is Protogeometric, but also because recent studies has shown that geometric ceramic style from North and South Ionia are rather different (Rücker - Kolb 2003; Akurgal et al. 2002). Furthermore, if there is some spiral on some sherds from Hassarlik, rosette decoration only appears on sarcophagus (see Paton 1886, figs. 20-21, fig. 26 for the spirals moulded on an undated pithos fragment). The dating of these graves is also problematic, and generally speaking, the Carian evidence deserves a reappraisal before being of any help here.

Another scholar, H.L. Lorimer, had direct contact not with the material but with H. Goldman. Besides the parallel with fibulae from Vrokastor already mentioned (supra 712), she also integrate Colophons' evidence in her historical considerations on the so-called 'Homeric' times. She indicates for the burials a date ante quem of c.800 BC since the inhabitants from Colophon were coming from Athens where cremation run out of fashion in Middle Geometric II (c. 800 BC). Therefore, the foundation of Colophon, and the cremations, probably dates 800. This kind of consideration is purely speculative and far from being convincing since cremation in Athens continue in Middle and Late Geometric times, but it is not until the 7th century BC that Athenians adopted the primary cremation, maybe after the epic tradition.

It is clear that no definitive conclusion can be drawn from the available evidence concerning the dating of the graves. The chronological distance that could also have existed between the graves themselves, and between the graves and the offering trenches, where much of the recognizable material has been uncovered, complicate even more the problem. Nevertheless, all the identifiable features, including vases, fibulae, tomb type and ritual, points to date the burials lower than we previously thought, maybe the 8th century BC. But this conclusion cannot be more than mere hypothesis, waiting for excavations resume testing our suggestion.

Though incomplete, much information can be drawn from the available evidence on Colophon burials, especially if we try to replace them in their local and regional context.

COLOPHONS’ BURIAL SEQUENCE

Colphons’ tumuli have shown a complex burial sequence we can summarise as follow (expect prothesis and ekphora, all the archaeologically invisible rituals have been omitted, but must have existed, in unknowable nature and length):

1- Prothesis.
2- Ekphora. Placement of the body inside the pit of the cremation.
3- Burning of the corpse in situ, with ceremonial dresses and few grave goods, maybe liquid and food in coarse vases of open shapes placed along the body.
4- During the combustion, the body was left untouched; the pyre was extinct with liquid.
5- Deposition of other ceramics after the extinction, above the ash layer.
6- Filling of the grave with stone-earth empletcon. Sealing of the grave by clay layer or small stone heap.
7- Erection of the tumulus.

2. See for instance Whitley 1994. Contra, D’Onofrio 1993, for whom the adoption of primary cremation is due to the need for a new emphasis on the grave and on the moment of the cremation itself.
A- Maybe burning or deposition of vases in nearby offering trench, during or some times after the cremation.

As we can see, emphasis is put on two very important elements. The first one is the ritual. The choice of primary cremation shortens the length of the burial time (in secondary cremation ritual, we have two separate phases, the cremation on the separated pyre and the inhumation of the ash urn in the grave pit), but draws much attention on the moment of the cremation itself. The cremation in situ implies that the ceremony must have last until the end of the combustion, which can be as long as the whole day. The existence of ceremonial trenches, with more elaborated ceramics, shows that the ritual must have been more complex than its apparent poorness. But the fact is that the goods accompanying the dead are very simple, limited to open shapes ceramics and simple ornamental items, showing that commodities are not what is important here. The heavy firing, especially if the burial is done by night, must have been impressive. In this ceremony, the dress of the dead must also take a good place. As we seen with the ornamenting based grave goods assemblage, the dead body must have been the focal point of the ceremony, even though we don't find many expensive items such as gold band or weapons as in Athens or Eretria (for recent discussion of such elements, see Bland in 2007).

Second central element, the collective mounds. As we suggested before, their size, marking so much the landscape, is surely a way to express the power of the social group implicated in the erection of these tumuli. Furthermore, the collective aspect of the burial shows the importance of the link between individuals. It would be unwise to interpret such link as purely familial. If the age spectrum of the individuals buried there is large (from infant to adults), there is not enough adults to represent real lineage grouping. We also don't know of any distinct gender division, women and men apparently receiving a similar funeral. Therefore, if the link is family, it is a particular kind of family, and surely not a 'real' and complete lineage group.

There is a third point that can be understood only when replacing Colophon in its regional context.

COLOPHON TUMULI GRAVES: A HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Other important Ionian sites have revealed that Ionia in Early Iron Age has a strong and straightforward unity in term of burial customs and material culture. In Protogeometric times, burials are usually very poor, the only exception being an enchtrismos from Chios which contains five vases, three bronze fibulae, a bronze ring and a golden hair ornament (ΔΔ 44, 1989, Χρονικά, B2, 398). In Early and Middle Geometric periods, this minimalist symbolism continues. The grave goods assemblage is composed of coarse wares or very simple fine ware, usually undecorated open shapes, and ornaments. There are no identifiable imports, nor very specific valuable items and weapons. This change in Late Geometric times, when cremations, which remain the rule for adults, are accompanied with richly decorated pottery. Many examples such as Teos (Ozkan 2009) or Samos (Vigliaki-Sophianou 2004) show an emphasis on heavy symbolic wares consumption in funerary ritual. If we consider this evolution, the Colophon burial would fits perfectly with a date ca. 800-750 BC (for a summary of pre-archaic Ionian burial customs, see Mariaud 2007, 110-114).

Furthermore, the evolution of graves number in pre-classical Ionia indicates the existence of a very strict access to formal burial until the 6th century BC (Table 1: see Mariaud 2007, 29-48 for full discussion. For the concept of formal burial applied to classical archaeology, see Morris 1987). Colophons' poorness of grave goods assemblage along with emphasis on ritual and landscape marking can only be
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1. Attested graves are precisely dated and individually identified.
2. Probable graves are precisely dated, but number of grave unsure, calculated through documented documentation considered as a minimum.

Table 1. Evolution of the number of graves in Ionia, 1050-300 BC (Marinid 2007, 37).
explained if we take into account the fact that only few people are allowed to bury their dead in a way that modern archaeologist could detect them, or, to put it in another way, have the monopoly of formal burial.

We don’t know much about Geometric and Archaic Colophon, and it is difficult to be more precise about who this elite is. But according to literary tradition, the city was for a long period dominated by the aristocracy of the Thousands, who strut about on the agora in their purple dress (Xenophanes, frgt. 3 Diehl/West), before they were destroyed by the Lydians in one of the frequent conflicts between the great Kingdom and the Greek cities of Ionia (Aristote Pol. IV.4.1290-b/5). We see that this aristocracy seems to have a kind of monopoly on certain type of dress which can be interpreted as a symbol of their wealth since, according to Theopompus (FGrH 115 F 117), purple worth silver. What seems a limited detail reveals much on the symbolic level and on the way the members of the Colophonian aristocracy behave in 7th century BC.

The tumuli discovered by H. Goldman are probably not those of this aristocracy, but they are maybe those of their ancestors, an aristocracy that monopolized burial symbolic ritual, for its own glory.

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Fig. 1. Map of Ionia in Geometric times (900-680/70 BC).

Fig. 2. Colophon site map (Holland 1944, fig. 1).
Fig. 3. Colophon. Geometric cemetery. Grave E mound II seen from south (H. Goldman archives, photograph C.181).

Fig. 4. Colophon. Geometric cemetery. Mound I, from the East during the excavation (H. Goldman archives, photograph C.216).
Fig. 5. Colophon. Geometric cemetery. Sketch plan of mound II (Blegen 1922, 157).

Fig. 6. a) Colophon. Geometric cemetery. Sketch plan of grave 3 mound I, with the four corner pits (Blegen 1922, 187). b) Vroulia (Rhodes). Cremation pit of the archaic period (Kinch 1914, 53-54, fig. 22).
Fig. 7. Colophon. Geometric cemetery. Burial jar (amphora), grave B mound II (Blegen 1922, 155).

Fig. 8. Athens. Agora. Phaleron cup of the late 8th/early 7th century BC (Brann 1962, no. 192, 54, pl. 10).

Fig. 9. Siris. La Madonelle necropolis. Archaic cup and pitcher from grave 50, first half of the 7th century BC (Berlingo 1986, pl. 24).

Fig. 10. Fibula from Vrokastro, East Crete (Blinkenberg type III.10), Geometric period (Blinkenberg 1926, fig. 76, 83).
GEOMETRIC ELEPHANTIASIS

How and why came it to be that, by Late Geometric times, various household chattels had been enlarged to a size far beyond what is useful in daily life and, in later times, never matched again on such an enormous scale? In clay we have the huge amphorae (fig. 1) and pedestalled kraters, associated with Athenian aristocratic funerals: and, in bronze, the correspondingly enormous tripod cauldrons (fig. 2) in the hammered technique, dedicated at the rising Panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi. If those vessels could be used for their original purposes, the result would indeed be “conspicuous consumption” in a most literal sense, with enough wine in the amphorae and enough stewed casserole in the casserole for a lavishly sumptuous feast. But the largest cauldrons would stand too high above any possible source of heat to be effective as casseroles; while the Dipylon amphorae, if filled with wine, could not have been moved even by Nestor in his younger days (cf. II. xi.632-7).

In both cases the enlargement took place gradually, over a period of at least two centuries, but in different circumstances and for different reasons.

The bronze cauldron, with tripod legs attached, is an invention of the Late Bronze Age, when it occurs only in palatial context, notably in elite tombs at Knossos, and in the palace inventories of Pylos (Ventris – Chadwick 1959, 326-328, figs. 16, 18). To judge from organic remains found in clay counterparts, its chief function was the boiling or stewing for public feasts (Tzedakis – Martlew 1999, 103), and the size is still manageable for that purpose. Exceptionally, we find it offered, among several other bronze vessels, in a rich tomb of Cypro-Geometric I (1050-950 BC) in the Skales cemetery of Old Paphos (Karagiorgis 1983, pl. 89, T.58.37), the tomb of an Aegean grandee recently settled in Cyprus: with a height of only 30 cms, its size is still manageable for kitchen use.

Meanwhile, in the epic tradition, the tripod cauldron had become an article of high prestige, “the worth of twelve oxen” as Homer tells us (II. xxiii.703): as a gift exchanged between heroes, and as a prize for athletic prowess. Homer alludes to its practical use only twice: once for heating water to bathe the corpse of Patroclus (II. xviii.343-50), and once in a simile comparing the seething of rushing river Xanthos to the seething of a whole fatted hog in a cauldron (II. xxi.362-4). This is Homer’s only reference to cooking in this vessel; on the whole, Homeric heroes preferred their meat to be barbecued. Like most similes, this one surely reflects Homer’s own time, when cauldrons already large enough to cook a whole animal could be seen at the great sanctuaries.

In the real world, soon after the foundation of a new sanctuary at Olympia, these cauldrons began to be offered at the sanctuaries, and only at sanctuaries. Not much later than the one from Old Paphos, but twice as large, is the oldest fully preserved tripod cauldron from Olympia, 65 cm high, with massive ring handles and legs cast solid (Maass 1978, pl.1, below), but still not too large to have been used for feasting at the festivals of what was then still a local West Peloponnesian sanctuary. After the festi-
the vessel would be left behind as an offering to Zeus.

Later, in the eight century, there came a transformation, perhaps coinciding with the wider Panhellenic fame of the Olympic festival and the institution of its quadrennial Games. The tripod cauldron grew in stature, leaving behind its original function for cooking at feasts, and becoming a votive monument in its original function for cooking at feasts, and becoming a votive monument in its own right. Thanks to the flattening of the handles and legs, much bronze was saved so that, to judge from their fragments, the vessels could reach a height of over one meter; and when an alternative technique was devised for hammering the parts over a matrix, to well over two meters (as fig. 2). One motive for this enlargement has been revealed by the recognition of distinct local workshops, identified through the resemblance of the Olympian cauldrons with their figured attachments to similar finds from local sanctuaries (Herrmann 1964). Cast tripod legs, Pishaped in section, have been assigned to Argos; those with fanned grooves are typical of Corinth, while Athens takes much of the credit for the innovating hammered cauldrons (Weber 1971), largest all (fig. 2).

Thus, among visitors from those places making a show at Olympia, there had already arisen a spirit of emulation. Perhaps rejoicing in the athletic victories of their fellow citizens, these visitors would take a special pride in their local production of prestigious tripod cauldrons, striving to surpass those from rival states and, no doubt, competing in their devotion to the gods of Olympia.

Passing now from bronze to clay, and from the sanctuary to the cemetery, let us now consider the parallel question of why some pottery shapes come to be enlarged, reaching an enormous size in the eighth century. The essential precondition for this enlargement was the conception of this funerary vase, serving as a final resting place for human remains. From the inhumations of the Bronze Age it has no precedent, apart from the Minoan and Mycenaean clay larnax; unlike those from Crete, the larnakes from Tanagra (Vermeule 1965, pls. 25-27) in Boeotia are exceptional in bearing scenes from the funeral. With the change to cremation, especially in Athens, the Protogeometric amphorae that served as ash urns (height c. 30cm) were always decorated with exceptional care and elaboration, in contrast to their plain and banded counterparts, the receptacles for wine and oil found in contemporary well deposits. With few exceptions, a distinction was made between the shapes of urns designed for male and female cremations, buried in the trench-and-hole graves: neck-handled amphorae for men, belly-handled for women (Desborough 1972, 138).

At some time near the turn of the millennium, enlargement of some of the funerary vases began to be set above the grave, as funerary monuments. One of the earliest is the amphora above Kerameikos PG grave 38, rising to a height of 60cm. (Desborough 1952, pl. 5, no. 1089). An even larger belly-handled amphora, height 86cm, was exported to Lefkandi, and was found smashed up in the debris above the vast Tummba building (fig. 3: Catling - Lemos 1990, pi. 80). We can never know whether it had originally stood as a marker for the queen's burial; but it would have been a most unwieldy vessel merely for export of attic wine or oil. Its sheer size, together with the dimensions of a building larger than any Mycenaean palaces (Coulton - Catling 1993), argue a taste for the grandiose already apparent in the early days of Lefkandian prosperity, well back in the tenth century.

From the same building, and on the same huge scale as the amphora (height 80cm) is the astonishing local krater (fig. 4) combining Protogeometric concentric ciccles with Near Eastern Trees of life (Catling - Lemos 1990, pl. 54), which has some claim to have been the marker for the king's burial. In Athens, too, the monumental vase above aristocratic male cremations was an enlargement, not of the male cremation urn, but rather of the krater, the vessel essen-
tial for the aristocratic symposium. Among the Kerameikos graves we have no trace of the krater as a grave marker before c. 900 BC, the earliest coming from Geometric grave 1 (Kübler 1954, pl. 16, no. 2133). However, the early debris from a ruined part of the cemetery, swept up in Archaic times into the Ayia Triada mound, contained the fragments of ‘dozens’ of Protogeometric kraters (Bohen 1997, 48). Many of them, no doubt, would have been used especially for the funerary feasts, but it cannot be excluded that some of them may also have marked rich male graves.

At all events, the surviving part of the Kerameikos cemetery reveals a steady sequence of Early and Middle Geometric pedestalled kraters serving as grave markers, gradually increasing in size and complexity of ornament. In a graveyard continuously used into late Archaic and Classical times, it is not surprising that almost all these kraters are poorly preserved; usually, only the high feet remain in situ. A sketch (fig. 5: Bohen 1997, 50, fig. 4) offers a reconstruction of one of the more aristocratic plots in the cemetery, as it would have appeared in the ninth century. The largest krater is that from grave 43 (fig. 6: Kübler 1954, pl. 22, no. 1254) which, when complete, would have been about a meter high; it carries the first human figure in Attic vase-painting, a mourning woman placed above the handle-and a horse below it, as an aristocratic symbol.

On the same large scale is a MG I krater reconstructed from the debris of the Ayia Triada mound (fig. 7: Bohen 1997, 52, fig. 5, no. 1149), which must surely have stood above a grave rather than inside it. Perhaps, in this crowded cemetery, the rapid destruction of earlier grave-markers through the encroachment of later burials may have stimulated a desire to increase the size, in the vain hope of achieving a more robust, and a more permanent monument.

For the climax of these enlargements in the mid eight century we move 350 meters beyond the Kerameikos cemetery to a new burial ground beside the modern Piraeus Street and under the Classical Dipylon Gate, which gives its name to the master painter and his workshop that produced most of the monumental vessels set up above the graves there. In this plot we have the impression of a noble clan wishing to make a fresh start, burying their dead in an area less crowded than the Kerameikos. For the various nineteenth-century excavations here (Hirschfeld 1872; Bruckner – Pernice 1893) the records are regrettably scarce, but it seems that this Dipylon cemetery was used only in the eighth century. This has the happy consequence that its large grave markers, however little is known about their precise contexts, are better preserved than those from elsewhere. And what a collection they are, with their sudden explosion of funerary and warlike imagery! The number at least twenty, all datable to within the Late Geometric I phase (c. 760-735), and mainly from the hand or workshop of the Dipylon Master (list: Coldstream 1968, 29-32. nos. 1-4, 8-24): three belly-handled amphorae marking the graves of women (e.g. fig. 1), of which Athens 803 is the tallest of all, height 1.80m (Kourou 2002, pis. 102-105). The others, mainly in fragments, are the pedestalled kraters for men, none of which would have been much less than a metre high. On these, the funerary scene is accompanied by battles on land and sea, the latter placed on the reverse side and on the lower body. These funerary and battle scenes would have been visible to passers-by, inviting libations or posthumous honors for the noble incumbents from whom these huge vessels had been made. They commemorate the achievements of a generation of distinguished Athenians who had lived in the Middle Geometric II phase of the early eight century, a most prosperous time for Athens when the export and overseas influence of Attic pottery had reached its highest level before late archaic time. (Coldstream 1968, 349-351).

The kraters with battle scenes were all made within a short time, probably not much more than a decade, during the prime of the Dipylon workshop in the middle of eight century (Late
Geometric Ia). To our eyes, a complete krater of those years, with hundreds of energetic figures engaged in drastic and often violent action, would be quite overwhelming; in the subsequent history of Greek vase-painting, nothing on this enormous scale was ever attempted again. But after c. 750 BC, for some reason, the battle scenes no longer appear on the later kraters from this painter’s workshop (Coldstream 1968, 31-32, nos. 21-24), and on those of slightly younger contemporary, the Hirschfeld painter (Coldstream 1968, 41-42, nos. 1-5), leaving only the portrayal of funerals.

Then, in the final Late Geometric II phase of the Attic style, during the last third of the eighth century, any grave-markers of which we know the provenance come not from Athens, but from the Athenian countryside. Fragments of monumental figured vases of Late Geometric II, all made locally rather than in Athens, have come to light at Thorikos, Myrrhinous, Brauron, Eleusis (Rombs 1988, pls. 11a, 66) and, as we now learn, at Marathon (Vlachou in this volume). If those vessels are an index of aristocratic status and wealth, it seems as though that wealth was now being dispersed outwards from Athens—an impression confirmed by grave offerings in gold and other precious materials. While Euboeans and Corithians were founding colonies in the West, noble Athenians were colonizing their own countryside.

Drawing together the threads of this short paper, we ask ourselves what were the special conditions, social, political and religious, that, in a later age, would incline a city to dedicate a more magnificent Treasury, or a more impressive group of sculpture, than had been offered by its competing rivals.

As for the enormous enlargements of clay pots, eighth-century examples can be cited from many other places including Argos, Knossos, Eretria and Thebes; but it is mainly an Attic phenomenon, seen especially in the grave-markers of Athens, and that is where we can most easily see the enlargement as a gradual process. In an age of increasing prosperity after a deep depression, these surly betoken the wishes of an emergent aristocracy to give visible expression to its high standing, in monuments to catch the eye in a crowded cemetery. This form of ostentation declined with the decentralisation of wealth out of Athens from the late eight century onwards, when aristocratic families preferred to bury their dead on their estates in Attic countryside. Eventually, in Archaic times, huge funerary grave vases were to be superseded by spacious tumuli crowned by a stone stele.

Thus, eventually, the monumental enlargement of vessels in bronze and clay gave place to monumental work in stone: life-size statues and relief stelai for the distinguished dead and, for the gods, stone temples adorned with sculpture.

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Fig. 1. Attic LGa amphora, Dipylon Master, Athens 804. H. 1.55m.

Fig. 2. Facsimile reconstruction of a hammered tripod cauldron, Olympia (Maass 1978, pl. 48).

Fig. 3. Attic MPG amphora imported to Lefkandi. H. 86cm (Catling – Lemos 1991, pl. 80).

Fig. 4. Euboean MPG krater. H. 80cm (Catling – Lemos 1991, pl. 54).
Fig. 5. Athens, part of the Kerameikos cemetery in the ninth century BC: a sketch (Bohen 1997, 50, fig. 4).

Fig. 6. Attic MGI krater, Kerameikos 1254, from grave 43. H.c. 1.0m (Kübler 1954, pl. 22).

Fig. 7. Attic MGI krater reconstructed from fragments, Kerameikos 1149. H.c. 1.0m (Bohen 1997, 52).
A GROUP OF GEOMETRIC VASES FROM MARATHON: ATTIC STYLE AND LOCAL ORIGINALITY

A large burial ground was found and excavated at Marathon by the 2nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical antiquities, in the area in front of the former American naval communications base, alongside Marathonos Avenue, that forms part of the modern Municipality of Nea Makri in Attica. Several graves of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods were found at superimposed levels. On the North-Eastern limit of this burial ground, two fragmentary amphorae and a flat bottomed pyxis were discovered in 1995, scattered in fragments in an almost rectangular area of dimensions 0.80 x 0.50m and a depth of 0.50m. The area was not fully investigated as it extended more to the East, beneath the avenue.

Seemingly, no burial or other constructions were associated with the finds. Therefore, on the available evidence, it is not clear whether the finds belonged to a single burial or gathered in the same area after the graves were destroyed, probably by later activity. The disparity between the two amphorae and the chronological span speaks in favour of the latter hypothesis. The neck of a belly handled amphora (figs. 1-2: K 2206) seems to be an Attic work that stands among the latest of the series decorated in the circle style. The second belly handled amphora (figs. 3-4: K 2207) is probably the product of a local workshop that served as a grave monument, on account of the large size of the vase and the portrayal of a prothesis scene (Coldstream 1968, 133; Kurtz – Boardman 1971, 56-58; Boardman 1988, 173). The fragmentary pyxis (figs. 10-11: K 2208) stands chronologically close to the prothesis amphora and may come from the same context.

NECK OF A BELLY HANDLED AMPHORA (inv. K 2206)

The entire neck and a small part from the shoulder of a belly handled amphora were mended from several large fragments (figs. 1-2). Two small parts have been added in plaster, a small fragment of the lip is missing. The surface is slightly worn in places. The elevated vertical neck is slightly flaring towards the everted lip with a broad and flat rim; a plastic ridge runs below the lip. The vase is made of
a well fired fabric of attic clay, with few white coloured stone inclusions and even fewer black. Its colour is red (2.5YR 5/6), according to the Munsell colour chart, the clay ground parts are covered by a thin pink slip (7.5YR 8/4). The decoration is applied with a metallic black paint, misfired in places and turned to red (10R 4/6), mostly on the lip. The dimensions of this large-sized neck are: H.: 0.36m, neck D.: 0.20m, lip D.: 0.34m.

The lip is glazed. Seven friezes of different size with geometric motifs are placed on the neck with intervening sets of three lines of glaze. A narrow frieze with dogtooth is placed immediately below the plastic ridge, and lower are successively placed four-limbed sigmas, multiple zigzags (four lines), a hatched meander to the left, a fishbone pattern, a hatched battlement and four-tiered zigzags. On the small surviving part of the shoulder the same combination of broader and narrower friezes can be seen. At the junction to the neck a band with dogtooth is placed. Lower continue the same motifs already used on the decoration of the neck a four-tiered zigzag and a hatched meander to the left. The friezes on the shoulder are also separated by groups of three lines of glaze.

The shape of the amphora neck from Marathon corresponds to Class I belly-handled amphorae, according to V. Desborough's distinction, which is associated with the creation and development of the Attic circle style of the Geometric period (Desborough 1952, 20). The fully decorated high, vertical neck is typical of a group of attic belly handled amphorae of the mature circle style (Kourou 2001, 61-63, 67). A belly handled amphora from the Kerameikos (inv. 1256) is firmly attributed by its style to the later stages of the Athens NM 216 workshop, identified by N. Kourou. The proportions of the surviving neck of the Marathon amphora are the same with that of the Kerameikos amphora and the choice of the geometric motifs in the neck friezes is fairly comparable. A fixed and symmetrical combination with subsidiary friezes repeated above and below the central and more enlarged meander frieze is followed on the Kerameikos amphora, while on the neck from Marathon the arrangement of the friezes is much looser. The meander remains the commonest decorative motif placed in a large frieze in the middle of the height of the neck, while other patterns like the hatched battlement, the multiple zigzags and the dogtooth are placed in narrower bands. This firm arrangement is absent on the neck from Marathon, where an enlargement of the subsidiary friezes has been preferred, suggesting a more advanced stage. An amphora from Grave II of the Anavyssos cemetery (Verdelis - Davaras 1966, 97-98, pls. 94a-b, 95b) follows the Kerameikos specimen in the decoration of the elevated neck. On the neck of a belly handled amphora in the Louvre (A 515), is evident the symmetrical repetition of the subsidiary bands above and below the broad frieze with the hatched meander to the left. The geometric patterns of the neck friezes of the amphora are limited to dogtooth and four-tiered zigzags.

The amphora from Kerameikos (inv. 1256) and the amphora in the Louvre (A 515) share

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4. Belly-handled amphora, Kerameikos (inv. 1256). Kühler 1954, Taf. 47-48. The amphora was found in the filling of the 6th century tumuli. Kourou 1997, 48-51; 2001, 61 (B13); 2002, 81-83, pls. 94-97. J.N. Coldstream dates the amphora along with the krater (inv. 1254) from Gr. 43 of the same cemetery, by the context of the grave to the "MG I at the latest". He further notes that "these two vases are unusually ornate for their time", Coldstream 1968, 20, n. 7, 22.
5. The amphora, now in the Brauron Museum, was used as a cremation urn and was found inside the cist grave II of the cemetery.
6. Belly handled amphora in the Louvre, A 515. For the neck see CVA Louvre 16, (France 27), 13, pl. 16.1. For the body of the same amphora see CVA Louvre 16, (France 25), 9-10, pl. 5.1-4.
with the Athens NM 216 workshop the principal scheme with two circle metopes between meander columns. The pattern in the centre of the circles is formed by a reserved cross and diminishing chevrons in the quarters, an innovation of the MG I period attributed to the same workshop (Kourou 1997, 47-48; 2001, 67). None the less, the decoration has become much more dense, expanding much lower than the handle zone, while the meander columns are wider and the ancillary vertical columns with Ms and fishbone pattern have multiplied. The expansion of the ornament over virtually the whole surface of the vase and the gradual tendency to more enlarged forms and slimmer proportions reflects the progress to the Late Geometric.

The neck of the Marathon amphora conforms well to this advanced stage of evolution. Its shape and size brings it close to the amphora from the Kerameikos (inv. 1256), that slightly exceeds 1m in height. The decoration is in the MG II style, arranged in successive friezes, strictly followed on belly handled amphorae of the circle style. The Marathon neck makes use of the same decorative patterns, although not in the same fine and bold combination. No symmetrical disposition of the friezes can be seen and the meander frieze is almost equal in size to the battlement frieze. The introduction of a single frieze with four-limbed sigmas is a rare feature which does not occur before the MG II period (Kourou 2002, 22). The only other example of this class of vases is a fragmentary amphora in the Louvre (Louvre, CA 5898, CVA Louvre 18, France 27, 12, pl. 11-13), where the motif is repeated at least two times on the neck. A narrow frieze with four-limbed sigmas to the left is placed on the upper part of the neck, between two bands with dogtooth above and multiple zigzags below, the same arrangement as on the Marathon neck. The decorative spirit of the painter can be seen in the combination of hatching and chevrons for the filling of the meander and battlement. The inspiration originates probably in the chevrons that are formed by the opposed hatching of the meander and battlement on some MG II vases and also visible in the drawing of the battlement on the Marathon neck. The density of the decoration and the size of the Louvre amphora that reaches 1.20m in height are in favour of a date in the MG II period.

The activity of the Athens NM 216 Workshop covers the MG I period and probably the very begging of the MG II where the Kerameikos amphora (inv. 1256) and the amphora in the Louvre (A 515) are placed. The influence of the Workshop would still be visible on works of the MG II period, as the Marathon neck (K 2206) and the Louvre amphora (CA 5898). The suggestion that one of the latest students of the workshop was still active during that period may not seem unreasonable, taking into account the new finds from Marathon. The principal decorative scheme of the workshop was still applied on belly handled amphorae, while discreet innovations resulted in limited variations. Although belly-handled amphorae in the circle style are rare from the Attic country sites (Kourou 2001, 62), the MG specimens from Marathon are indicative of the strong attic tradition than can also be seen on later works (see below the amphora K 2207).

THE PROTHESIS AMPHORA (inv. K 2207)

The large belly handled amphora is made of a rather light coloured clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6-6/8) to light red (2.5YR 6/8) of the Munsell chart, with a large quantity of silvery mica
on the surface and the interior, many white stone and fewer black inclusions. On the surface a thin pink slip (7.4YR 7/4) is applied, and the decoration was painted with a metallic black paint misfired and turned to red (2.5YR 4/6-4/8) in places on the front side and on the entire rear side. The surface of the amphora is badly worn, with chips all over; the glaze is completely peeled off in places, mostly on the neck.

The surviving parts of the amphora have been mended from several large fragments and partly restored in plaster (figs. 3-4, 7). Part of the neck, the body and the entire base are missing. Only a small part of one handle survives. The dimensions of the restored parts of the amphora are: max. H.: 1.08m, neck H.: 0.54m, neck D.: 0.31m, lip D.: 0.42m, max. D. (handle zone): 0.74m. The vase has a broad body and an elevated broad neck, slightly flaring towards the everted lip with a broad and flat rim. A plastic ridge is added below the rim. The handles were placed on the upper part of the belly, double-arched and rolled, apparently of the bucranium type (Oakeshott 1966, 122-124), with an offset rounded tip.

The decoration of the amphora develops in friezes. The lip is glazed, with a careless horizontal row of dots on the reserved rim and the plastic ridge below it. The neck is completely covered by eight friezes of different size containing geometric motifs, alternating with sets of three stripes (fig. 9). The central, broader main frieze contains a hatched, double meander pattern. Above and below it, symmetrically repeated, a set of narrower friezes with linear ornament; the central band of this set contains a simple, hatched battlement on either side of which there is a narrower band with lozenge chain, filled with cross-hatching. Sets of three stripes alternate with the friezes.

The main figurative scene is a prothesis placed in the zone between the handles in an elongated panel bordered on both sides by a vertical chain of lozenge stars between vertical M-columns and vertical lines of glaze (figs. 5-6). The centre of the prothesis scene takes over a four-legged bier of rather significant dimensions. The deceased is depicted with head to the left, the body elongated. Below the bier two standing mourners, with both hands to the head are facing each other. On both sides of the bier the mourners are placed in two registers. On the left four mourners on the upper register and five on the lower one are directed to the right and on the right side of the bier, four standing mourners on the upper and three seated on the lower register. The lower right register is badly preserved. Three seated figures are only partly preserved; it is not certain whether there is enough space for a fourth one. All figures are rendered in silhouette with both hands to the head. Rows of dots follow the contour of all figures, including the deceased, except for the two figures below the bier. On the right end, next to the handle, a human figure is only partially preserved. Under the fragmentary double arched handle, the lower part of three standing figures to the left can be seen, placed on a single register. Two columns with horizontal bars are visible on the triangular junction of the arch handle.

A large part of the frieze on the rear side is missing (figs. 7-8). It is dominated by two circle metopes, each containing a set of five concentric circles, with dots on the fringe of the external circle, and as a filling ornament in the centre, a hatched Maltese cross. Traces of the compass used for the circles are still visible in the centre of the circles. Small swastikas are placed in the four corners of each metope, while in the narrow cushions above and below each metope are introduced rows of three water birds
A GROUP OF GEOMETRIC VASES FROM MARATHON

with hatched bodies. In the free space between the birds, an eight-pointed star is placed every time. As a divider between the circle metopes serve two vertical M-columns on either side of a vertical chain of four lozenge stars. Vertical lines of glaze, one to three are placed between them. Further down, the same combination of a frieze with simple, hatched meander to the right, bordered above and below by a narrower band with lozenge chain, filled with cross hatching can be seen. The lower part of the body and the entire base are missing.

ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

The shape of the amphora belongs to Class I amphorae, which has a well documented evolution in the Geometric period (Desborough 1952, 20; Kourou 2001, 63-68; 2002, 74, with references, 77-78, 81, 84)10. The last stage of development coincides largely with the LG I period and the monumental style of the Dipylon Workshop. Only few belly handled amphorae are documented from Attica in the LG I period, mostly from the Dipylon Workshop. Two huge belly handled amphorae by the Dipylon Painter are decorated with a prothesis scene in an elongated panel in the handle zone and on a third amphora an ekphora scene is applied11. A fragmentary amphora from the Athenian Agora is attributed to the Dipylon Workshop and a smaller amphora now in Brussels in the transitional period LG Ia-Ib12. Finally, a belly handled amphora from the Kriezi cemetery in Athens is assigned to the Hirschfeld Painter13. Huge pedestalled kraters of the same period follow the decorative scheme of the belly handled amphorae. Prothesis and ekphora scenes constitute the central figured theme, while the circle metopes are incorporated in the panel as a secondary motif, on either side of the figured scene14 and only rarely are applied on the rear side15. The typical arrangement of the prothesis scene is introduced in MG II period on a pedestalled krater in New York16. In LG I the prothesis of the dead was standardised under the influence of the Dipylon Painter as the main pictorial scheme of the funerary ritual. Variations and additions are restrained to the treatment of the scene by later painters. The iconography of the scene shows a remarkable persistence of a stylised scheme applied except for amphorae and kraters, on smaller shapes too17.

The prothesis on the Marathon amphora

10. The type originated in the Protogeometric period.
11. Athens NM 804, Ahlberg 1971, 25, no. 2, figs. 2a-c; Kourou 2001, fig. 14, for the rear side. Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique, formerly Louvre A 516, Ahlberg 1971, 25, no. 3, figs. 3a-c. Athens NM 803, Kourou 2002, 85-88, pls. 102-105, fig. 53
13. Athens, from Kriezi Str. 23-24, Alexandri 1967, 95, pl. 89; Ahlberg 1971, 311, text, fig. 3G. Ahlberg attributes the amphora to the Hirschfeld Painter.
14. Louvre A 522 (close associates of Dipylon Master), Coldstream 1968, 30; Ahlberg 1971, 25, no. 5, fig. 5. Sydney NM 4641 (Villard’s Group), Ahlberg 1971, 26, no. 14, fig. 14. Athens, NM 990 (the Hirschfeld Painter), Nottbohm 1943, 23-25, Abb. 10; Davison 1961, 36, 141, fig. 25; Ahlberg 1971, 220, no. 54-55, figs. 54-55. Frs. Florence, Museo Archeologico 86.415.85/86 (the Thorikos Workshop), Ahlberg 1971, 27, no. 27, fig. 27; Rombos 1988, 357-362, 505, cat. no. 313. Athens, NM 806, Ahlberg 1971, 26, no. 20, fig. 20. Frs. Merenda, Brauron Museum, Rombos 1988, 83-86, 531, cat. no. 388, pl. 10b
16. New York, MMA 34.11.2, Coldstream 1968 26-28; Ahlberg 1971, 25, no. 1, figs. 1a-e; Moore 2000, 18-20, figs. 1-14; Moore 2004, 1-8, pls. 1-7, figs. 1-2. For a LG date see Marwitz 1961, 47; Schäfer 1983, 76; Rombos 1988, 421-422, cat. no. 76.
is dominated by the depiction of the bier that takes over almost 1/3 of the scene (fig. 6). It is of the four-legged type but does not have any exact counterpart in the types classified by G. Ahlberg (Ahlberg 1971, 51-51, 325, sketch 1). The upper part of the bier legs resembles to a reversed triangle with curved angles attached lower to vertical column-like legs, while the rectangular bed frame, filled with cross-hatching, rests on the inner shorter bier legs. At the head end of the bier protrude three thick bands hanging downwards in a slight curve, drawn in silhouette. This unusual scheme can also be seen in two fragmentary representations of a prothesis in Florence and Uppsala attributed by Th. Rombos to the Thorikos Workshop (Rombos 1988, 357-362), where it is interpreted as the rendering of the pillows placed below the mattress. On a neck-handled amphora in Berlin (Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1963.13, Ahlberg 1971, fig. 31; Rombos 1988, 507, cat. no. 316, pl. 12b), attributed to the same Workshop, the general rendering of the bier is very close to the Marathon amphora. Furthermore, the bier cloth is represented in a bow-like shape above the bier, filled with cross-hatching and placed at a short distance above the deceased, like enclosing the corpse but it is not attached to the bier ends. The type is not very common (Ahlberg 1971, 56-58), and seems like a later variation, most probably of the LG Iia period. Three to four vertical lines below the head of the deceased form probably the support of the head, although no safe conclusion can be made due to the faded condition of the surface.

The deceased, depicted in silhouette, is laid on his side, to the left, with protruding forehead and chin and short hair. The torso is unnaturally elongated as well as the left arm. His feet are not visible as a small fragment of the vase is missing at this point. A row of dots follows the contour of the body and head. The reversed placement of the figure, with head to the left is not only unusual but indeed the only known example from prothesis scenes on belly-handled amphorae. The only other representation of the Geometric period with the corpse laid to the left is on the later Melbourne hydria attributed to the Analatos Painter. An indiscernible motif, due to the very bad preservation of the surface of the amphora in this area, is placed immediately to the left of the head of the deceased. It seems like a small star-like motif, in spite of the limited space left between the bier and the bier cloth. The condition of the surface does not allow a safe identification, although the presence of a weapon or armour would be rather surprising in a scene with no other indication of a martial iconographical context. The presence of a small filling motif is more likely, although in that case intended by the painter, as no other filling motifs, with the exception of the vertical rows of dots, can be seen in the large prothesis panel.

18. A filling with cross-hatching, as well as vertical and horizontal zigzags is generally thought to refer to plaited work. For a discussion on the interpretation of this part of the bier see Ahlberg 1971, 47-48, 50.
19. Frs. Florence, Museo Archeologico 86.415/86.416, the Thorikos Workshop, Ahlberg 1971, 27, no. 27, fig. 27; Rombos 1988, 357-362, 505, cat. no. 313. Frs. Uppsala, University 137, Töll 1963, 662, Abb. 20-21; Ahlberg 1971, fig. 28; Rombos 1988, 505, cat. no. 312. On mattresses and pillows, Ahlberg 1971, 48-49.
20. M. Moore dates the Thorikos krater in the MG II period and associates it with the workshop of New York MMA 34.11.2. Moore 2000, 28-30. However, in spite of the obvious similarities in the treatment of the prothesis metopes, the two vases share many differences that make this attribution rather precarious.
Let us consider next the figures on both sides of the bier. All figures are in silhouette in the two-hand mourning gesture, the standard attitude of lamentation in mourning the dead, naked, with no physical or other attributes visible. Where the head survives the chin is protruding and small strokes, two to three extending from the head, can be seen as hair. The figures have broad shoulders; the elbows are marked by a curved angle, placed too close to the shoulder, while the forearms form a semicircle above the head. The torso is an inverted triangle, with slightly concave sides, rounded buttocks, thighs fully contoured, and small feet. The general rendering of the figures resembles the drawing of the male figures on a group of small oinochoai of the end of LG I period (Kahane 1940, Taf. XXIII.2; Coldstream 1968, 38. n. 4; Schweitzer 1971, pls. 56, 58, Formerly Lambros Collection). This form survives later in the drawing of the Hunt Group and the Birdseed Workshop in the LG IIa period (Hood 1967, pl. 32, figs. 2-3; Schweitzer 1971, pls. 59, 61).²⁴

The first figure close to bier on the upper right register seems to bend over the bier. Although the figure is not entirely preserved, the placement of the thighs is indicative of the movement over the deceased. It is difficult to say whether the first figure on the left bends over the deceased as only a small part of the lower part of the body is visible. The foremost figure at each side of the bier is frequently presented touching the bier or the corpse, raising one hand or holding an object over the corpse (Ahlberg 1971, 87-95, table 5). However, rarely the action is followed by a slight bending of the


²⁴. For interactions between the LG II workshops, see Brokaw 1963, 63-67; Coldstream 1968, 77; Langdon-Mastronarde 1977, 12.
cal rows of dots are rarely added between the mourners.

On the Marathon amphora the dots are placed close to the figures and follow the contour of their bodies up to the raised arms. A similar arrangement can be seen on an oinochoe by the Birdseed Painter, in Hobart (Hood 1967, 82-87, pls. 31-32; Coldstream 1968, 67, no. 8, the Birdseed Painter)28, where small rows of dots are placed close to the lower body of the figures, males and females, while on the small pitcher by the Hirschfeld Painter in Dresden (Pitcher, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen ZV 1635, Ahlberg 1971, fig. 23) the dots follow the action of the body of the foremost figure over the head of the deceased. What is troubling on the Marathon prothesis, is the addition of this “dotted-garment” that surrounds the whole body and head of the deceased, while in the depiction of the mourners do not exceed their upraised arms. On an amphora in Copenhagen by the Thorikos workshop dated in the early LG IIa period, the deceased is also covered by rows of dots that have been interpreted as a form of the bier cloth (Ahlberg 1971, 58, 27, no. 29, fig. 29; Rombos 1988, 357-362)29. The addition of dots and small dotted circles in between the bier cloth and the deceased even when the bier cloth is omitted is a common element of the Hirschfeld Workshop (Amphora, Athens NM 18062, Kourou 2002, pls. 30-32. Krater, New York, MMA 14.130.14., Ahlberg 1971, 27, no.25, fig. 25; Moore 2004, 8-13, pls. 8-13). This consistent filling ornament on the vases by the Hirschfeld Workshop seems to take a different significance on later works, as on the Copenhagen amphora, where it is used to denote the bier cloth.

According to the above mentioned depictions, we may interpret the continuous row of dots around the deceased as indicating a funeral garment that covers the head and body of the deceased, like wrapped in a shroud, below the bier cloth, while for the rest of the figures this “dotted contour” may be also used to indicate the garment. In this case, we may suggest that all figures depicted in the same way could be seen as dressed in long robes, probably female mourners. Such an identification of the figures as females conforms well to the iconography of the prothesis. It has been noted that the two-hand mourning gesture is the characteristic female gesture in the prothesis scenes in general and a positive criterion for the female interpretation of figures not otherwise differentiated (Ahlberg 1971, 78)30. Males are usually equipped with armour and presented in a different attitude with one hand to the head and the other to the waist. As for the seated figures, no evidence for a seated male has been confirmed, and consequently only females appear seated at the sides of the bier (Ahlberg 1971, 102). Accordingly, the depiction of a female prothesis scene on a belly handled amphora is only natural as this type of amphora is confined to female burials31.
A GROUP OF GEOMETRIC VASES FROM MARATHON

The two figures beneath the funeral couch that are most probably facing each other, do not stand on the ground line, lack the protruding chin, while small strokes of hair are depicted all around the head, as if the figures were presented in frontal view. The omission of the dots from the figures below the bier may not indicate a differentiation as to the sex of the figures, but rather as to their function. The representation of two standing mourners facing each other below the bier is extremely rare and can be seen except from the Marathon amphora on a belly handled amphora in Brussels (Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire A 1506, CVA Bruxelles 2, Belgique 2, pls. 1a-c; Ahlberg 1971, 27, no. 21, fig. 21), where the figures are identified as females by physical attributes. G. Ahlberg supported that females drawn as seated or kneeling on the ground below the bier may represent professional mourners that in every case differentiate from the rest of the figures (Ahlberg 1971, 130-132, 273). On the Marathon amphora the figures are drawn as suspended by contrast to all the other standing figures that are presented with both feet on the ground line. The rendering of the hair, like a “diadem” around the head, along with the upraised hand to the head can be seen as if they tear their hair, intensifying the expression of the *threnos*. We shall therefore interpret these two figures as professional mourners.

Three seated mourners are placed on the lower right register. The drawing is similar to that of the standing mourners, with their legs hanging in mid-air. For the depiction of the stools a rectangular cross-hatched field is used, supported by two legs drawn in silhouette. The rear leg extends a little higher than the cross-hatched field, indicating probably the back of the stool. The composition is another iconographic invention of the painter, close to the “luxury four-legged chair with high back” of Painter A of the Rattle Group, on a pitcher in Athens (Pitcher, Athens 1947, Coldstream 1968, 71-72; Rombos 1988, 481, cat. no. 256, pls. 47f, 49a).

THE GEOMETRIC MOTIFS

The same mixture of new and traditional elements already seen on the depiction of the phothesis scene is also evident on the decoration of the rear side of the Marathon amphora (fig. 8). Only a small part survives with two circle metopes. A hatched Maltese cross occupies the centre the circles, frequent in the MG I period and rather rare onwards. During the LG I a rosette with eight, six or four hatched and pointed leaves is the common motif on belly-handled amphorae and high pedestalled kraters. The hatched Maltese cross is the characteristic circle emblem of a group of amphorae among the tri-metopal circle belly-handled amphorae, recognized as an Attic production mainly of the MG I period. In fact, a tri-metopal arrangement is highly probable for the zone of the rear side of the Marathon amphora between the handles. On grounds of the diameter of the belly at handle-level and the space left next to the preserved metopes, it seems that there is enough space for one more circle metope, in accordance with the established symmetrical arrangement of the motifs. It seems that the tri-metopal composition on the rear

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33. The Workshop of the Louvre-Eleutherna belly-handled amphorae is thought to form a group of Attic vases among the extended group of tri-metopal belly handled amphorae. Kourou – Stampolidis 1996, 709-714; Kourou 2002, 93 with further references. One more amphora of the same group now in Quebec (66.207) is said to have been found “at the Dipylon”. Fossey – Francis 2004, 98, no. 2.
side of the Marathon amphora alludes to the work of the Athenian workshops. The same emblem is also used on the circle metopes on the MG II krater in New York (MMA 34.11.2) that also shares with the Marathon amphora the addition of dots on the fringe of the circles.

Among the ancillary motifs, small swastikas are inserted in the four corners of each metope, an originality of the painter. Narrow, rectangular cushions are a common decorative pattern in the circle metopes that are usually placed in pairs above and below the concentric circles. However the introduction of three water birds in a row to the left is a new element. The drawing of the birds, with hatched bodies and two legs, is common after the middle of the 8th century (Kübler 1954, Taf. 96, inv. 342, 97, inv. 326; Brouskari 1979, 49, EPK 592, 627, pls. 33-34), while the eight-pointed star, placed between the birds, belongs to the familiar stock of the MG repertoire. The unusual choice of birds for the narrow cushions that frame the circle metopes stands close to a krater in Athens (NM 806), where a row of four regardant deer is inserted below every circle metope (Athens, NM 806, Kauffmann-Samaras 1973, 235-240, pis. 124-129).

The introduction of vertical chains of lozenge stars framed by vertical M-columns seems to be a novelty of the painter. The horizontal chain of checked lozenges encased in hatched frame, was introduced in the LG Ia period probably by the Dipylon Painter (Coldstream 1968, 36, 41). The closest associates of the Painter converted the motif into a lozenge star with the addition of four cross-hatched triangles on each side of the lozenge. From the LG Ib and mainly the LG II period the motif is found as a lozenge star always inside metopes on the decoration of neck-handled amphorae, pitchers, high-rimmed bowls, etc (Coldstream 1968, 50, 52).

There is great variety in the drawing and the size of the lozenge and consequently of the four triangles. The painter of the Marathon amphora places the motif in a vertical chain, where usually a chain of cross-hatched lozenges is placed and adds one vertical M-column on either side and creates his own divider placed in the handle zone on both sides of the vase.

The choice of the geometric patterns, placed in successive friezes on the neck, the shoulder and the lower part of the body of the Marathon amphora is based on a combination of old and new elements. On the neck (fig. 9), four large friezes are placed between four, symmetrically repeated, narrow bands with horizontal chains of cross-hatched lozenges with thick outline and sets of three stripes. The scheme was introduced by the Dipylon Master and died out with the latest of the belly handled amphorae. During the LG II period, painters who preferred a larger variation for the narrow zones, rarely follow this. The central, broader horizontal frieze on the neck contains a hatched, double meander inverted and reversed. The motif that is vastly used by the Birdseed Painter is originated in the Dipylon Painter’s repertoire.

The hatched battlement, placed above and below the main meander frieze is a common feature in a number of vases. The lower part of the neck is decorated with a thick dotted check pattern. Round dots were introduced in the square compartments of the checker zone in the LG Ia period (Coldstream 1968, 88). The check pattern in a zone around the lower part of the neck

35. The earliest examples from the Workshop of Athens 706. Coldstream 1968, 51, no. 4, 8 (LG Ib). The pitcher workshops of the LG II period show strong preference to the motif. In LG IIA lozenge stars are usually placed in square metopes around the belly of the larger vases. Munich 6404, CVA München 3, (Deutschland 9), Taf. 114. 1-2. Athens 18432, Coldstream 1968, pl. 12a. In the early LG IIB period the motif is also placed on the neck. Kahane 1940, Taf. 27. 1-2.

36. Coldstream 1968, 68; Moore 2004, 19-21, pl. 19. For the treatment of the motif in the Dipylon Workshop. CVA Louvre 18 (France 27), amphora CA 5975, 13, pl. 16.2; Amphora A 542, 13, pl. 17.1
on closed shapes is frequent among the pitcher workshops of the LG Ila period. The execution of the motif on the Marathon amphora is very close to the zone of dotted checker applied on the neck of an oinochoe of the Hunt Group. On the shoulder of the amphora (fig. 6), immediately below the junction to the neck a frieze is placed with hatched leaves in double outline and in the free space between the leaves are inserted two interlocking rows of hatched triangles. The leaf frieze is typical of the transitional period MG II to LG Ia, was also used by the Dipylon Master and was also favoured by the later Non-Classical Workshops (Rombos 1988, 84). However, the placement on the shoulder of closed shapes with the addition of the hatched triangles is not documented before the transitional period LG Ib to LG Ila, mostly on pitchers by the Swan Painter (Coldstream 1968, 70-71, nos. 1-4). The same motif can also be seen on the shoulder of a pitcher by the Workshop of the Hooked Swastikas, where the usual intervening triangles are omitted (Pitcher, The Hague, Volz collection. Coldstream 1968, 66, no. 1). The execution of the motif on the Marathon amphora is very close to a pyxis lid in the Louvre (CVA Louvre 16, France 25, 18-20, pl.21-23). Narrow bands with lozenge chain and slightly broader friezes with hatched meander to the right are symmetrically placed above and below the zone between the handles of the amphora.

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The shape and size of the amphora from Marathon (K 2207) imply a traditional potter, familiar with the monumental works of the previous generation. The amphora has a higher neck by comparison to the LG I amphorae, but preserves the plastic ridge under the lip, a common element to the class of the belly handled amphorae until the LG I period, as well as the rounded contours of the body of the Dipylon Workshop. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the amphora does not allow a detailed comparison of the shape.

The treatment of the figured scene offers a strong indication that we are dealing with a provincial workshop lying outside the Classical Tradition. The provenance of the vase from Marathon may as well indicate a location for this workshop on the North-Eastern coast of Attica. It has already been shown a close relation to the Thorikos workshop regarding the arrangement of the bier and to the workshops of the late LG Ib and LG Ila period for the drawing of the figures. The treatment of the figured scene on the Marathon amphora betrays a clumsy and inexperienced painter in the large scale composition. It is evident that in the composition of the prothesis only the main iconographic elements of the lamentation are evoked: a huge bier with the deceased that functions as the centre of the action and the mourners around it. The reversed position of the deceased, facing thus towards the right, is extremely unusual. It is in fact the only known illustration on a belly-handled amphora and also the earliest, compared to the later Analatos hydria (Sheedy 1990, 133-199; Hood 1982, 38-50) that shares a similar provision of the prothesis scene. A hypothesis of an Egyptian model that has already been suggested for the Analatos hydria is rather

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38. Oinochoe, Boston 25.42, Fairbanks 1928, cat. pl. XXIII 269b; Davison 1961, fig. 132; Coldstream 1968, 76-77; Schweitzer 1971, pl. 61; Brouskari 1979, pl. 43.

39. A date in LG Ila period seems more appropriate for this lidded pyxis

40. Fragment of a large funerary krater decorated with a prothesis scene was found at the geometric-archaic cemetery at Oikoe. Krater (KI278), Arapogianni 1985, 226-227, pl. 1006.
er precarious for the case of the Marathon amphora, a work almost a generation later. In that case, the number of peculiarities regarding the rendering of the prothesis may also be ascribed to the provincial treatment of the scene\textsuperscript{41}.

The depiction of the circle metopes on the rear side of the body emphasizes the traditional elements that survive in the painter's work, treated in a more original way. Amphorae of the Circle Style that have been found at Marathon are indicative of the Athenian influence in terms of pottery production and dissemination during the MG and LG period. However, the disparity of the drawing on the front and the rear sides of the vase may indicate that this is the work of more than one artist. No persistency can be seen in the drawing of the linear motifs, while the number of the vertical straps that frame the lozenge columns in the handle zone, vary from one to three. Among the established secondary motifs, the vertical chain of lozenge stars is a novelty of this workshop.

The obvious affinities with other concurrent workshops reveal the strong influences of the Attic style. Based on the previous analysis, the amphora should be dated in LG IIA period, probably in its earlier stages. Among the so far known specimens from Attica this seems to be the latest in the series of the shape.

**FRAGMENTARY FLAT BOTTOMED PYXIS (inv. K 2208)**

Parts of the lower body and the flat base survive, joined of four fragments and two more from the bottom (\textbf{figs. 10-11}). The diameter of the bottom reaches 30.5cm. The clay contains some white stone inclusions and some quantity of silvery mica. The colour is reddish yellow (5YR 7/6) according to the Munsell soil chart, a thin pink slip (7.5YR 8/4) was applied on the surface and black coloured paint misfired and turned to red (10R 4/8) was used for the decoration. Parts of two panels are visible on the body; a quatrefoil of single outline with hatched leaves and cross-hatched triangles between the leaves and checkerboard are depicted, while two narrow, vertical columns with fishbone flanking a central column with cross-hatching serve as a large divider. A horizontal band with a row of tangential dots can be seen around the base between thin horizontal lines of glaze above and below. On the bottom, the motifs are placed in concentric zones. A row of leaves in double outline and a diagonal in the centre takes over the broader zone, supported by narrow ancillaries with row of dots, row of tangential dots and fishbone. It seems like a multifoil occupied the central place.

The flat \textit{pyxis} is an innovation of the MG I period (Coldstream 1968, 17). Numerous details of the Marathon pyxis reveal that it belongs to the horse \textit{pyxides} of the LG Ib-IIa periods. Shape and decoration bring the Marathon specimen very close to that by the Workshop of Agora P4787\textsuperscript{42}. The Workshop seems to remain active several decades from the beginning of the LG Ib period to the end of the \textit{pyxis} series to the end of LG IIa period (750-720 B.C.). A number of \textit{pyxides} were found at Anavyssos and also at Brauron a fact that makes B. Bohen wonder whether the \textit{pyxides} were coming directly from Athens or made in situ by “wanderden Töpfern” (Bohen 1988, 70). The wider diameter measures 25-30cm, while the wall profile never became fully standardized. However, according to B. Bohens’ extensive study, some kind of evolution can be traced for the shape within the Workshop (Bohen 1988, 66-70).

\textsuperscript{41} For the origin of the \textit{prothesis} subject in the Late Bronze Age and the influence by Egyptian art: Benson 1970; Sheedy 1990, 126-149; Hiller 2006, 183-190. However, as G. Ahlberg notes: "...funerary tradition is in several respects common to the Mediterranean world as a whole". Ahlberg 1971, 303-304.

\textsuperscript{42} R. Young was the first to gather some horse \textit{pyxides} around the pyxis from Agora P4787, Young 1939, 91-92, figs. 60-61, XVIII 6. B. Bohen attributed around 40 horse \textit{pyxides} to this group and named it after the piece from Agora, Workshop of Agora P4787. Bohen 1988, 66-70 XI; Landgon 1993, 107-109.
shape of the Marathon pyxis conforms well to some later specimens of the Workshop and is very close to flat pyxides in the Louvre (A 567, CVA Louvre 16, France 25, pl. 21-23), said to be from Boeotia, in Würzburg (H 4431, CVA Würzburg 1, Deutschland 39, Taf. 6) and in Kiel (CVA Kiel 2, Deutschland 64, Taf. 15). The checkerboard has grown to the size of a full metope, an element not found until the LG Ib period (Coldstream 1968, 50). On a pyxis from Attica (NM 18838), dated to the LG Ib period, checkerboard patterns have already reached the size of a metope, while they are still accompanied by small horizontal meanders. It seems like the check motif was much favoured during this period within the workshops of Eastern Attica. A central column of cross-hatching flanked on either side by narrow columns with fishbone is a rather unusual combination that apart from the Marathon pyxis can also be seen on the decoration of the lip of a high-rimmed bowl in Vienna (CVA Wien 1, Deutschland 5, Taf. 4, 1 (997)), which seems to form the closest parallel to the decoration of the Marathon pyxis. A similar arrangement can also be seen on the Louvre pyxis, and on the lip of a krater from Athens with high rim and reflex handles (Parlama - Stampolidis 2003, 65, fig. 37), where a swastika with two added limbs to the arms is also introduced. The type recalls the variety met in the Workshop of the Hooked Swastikas that is not found in Attica before the LG II period (Coldstream 1968, 66-67). Consequently, a date to the transitional LG Ib-LG Ia period may be proposed for the Marathon pyxis.

43. Flat-bottomed pyxis with four horses on the lid from Markopoulou in Eastern Attica.

44. Usually, a central column with cross-hatching framed by three vertical lines of glaze on either side is used along with the checked metopes. CVA Copenhagen 1, Denmark 2, pls. 4 a-b; CVA Musee Scheurleer 2, Netherlands - Pays Bas 2, pl. 3; CVA Kiel 2, Deutschland 64, Taf. 15 (B 22); CVA Edinburgh, Great Britain 16, pl. 3, 5-6 (1956.429); CVA Stuttgart 1, Deutschland 26, Taf. 9-10, 2 (KAS 8); Young 1939, figs. 60-61, XVIII 6, Agora P4784; Bohen 1988, Taf. 33, 3-5; Kübler 1954, Taf. 59, 64, inv. 338; Langdon 1993, 107-109, 29; Kübler 1954, Taf. 59, inv. 338

LOCAL VERSIONS OF THE ATTIC STYLE

According to the analysis attempted above, it seems that at the very beginning of the LG II period, a local workshop is active at Marathon, borrowing ideas from the Attic repertoire, while forming an individual character of its own. Although chemical clay analysis has not yet been delivered, the fabric of the prothesis amphora K 2207 (figs. 3-4) and the fragmentary pyxis K 2208 (fig. 11) from Marathon, examined macroscopically is close to the range of fabrics in pale pinkish hues, micaceous and full of stone inclusions, similar to that from the country districts of Attica (Jones 1984, 22-25; Kourou 1998, 174-175; Aloupi – Kourou 2007, 295-297, 304-306, cat. 3).

A suggestion for local workshops in the area of Marathon was made some years ago by X. Arapogianni upon a number of vases from the cemetery at Oinoe. Among the Attic and Corinthian specimens of the Geometric and Archaic periods that were identified, a number of vases “of unknown provenance” were attributed, with some cautiousness, to a local production (Arapogianni 1985, 226-227). The recent finds from the cemetery at Marathonos Avenue presented above contribute significantly towards the identification of a local pottery production at Marathon from the second half of the 8th century. Furthermore, a local origin may be proposed for some LG II wares from another burial ground at Marathon, in the Vranas area (For the cemetery at Skorpio Potami, in the Vranas area see Sotiriades 1932, 29-30; 1934, 35-38; 1939, 27-35. Goette – Weber, 2004, 47-50).

The amphora neck K 2206 (figs. 1-2) can be counted among the few surviving examples of the Circle Style from the Attic countryside. The choice of the circle pattern for the decora-

45. The pottery of the Geometric and Early Archaic periods from the cemeteries of Marathon are the subject of the ongoing Postdoctoral Research by the author (University of Athens).
tion of the rear side of the prothesis amphora (K 2207) points out the strong artistic connections with the Athenian tradition that is otherwise indicated by the presence at Marathon of vases like the amphora attributed to the Hirschfeld Painter (Athens, NM 18062, Kourou 2002, 37-38, pls. 30-32). It has already been noted that the leading Athenian workshops sent some of their best works to the countryside (Coldstream 1983, 20), while during the second half of the 8th century and mainly during the LG II period, huge pedestalled kraters, products of provincial workshops, decorated under a strong Attic influence were destined for burials at Thorikos, Merenda, Trachones and Marathon. The new finds from Marathon, and especially the amphora K 2207, exhibit a number of features that can be traced in the manner of the Hirschfeld Painter, the Birdseed Painter and the Hunt Group. Such similarities in the treatment of the figures and the general rendering of the larger figural compositions create a number of questions as to the artistic connections of the Athenian Workshops to those of the periphery.

It does not seem unreasonable to suggest not only a transfer of patterns and ideas, but also a movement of craftsmen towards the county districts in the transitional LG Ib-LG IIA period and mainly in LG II, where the demand for large funeral vases was augmenting. Such a mobility that has already been noted by B. Bohen for the large dissemination of pyxides from the Workshop of Agora P4787, can also be traced upon larger and more expensive funerary vases. It seems that the attic districts attract during this period potters and painters, probably already trained in the known Athenian workshops, who are seeking new challenges and new customers in areas that imitate the aristocratic customs and traditions of the centre. Such a movement from the centre to the periphery of Attica may explain the strong iconographic affinities of the provincial works to those of the centre and also the stylistic idiosyncrasies of the Marathon vases discussed.

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A GROUP OF GEOMETRIC VASES FROM MARATHON

Figs. 1-2. Neck and part of the shoulder of a belly-handled amphora. Marathon, K 2206.
Figs. 3-4. The belly-handled amphora with *prothesis* scene. Marathon, K 2207.
Fig. 5. The amphora K 2207 from Marathon. Detail of the prothesis scene of the front side.

Fig. 6. The amphora K 2207 from Marathon. Drawing of the front side.
Fig. 7. The amphora K 2207 from Marathon. Detail of the preserved rear side.

Fig. 8. The amphora K 2207 from Marathon. Drawing of the handle zone of the rear side.
Fig. 9. The amphora K 2207 from Marathon. Drawing of the neck.

Figs. 10-11. Fragmentary flat bottomed pyxis, Marathon K 2208. Drawing of the preserved parts.
This paper examines the period from the end of the so-called "Dark Ages", ca. 700 BC, to the beginning of the Archaic period, the first half of the 7th century BC, on the island of Euboea and related sites, such as Oropos, prompted by William Coulson’s words in *The Greek Dark Ages* (Coulson 1990, 9), where he wrote, “The choice of the term Dark Ages was motivated by the general perception of the time as a low point in the quality of art and life... Much of this is undoubtedly true, but the wealth of newly discovered material... shows that the picture of dire poverty has been somewhat exaggerated". These words suggest that received notions should be re-examined. In the case of the “Dark Ages,” recent research has shown that this period was in fact characterized by a very complex culture with important regional variations. With this paper, I hope to establish a point of departure for future discussion on Euboean Gulf societies and material culture during the first half of the 7th century BC. In Euboea, the period ca. 700-650 BC occupies a position between older traditions and new developments: it is a time of great historical significance, which in many respects remains “dark”, primarily because many questions that could help us understand it better, have not been answered. For instance, the characteristics of this half century on Euboea need to be further clarified. Moreover, the complexities of Euboean pottery production during this period have not been systematically discussed. Another major issue is how this interval is actually related to the so-called Lelantine War: it is with this matter that I would like to begin.

Many changes and events that occurred in Euboea in the late 8th and the first half of the 7th century BC have been connected with the Lelantine War. This war, mentioned by Herodotus, Thucydides and other ancient authors, and dated by many scholars at some point between the end of the 8th and the first half of the 7th century BC (although other dates between the late 8th and the early 6th century BC have also been proposed), is often considered to have had a great impact, since it was preserved in later tradition. Although the historicity of the Lelantine War cannot be easily questioned, due to the ancient testimonia, many points, such as the extent of the conflict, the possible participants besides Chalkis and Eretria, and the date of the war remain unresolved. Furthermore, the authority of many ancient sources for this war

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1. Except for some categories of pottery, for instance the Eretrian grave amphorae which Boardman (Boardman 1952, 13-20) classified as Groups A and B of a Sub-geometric series.

2. For the connection of literary sources and archaeological evidence with the Lelantine War, see Themelis 1983, 157-158; Parker 1997, 59-93; Walker 2004, 157-171.

3. For ancient sources and chronological issues, see D'Agostino 1967, 30, n. 1; Donlan 1970, 131-142; Tausend 1987, 499-500, 501, 504-505; Parker 1997, 11-24, 59-93; Crielaard 2002, 239-295; Hall 2006, 1-8, 19-22. For the...
(for instance Herodotus, Aristotle, Plutarch) has recently been subjected to thought-provoking analysis by Jonathan Hall (Hall 2006, 1-8). For these reasons, I would like to comment further on the new archaeological data that can be associated with this period. I would argue here that the archaeological record of this interval appears to be far more complex than previously thought, while interpreting it only in the context of a war and its aftermath can be inadequate to explain the changes that occurred. Comparison with the changes that took place in regions adjacent to Euboea makes such shortcomings of interpretation especially evident. I would suggest that what occurred on Euboea is better considered in a wider social and cultural framework, especially when compared with developments in regions, like Attica, which, as we know, were not involved in the colonization movement and did not take part in the Lelantine War.

Until now, the splendour of EIA Chalkis on Euboea (figs. 1, 2) has not been well represented by the material remains, largely because the modern city covers much of the ancient one. The existing Geometric and Archaic finds from Chalkis come mainly from the area of Vathrovouni and westwards toward Gyftika, Agios Ioannis and Kamares (Bakhuizen 1985, 75-96; Kalligas 1988-1989, 99). The archaeological evidence from Eretria and Oropos (OSK plot) attests to the existence of two flourishing neighbouring settlements on opposite sides of the Euboean Gulf during the second half of the 8th century BC that shared a cultural background with many common features. At Eretria (figs. 1, 3a-b), ca. 700 and in the early 7th century BC, a number of houses was abandoned, while other buildings and structures, certain of them cultic, were probably still in use (the North Sacrificial Area) or are thought to have been constructed at around the same time, some of them replacing Geometric predecessors. The first half of the 7th century has up to now offered far fewer architectural remains and finds compared with the second half of the 8th century. However, it is not easy to connect the new state of affairs —the presumed impact of the Lelantine War— with the sparse architectural remains of the first half of the 7th century, since it can be observed that the quantity of architectural remains does not increase much in the second half of the century. Nonetheless, even if our knowledge of Eretrian ceramic production of the first half of the 7th century BC gradually improves thanks to the results of recent excavations, the quantity of such pottery discovered would still be significantly less compared with Eretrian Late Geometric (LG) vessels found at the site; as well, the small-

7. Mazarakis Ainian 1987, 4-10.
8. Architectural evidence dated to the first half of the 7th century, together with the finds connected with them: the Early Archaic temple of Apollo (F/800-900), which replaced the LG cultic building; the North Sacrificial Area near the temple of Apollo, probably still in use (F/800); an apsidal building, thought to be a sanctuary, which perhaps replaced a Geometric-period structure at the beginning of the century near the West Gate area (B/700); the “Heroon” and the related rectangular buildings in its vicinity (AB/500-600); and two buildings interpreted as houses (F/500). For the relevant literature, see Charalambidou 2006, 993-1018.
9. Again, the remains from buildings and structures used in the second half of the 7th century, together with their associated finds, were found primarily in the North Sacrificial Area (F/800), in the area of the Heroon (AB/500-600), and on the Acropolis. Detailed bibliography in Charalambidou 2006; for the latest finds from the Acropolis of Eretria, see Huber 2007, 120-129; 2008, 148-153.
number of ceramic finds from this period at Eretria should be discussed in connection with 7th-century material from other areas of Greece, such as Attica (see below). As far as the decrease in evidence from the inhabited area during the 7th century is concerned, several factors may also be considered, such as the temporary reduction in exploited land at Eretria because of flood control measures, beginning probably around 700 BC, as well as the fact that the evidence has been disturbed in some cases by deposits of alluvial fill and continuous habitation of the urban area in later centuries (Charalambidou 2006). Another kind of evidence from Eretria formerly related to the Lelantine War should also be re-examined. For example, Hall points out that the burials in the northern area of the city known as the necropolis of the Heroon may be those of warriors, who died fighting for their city in the Lelantine War, but could just as easily be connected with other completely unknown episodes of Eretrian history (Hall 2006, 7).

In Oropos, after many buildings of the Geometric settlement at the OSK plot were abandoned ca. 700 BC (figs. 1, 4a), there are signs that the space in the same plot was still in use during the 7th century. For instance, in addition to an area with some stone structures in the Central Quarter (fig. 4b), which might be connected with ritual activities, the area with a peribolos of monumental dimensions in the West Quarter and some walls beside it offers evidence for the first half of the 7th century BC (fig. 4c). Now that excavations in this Quarter have progressed further, it becomes clearer that the area of the West Quarter peribolos seems to have been used in the 7th century and part of the 6th century BC. With its southern tower-like structure and north room with a pebble floor, this peribolos may resemble a military camp, but otherwise may simply be an agricultural or multi-use installation. The architectural remains described above have yielded pottery of the years ca. 700 BC and the first half of the 7th century, which finds close parallels among Eretrian vessels, like the pottery from the LG settlement at the OSK plot, and may be considered to be related to the Eretrian tradition; this material therefore indicates that the affinities between Eretria and Oropos continued in the Archaic period.

What occurred during this period elsewhere in Attica, a region that, unlike Euboea, did not engage in overseas colonial activity during the 8th century BC and was not involved in the Lelantine War? Ian Morris has pointed out that during the 8th century there is evidence for a population increase, which was not, however, as rapid as implied by the number of attested graves; likewise, it cannot be maintained that the population diminished to the degree indicated by the small number of known graves after ca. 700 BC (Morris 1987, 158). Seventh-century burials in Attica do not necessarily reflect demographic reality in terms of population fluctuations and site occupation (see also Whitley 2001, 236; Mersch 1997, 58). Though 7th-century evidence seems sparse in a number of other areas of Greece, Morris argued that the theory of a general drought which struck a large part of Greece cannot be considered a satisfactory solution (Morris 1987, 160-167; for the drought: Camp 1979, 397-411; 1981, 55-61). While the

10. The places where pottery of the first half of the 7th century has been found at Eretria are also described below.
11. For the stone structures in the Central Quarter and the monumental peribolos in the West Quarter see most recently Mazarakis Ainian 2002, 161-164, 174-178; 2006-07, 91-92, 101-103; Charalambidou 2007, 276.
12. Possible military camp: e.g. Mazarakis Ainian 2002, 177-178. The architectural form shows, however, some affinities with Greek agricultural installations in the Greek world, mainly of later date, in Attica, the Cyclades, and elsewhere: Young 1956, 122-146.
13. The pottery from the OSK plot dated to the 7th and also the 6th century BC underlines the close relations between Eretria and Oropos, which Knoepfler has already affirmed based on the literary evidence (Knoepfler 1985, 50-55; 2000, 81-98).
14. Besides Attica and Euboea, a decline in the quantity of seventh-century ceramic material can also be ob-
relative scarcity of evidence is certainly an issue, other elements should also be considered, such as the difficulty of identifying 7th-century material, which seems to hold true for several areas of Greece; Corinth, a production centre with well-published and abundant evidence is an exception. One of the main reasons that discontinuity is often reported in the 7th-century material, it has been suggested, is because that material is still difficult to recognize. This suggestion is relevant to Euboean pottery, as developments, especially in Subgeometric vases (to be discussed below), occur at a slow rate, and many changes have not been properly traced yet. Furthermore, the picture may sometimes have been distorted by the lack of published 7th-century material from some sites on Euboea15. At least some of these factors may have affected our picture of Euboean 7th-century material culture, as well as reinforced the impression of discontinuity at some Euboean settlements (for instance Osborne 1989, 313).

Many changes occurred in Attica ca. 700 BC and the first half of the 7th century. Initially, archaeological data indicate changes in burial customs, specifically the decrease in grave goods – metal offerings become rarer, particularly ca. 700-500 BC –, the decline in the number of graves, the distinction between adult and child cemeteries, and the preference for cremation in the case of adults. Among Morris' most significant findings is that between 700 BC and the late sixth century BC, a relatively small portion of the adult population was being buried in such a way as to be represented in the archaeological record; he proposes that other kinds of less formal disposal for the unprivileged might also have been practiced (Morris 1987, 97-109; 1995, 45-74).

Regarding the situation at Eretria, Crielaard argues that it is probable that after ca. 700 BC the West Cemetery was no longer used for adult burials, but mainly for inhumations of infants and small children16. If this change in the use of the burial space can be regarded as strong evidence, then it may indicate that separation of adult and child cemeteries might have occurred at Eretria around the same time as in Attica. But where were the adults of the first half of the 7th century buried, since there is no relevant evidence from the West Cemetery and the burials in the north region of the city (the necropolis of the Heroon) stop ca. 700/690 BC17? The lack of evidence for adult burials during this period raises many questions. Is it coincidental? Could it be that we should look for more informal types of burial, as has been proposed for Attica? The number of child burials is also limited. Other factors should be taken into account as well. In plot 6 at Eretria (Spanou plot), in addition to the Orientalizing grave amphora ME 16619, fragments of 7th-century amphorae, probably also grave amphorae, were unearthed18. In all likelihood, these fragments are Subgeometric, from the first half of the 7th and Orientalizing of the second half of the 7th to the early 6th century BC, and in reality indicate that the known 7th-century children burials are yet to be accurately evaluated. One possible explanation for the fragmentary condition of these 7th-century amphorae is that they were deliberately removed in order to make space available for later burials, which have also been found at the site. If this fragmentation occurs in the case of easily recognizable material, what could we expect to find in less obvious (informal) burials, served, e.g., in the Argolid (Morgan – Whitelaw 1991, 94-95) and Achaia (Morgan – Hall 1996, 176, 182).

15. This problem is also noted by Lang 1996, 295.

16. Crielaard 2007, 178. Twenty coarse pithoi, with incised decoration of ca. 700 BC, and thirteen Sub-Geometric burial amphorae, mainly of the first half of the 7th century BC, were published, see Boardman 1952, 13-20.

17. The latest interment from the Heroon necropolis, Tomb 16, which has been dated to ca. 680 BC, was a pit burial ("inhumation en fosse") belonging to a small child and containing only an aryballos: Blandin 2007, 35-58 (child burial, 55).

18. The amphora ME 16619: Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995, 78, fig. 59. The excavation of this amphora and the 7th century unpublished fragments is reported in ΑΔ 23, 1968, Χρονικά, 230-231; ΑΔ 27, 1972, Χρονικά, 355-357.
supposing that at least some adults may have been buried in this way?

At Eretria, a decrease in high-value offerings, often imported, is observed in the North Sacrificial Area from the beginning of the 7th century BC. During the 7th century, changes in material behaviour occurred in many regions of Greece for various reasons. During the same period, in Attica, Osborne explained the observed reductions in the number of dedications at cult places during the 7th century compared with that of the 8th by the fact that in addition to the established major centres of worship, new cult places had been founded, with the latter receiving a portion of the offerings that had up to then been concentrated exclusively at the old cult centres (Osborne 1989, 308-309). Whitley claimed that impressive remains and votive deposits are absent from 7th-century Attic cult places, except for Sounion, but this does not necessarily prove that the inhabitants of Attica were poorer (Whitley 1994, 51-70; 2001, 240-243); rather, the 7th-century iconography of Protoattic vessels may indicate that the contemporary conception of the symbolism of the material world was different from that current in the 8th century. In 7th-century Argos, a decline in the local production of fine decorated pottery has been observed to constitute an exception not paralleled in other crafts such as metalworking. According to Morgan and Whitelaw (Morgan - Whitelaw 1991, 94-95), the context of elite displays of material wealth changed, indicated by the fact that a considerable percentage of the already limited number of elaborate Subgeometric and Protoargive vessels so far discovered mainly comes from sanctuaries, not from graves, as in the Geometric period. At Eretria, the change in the character of offerings in cultic deposits, if we accept that most luxury offerings at cult places antedate the early 7th century, may be compared with changes in Attica but may also be related to the city's apparent loss of many of its old markets sometime after the early 7th century BC (see below).

Frequent ritual vessels/dedications at the Eretrian sanctuaries of the Archaic period are now local clay hydriae and long-necked jugs. Although fewer offerings from other categories dated to the 7th and 6th centuries BC have been reported, imports are occasionally found, as the late 7th-mid 6th-century BC stone lion figurine of "Cypriot-Ionian" origin with a later dedicatory inscription to Athena recently discovered at the goddess' sanctuary on Eretria's Acropolis makes evident (Huber 2007, 120-129). While ritual vessels and offerings at the cult places of Eretria during the 7th and 6th centuries BC were more often locally-produced clay vessels, a corresponding reduction of high-value dedications could have occurred. A limited number of sherds can be ascribed to the first half-third quarter of the 7th century. They come from the North Sacrificial Area and include figural scenes (fig. 5a). Some of these sherds, which come from small hydriae, depict women with raised hands, holding a branch (in this case perhaps worshippers). This new motif of women with raised hands, occurring also in other variations, becomes common in the second half of the 7th and the early 6th century BC, especially on long-necked jugs found at cult places and on grave amphorae (Jugs: Huber 2003, pls. 24-28, 76, 83-99; Amphorae: Boardman 1952, pl. 6; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995, fig. 59).

A significant number of scholars believe that Chalkis won the Telantine War, while Eretria lost (see, e.g., Braden 1947, 223-241; Geyer 1962, 61; Themelis 1981-1982, 241; Tausend 1987, 508; Ducrey et al. 2004, 27). Besides the evidence from Chalkis and Eretria, the published material from Eretria’s and Chalkis’ colonies and from other regions with which the two cities had relationships gives few new clear indications one way or the other, though in many
places in South Italy and Sicily recognized as Chalcidian colonies (Rhegion, Zancle, Metapontos, Mylae, Naxos, Himera), the material, mainly 7th-century colonial vases in the Euboean tradition, such as small cylindrical bottles, oinochoai with cut-away necks, kraters, skyphoi, and so on, indicating some degree of contact with Euboea and mainly with Chalkis, is more plentiful. This material in South Italy and Sicily during this period, however, cannot be considered exceptional among colonial wares influenced by other regions, such as Corinth. In Chalcidike, especially in Mende—the only Eretyrian colony in the peninsula, whose site has been securely identified—as far as we know from the published finds, the role of Euboean/Euboeanizing vessels mainly after the beginning of the 7th century BC, relative to the quantity of imports and influences on local production from other regions (for instance Ionia, Aeolis, and Corinth), is small compared even with the 8th-century finds and may indicate that the nature of contacts between Eretria and its colony changed from this period onwards. The same picture—very few Euboean/Euboeanizing finds, strong Ionian presence—occurs at other sites in the Chalcidike during the 7th century BC, for instance Sani (Vokotopoulou 1993, 179-236), where the material evidence indicates some kind of contact with the Euboeans, more marked in the 8th century BC, but also at a few sites in central Macedonia (Nea Anchialos, Karabournaki), where the number of imported East Greek vessels and the influence of East Greek workshops on local ceramic production is large, especially from the second half of the 7th century BC (Paspalas 1995; Papadopoulos 1996, 162-163; 2005, 580-588).

Since the date of the Lelantine War is not yet accurately fixed, we do not know, however, if the war actually caused the circumstances that weakened Euboean commerce, or if the presumed decrease in Euboean commercial activity in these regions, based on the material evidence, was mainly caused by the rise of other commercial powers such as Ionia and Corinth regardless of the war's impact. From the early 7th century onwards, Euboean contacts with other parts of the Mediterranean seem to decrease as well, judging from the material evidence from Cyprus and Al Mina, but again we still cannot be sure if this was a consequence of the war.

The archaeological evidence consequently indicates that significant changes occurred in the Euboean Gulf region during the period of ca. 700 BC - early 7th century BC. As the evidence shows, the Lelantine War's impact may not explain the whole picture. Some aspects of the evidence of the first half of the 7th century at Eretria—the best documented site on Euboea—such as the relatively small number of finds (both movable and immovable), the apparent reduction in high-value offerings at cult places, and the fall in the number of known graves, could indicate a wider range of social changes, especially when compared with similar events in contemporary Attica. The conservative, autochthonous Attic society of the 7th century described by Whitley (Whitley 1994, 65), where far fewer locally-produced vases were exported or copied in comparison to the 8th century, is also a society which, as current evidence shows, had restricted its contacts with the outside world. Stable patterns of hierarchy and status are easier to maintain in an area where merchants and their wares no longer have the pow-
er to influence social change. The same could be true for Euboea, which like Attica seems to have been deprived of many of its contacts with the outside world from the early 7th century BC on, while many of its more energetic members could have moved to the colonies.

In addition, more evidence is available that can improve our picture of 7th-century Euboea and modify the perception of settlement discontinuity on the island. Even if evidence for 7th-century Euboean Gulf settlements is more limited than that for the 8th or the 6th centuries BC, discontinuity is not self-evident for the settlements of Eretria and Oropos; recent archaeological research in fact shows that habitation continued at these sites during the 7th century BC. Moreover, as Hall has remarked, theorizing that the area of Lefkandi was abandoned ca. 700 BC is quite risky, since only a small percentage of the settlement has been excavated. The 6th-century pottery recorded at the site is not necessarily connected with the re-establishment of Lefkandi, as usually thought, but may instead indicate that Lefkandi was inhabited continuously from the Geometric to the Archaic period (Hall 2006, 7)\(^\text{23}\). Furthermore, the abandonment of Geometric buildings at Lefkandi, Eretria, and Oropos at ca. 700 BC, is not necessarily only a consequence of the Lelantine War, for some settlement sites in Attica were reportedly abandoned at around the same time (Osborne 1989, 313).

Let us turn briefly to the question of ceramic production, to which the second part of this paper is devoted, mainly because pottery represents a significant portion of the material culture of the first half of the 7th century BC on Euboea and in Oropos. It can now be said that simple figural compositions – scenes which usually have antecedents in the Geometric repertoire – as well as scenes which involve Orientalizing motifs are not lacking in the Euboean tradition of ca. 700-ca. 650 BC, although they are rarer than in Protoattic pottery, as shown by Eretrian vases (e.g. figs. 5a-b)\(^\text{24}\) and vases of similar style from Oropos (e.g. fig. 6)\(^\text{25}\). Furthermore, although mythological scenes on decorated fine wheel-made Euboean pottery of the 7th century are indeed absent until now, one scene with Centaurs from a relief pithos, dated slightly later than the mid-7th century BC, found recently at Zarakes on Euboea (if it belongs to Euboean workshop production), may indicate continuity in the depiction of local myths that was not interrupted during the 7th century (fig. 7: Chatzidimitriou 2003-2004, 181-196, pl. 37-38a).

Some deposits from Chalkis have produced 7th century material that is soon to be studied, as mentioned earlier\(^\text{26}\). The main areas at Eretria, where pottery of the first half of the 7th century BC has been identified up to now, are listed below. The Eretrian finds, both published and unpublished (most of them under study) fall mainly into the following groups: a) a variety of vessels (amphorae, kraters, calyx vases, skyphoi, kotylai, cups, and so on) from the area of the West Gate (e.g. fig. 8: Descoeudres 1976, 13-58)\(^\text{27}\); b) a variety of material from the Heroon and the wells and the deposits in its vicinity; c) a few vases, mainly hydriae (fig. 5a),

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\(^{23}\) Sixth-century pottery at Lefkandi: Boardman - Price 1980, 78, pl. 59, nos. 343-350, pl. 63, nos. 344, 350.

\(^{24}\) Eretrian vases: Huber 2003, vol. I, 53, 63, H153-H157, vol. II, 19, pl. 20, 76; Descoeudres 1976, 29, FK 475/488, Beil. 13 respectively. The term Orientalizing is used provisionally in my paper until a better word for motifs not necessarily associated with Oriental influence can be proposed.

\(^{25}\) For reasons of brevity, this paper will present only a few of the distinctive ceramic finds from Oropos relevant to the present discussion. All drawings were made and digitally processed by the author, whose final publication of the pottery from the excavations at the OSK plot conducted by Professor A. Mazarakis Ainian will include a systematic study of the vases from Oropos dating from the 7th to the early 5th centuries comprising a typology of shapes, an examination of decorative motifs and a quantitative estimate of the ceramic material, as well as a detailed analysis of the pottery from Oropos during the first half of the 7th century.

\(^{26}\) See above note 5.

\(^{27}\) For shapes of the first half of the 7th century BC, see also Beil. 2-11.
from the North Sacrificial Area (Huber 2003, 19, H151-H157, pl. 76); d) a very small number of sherds from the upper layers of the Geometric sanctuary of Apollo (the material from the Early Archaic temple of Apollo excavated by Kourouniotis has not yet been identified); e) the grave amphorae, known as Subgeometric series A and B (e.g. fig. 10a-d: Kourouniotis 1903, 1-38; Boardman 1952, 16-20, pl. 4)\(^{28}\) and the amphora fragments from the Spanou plot\(^{29}\); and f) the work of the Eretrian “Crab Painter,” whose career started in Late Geometric Ib and probably continued into the early years of the 7th century BC, using more animated motifs (fig. 11: Descoeudres 1972, 269-282)\(^{30}\).

With this material should be considered the pottery from Skala Oropos (OSK plot) which was excavated mainly in the architectural contexts discussed above, and from the destruction layers of fill in the same area. These finds share common features with Euboean pottery, specifically Eretrian manufactures, and many may be regarded as related to the Eretrian tradition.

Ceramic production of ca. 700 BC on Euboea and at Oropos can be considered transitional. Changes in pottery production comparable to those that occurred in the Euboean Gulf region also took place in Attica\(^{31}\). On Euboea and at Oropos, the Late Geometric Ib style ends by giving way to a Subgeometric style enriched with a simple Orientalizing repertoire which begins around 700 BC and further develops in the following years. The first half of the 7th century saw the development of the Orientalizing stylistic trend – represented by a fairly limited number of vases – alongside the linear Subgeometric style, which occurs more abundantly. Regarding the vases with Orientalizing motifs, the almost total absence of documented vessels in this category has in the past produced an incomplete picture of Euboean Gulf pottery production. The vases with Orientalizing motifs, for instance plant motifs, from Eretria and Oropos show affinities with products of Protoattic, Protocorinthian and Boeotian workshops (for instance figs. 10a, 12a-b from Eretria and Oropos); the same holds true for many linear Subgeometric vessels\(^{32}\).

An exceptional vessel with figural composition on the handle zone and Orientalizing motifs in the adjoining zones, which seems to display both older and newer motifs, is the krater from Oropos dated to ca. 700-690 BC (fig. 13). The depiction of chariots is reminiscent of Geometric models, while the two zones beneath it - distinguished by heart-shaped palmettes and large-scale hooks - display new-style motifs. This krater may be either a product of an Attic workshop that utilized the Euboean-style motif of birds with angular wings, or of a workshop at Oropos with strong Atticizing features\(^{33}\).

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28. I wish to thank Mrs. E. Stasinopoulou, curator of the Vase Collection at the National Archaeological Museum, for permission to publish photographs of the Group B amphorae (Athens, NM, 12131, 12131a, 1005, 12078).

29. See note 18.

30. To this brief list should also be added the material from the apsidal building in B/700 and the two buildings in F/500, since it reportedly dates from these years.

31. The variety of different styles in Attic ceramic production of the end of the 8th-beginning of the 7th century BC, is demonstrated, e.g., in Cook 1947, 139-155; Brokaw 1963, 63-73; Morris 1987, 14-17; Whitley 1994, 53; 2001, 240-241.

32. Some vases of the Euboean tradition, I have recently noticed, show similarities with certain Boeotian vases of the same period from the sanctuary of Herakles at Thebes (see above note 4).

33. Mazarakis Ainian 1996, 112, pl. 38a; 1997, 66, pl. 27a; Charalambidou 2007, 279-280, fig. 6.2. The chariot type finds closer parallels among the type B examples in the typology established by Rombos (Rombos 1988, 94-95, pl. 15c); it appears on LGII vases and is not common on Early Protoattic vases, where more evolved chariot types are usually preferred. Two birds with angular wings in the Euboean style, an iconographic type not found until now on Attic vessels, frame the principal scene. This scene may depict a chariot race or a battle; the first interpretation now seems more likely, mainly because of the vessels dating to ca. 700-690 BC (Rombos 1988, 125-126). A parallel for the opposed chariots on the krater from Oropos is found in Cretan jewellery of the Geometric period, on a gold band from the necropolis of Eleutherna, probably dating from the late 8th century BC, reported to combine...
The affinities of some vessels from Eretria and Oropos with Attic vessels, for instance those of the Phaleron group, in which linear decoration predominates but some vases with simple curvilinear decorative motifs also appear, are worthy of note (for the Phaleron group—vases from the Phaleron cemetery—, see Kourouniotis 1911, 246-251; Pelekides 1916, 13-64; Cook 1934-1935, 166, no. 1; Young 1942, 23-57). The zone of hooks, which in all likelihood derive mainly from those on Attic vases, can appear in combination with known Euboean-style decorative motifs such as M-shaped angles and inverted triangles, as in this example from Oropos (fig. 14). Some of these vases may date from as early as the first quarter of the 7th century and show that the new style had in all probability already appeared by this time.

In addition to Attic and Corinthian influences, indigenous motifs of the Euboean-Boeotian region and the Cyclades, such as the scene depicting a horse at the manger, already common in the Late Geometric style, but still current in the first half of the 7th century, also appear on vases both at Eretria and Oropos. The widely known horse-at-the-manger motif originates in the LG I style of the Cesnola Painter (Kourou 1998, 168, n.12) and is still found in the first half of the 7th century as attested by hydriae and jugs from Eretria and Oropos (fig. 5a: H150 and fig. 6). As well, it occurs on two 7th-century Boeotian kraters, possibly works of a single painter, which have been dated to 675-650 BC: (a) Krater NM 228, (b) Krater from Agia Eleousa (Pyri) 16960. On the long-necked jug from Oropos, the horse is probably winged. The depiction of the scene on the jug elements of hunting and battle scenes (Stampolidis 2004, 290-291, no. 385).

34. Boardman (Boardman 1957, 16, pl. 6d), commenting on a clay stand in the British Museum (BM 1929.7-15.1) that is likely a Euboean product, also noticed similarities with the Phaleron group.

35. Athens, National Museum 228: Ruckert 1976, 94, Kr 14, fig. 11, pl. 19. Agia Eleousa 16960: Andreiomenou 1981, 251-252, figs. 2-3; 1995, 150-153, n. 21-22, pls. 11-12. from Oropos shows similarities with the Eretrian hydria H150, while the shape of the jug—in this instance, the majority of its profile is preserved—could be considered to foreshadow the long-necked Eretrian Orientalizing jugs (Huber 2003, pls. 21-28, 81-99). The jugs from the first half of the 7th century at Oropos are significant because they fill a gap in the scholarship, since long-necked Eretrian Late Geometric, as well as Orientalizing jugs were already known (Huber 2003, vol. I, 58-63, vol. II, 25-31, pl. 21-28, 81-99; Blandin 2007, vol. II, 100, T8.II [ME 2579], pl. 171. 3) but variants of the shape from ca. 700-ca. 650 BC have not been found until now.

During the first half of the 7th century, vases with simple linear Subgeometric decoration from Euboea and Oropos are numerous. It is important to distinguish them from LG vases with linear decoration by identifying and understanding what Coldstream called the “intrinsic” changes that occurred from one period to the next (Coldstream 1968, 329). In many cases, the most crucial factor in distinguishing between the vases of the two periods seems to be differences in shape rather than surface decoration, as the use of thin, carelessly painted lines, frequently found on Subgeometric vases, had already begun towards the end of the LG II style.

For example, one of the most common shapes of drinking vessels, the deep skyphos (a counterpart to the shallow type) can best be dated according to the development of its shape: from the beginning of the 7th century deep skyphoi often seem to acquire a more bulbous curve in the handle zone and a steeper lower body than their LGIIb predecessors, for instance these specimens from Eretria (fig. 8a-b). At Oropos, skyphoi of the Thapsos class—a number of them probably local—are known; unfortunately, most survive in a very fragmentary state, usually down to the middle part of the body. Most of them are probably LG IIb (mainly ca. 720-700/690 BC). Imitations of skyphoi of the Thapsos class dated to the first half of the 7th century have been reported from other workshops, however, including Greek colonial work-
shops in South Italy and Sicily36. The two skyphoi from Eretria mentioned above could be considered a later local variation of the Thapsos class with panel, since these published Eretrian vases have been dated to the first half of the 7th century BC or slightly later (Descoeudres 1976, 22, FK 195. 5-6, pl. 5); on at least one of them, the main metope is a very narrow zone decorated with sigmas, while the parallel horizontal lines are correspondingly longer (fig. 8b).

Subgeometric kotylai from Oropos, which can be regarded as related to the Euboean tradition, generally follow Corinthian models, as do the Attic kotylai, and their walls now become straighter and higher, along with their Corinthian and Attic counterparts (Neeft 1975, 110). Around 700 BC, the solidly painted lower half of these Corinthianizing kotylai is replaced by rays. During the period when the bars on the handles of Corinthian kotylai were usually replaced by a horizontal line, a change that in Corinthian workshops had already occurred in the Early Protocorinthian phase (Neeft 1975, fig. III, 2b, 7, 8d), a number of kotylai from Oropos, like some Attic ones, especially of the first quarter of the 7th century, retained their barred handles, for example this kotyle of fig. 937.

Euboean Gulf ceramic production of the first half of the 7th century shows relationships with almost the same centres as in the LG period: Attic and Corinthian, as well as Cycladic and Boeotian. This account of some basic features of Euboean Gulf pottery ca. 700-ca. 650 BC, is a preliminary contribution to understanding the characteristics of regional production during these years. This knowledge can, among other things, help us to date architectural remains and other artifacts and eventually to reconstruct the sequence of events in the Euboean Gulf region. If we fail to acknowledge contemporary material culture, we can easily believe that this half-century is represented by far fewer remains than actually exist and construct hypotheses concerning, for instance, settlement discontinuity at some Euboean sites. As said before, discontinuity is often reported for 7th-century Euboea, mostly due to the fact that changes in material culture have not been thoroughly traced. This is quite evident especially in the case of Subgeometric vases. Furthermore, vases with Orientalizing motifs, even if far fewer in number than the linear Subgeometric, show that ceramic production at Euboean Gulf sites like Eretria and Oropos could follow the stylistic trends set by Attic and Corinthian workshops to some extent. This reconsideration of the relationship between material evidence and societal developments ca. 700-ca. 650 BC will, it is hoped, serve to stimulate discussion of Euboean Gulf societies during this period, whose features are still dark and largely unexamined.

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36. Further bibliography: Stampolidis 2003, 353, no. 477. For skyphoi of this class that have also been dated later than the LG period, see Neef 1981, 37, n. 124-125 and 127; Kourou 1983, 267-268; Gadolou 2008, 313-322.

37. A similar kotyle was found at Eretria: Descoeudres 1968, 102, FK 119. 1, pl. 28, 2.
DEVELOPMENTS IN EUBOEA AND OROPOS AT THE END OF THE "DARK AGES"


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Fig. 1. Map of the South Euboean Gulf and its sites (after A. Mazarakis Ainian).

Fig. 2. Plan of Chalkis (Bakhuizen 1985, fig. 49).
Fig. 3a. General plan of Eretria (Verdan, S. - Kenzelmann Pfiffer, A. - Léderrey, Cl., 2008. La céramique géométrique d’Érétrie. Eretria: fouilles et recherches XX, Lausanne, pl. 2).
Fig. 3b. Eretria ca. 700 BC-ca. 600 BC (Charalambidou 2006, 1016, fig. 1).
Fig. 4a. OSK plot at Oropos (Central, West and South Quarters; drawing by N. Kalliontzis and A. Gounaris).

Fig. 4b. Plan of the stone structures in the area of the Central Quarter (Mazarakis 2002, fig. 8).
Fig. 4c. Plan of the peribolos in the West Quarter (drawing by N. Kalliontzis and A. Gounaris).
DEVELOPMENTS IN EUBOEA AND OROPOS AT THE END OF THE “DARK AGES”

Fig. 5a. Pottery from the North Sacrificial Area at Eretria (Huber 2003, pl. 76).

Fig. 5b. Krater from the area of the West Gate at Eretria (FK 475/488 without inv. no. Descoeudres 1976, Abb. 13).

Fig. 6. Jug with tall neck from Oropos (ΩΚ/Πγ1840; OSK plot).
Fig. 7. Relief pithos with Centaurs scene found at Zarakes on Euboea (ME 18687; Chatzidimitriou 2003-2004, 181-196, pl. 37-38a).

(a) skyphos FK195.5

(b) skyphos FK195.6

Fig. 8. Pottery from the area of the West Gate at Eretria (Desceudres 1976, pl. 5).
DEVELOPMENTS IN EUBOEA AND OROPOS AT THE END OF THE "DARK AGES"

Fig. 10a. Grave amphora from the West Cemetery of Eretria (ME 19779; Boardman 1952, A4, fig. 21a, pl. 3B, 5; Blandin 2007, pl. 121, 7).

Fig. 10b. Grave amphora from the West Cemetery of Eretria (NM, without inv.no. Kourouniotis 1903, figs. 16-18).
Fig. 10c. Grave amphorae from the West Cemetery of Eretria (photographs from the NM archive).
Fig. 10d. Grave amphorae from the West Cemetery of Eretria (photographs from the NM archive).
Fig. 11. The work of the Eretrian "Crab Painter" (Descœudres 1972, figs. 1-10).

Fig. 12. Pottery from Oropos (a: ΩΚ/Πγ60, b: ΩΚ/Πγ2724; OSK plot).
DEVELOPMENTS IN EUBOEA AND OROPOS AT THE END OF THE "DARK AGES"

Fig. 13. Krater from Oropos (ΩK/Πy1919; OSK plot).

Fig. 14. Jug with tall neck from Oropos (ΩK/Πy869; OSK plot).

LA FOUILLE DU TERRAIN PATAVALIS

Le terrain de M. Patavalis, qui se situe à une localité à une centaine de mètres au nord-ouest de la colline de Paléoekkliisies (fig. 1), a fait l'objet d'investigations archéologiques à l'automne 2006 en vue de découvrir le sanctuaire d'Artémis Amarysia (Theurillat – Fachard 2007). Si les fouilles n'ont pas livré de trouvailles que l'on puisse mettre en relation avec ce sanctuaire, les résultats obtenus sont néanmoins très importants pour les hautes époques. Les apports majeurs concernent l'étendue du site à l'Âge du Bronze mais surtout l'occupation du début de l'Âge du Fer. L'apparition de céramique proto-géométrique et géométrique stratifiée fournit enfin de précieux compléments d'information.

1. Nous remercions Mme Amalia Karapaschalidou (Service archéologique grec, 9° Ephorie des Antiquités préhistoriques et classiques d'Eubée) et l'Ecole suisse d'archéologie en Grèce, plus particulièrement les professeurs Denis Knoepfler (Université de Neuchâtel et Collège de France) et Pierre Ducrey (ESAG), qui nous ont confié l'étude du matériel pendant la fouille du terrain Patavalis et nous ont permis d'étudier et de publier la céramique du début de l'Âge du Fer.


3. Des vestiges d'époques variées ont aussi été recueillis dans la région qui se situe à deux kilomètres à l'est de la bourgade moderne de Kató Vathia, voir Knoepfler 1988. 404-418.

4. Voir infra, p. 818.

5. Les variations enregistrées par la prospection géophysique avaient donné à croire qu'un édifice de grandes dimensions gisait à cet endroit.
sur l'implantation humaine dans la région durant les « Siècles Obscurs ».

Cinq tranchées ont été ouvertes dans la propriété Patavalis qui comporte deux terrasses (fig. 2a). Les sondages localisés dans la partie nord-ouest de la propriété ont atteint rapidement le terrain naturel sans qu'aucun vestige antérieur à l'époque classique n'y apparaîsse; nous ne décrirons donc pas ces trouvailles, postérieures à la période qui nous occupe (Theurillat - Fachard 2007, 135-139). Au sud et à l'est, les investigations ont révélé une importante accumulation de sédiments qui atteint jusqu'à 3,5m d'épaisseur. Ces dépôts s'expliquent sans doute par la présence du delta de l'antique Erasinos. Sous ces couches de sables et graviers, des vestiges qui s'échelonnent de l'Helladique au début du VIIe siècle ont été mis au jour. Plusieurs murs, qui reposent sur le terrain naturel, appartiennent à un habitat mésohéladique (fig. 2b: Theurillat - Fachard 2007, 136-138, pl. 19, 3-5). C'est dans cette même zone sud et est de la propriété Patavalis qu'un certain nombre de vestiges du début de l'Âge du Fer sont apparus. La céramique provient principalement de couches qui s'écoulent l'habitat préhistorique6. Dans le sondage S. Sud, une fosse ou un fossé de 3,5m de largeur et 1,6m de profondeur a livré du mobilier céramique (St 14, fig. 2b). Exception faite de rares intrusions de l'Âge du Bronze, ce matériel comprend quelques récipients du Protogéométrique Récents et une majorité de tessons qui s'échelonnent entre le VIIe et le début du VIe siècle av. J.-C, dont un pithos presque entier (Theurillat - Fachard 2007, pl. 19.6). Un mur, dont il ne reste qu'une assise, est apparu sondage Est (M 11: fig. 2b). Il est conservé sur 1m et mesure 40cm de large. La tranchée dans laquelle cette construction est apparue est trop étroite pour permettre de déceler un niveau d'occupation bien conservé et pour déterminer quelle était la fonction de cette construction (habitat, péristyle ou autre).

LA CÉRAMIQUE DU DÉBUT DE L'ÂGE DU FER

Nous présentons ici 59 tessons du début de l'Âge du Fer dont la forme ou le décor sont identifiables et permettent une datation. Ce mobilier est très fragmentaire. Aucun profil n'est entièrement préservé ce qui engendre parfois des incertitudes concernant l'identification de certaines pièces. La céramique comporte une nette majorité de fragments de panse et les collages sont inexistants si l'on fait abstraction des quelques cassures fraîches. Nous commentons les différentes pièces en commençant par les vases ouverts et en terminant par les formes fermées.

LES VASES OUVERTS

Les petits vases ouverts sont la forme la mieux attestée parmi le matériel recueilli (27/59). Comme aucun exemplaire ne présente de profil complet, il est impossible de déterminer la forme qu'avaient les fonds des vases mis au jour dans le terrain investigué. Or, les pieds coniques sont une caractéristique des récipients de la période protogéométrique (Desborough 1952, 77 (skyphos), 98 (tasse), 101 (coupé), 102 (canthare); Lemos 2002, 27 (tasse), 33 (skyphos), 54 (canthare). On notera néanmoins la présence d'au moins un pied conique fragmentaire (no. 19: figs. 3a et b); on ne peut l'attribuer à un récipient en particulier.

Deux fragments appartiennent à des tasses ornées d'un zigzag sur la lèvre (nos. 18 et 24: fig. 4). Ce type de récipient fait son apparition au Protogéométrique Ancien (Lemos 2002, 30-33). Au Protogéométrique Moyen, les tasses avec zigzag sont les exemplaires les mieux représentés dans le remplissage de l'édifice absidial de Toumba à Lefkandi (Popham – Calligas

AMARYNTHOS AU DEBUT DE L'ÂGE DU FER

Sackett 1990, 16-17, pl. 5a, 9, 10, 48). Des récipients comparables sont attestées à Chalcis, Skyros, en Béotie (Paralimni et Vranesi Kopaidos) et à Nea Ionia notamment (Lemos 2002, 30-33). Un exemplaire apparu à Chypre constitue l'une des plus anciennes traces des échanges entre l'Eubée et l'île d'Aphrodite au début de l'Âge du Fer (Lemos – Hatcher 1991, 197, no. 2, 198, fig. 2). Un tesson de lévre provient d'une tasse monochrome qu'il faut peut-être dater du Géométrique Moyen vu la forme relativement globulaire de sa panse (no. 10: fig. 5).

On recense en outre quatre exemplaires de *skyphoi ornés de cercles concentriques* (nos. 2, 14, 16 et 27: fig. 6), le type de vase le plus populaire et le plus caractéristique des formes protogéométriques (Desborough 1952, 194-195; Lemos 2002, 36-39). L'un des tessons (no. 17) présente des traces de vernis au centre du plus petit des cercles inscrits; il s'agit sans doute des vestiges d'un motif central (une croix de malte ?). On sait que les skyphoi ornés de cercles concentriques sont très fréquents à Lefkandi au Protogéométrique Moyen et qu'ils perdurent sur ce site jusqu'au Subprotogéométrique. A Kyme-Vigloutouri, quelques tessons de skyphoi ornés de cercles concentriques ont été recueillis (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1998, 74, fig. 41,10.). Au Protogéométrique Récen, on note la présence d'exportations eubéennes à Skyros mais aussi jusqu'à Amathonte, sur la côte sud de l'île de Chypre (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1998, 74, fig. 41,10).


Trois tessons sont trop fragmentaires pour pouvoir être attribués avec certitude à l'un ou l'autre des deux groupes de skyphoi présentés ci-dessus. Leur décor comporte des arcs de cercles concentriques dont on ne sait s'ils désinaient une forme complète (nos. 5, 6 et 49).

Parmi les autres petits vases ouverts on note la présence d'un skyphos orné de chevrons verticaux (no. 26) et d'un autre exemplaire décoré d'un méandre hachuré (no. 32), soit des productions qui sont caractéristiques du Géométrique Moyen II (Coldstream 1968, 20 et 24 (Attique), 169-170 (Cyclades et Eubée). Pour la céramique d'Erétrie: Andreiomenou 1985, 27-29, pls. 4-5 (skyphos à chevrons), 29-31, pls. 5-6 (skyphos à méandre hachuré). Pour Kyme-Vigloutouri: Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1998, 78). Un autre fragment de petit vase ouvert est orné sur la droite d'un motif tronqué qui s'apparente à un méandre à crâne à quadruple contour (?) avec, sur la gauche, deux lignes obliques (no. 41: fig. 8). Ce fragment a une pâte plus claire que les productions eubéennes; il s'agit probablement d'une importation. Un canthare découvert dans la parcelle O.T.E. à Oropos constitue

7. Le no. 4 est une imitation chypriote du skyphos eubéen.
un parallèle intéressant. Il présente un méandre à créneau dans une métope. Il s'agit d'une production du Géométrique Ancien originaire d'Attique [Mazarakis Ainian 1998, 185, fig. 6.2 et 187 (où le renvoi à la figure est erroné : lire 6.2 non pas 5.9). Voir également Coldstream 1968, 11-12, pl. 1b].

Parmi les productions typiques du Géométrique Récent on citera deux fragments de panse – dont un couvert d'un engobe crème – qui présentent la partie inférieure de lignes verticales exécutées au peigne ; elles bordaient probablement un décor de type métopæl (nos. 7 et 33). On trouve également de l'engobe crème sur un fragment de lèvre haute et éversée ; son décor, avec des petits traits, est peu soigné (Andreïomenou 1975, 215, pl. 59a; 1981, 94-99 et 111, pls. 24-29)\(^8\). On note d'ailleurs la présence d'une coulure qui recouvre le décor (no. 36). L'engobe crème est caractéristique des productions eubéennes du Géométrique Récent (Coldstream 1968, 190; Andreïomenou 1977, 160; 1985, 24).

Deux panse sont ornées de lignes verticales exécutées au peigne puis d'une zone vernie (nos. 26 et 47). Les groupes de lignes sont assurément obliques sur l'un des fragments (no. 47: fig. 9). Des skypoi avec groupes de lignes verticales sont attestés à Érètrie (Andreïomenou 1981, 88, no. 27, pl. 17; 1985, 29, no. 36, pl. 5.16) ; ils sont datés du Géométrique Récent (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1998, 102, fig. 42.14). A Amathonte (Coldstream 1987, 24, no. 8, 26, pl. VIII.8; Lemos – Hatcher 1991, 198, no. 8, 200, fig. 8) est apparu un exemplaire à groupes de lignes obliques ; c'est une production eubéenne du Subprotogéométrique III.

Enfin, un tesson de cotyle imite les productions protocorinthiennes avec une file de «soldier-birds» vers la droite (Coldstream 1968, 194; 2003\(^3\), 168, 171, fig. 55d. Pour les imitations découvertes à Érètrie, voir notamment Andreïomenou 1975, 211-212, pl. 54g; 1980, 28, pl. 6, 2a, 3-5; Descoeudres 1976, 43). Bien que l'exécution soit relâchée, on reconnaît aisément le bec de certains volatiles ainsi que leurs deux pattes. Leur corps est réduit à une ligne sinuose (no. 40: fig. 10).

Les grands vases ouverts sont représentés par sept fragments de panse de cratères. Des groupes de lignes verticales qui se terminent dans une zone vernie figurent sur deux tessons (nos. 21 et 25). Ce décor est bien attesté à Lefkandi, principalement sur des amphores protogéométriques ou subprotogéométriques\(^9\) mais rarement sur les cratères\(^9\). On le rencontre à Chalcis (Andreïomenou 1985, 37, n. 113) ; à Érètrie en revanche, il est inhabituel (Andreïomenou 1982, 183, no. 212, pl. 34; 1985, 37, no. 129, pl. 11. Ce motif est rare à Érètrie).


Un cratère est orné d'un losange quadrillé bordé de trois lignes verticales (no. 11: fig. 11). Il convient de restituer une colonne de losanges, un motif qui jouxte le décor principal du vase présenté dans une métope (Comparer avec les cratères mis au jour à Érètrie, tels que: Andreïomenou 1977, 133, no. 7, pl. 35a; 1980, 23, no. 5, pl. 3,5a: 1982, 184, nos. 231-233, pl. 35. Voir également Popham – Sackett – Themelis 1980,

\(^9\) Voir infra.


8. On trouve des petits traits sur la lèvre de skypoi bichromes d'Érètrie.

Le dernier fragment (no. 28) se caractérise par des groupes de lignes verticales puis cinq lignes horizontales et une zone vernie. La multiplication des filets horizontaux sur la panse est une caractéristique de la fin du VIII\(^{e}\) et du début du VII\(^{e}\) siècle.

**LES VASES FERMÉS**

Le matériau recueilli durant la fouille est très fragmentaire de sorte qu’il est impossible de distinguer les panses d’amphores, d’hydries ou d’œnochoés. On recense également un amphorique, une pyxide et un fond de vase de petites dimensions.


ciliaire fait son apparition à Lefkandi au Proto­géométrique Récent (no. 48: fig. 12: Lemos 2002, 58); sur un autre tesson, c’est un trait vertical qui orne le centre des cercles (no. 45). On relèvera qu’un des fragments a été taillé en jet­ton (no. 23).


Un petit vase fermé doté d’un fond plat est orné de lignes verticales dessinées au peigne (no. 30). L’exécution est peu soignée (lignes irrégulières, vernis est dilué). Ce décor est fréquent sur les tasses eubéennes du Géométrique Récent (Blandin 2007, vol. II, 51)\(^{12}\); il perdure jusqu’à l’époque archaïque\(^{13}\).

Nous terminerons ce survol par l’embouchure d’un amphorique de la fin du VIII\(^{e}\) ou du début du VII\(^{e}\) siècle (no. 34).

**CONCLUSION**

La céramique recueillie dans le terrain Pata­valis fournit des indications précieuses sur l’occupation d’Amarynthos. Elle révèle tout d’abord une présence sur le site tout au long de la période géométrique puisque le matériel recueilli s’étend du Protogéométrique Ancien ou Moyen au début du VII\(^{e}\) siècle. Ajoutons que

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11. Les vestiges d’un petit trait oblique à la hauteur de la cassure inférieure du fragment appartiennent à un second losange.


ce mobilier présente les mêmes caractéristiques stylistiques que les vases apparus sur les sites de Lefkandi, d’Érètrie, de Chalcis et de Kyme-Viglatouri, ce qui témoigne de rapports étroits entre Amarynthos et les autres sites de l’île.

En plus de la céramique, un mur et une fosse sont apparus à une centaine de mètres au nord-ouest de la colline de Paléoekklisies, ce qui semble indiquer que l’aire occupée au début de l’âge du fer s’étendait dans l’arrière-pays. Ce n’est pas étonnant si l’on considère la richesse de la plaine environnante. La colline de Paléoekklisies n’a pas livré, à ce jour, de vestiges significatifs du début de l’âge du fer. Mais il faut souligner que seuls des sondages ponctuels ont été pratiqués sur la colline.


La fouille de 2006 a ainsi apporté un éclairage nouveau sur le passé du site d’Amarynthos. De nouvelles campagnes de fouilles seraient nécessaires pour permettre de mieux connaître l’histoire de cet important établissement eubéen.

**Catalogue du mobilier céramique**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diamètre</th>
<th>Épaisseur</th>
<th>Extérieur</th>
<th>Ensemble archéologique</th>
<th>Hauteur</th>
<th>Interne/ Intérieur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Skyphos, FK 1.2</td>
<td>Un fragment de panse avec départ de la lèvre. Dim. 4,2 x 2,2; ép. 0,4-0,5. Argile proche de 5 YR 6/6, fine, assez dure, dégraissant fin à moyen, inclusions blanches. Vernis ext. brun mat dilué, int. noir mat. Décor: cercles inscrits. Int. monochrome.</td>
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14. Cette koine apparaît dès le Helladique Récent IIIC, mais elle se manifeste surtout au PG-SPG (1000-825).
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 1,1 × 2,2 ; ép. 0,6. Argile proche de 2,5 YR 5/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis ext. et int. rouge mat. Décor: cercles ou demi-cercles concentriques. Int. monochrome.

7. Skyphos, FK 1.7

8. Vase fermé, FK 1.8

9. Vase fermé, FK 1.9

10. Tasse, FK 5.1 (fig. 5)

11. Cratère, FK 5.3 (fig. 11)
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 4,2 × 3,1 ; ép. 1,3. Argile proche de 5 YR 5/3, fine, dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis ext. brun-noir mat; int. brun-rouge mat. Décor: ext. 3 lignes verticales, losange hachuré. Int. monochrome.

12. Pyxis, FK 5.4 (figs. 13 a et b)
Un fragment de lèvre avec épaule. Diam. lèvre 9; haut. 2,7; ép. 0,4-0,5. Argile proche de 2,5 YR 5/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis noir mat et rouge mat effacé. Décor: la moitié ext. de la lèvre ainsi que la partie supérieure de l'épaule sont vernies, puis groupes de lignes verticales.

13. Grand vase fermé, FK 5.5
Un fragment de panse avec départ de l'épaule. Dim. 3 × 3,4; ép. 0,4-0,9. Argile proche de 5 YR 6/4, fine, dure, dégraissant fin vernis brun mat. Décor: vestige de 2 cercles ou demi-cercles inscrits.

14. Skyphos, FK 6.2

15. Skyphos, FK 6.3
Un fragment de panse avec départ de la lèvre et début de l'attache de l'anse. Dim. 2,9 × 2,8 ; ép. 0,5-0,6. Argile proche de 5 YR 5/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis ext. brun-rouge mat; int. brillant. Décor: ext. bas de la lèvre verni, sur la panse vestiges de 3 demi-cercles pendants inscrits, à gauche zone vernie correspondant à l'attache de l'anse. Int. monochrome.

16. Skyphos, FK 6.4 (fig. 6)
Un fragment de panse avec départ de l'anse, taillé en jeton. Dim. 4,6 × 4,9; ép. 0,4-0,6. Argile proche de 5 YR 5/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis ext. brun-rouge à légères reflets métallisants, int. mat. Décor: ext. vestiges de 6 cercles concentriques (croix de malte ?), à droite ligne verticale fermant le panneau, puis ligne qui se dirige vers l'attache de l'anse. Sous le motif de cercles, 3 lignes. Int. monochrome.

17. Skyphos, FK 6.5
Un fragment de panse avec départ de la lèvre. Dim. 2 × 1,9; ép. 0,3-0,5. Argile proche de 5 YR 6/6, fine, légèrement savonneuse, dégraissant fin. Vernis ext. très altéré, brun-rouge mat, int. rouge mat. Décor: ext. bas de la lèvre verni puis départ de 6 demi-cercles pendants. Int. monochrome.

18. Tasse, FK 6.6 (fig. 4)
Un fragment de lèvre. Diam. lèvre indéterminé Dim. 1,1 × 1,9; ép. 0,3. Argile proche de 5 YR 5/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis ext. et int. rouge mat. Décor: ext. sur la lèvre, ligne ondulée, sous la lèvre, zone vernie. Int. monochrome.

19. Petit vase ouvert, FK 6.7 (figs. 3a et b)
2 fragments jointifs de pied conique. Diam. pied 9; haut. 2,9; ép. 0,8. Argile proche de 5 YR 6/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis brun-rouge mat. Décor : mono­chrome.

20. Cratère, FK 6.8
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 3,1 × 4; ép. 0,6-0,9. Argile proche de 10 YR 5/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin à moyen, qqs inclusions blanches. Vernis ext. très altéré, brun mat, int. brun-noir mat. Décor: ext. vestiges de 9 cercles concentriques et point central. Int. monochrome.

21. Cratère, FK 6.9
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 5,4 × 6,7; ép. 1,2. Argile proche de 2,5 YR 6/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin à moyen, qqs inclusions blanches, légèrement micacée. Vernis ext. et int. rouge mat, altéré. Décor: groupes de lignes obliques, puis zone vernie. Int. monochrome.

22. Grand vase ouvert (amphore ?), FK 6.10
2 fragments jointifs de panse. Dim. 4,8 × 10 ; ép. 0,8-1,0. Argile proche de 5 YR 5/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin, fine-

23. Grand vase ouvert (amphore ?), FK 6.11
Un fragment d'épaule avec départ du col, taillé en forme de jeton. Dim. 5,2 x 5,1; ép. 0,9-1,0. Argile proche de 5 YR 5/4, fine, très dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis bun mat. Décor: vestige de verni (bas du col), demi (?) cercles.

24. Tasse, FK 20.1
Un fragment de bas de lèvre avec départ de l'épaule. Dim. 1,0 x 1,3 ; ép. 0,4. Argile proche de 5 YR 6/4, fine, assez dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis ext. et int. rouge mat. Décor: sur le bas de la lèvre, zigzag, puis ligne. Int. monochrome.

25. Cratère, FK 30.1
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 5 x 6,8 ; ép. 0,8-1,0. Argile proche de 5 YR 5/4, fine, très dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis ext. brun à orange mat, int. brun-noir mat. Décor: ext. groupe de lignes verticales, zone vernie. Int. monochrome.

26. Skyphos, FK 56.1
Un fragment d'épaule avec départ de la lèvre. Dim. 1,5 x 1,1 ; ép. 0,4. Argile proche de 5 YR 6/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis ext. brun-rouge, int. noir mat. Décor: ext. zone vernie sur le bas de la lèvre, sur la panse, vestiges de chevrons verticaux. Int. monochrome.

Sondage Sud Sud

27. Skyphos, FK 84.1
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 3,2 x 1,8 ; ép. 0,4. Argile proche de 2,5 YR 5/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin, qqs inclusions blanches. Vernis ext. et int. brun-rouge mat. Décor: ext. cercle concentrique puis zone vernie. Int. monochrome.

28. Cratère, FK 82.1
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 6,5 x 8,5 ; ép. 0,7. Argile proche de 10 YR 7/3, fine, dure, dégraissant fin à moyen, qqs inclusions blanches. Vernis ext. et int. très altéré, brun-noir mat. Décor: ext. groupes de lignes verticales, 6 lignes puis zone vernie. Int. monochrome.

29. Petit vase ouvert, FK 77.1
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 4,8 x 3,8 ; ép. 0,5. Argile proche de 5 YR 6/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin, qqs inclusions blanches. Vernis ext. et int. brun-rouge mat. Décor: ext. groupes de lignes verticales obliques, zone vernie. Int. monochrome.

30. Petit vase fermé, FK 77.2
Un fragment de fond avec le bas de la panse. Diam. fond 5; haut. 2,9; ép. 0,4-0,3. Argile proche de 5 YR 6/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin, qqs inclusions blanches. Vernis brun-rouge mat. Décor: peu soigné, groupes de lignes verticales qui forment, par endroit, des pâtes.

31. Grand vase fermé (amphore ?), FK 77.3

32. Petit vase ouvert, FK 73.1
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 1,4 x 2,5; ép. 0,4. Argile proche de 5 YR 6/4, fine, dure, dégraissant fin à moyen, qqs inclusions blanches. Vernis ext. brun-rouge mat, int. brun mat. Décor: ext. méandre hachuré, 2 lignes. Int. monochrome.

33. Petit vase ouvert, FK 65.1

34. Amphoriskos, FK 65.2

35. Cratère, FK 55.1
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 3,1 x 3,8; ép. 1. Argile proche de 2,5 YR 6/6, fine, savonneuse, dégraissant fin, qqs inclusions blanches. Vernis ext. brun mat, très effacé, int. brun-noir mat. Décor: ext. méandre hachuré. Int. monochrome.

36. Petit vase ouvert, FK 59.1

Sondage Nord

37. Petit vase fermé, FK 7.1
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 3,5 x 2,2; ép. 0,4-0,5. Argile proche de 5 YR 6/4, fine, assez dure, dégraissant fin à moyen, qqs inclusions blanches. Vernis très altéré. Décor: zone vernie, demi-cercle pendant.

38. Skyphos, FK 15.2

39. Vase fermé, FK 15.3
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 2,3 x 3,4; ép. 0,5. Argile
Amarynthos au début de l'âge du fer

Sondage Est

40. Cotyle, FK 26.1 (fig. 10)
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 3,2 x 3,7; ép. 0,3-0,4. Argile proche de 5 YR 5/1, fine, assez dure, dégraissant fin à moyen, qqs inclusions blanches. Vernis ext. brun-rouge effacé, int. noir mat effacé. Décor : ext. 2 lignes obliques, créneau à quadruple contour?. Int. monochrome.

41. Petit vase ouvert, canthare ? FK 43.1 (fig. 8)
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 1,9 x 3,3; ép. 0,4. Argile proche de 5 YR 6/6, fine, dure, dégraissant fin à moyen, qqs inclusions blanches. Vernis ext. brun-rouge effacé, int. rouge mat. Décor : ext. 2 lignes obliques, files de « soldier birds » vers la droite. Int. 7 lignes.

42. Cratère, FK 43.2
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 4,6 x 4,3; ép. 0,9. Argile proche de 2.5 YR 6/4, fine, légèrement savonneuse, dégraissant fin, finement micacée. Vernis brun-rouge mat, effacé par endroit. Décor : 3 lignes verticales (bord de panneau), motif hachuré.

43. Pyxis, FK 43.3
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 6,6 x 3,7; ép. 0,5. Argile proche de 7.5 YR 6/4, fine, légèrement savonneuse, dégraissant fin à moyen, qqs inclusions blanches. Vernis brun-rouge mat, effacé par endroit. Décor : groupes de lignes obliques entre 2 zones vernies.

44. Grand vase fermé (amphore ?), 43.4
3 fragments jointifs de panse. Dim. 5 x 6,2; ép. 0,6-1,0. Argile proche de 2.5 YR 6/4, fine, savonneuse, dégraissant fin à moyen, qqs inclusions blanches, légèrement micacée. Vernis brun-rouge mat, effacé par endroit. Décor : groupes de lignes obliques, 2 lignes (?), zone vernie.

45. Amphore, 43.5

46. Skyphos, FK 54.1 (fig. 7)

47. Petit vase ouvert, FK 54.2 (fig. 9)
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 3,3 x 4,7; ép. 0,5-0,6. Argile proche de 5 YR 6/4, fine, assez dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis ext. brun-rouge mat, dilué, int. brun-rouge mat. Décor : groupes de lignes verticales, zone vernie. Int. monochrome.

48. Amphore, FK 78.1 (fig. 10)

49. Skyphos, FK 81.1
Un fragment de panse. Dim. 1,5 x 1,2; ép. 0,4. Argile proche de 2.5 YR 5/6, fine, assez dure, dégraissant fin. Vernis ext. et int. brun-rouge mat, effacé à l’ext. Décor : cercles ou demi-cercles.

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Fig. 1. Carte topographique d’Amarynthos.
Fig. 2a. Plan des sondages et des vestiges de la fouille Patavalis.

Fig. 2b. Plan schématique des vestiges préhistoriques et géométriques.
Fig. 3a. Pied conique de petit vase ouvert, FK 6.7.

Fig. 3b. Profil.

Fig. 4. Fragment de lèvre de tasse, FK 6.6.

Fig. 5. Profil d'un fragment de lèvre et panse de tasse, FK 5.1.

Fig. 6. Fragment de panse de skyphos, FK 6.4.

Fig. 7. Fragment de panse de skyphos, FK 54.1.
Fig. 8. Fragment de panse de petit vase ouvert, canthare ? FK 43.1.

Fig. 9. Fragment de panse de petit vase ouvert, FK 54.2.

Fig. 10. Fragment de panse de cotyle, FK 26.1.

Fig. 11. Fragment de panse de cratère, FK 5.3.

Fig. 12. Fragment de panse d'amphore, FK 78.1.
Fig. 13a. Fragment de lèvre de pyxis, FK 5.4.

Fig. 13b. Profil.

Fig. 14. Vases découvert au lieu dit Gyros.
ΝΕΟΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΙΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΚΡΑΤΗΡΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΙΚΗ ΕΡΕΤΡΙΑ: Ο ΚΡΑΤΗΡΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΛΑΙΝΩΝ ΨΩΠΩΝ*

«μόνο του έρωτα το ερώτημα οδυνηρό, εντέλει»
Π. Μπουκάλας, Ρήματα.

Κατά τη διάρκεια σωστικής ανασκαφής στην Ερέτρια, ήλθε στο φως οικονομικός κρατήρας ΜΕ 195651 (εικ. 1-2), στον οποίο απεικονίζονται οι παλαιότερες γνωστές στην αγγειογραφία των πρώιμων ιστορικών χρόνων, σκηνές σεξουαλικής συνεύρεσης ίππων και ανθρώπινων μορφών. Ανήκε στα κτερίσματα ταφικής πυράς (στο εξής πυρά I) επιφανούς νεκρού (Eretria XVII.I, 39-45, 145), η οποία χρονολογείται στη ΜΓ II περίοδο.

Η πυρά I ερευνήθηκε στην αρχαία Αγορά της πόλης και εντάσσεται στο νεκροταφείο του ανατολικού τομέα της (εικ. 3: Eretria XVII.I, 145-146. Eretria XVII.II, 9-26), που εκτείνεται ΝΑ και σε μικρή απόσταση από το Ιερό του Δαφνηφόρου Απόλλωνος. Καταλάμβανε ορυγμά, διαστ. 2,15 επί 2,00 μ., ανοιγμένο στο μαλακό χώμα, οριζόμενο ΒΔ και ΒΑ από δύο πρόχειρα τοιχάρια (εικ. 4). Το στρώμα τέφρας, πάχους 20 εκ., ήταν καλυμμένο με στρώση πηλώδου χώματος ιδίου πάχους. Περίεχε 2.500 περίπου τμήματα πήλινων αγγείων2, από τα οποία προήλθαν επιπλέον τρεις κρατήρες, δέκα-έξι σκύφους, έξι πυξίδες, -οι τέσσερεις εκ των οποίων φέρουν καλύμματα με ολόγλυφα ιππάρια, λήκυθος με μαστοειδείς αποφύσεις, υδρία και δίωτο κυπριακό ληκύθιο. Πλην της κεραμικής, στην σκευή του νεκρού είχαν τοποθετηθεί ένα χρυσό ελασμάτινο διάδημα με έκτυπη διακόσμηση γραμμικών κοσμημάτων3, και σκαρβαίος από αιγυπτιακό μπλε, που προέρχεται από την περιοχή της βόρειας Συρίας4.


2. Ανακοίνωση του συνόλου της κεραμικής παρουσιάστηκε σε ημερίδα με τίτλο: Greek Geometric Pottery Forty Years on. A one-day Conference presenting new work on Early Iron Age Pottery in honour of Nicolas Coldstream's 80th Year, Athens, 29th March 2008.


ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑ ΨΑΛΤΗ


Τον «αριστοκρατικό» χαρακτήρα της πυράς I ενισχύει η γειτονία με το Ιερό του Δαφνηφόρου Απόλλωνα, θέση η οποία έχει υποστηριχθεί, ότι κατά το α’ ήμισυ του 8ου π.Χ. αι. αποτελεί την έδρα τοπάρχη, ο οποίος ήταν επιφορτισμένος με λατρευτικές δραστηριότητες.

Η τέλεση της επίσης, στην περιοχή της Αγοράς των αρχαϊκών και κλασικών χρόνων, η οποία έχει υποστηριχθεί ότι λειτουργούσε ως χώρος κοινών συναθροίσεων ήδη από το β’ ήμισυ του 8ου π.Χ. αι., (Berard 1985, 30. 1898, 152 εμπεριέχει την ιδέα απόδοσης τιμών σε διακεκριμένους νεκρούς μέσω του ενταφιασμού τους στο πολιτικό και διοικητικό κέντρο της πόλης, έθιμο που χαρακτηρίζει τον αρχαίο ελληνικό κόσμο.


6. Σχετικά με τη θεωρία της μετεξέλιξης της αριστοκρατικής συνοικίας του Δαφνηφόρου Απόλλωνα στο μέσο του 6ου αι. (Mazarakis Ainian 2006).

7. Για τη λατρεία των ηρώων οικιστών στην Αγορά αυτή απηχείται στην παράδοση του ηρωικού θανάτου του Κλεόμαχου από τα Φάρσαλα σε μάχη για το Ληλάντιο πεδίο, για τον οποίο επιμήκησε από τους Χαλκιδικούς με τάφο στην Αγορά της πόλης τους (Sergent 1984, 171-172, 181).

κτυλιόσχημη βάση, και το πόδι με τους ανάγλυφους δακτύλους ύψους 1,13 εκ., που επικολλήθηκε πριν την άπτηση, στο κάτω μέρος της βάσης. Ο ιδιόρρυθμος τρόπος μετάβασης από το κύριο σώμα στο πόδι εμφανίζεται σε άγνωστη προέλευση ΥΓ κρατηρίσκο του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου (EAM 18020. Κουρού 2002, πιν. 9, 1-4), με ανάγλυφες ραβδώσεις στην επιφάνεια, οι οποίες κοσμούνται με γραφτή ιχθυάκανθα, που αποδίδεται με όμοιο τρόπο με το μοτίβο της ιχθυάκανθας στον κρατήρα ME 19565.


Στην ένωση του κάθετου ταινιόσχημου χείλους που διακοσμείται με συμπαγή ελεύθερα ζωγραφισμένη ψευδόσπειρα, σχηματίζεται αυλάκωση. Τόσο η διαμόρφωση του χείλους, όσο και το διακοσμητικό μοτίβο της ψευδόσπειρας έχουν παράλληλα από την Εύβοια κατά τη ΜΓ II και την ΥΓ I περίοδο (Popham κ.ά. 1980, 340, πιν. 32, αρ. 2. Themelis 1983, πιν. 118 β). Τα πεδία των λαβών διακοσμούν οκτάκτινοι αστερίσκοι, γνωστό μοτίβο σε αττικίζοντες σκύφους και σε κρατήρες της ΜΓ II περιόδου από την Ερέτρια (Andreiomenou 1985, πιν. 4,5,7,9), ενώ ενδιαφέρον εμφανίζει γραφτό σημείο σχήματος Πι στο πεδίο της λαβής, που απαντά στον κρατήρα ME 19569 της πυράς I, και σε αμφορέα της ΜΓ I περιόδου του ΕΑΜ (Κουρού 2002, πιν. 94-95).


10. Οι μετόπες έχουν τις εξής διαστάσεις, πλευρά α′ (a1): 3,8 εκ. επί 5,3 εκ., (a2): 8,5 εκ. επί 5,1 εκ., πλευρά β′ (b1): 2,4 εκ. επί 5,1 εκ., και (b2) 8,4 εκ. επί 5,2 εκ.
ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑ ΨΑΛΤΗ

της ΜΓ αττικής παραγωγής με παράλληλα από την Ερέτρια (Eretria XX, πιν. 8, αρ. 20, 21, πιν. 9, 24), τη Ζαγορά της Άνδρου (Cambitoglu 1988, πιν. 162 a,b), και το Λευκαντί [Popham κ.ά. 1980, 68, πιν. 52, 62 (231)]. Η ζώνη εδάφους σώζεται μόνο στην α' όψη και αποτελείται από τρεις οριζόντιες ταινίες, υπό των οποίων αναπτύσσεται η ως ταινία το καθερωμένο από την ΜΓ Ι περίοδο στην Αττική μοτίβο του κυνόδοντα (Coldstream 1968, 23, πιν. 5f, g).

Παρά το γεγονός ότι δεν εντοπίστηκε ακριβές παράλληλο, ο κρατήρας ΜΕ 19565 κατατάσσεται στην κατηγορία του κρατήρα με πόδι του τύπου II (Davidson 1961, 112-113, εικ. 142-143. Coldstream 1968, 17-18), σχήμα που εδραιώνεται πλήρως στο θεματολόγιο του αθηναϊκού Κεραμεικού κατά την ΜΓ II (Kerameikos V, πιν. 19, αρ. 1293, 1291. Coldstream 1968, 23, πιν. 5f, g).


Πλην της μετόπης α', στην οποία απεικονίζεται ο διάγραμμα ρόδακα, αγαπητό κόσμημα των ευβοϊκών και κυκλαδικών εργαστηρίων κατά τον 8ο π.Χ. αι. (Coldstream, 1977, 192. Θέμελης 1983, πιν. 118b. Κούρου 1999, 30. Boardman 1952, 4, πιν. 4. 4-5), οι εικονιστικές παραστάσεις των λοιπών τριών μετοπών, αποδεσμένες με την τεχνική της σκιαγραφίας, διακρίνονται για την πρωτοψία ως προς το θέμα αλλά και τη σύνθεση. Στις μεγαλύτερες πτέρυγες μετόπων, στη συνέχεια της κτέρισης (Coldstream 1996, 139-142, εικ. 4Ε), απεικονίζεται η σκηνή επίβασης ήμιόνων, κυρίως με την προβολή του φαλλού στο κέντρο (Dierichs 2008, 125). Παρά την προσήλωση του αγγειογράφου στις συμβάσεις της γεωμετρικής τέχνης, όπως η συνοπτική απόδοση του κορμού των αλόγων με μία ισοπαχή ζώνη, της ουράς και των ποδιών με κάθετες ταινίες, η πρόδηλη σπουδή για την απόδοση όσο το δυνατό πιο φυσικά της σεξουαλικής ένωσης των ίππων, παράλληλα με τη σαφή διάκριση του αρσενικού από το θηλυκό, κυρίως με την προβολή του φαλλού στο κέντρο.
ντο της σύνθεσης, αποκαλύπτει νέες πτυχές της εικονογραφίας των γεωμετρικών χρόνων.

Συγκεκριμένα, στην μετόπη a2 συλλαμβάνεται η στιγμή της κατάκτησης της φορβάδας από τον αρσενικό ίππο, και συνάμα αποτυπώνεται η κορύφωση του γενετήσιου ενστίκου (εικ. 5). Στοιχεία όπως, ο εύρωστος κορμός του αρσενικού, το φουσκωμένο στέρνο, ο ευθυτενής λαιμός και ο θαλερός φαλλός, έρχονται σε αντίθεση με το λεπτό κορμό της φορβάδας, με τον μακρύτερο λαιμό και τοντισμένο χαμηλά στήθος, δηλώνοντας εύγλωττα την υπεροχή του έναντι του θηλυκού. Η εικαστική προσέγγιση του θέματος διαφοροποιείται στη μετόπη β2, όπου απεικονίζεται η ολοκλήρωση της γενετήσιας πράξης, οι δύο παρατακτικώς αποδοσμένοι ίπποι της μετόπης a2, συμπλέκονται πλέον σε ένα σώμα με χαρακτηριστική την ερωτική κίνηση του επιβήτορα, που παραδομένος στον πόθο, γέρνει προς τη φορβάδα, εγγίζοντας με το ρύγχος τον αυχένα της. Στη σύνθεση έχει επίσης προστεθεί ένα εικονιστικό μοτίβο, που απουσιάζει από την προηγούμενη μετόπη, η διπλή μαργαριτόσχημη ταινία, η φορβεία, που κρέμεται από το ρύγχος της φορβάδας, και συμβολίζει ενδεχομένως το δέσιμο της στο παχνί13. Επισημαίνεται μάλιστα ότι η εισαγωγή του μοτίβου αυτού έχει αποδοθεί στο Εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου του Hirschfeld, η καλλιτεχνική παραγωγή του οποίου τοποθετείται στην ΥΓ Ιβ περίοδο (Coldstream 1968, 27-28), διαφοροποιούν τις εικαστικές αναζητήσεις του ΥΓ ευβοϊκού εργαστηρίου από τις πρωιμότερες δημιουργίες.


Η σκηνή του ζευγαρώματος των ίππων στον κρατήρα ΜΕ 19565, παρά το γεγονός ότι είναι μία δεκαετία περίπου πρωιμότερη, δύναται να ενταχθεί στον κύκλο των σκηνών ιπποτροφίας, που καθιερώνεται στον ευβοϊκό Κεραμεικό, κατά το β' ήμισυ του 8ου π.Χ. αι., και συνδέεται με το ρυθμό του Ζωγράφου του Cesnola. Οι σκηνές αυτές μαρτυρούν την ιδιαίτερη σημασία της ιπποτροφίας για την αριστοκρατική τάξη των χαλκιδέων Ιπποβοτών και των ερετρεών Ιππέων, η οποία είναι γνωστή από τις πη-
γές και έχει συχνά επισημανθεί από την έρευνα. Οι σκηνές της επίθεσης των μεταφυσικών δεν αποκλείεται επίσης, να επέχουν θέση εικονιστικής δέσης (Coldstream 1994, 83) για την ευγονία του ευγενούς ζώου, και των βοσκήματων εν γένει, όπως επισημαίνει η προβολή του φαλ- 
λού, σύμβολο γυναικείας και συνάμα αποτροπαία (Keuls 1985, 65-97). Παπαδάκη 2004, 148-150, όπου σχετική βιβλιογραφία. Η σπου-
δαιότητα της ιπποτροφίας για την ομαλή κοινωνική μαρτυρείται εξάλλου στην Ιλιάδα, με διαδικτύο αποτέλεσμα της μεταμόρφωσης του πέπλου πάθους Βορέως σε καινοχαι-
τί ύπο, για να συμπεράνουμε ότι ένας κατά 
μόνους τροφίτης, και μυώ-
κατά τμήματός της, η κακή διατήρηση της επι-
δεις μηρούς που σχηματίζουν ισχνή άρθρωση 
γισης της παράστασης ενισχύει η απώλεια του 
μικών λεπτομερειών, ίσως λόγω και του ιδιαί-
τεμενο γεννητικό μόριο στο κάτω μέρος της 
ται από τη στάση των σωμάτων και το προτε-
ταμένο γεννητικό μόριο στο κάτω μέρος της 
κοιλικής χώρας, της αριστερής, ως προς το θε-
ατή μορφής (μορφή Α). Επισημαίνεται ότι, η εκ-
δοχή αναπαράστασης συμπλοκής, με βάση υγ-
κριτική παραδείγματα, δεν είναι πιθανή (Bent-

Οι σκηνές της επίθεσης των μεταφυσικών χρόνων είναι κατά τοιμή απεικονιζόμενων μορφών, όπως δηλώνε-
ται από τη στάση των σωμάτων και το προτε-
ταμένο γεννητικό μόριο στο κάτω μέρος της 
κοιλικής χώρας, της αριστερής, ως προς το θε-
ατή μορφής (μορφή Α). Επισημαίνεται ότι, η εκ-
δοχή αναπαράστασης συμπλοκής, με βάση συ-
γκριτική παραδείγματα, δεν είναι πιθανή (Bent-

Τη δυσχέρεια της ερμηνευτικής προσέγ-
γισης της παράστασης ενισχύει η απώλεια του κάτω τμήματός της, κατά διατήρηση της επι-
δεις μηρούς που σχηματίζουν ισχνή άρθρωση 
γισης της παράστασης ενισχύει η απώλεια του 

15. Αριστοτέλης, Πολιτικά, 1289b, 38-40. Αριστοτέ-
λης, Αθηναίων Πολιτεία, 15, 2. Στράβων, Γεωγραφικά, Χ, 1, 8, 447 και Χ, 1, το 448. Luhchansky 2005, 23-26. Για τη 
σχέση των σκηνών αποτροπίας με την άρχονα τάξη βλ. Cold-

16. Ομήρου, άλας Ε (269-70).

17. Ομήρου, άλας, Y (221-229). Delebecque 1951, 239.

878 ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑ ΨΑΛΤΗ
ΝΕΟΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΙΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΚΡΑΤΗΡΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΙΚΗ ΕΡΕΤΡΙΑ

879


Το εικονιστικό πρόγραμμα του κρατήρα ΜΕ 19565, και κυρίως η απεικόνιση της ερωτικής σκηνής στη μετόπη β2, εγγυούν πολλά ερωτήματα, εφόσον αναλόγες παραστάσεις σπανίζουν στην αρχαία ελληνική τέχνη, έως και τον 7ο π.Χ. αι. Εξαίρεση αποτελούν δύο παραδείγματα κρητικής κράτηρα: η απεικόνιση συνουσίας ανδρογυνού στη σφραγιστική επιφάνεια μινωϊκού δακτυλιδιού από τη Βιάννο (Koehl 2000, 240, πιν. LXXIX-f), που αναγνωρίζεται εξής ως σκηνή ιερογαμίας, και η απεικόνιση σφραγίδα αιγαιακής προέλευσης (Boardman 2001α, 120, πιν. 223). Παρά την εικονιστική αυτοδοσία των πορφυρών, στην ίδια κατηγορία συγκαταλέγονται πολλά παράδειγμα κρητικής προέλευσης: η απεικόνιση σφραγίδα αιγαιακής προέλευσης (Boardman 2001α, 120, πιν. 223), και σε εφαρμογή εκκλησιακής προέλευσης (Boardman 2001α, 120, πιν. 223). Παρά την εικονιστική αυτοδοσία των πορφυρών, στην ίδια κατηγορία συγκαταλέγονται πολλά παράδειγμα κρητικής προέλευσης: η απεικόνιση σφραγίδα αιγαιακής προέλευσης (Boardman 2001α, 120, πιν. 223).

Se αντίθεση με τις ελάχιστες γνώσεις που αντλούμε από τη σύγχρονη εικονογραφία, η επική ποίηση του 8ος π.X. αι. προσφέρει ποικιλία ερωτικών σκηνών στις οποίες συμμετέχουν θεοί και θηριαζόμενοι, οι οποίοι δεν ταυτίζονται αυτόνομα με ερωτικά στοιχεία της συνουσίας. Κορυφαία είναι η σκηνή στην Πιλαδά, όπου η Ήρα προκειμένου να απομακρύνει τον Διός από το πεδίο της στήλης του ναού του Ομήρου, δείχνει στον Ησίοδο, όπου ο Άμφιτρος παραδίδεται στην ερωτική αγκαλία της σύζυγου του γεννήματος το αντίστοιχο ερωτικά. Το ίδιο ερωτικό κλίμα επαναλαμβάνεται στον Ομηρικό έγχρωμο στην Αφροδίτη, όπου η Ηραίου της Σάμου (Ohly 1953, 81), σε μολύβιο της ευεξίας στη φανθηγματική τέχνη, έχει κατασκευαστεί σε διάφορες μορφές, ως εκ τούτου, το ενδεχόμενο σχεδίαση της ευεξίας και κοινωνικοποιημένης επιβολής της αρχαίας κοινωνίας (Pinnock 1988, 146, εικ. 267).

Στο πλαίσιο εμφάνισης των αρχαίων, προ­τάθηκαν ορισμένες υποθέσεις που συνδέονται με τη συνομολογική επιβολή της αρχαίας κοινωνίας (Powell 1997, 186).

Το πρώτο έργο αφορά την πολιτική διάθεση της ευεξίας στην κοινωνία, όπου αναφερόμαστε σε κοινωνικές καταστάσεις, όπου η συνομολογική επιβολή της αρχαίας κοινωνίας επαναλαμβάνεται στις σχετικές ενισχύει την υπόθεση της αφηγηματικής διάθε­σης, αποτελεί από τις αρχαιότερες μαρτυρίες του συμποτικού τρόπου ζωής. Ο Ποώλης, ένας από τους πιο αρχαιοεποχικούς αγγείους, έφερε την υπόθεση της αφηγηματικής διάθε­σης, αποτελεί από τις αρχαιότερες μαρτυρίες του συμποτικού τρόπου ζωής. Ο Ποώλης, ένας από τους πιο αρχαιοεποχικούς αγγείους, έφερε την υπόθεση της αφηγηματικής διάθε­σης, αποτελεί από τις αρχαιότερες μαρτυρίες του συμποτικού τρόπου ζωής.
ΝΕΟΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΙΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΚΡΑΤΗΡΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΙΚΗ ΕΡΕΤΡΙΑ


Σύμφωνα με τη δεύτερη υπόθεση, η οποία βασίζεται στην ερμηνεία της ερωτικής παράστασης ως ιερογαμίας, σκηνή εμβληματική της γαμήλιας ένωσης, μέσω της οποίας συνδέονται το γάμο και τον έρωτα με την πιτυκτική. Η νεαρή ανύμφευτη κοπέλα παρομοιάζει λοιπόν με θρακιώτικη φορβάδα που δαμάζεται με το ζυγό του γάμου, «πώλης Θρηικίη, τι δή με λοξόν δμμας βλέπουσα / νηλεώς φεύγεις, δοκεις δέ μ' ούδέν ε'ιδέν σοφόν; / ισθι τοι καλώς μεν αν σοι τον χαλινόν έμβαλοιμι, / ήνίας δ'έχων στρέφοιμί σ'άμφ' ίματα δρόμου» (Robson 1997, 69-70. Calame 2006, 35, 42, 150, 206) μεταφορές που παραπέμπουν στην εικονιστική παράσταση της μετόπης β2.


28. Η κτερισματική χρήση του ειδωλίου Κενταύρου από το Λευκαντί είχε συνδεθεί με εθίμα σχετικά με την εννηλίκωση, Lebesi 1996, 149-150.


30. Βλ. σημ. 17.


Η άμεση σύνδεση μάλιστα του θεσμού της παιδεραστίας με την αριστοκρατική ιδεολογία ως τρόπο της παιδείας των άριστων πολιτών (Calame 2006, 117-120, 131, 247), και ο αριστοκρατικός χαρακτήρας της ταφής, ενισχύουν την υπόθεση ότι η ερωτική σκηνή του κρατήρα αναπαριστά σκηνή ομοφυλοφιλικού έρωτα.

Συνοψίζοντας επισημαίνεται, ότι ο κρατήρας των μελαινών ίππων συνιστά σημαντικό καλλιτεχνικό και πνευματικό δημιούργημα του ευβοϊκού κεραμικού εργατηρίου κατά τον 8ο π.Χ., και αποτελεί συνεκτικό κρίκο με την εικονιστική παράδοση που αναπτύσσεται στο γειτονικό Λευκάντι κατά την Ύστερη εποχή του Χαλκού (Hurwit 1993, 32-33. Lemos 2000, 13-14). Ο εικονιστικός διάκοσμος παρά τη μοναδικότητά του και τα πολλά ερωτήματα που θέτει ως προς την ερμηνεία του, αποτελεί συνεκτικό δείγμα της πολυπρόσωπης εικονιστικής παράδοσης του 8ο π.Χ., που διαμορφώνεται από τις συγκεκριμένες ανάγκες των παραγγελιοδοτών κάθε τοπικής κοινωνίας και της τελετουργίας, σε συνδυασμό με τις ποικίλες επιδράσεις εισηγμένων τέχνερων (Stansbury - O’Donell 2006, 252-253).

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Εικ. 1. Όψη α' του κρατήρα ΜΕ 19565

Εικ. 2. Όψη β' του κρατήρα ΜΕ 19565

Εικ. 3. Η θέση του οικοπέδου Αν. Αλεξάνδρη στο ανατολικό τμήμα της αρχαίας Αγοράς Ερέτριας.
Εικ. 4. Ο λάκκος της πυράς Ι, οικόπεδο Αν. Αλεξανδρή, Ερέτρια.

Εικ. 5. Σχέδιο της όψης α' του κρατήρα ME 19565.

Εικ. 6. Σχέδιο της όψης β' του κρατήρα ME 19565.
Εικ. 7. Λεπτομέρεια της σκηνής του εναγκαλισμού, όψη β', μετόπη β1.
VAISSELLE DOMESTIQUE, VAISSELLE DE SANCTUAIRE?
DEUX EXEMPLES ÉRÉTRIENS*

INTRODUCTION

Nos réflexions concernant la céramique géométrique dans son contexte d'utilisation trouvent leur origine dans le débat suscité, depuis un certain temps déjà, par les plus anciennes constructions du sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros à Érétrie. Pour déterminer si l'on avait affaire à des édifices religieux ou à des habitations, les chercheurs se sont principalement servis du plan des vestiges et non du matériel, faute d'avoir accès aux données nécessaires. Il était donc légitime de se demander si la céramique pouvait apporter un éclairage nouveau sur la question. Une étude a été entreprise dans ce sens; d'abord centrée sur le sanctuaire, elle a ensuite été étendue à d'autres fouilles réalisées à Érétrie. En effet, il paraissait indispensable de pouvoir comparer des ensembles de matériel issus de contextes différents.

* Nous remercions ici les professeurs Pierre Ducrey et Karl Reber, respectivement ancien et nouveau directeur de l'Ecole suisse d'archéologie en Grèce, pour la confiance et le soutien qu'ils nous accordent. Nos recherches ont notamment été rendues possibles grâce à l'appui financier de la Fondation Stavros S. Niarchos et de la Fondation Théodore Lagonico.

Dans les pages qui suivent, nous présenterons un exemple de comparaison. Relevons dès l'abord que, même si le sanctuaire d'Apollon est directement concerné, il ne s'agit pas d'en discuter en détail, ni de proposer de nouvelles interprétations à son sujet. Notre intention est de partir d'un cas concret pour aborder ensuite des questions de méthode. Lorsque l'on cherche à étudier l'usage de la céramique, à mettre cette dernière en lien avec des activités précises, on rencontre en effet un certain nombre de difficultés dont il n'est pas inutile de discuter.

Ce genre d'approche, pour la période qui nous intéresse, est loin d'être généralisé. Quelques publications constituent de précieuses références, offrant aussi bien des considérations théoriques que des exemples pratiques, mais elles restent rares. On constate d'ailleurs que la plupart d'entre elles concernent des sanctuaires et qu'elles poursuivent le même but: déterminer si les ensembles de céramique les plus anciens sont l'indice d'une activité religieuse ou non. Les principales études portent sur Isthmia (Morgan 1999, 321-326), Corinth (sanctuaire de Déméter et de Koré: Pfaff 1999, 70-71), Olympie (Eder 2006, 200-210), et Ephèse (Kerschner 2003). Le cadre de la recherche est ainsi défini de manière claire, mais il mérite d'être élargi, notamment par une attention accrue accordée aux sites d'habitat.

1. Les premiers édifices, qui remontent au Géométrique Moyen, ont d'abord été interprétés comme des temples, l'attention s'étant en particulier focalisée sur un bâtiment (voir fig. 1A, 1), que son inventeur a qualifié de Daphnéphoreion (Béard 1971). A. Mazarakis Ainian (Mazarakis Ainian 1987, 20-21; 1997, 58-63, 314, 354) a ensuite proposé de voir dans ces constructions le lieu de résidence de l'élite érétrieenne.

2. A noter que peu d'objets autres que des vases ont été découverts dans le sanctuaire pour la période concernée.

3. Les phases géométriques du sanctuaire d'Apollon font actuellement l'objet d'une étude conduite par Samuel Verdan, qui sera publiée dans la collection Eretria.


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Les ensembles de céramique qui feront l'objet d'une comparaison proviennent de fouilles réalisées par les archéologues suisses, d'une part dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros, d'autre part dans une parcelle située à proximité du port actuel d'Erétrie (que l'on qualifiera par la suite de «quartier près de la mer», ou plus simplement de «fouille Roussos», d'après le nom du propriétaire du terrain)5. Dans la ville, il s'agit des deux secteurs qui ont livré les plus importantes concentrations de vestiges géométriques, accompagnées d'un abondant matériel. En outre, la qualité des informations dont on dispose à leur sujet est bonne. Les fouilles ont été menées avec soin et l'intégralité des trouvailles ont été conservées, deux éléments qui sont nécessaires à une approche contextuelle fiable.

Dans le sanctuaire comme dans le quartier près de la mer, l'occupation est attestée tout au long du 8ème siècle. En terme de chronologie relative, elle couvre le Géométrique Moyen II et le Géométrique Récem. Nous nous concentrerons ici sur la seconde période, pour laquelle les deux fouilles ont livré des ensembles céramiques d'une taille comparable. Le matériau du Géométrique Moyen II, dans le quartier de la mer, ne se trouve pas en quantité suffisante pour se prêter à l'analyse. Très schématiquement, rappelons ce que l'on sait des deux secteurs concernés.

Dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon, les premières constructions remontent au Géométrique Moyen II (phase I: fig. 1A). D'importants remaniements interviennent au début du Géométrique Récem (phase II: fig. 1B). La zone d'activités s'élargit, puis un premier édifice monumental (2) est érigé. Vers la fin de la période, la plupart des constructions disparaissent, à l'exception de l'édifice monumental et peut-être d'un bâtiment voisin (phase III: fig. 1C). La céramique prise en considération ici est celle de la deuxième phase d'occupation. Elle provient en grande partie de fosses qui étaient creusées dans les limites de l'espace occupé. Une proportion plus faible de matériel a été récoltée dans les couches de remblai ainsi qu'à l'intérieur des bâtiments.

On a déjà évoqué plus haut les problèmes d'interprétation que posent les structures géométriques du sanctuaire. Si l'édifice monumental est sans aucun doute à mettre en lien avec des activités communautaires, dont le caractère reste encore à préciser, il est plus difficile de définir la fonction des constructions alentours. Relevons une fois encore qu'il n'est pas dans notre intention d'aborder ces problèmes. Il suffit d'être conscient qu'ils sont présents en arrière-plan dans notre étude.

Le quartier près de la mer ne soulève pas les mêmes interrogations. Les vestiges qui y apparaissent en plan serré (fig. 2) sont généralement interprétés comme appartenant à un habitat (Kahil 1981a; 1981b, 167-169; Mazarakis Ainian 1987, 4; Blandin 2007, vol. II, 82-83). En l'absence de publication définitive, il est en revanche malaisé d'attribuer les différents murs à des phases et parfois même à des bâtiments; plusieurs propositions ont été avancées à ce sujet (Morris 1998, 18, fig. 5; Mazarakis Ainian 2002, 216-219, figs. 79-82). Dans le cas présent, étant donné que l'étude de la céramique a précédé celle des structures et de la stratigraphie, nous avons été obligés de sélectionner les ensembles d'après la datation des vases, sans tenir compte des contextes de fouille. On peut néanmoins remarquer que le matériau ne semble pas provenir de fosses, bien que certaines concentrations de céramique suggèrent la présence de telles structures; il a plutôt été récolté dans les couches de remblai à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur des bâtiments.

MÉTHODES

Avant de comparer la céramique du sanctuaire et celle du quartier près de la mer, quelques remarques s'imposent concernant les méthodes d'analyse employées. En premier lieu, il faut rappeler l'importance qu'il y a de prendre en compte l'intégralité du matériel et non de se contenter d'une sélection plus ou moins étroite de vases. Ce qui importe, c'est de voir comment les différents récipients s'associent pour constituer une vaisselle (que l'on peut aussi qualifier d'"assemblage", pour utiliser un terme commun au français et à l'anglais). Et pour comprendre la fonction d'un assemblage donné, on ne saurait naturellement omettre l'un ou l'autre de ses composants. Cette première exigence a pour corollaire l'emploi d'un mode de quantification qui permette de rendre compte le plus complètement possible du contenu d'un ensemble. On connaît plusieurs méthodes pour quantifier de la céramique: le pesage, le comptage de tous les fragments recueillis, le comptage d'éléments significatifs (bords, fonds, anses), ou les mesures de circonférences (pour obtenir ce que l'on nomme en anglais l'estimated vessel equivalent). Toutes présentent des avantages et des inconvénients et trouvent leur utilité dans un champ d'application déterminé. Il n'y a pas lieu de les comparer id (à ce propos, voir notamment Orton 1993; Orton et al. 1993, 21-22, 168-171; Arcelin 1999). Mentionnons seulement que, pour l'étude de la céramique étrusque, on procède d'abord au comptage de tous les fragments recueillis puis, après, un travail de recollage on compte un nombre minimum d'individus, abrégé ci-après NMI, en se basant sur les bords de vases (Arcelin – Tuffreau-Libre 1998, III-XVII).

Il est à noter toutefois qu'une approche quantitative tenant compte de l'intégralité du matériel requiert un important investissement en temps de travail. Son emploi ne se justifie donc pas toujours. Dans certains cas, notamment si des ensembles proviennent de contextes mal définis où s'ils ont une taille restreinte, on peut se contenter de repérer des présences et des absences, comme le fait Pfaff dans son étude de la céramique du sanctuaire corinthien de Deméter et Koré (Pfaff 1999, 68-69, table 1). Une fois que l'on peut exprimer le contenu d'un ensemble céramique en termes de chiffres, il s'agit mettre en évidence sa composition, non pas en ce qui concerne la datation, le style ou la provenance, comme on le fait généralement, mais en ce qui concerne la fonction. Dans une large mesure, les usages auxquels un vase peut se prêter sont déterminés par ses caractéristiques physiques (qualité de la pâte et du revêtement) et morphologiques. La manière dont chaque catégorie (par exemple la céramique fine ou la grossière: fine ware et coarse ware) et chaque forme (assiette, tasse, skyphos, etc.) est représentée au sein d'un ensemble permet donc de caractériser ce dernier, du point de vue de sa fonction. Il s'agit toutefois d'hypothèses de travail, qui peuvent être remises en question par la suite.

Dans la comparaison qui suit, on définira la composition des assemblages en allant du général au particulier. On commencera par considérer les proportions des catégories, puis celles des «groupes fonctionnels» (vases à boire, à verser, etc.) et enfin celles des formes. Dans un premier temps, on se contentera de présenter des chiffres. Les problèmes d'interprétation seront abordés dans un second temps.

6. On notera que les écoles anglo-saxonnes et françaises accordent leur préférence à des méthodes différentes.

7. L'auteur compare le matériel issu de contextes domestiques, funéraires et religieux. Il explique en outre pourquoi il a renoncé à la quantification dans ce cas (Pfaff 1999, 60, n. 10).

8. La terminologie employée pour les catégories de céramique et pour les formes n'est pas la même dans toutes les publications ni, bien évidemment, dans toutes les langues. Par soucis de clarté et dans le but d'aider les lecteurs non francophones, nous avons indiqué, pour certains termes, l'équivalent en anglais.
COMPARAISON DES ENSEMBLES CÉRAMIQUES

Dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon et dans le quartier près de la mer (fouille Roussos), la répartition des vases par catégories est très similaire (Table 1). La céramique fine peinte prédomine largement. La céramique grossière (coarse/cooking ware) ne constitue que 10% du matériel. Elle est même un peu plus rare dans la fouille Roussos que dans le sanctuaire. D'autres catégories sont également attestées, mais dans des proportions si faibles qu'elles peuvent être considérées comme négligeables: c'est le cas des amphores de transport importées, ainsi que de quelques vases en céramique fine non tournée (fine handmade ware), probablement de fabrication locale.

Pour la catégorie la mieux représentée, à savoir la fine peinte, on peut affiner l'analyse en considérant des groupes fonctionnels, au sein desquels on a réuni les récipients susceptibles d'avoir des fonctions proches: petits vases ouverts servant à la consommation individuelle de boissons et d'aliments solides (assiette, lékanis, tasse, skyphos, canthare, cotyle)9, vases pour mélanger le vin et l'eau (cratère, dinos), vases pour servir des liquides (toutes les sortes de cruches), vases pour transporter et stocker des liquides (hydrie, amphore), et enfin vases aux fonctions diverses (calathos, pyxis). A ce niveau, les similitudes entre les deux ensembles sont une nouvelle fois marquantes (Table 2): même prédominance des petits vases ouverts, ce qui n'est pas une surprise pour qui est coutumier du matériel grec, que ce soit à l'époque géométrique ou aux périodes postérieures; proportions semblables des autres groupes.

Toujours en ce qui concerne la céramique fine peinte, on peut s'intéresser à chaque forme de vase (Table 3)10. Là encore, ces sont les ressemblances entre les deux ensembles qui apparaissent le plus clairement. Rares sont les différences statistiquement significatives. On observe un décalage entre les skyphoi et cotyles, les uns étant plus nombreux dans la fouille Roussos, les autres dans le sanctuaire. Toutefois, il s'agit de formes très proches, qui ne se distinguent pas du point de vue de la fonction, à nos yeux du moins. Dans l'optique qui est la nôtre, ce décalage n'a guère d'incidence sur la composition de la vaisselle. Un seul élément différencie vraiment la céramique des deux contextes, à savoir la présence d'hydries miniatures dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon et non dans le quartier près de la mer. Notons que leur nombre reste très modeste. C'est surtout à l'époque archaïque, dans une aire sacrificielle située au nord du sanctuaire d'Apollon, que ce vase à destination rituelle devient très fréquent (Huber 2003, 48-58, 116-120). On peut éventuellement se demander si les hydries miniatures découvertes dans le sanctuaire ne sont pas des "contaminations" en provenance de l'aire sacrificielle. Nous estimons que ce n'est pas le cas, car une partie des pièces en question sont issues de contextes bien définis, qu'il s'agisse de fosses ou d'édifices. Elles se concentrent même à certains endroits, comme on va le voir plus bas. Force est donc de constater qu'elles témoignent d'activités se déroulant dans la zone du sanctuaire lui-même.

Considérons enfin le décor de la céramique, et plus précisément celui des petits vases ouverts (tasses, skyphoi et canthares), ce qui nous semble être un moyen d'évaluer la qualité de la vaisselle de table. Pour ne pas rendre l'analyse trop complexe, on se contente de faire la distinction entre les récipients qui portent un décor peint et ceux qui sont entièrement vernis (Table 4)11. Sur ce point, on observe une fois encore la similitude qui existe entre les deux assemblages concernés. Si l'on se focalise sur catégorie, on observe toujours une large majorité de pots (cooking pot/jug, parfois désigné par le terme grec chytra).

9. Notre "lékanis" correspond au vase appelé shallow bowl with strap handles à Lefkandi (Popham et al. 1980, 302-303, fig. 9C). Il s'agit d'un vase typiquement eubéen.
10. Le même exercice peut être fait pour la céramique grossière. Toutefois, il est moins intéressant car, dans cette configuration, on observe toujours une large majorité de pots (cooking pot/jug, parfois désigné par le terme grec chytra).
11. Signalons que le décor n'est pas toujours conservé, ce qui réduit le nombre d'individus pris en compte.
des décors particuliers, on a l'impression que le cheval et la figure humaine apparaissent plus fréquemment dans le sanctuaire, où l'on trouve également quelques motifs exceptionnels, par exemple un navire (Verdan 2006). Mais ces observations concernent quelques dizaines d'occurrences seulement.

En résumé, quelques traits semblent bel et bien propres à la céramique du sanctuaire: des hydries miniatures, des décors rares. A cela s'ajoute un ensemble de graffiti alphabétiques, qui ne trouve son équivalent nulle part ailleurs à Érétria (Kenzelmann-Pfyffer et al. 2005). Il s'agit toutefois d'éléments discrets. La composition générale de la vaisselle reste la même dans les deux contextes soumis à la comparaison.

INTERPRÉTATIONS

Nous sommes partis du principe qu'une approche quantitative précise devait faire apparaître, dans la composition de la vaisselle, des particularités propres à chaque contexte d'utilisation. Or la comparaison du sanctuaire d'Apollon et du quartier près de la mer nous donne à voir des ensembles de céramique très similaires. Que faut-il en déduire?

Il est difficile de concevoir que les deux contextes étudiés soient exactement de même nature. On a mentionné plus haut les rares spécificités du matériel provenant du sanctuaire. Bien plus que cela, la présence d'un bâtiment de grande taille indique le caractère particulier des lieux au Géométrique Récend. À cette période toutefois, il n'est pas certain que tout le secteur soit déjà dévolu à des activités religieuses. Des habitation privé pourrait cotoyer l'édifice monumental, ce qui expliquerait qu'une vaisselle presque identique se trouve dans le sanctuaire et dans le quartier près de la mer. L'hypothèse est plausible, mais, pour la tester, il est nécessaire d'affiner l'analyse de la céramique du sanctuaire en comparant entre eux les ensembles provenant d'espaces ou de structures différentes. Ce travail est en cours; on ne peut en rendre compte de manière détaillée, mais on en donnera un bref exemple plus loin.12

D'autres explications méritent cependant d'être envisagées. Comme l'ont déjà relevé plusieurs chercheurs (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 285; Morgan 1999, 321; Pfaff 1999, 70-71), le mobilier céramique ne se distingue pas nécessairement selon qu'il provient d'un contexte domestique ou sacré, et cela pour deux raisons principales. D'une part, des activités de consommation semblables peuvent se dérouler dans ces différents contextes: à la vaisselle des repas pris dans un cadre privé (que ce soit quotidiennement ou lors d'occasions spéciales) correspondrait ainsi la vaisselle utilisée pour des banquets à caractère religieux. D'autre part, les vases sont susceptibles de se prêter à des usages multiples. Dans un sanctuaire par exemple, comment distinguer entre eux, sauf cas exceptionnel, des récipients employés pour un banquet, des offrandes, ou des ustensiles servant à d'autres actes rituels (Stissi 2003)? S'il est possible de définir un éventail de fonctions pour chaque catégorie de céramique et chaque forme de vase, comme on l'a laissé entendre plus haut, l'usage réel qui était fait des récipients reste souvent impossible à déterminer. Si l'on revient à notre exemple éretrien, on pourrait donc avoir affaire, avec le sanctuaire d'Apollon et le quartier près de la mer, à deux lieux qui ont une vocation différente mais qui livrent un même matériel.

PERSPECTIVES DE RECHERCHE

Ces dernières considérations incitent à la prudence. Sans que l'on renonce à étudier la céramique sous l'angle de sa fonction, il faut reconnaître que la démarche mérite d'être revue, tant dans ses méthodes que dans ses objectifs. Il semble notamment peu judicieux de se focaliser sur l'opposition habitat/sanctuaire.

12. Dans tous les cas, il est certain que l'on peut qualifier le sanctuaire d'espace multifonctionnel.
en tentant à tous prix de distinguer des faciès fonctionnels propres à ces deux contextes. Avant d’aborder ce genre de question, peut-être n’est-il pas inutile d’affirmer nos connaissances de base, en s’intéressant plus précisément aux usages potentiels de chaque catégorie et de chaque forme. La céramique grossière doit faire l’objet d’une attention accrue. Des études récentes ont mis en lumière tout l’intérêt qu’elle présente et elles ont ouvert la voie à de futures recherches (Gros 2006)\textsuperscript{13}. On se demande notamment quelle pourrait être une “batterie de cuisine” normale dans une demeure d’époque géométrique. Comme on l’a vu précédemment, les petits vases ouverts dominent toujours le répertoire de la céramique fine. On les considère généralement comme de la vaisselle servant à boire, ou éventuellement à manger (Morgan 1999, 323; Kerschner 2003, 248), mais on ne se demande pas assez pourquoi plusieurs formes coexistent (tasse, skyphos, canthare) et si elles sont destinées à des usages différents. A noter que l’importance de ces vases ne doit pas être surestimée: par rapport au reste de la vaisselle, ils avaient assurément une courte durée de vie, ce qui explique en partie leur nombre élevé. Les liens que l’on établit entre la qualité de la céramique et le statut de ceux qui s’en servaient méritent aussi d’être affinés. A Érètrie, par exemple, on a l’impression que chaque fouille du niveau géométrique livre un matériel relativement riche. Est-ce un standard pour les habitants d’Érètrie? A quoi pourrait ressembler la vaisselle des modestes gens, si tant est qu’on puisse le repérer? Ce sont là quelques exemples seulement des questions dont il reste à traiter.

Pour l’instant, le plus grand obstacle à l’interprétation, c’est la rareté des données disponibles. Or il faut la confrontation de nombreux ensembles issus de contextes divers pour faire progresser la recherche. L’étude peut être réalisée dans un cadre plus ou moins étendu. On a présenté ci-dessus la comparaison de deux secteurs appartenant au même site d’Érètrie. Il est également possible d’affiner l’analyse, en examinant comment, au sein d’un seul secteur, la céramique est répartie au gré des espaces ou des structures. L’exercice reste à faire pour le quartier près de la mer. On prendra donc comme exemple le sanctuaire d’Apollon. Au Géométrique Moyen déjà, la vaisselle n’est pas la même, suivant qu’elle se trouve dans des fosses ou rejette en bordure de la zone occupée. Pour le Géométrique Récent, qui nous concerne plus particulièrement ici, le matériel de l’édifice monumental (fig. 1B, 2) sort de l’ordinaire. Le nombre relativement faible d’individus, dans ce cas, rend la comparaison sujette à caution. Il n’empêche que la vaisselle récoltée à cet endroit présente une proportion élevée de tasses monochromes et d’hydries miniatures (Table 5), des traits qui ne se trouvent pas ailleurs et qui sont à mettre en lien avec les activités particulières que le bâtiment abritait.

Cet exemple montre qu’il est utile de connaître la provenance exacte des ensembles, car le matériel est susceptible de varier d’un “micro-contexte” à l’autre. Plusieurs facteurs font que la céramique n’est pas uniformément répartie sur l’ensemble d’un secteur: la fonction propre à chaque espace, mais aussi (et peut-être surtout) la manière dont on se débarrassait des vases hors d’usage. Abandonnés sur place, récoltés pour être jetés dans des fosses dépo- toirs ou évacués hors de la zone d’activité, les déchets n’en auront pas la même visibilité aux yeux des archéologues. On oublie parfois ce phénomène de tri, qui peut avoir un grand impact sur la composition des ensembles issus de la fouille. Pour cette raison, les rapprochements entre différents cas ne sont pas toujours pertinents. Reprenons des exemples mentionnés plus haut: la céramique étudiée à Isthmia (Morgan 1999, 321-326), à Corinthie (Pfaff 1999, 70-71), à Olympie (Éder 2006, 200-210) et à Éphèse (Kerschner 2003), provient de contextes différents: essen-

\textsuperscript{13} J.-S. Gros est aussi l’auteur d’une thèse de doctorat non publiée, intitulée “La céramique commune en Grèce centrale au début de l’Âge du Fer (ca. 1100-675 avant J.-C.). Typologies, Production, Circulation, Consommation” (Université de Montpellier III, Université de Thessalie, 2007).
tiellement des remblais tardifs dans les deux premiers cas; des dépôts mieux délimités dans les deux autres. Une comparaison entre ces quatre assemblages fait peu de sens, si l'on sait combien la provenance des ensembles peut avoir d'incidence sur la composition de la vaisselle. De plus, on a affaire à des échantillons limités, dont on peut se demander s'ils sont représentatifs de tout le matériel présent sur chaque site. On ajoutera enfin que la distance géographique (et chronologique) rend les comparaisons plus complexes à effectuer. Les particularités locales dans la production et dans l'emploi de la céramique constituent des paramètres supplémentaires à intégrer pour l'analyse. Actuellement, il faut le reconnaître, le peu de données disponibles nous oblige à mettre en parallèle des exemples éloignés les uns des autres. Il est donc souhaitable que des études soient réalisées d'abord à l'échelle d'un site ou d'une région.

CONCLUSION

Dans cette optique, Érètrie constitue un laboratoire tout à fait propice, avec la garantie d'une unité de lieu et de temps. La céramique géométrique s'y trouve en quantité importante et provient de contextes variés. Nous y poursuivons nos recherches, en tentant d'élargir notre champ d'investigation et d'affiner les angles d'attaque. Une meilleure compréhension de la fonction et de l'usage des vases passera par la multiplication des études. Au vu des récentes publications, il semble que le sujet suscite un intérêt croissant. Pour que des comparaisons précises et détaillées puissent être effectuées, il serait néanmoins nécessaire que les chercheurs emploient des méthodes uniformes, non seulement pour la quantification du matériel, mais aussi pour la présentation des résultats: la variété des tableaux et des graphiques actuellement publiés rend les rapprochements difficiles. Un travail doit être fait dans ce sens14. Il faut aussi songer à recourir plus systématiquement à des méthodes telles que l'analyse des résidus organiques piégés dans l'argile des vases (Skibo 1992, 81-102; Orton et al. 1993, 224-226), ou l'observation macroscopique et microscopique des traces d'utilisation présentes sur les parois des récipients (Skibo 1992, 105-173; Orton et al. 1993, 222-224). Ces méthodes nécessitent certes des moyens financiers ou du temps, mais, appliquées à du matériel judicieusement choisi et dans le cadre d'une problématique bien définie, elles peuvent s'avérer utiles15. Pour les périodes que l'on qualifie encore parfois de "Dark Ages", la céramique constitue la source d'informations la plus importante, en tous cas du point de vue quantitatif. Il faut certes se garder de tout vouloir lui faire dire; son interprétation a des limites qu'il convient de reconnaître. Mais l'usage qui était fait des vases, dans un cadre quotidien ou lors d'occasions particulières, est un sujet qui mérite de l'attention, et pour l'étude duquel il reste encore beaucoup à faire.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE


14. C'est l'un des objectifs d'une table ronde que nous songer à recourir plus systématiquement à des méthodes telles que l'analyse des résidus organiques piégés dans l'argile des vases (Skibo 1992, 81-102; Orton et al. 1993, 224-226), ou l'observation macroscopique et microscopique des traces d'utilisations présentes sur les parois des récipients (Skibo 1992, 105-173; Orton et al. 1993, 222-224). Ces méthodes nécessitent certes des moyens financiers ou du temps, mais, appliquées à du matériel judicieusement choisi et dans le cadre d'une problématique bien définie, elles peuvent s'avérer utiles15. Pour les périodes que l'on qualifie encore parfois de "Dark Ages", la céramique constitue la source d'informations la plus importante, en tous cas du point de vue quantitatif. Il faut certes se garder de tout vouloir lui faire dire; son interprétation a des limites qu'il convient de reconnaître. Mais l'usage qui était fait des vases, dans un cadre quotidien ou lors d'occasions particulières, est un sujet qui mérite de l'attention, et pour l'étude duquel il reste encore beaucoup à faire.
d'époque géométrique à Érètrie. Érètrie: fouilles et recherches XVII, Gollion.


Fig. 1. Sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros, phases géométriques.

Fig. 2. Quartier près de la mer (fouilles Roussos), plan des vestiges (Kahil 1981a).
Table 1. Comparaison Apollon/Roussos: catégories de céramique.

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<td>2263</td>
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Table 2. Comparaison Apollon/Roussos: «groupes fonctionnels».

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<td>61</td>
<td>3,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Table 3. Comparaison Apollon/Roussos: formes de vases.

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Table 4. Comparaison Apollon/Roussos: vases monochromes et décorés (tasses, skyphoi, canthares).
Table 5. Comparaison entre la céramique de l'édifice 2 et le reste du matériel du sanctuaire d'Apollon (formes de vases).

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Jean-Sébastien Gros

POUR UNE TYPOCHRONOLOGIE DE LA CÉRAMIQUE COMMUNE EN GRÈCE CENTRALE

Le texte proposé par William Coulson il y a une quinzaine d'années faisait, entre autres, le point sur les aspects terminologiques des différentes périodisations tout en abordant les aspects chronologiques. C'est sur ce point que porte ma contribution. Le but n'est pas de proposer un nouveau système ni même des ajustements entre les phases stylistiques et la chronologie absolue, mais d'ajouter une typochronologie qui fait défaut : celle de la céramique commune.1

Faute de pouvoir traiter de l'intégralité de ce matériau dans le cadre restreint de cette intervention, je me concentrerai sur l'étude d'un seul ensemble homogène. Cette restriction sera géographique, et concernera Athènes, puis se limitera à une seule forme de la céramique commune le pot2.

TYPOCHRONOLOGIE

Les éléments permettant l'élaboration de la chronologie relative peuvent être ordonnées selon deux catégories. La première rassemble les caractéristiques extrinsèques constituées par les données contextuelles alors que la seconde concerne les caractéristiques intrinsèques, stylistiques, morphologiques et techniques.

Il est judicieux d'aborder l'analyse typochronologique par l'examen des données contextuelles et principalement stratigraphiques. Cet examen permet de d'établir un premier classement chronologique à partir duquel sont déduits des modèles d'évolution. Ces modèles sont ensuite testés par la méthode de sérialisation suivant des critères potentiellement marqueurs : la technique de façonnage, le traitement de la forme générale, le type d'anse, de base, ainsi que les éléments de décorations. Ce processus d'analyse conduit à l'élaboration d'une typochronologie qui permet à la fois de corriger les décalages chronologiques entre la date de production et celle de déposition et aussi de révéler d'autres caractéristiques chronologiquement significatives.

Une trentaine de pots3 provenant des sépultures du Céramique constituent l'échantillon permettant la première phase de l'élaboration de la typochronologie. La plupart sont entièrement conservés ce qui facilite l'analyse morphologique4. Cet ensemble se répartit chronologiquement sur toute la période prise en compte, soit du SM au SubG.

Une première appréciation de l'évolution des pots est faite par leur contexte archéologique. Pour cela, la chronologie relative

1. Je tiens à remercier les organisateurs et tout particulièrement A. Mazarakis Ainian pour la qualité de ce colloque pour son invitation à y participer. Cette présentation n'aurait pu avoir lieu sans le soutien de Dr. H. Stroszeck du DAI et de B. Orfanou de la 3ème éphorie des antiquités classiques.

2. Cette étude étant un prolongement des travaux effectués lors des recherches doctorales, certaines parties sont reprises ici.

3. Parmi une quarantaine de céramique commune, voir tableau 1.

4. Seuls sont exclus les individus très fragmentaires.
des sépultures élaborée par G. Krause s'avère la plus utile (Krause 1975). Elle est élaborée à partir des constatations stratigraphiques des contextes, stylistiques du matériel et met en œuvre une méthode de sériation typologique. Si l'on classe les pots dans l'ordre de la plus ancienne des sépultures à la plus récente, on obtient cette série :

Ce classement chronologique est à lui seul significatif. Il rend compte d'une indéniable évolution de ce type de matériel. Cependant, il faut tenir compte du facteur dépositionnel qui dans des cas extrêmes se manifeste par la présence de mobilier antérieur de plusieurs siècles au dépôt. Pour intégrer ce facteur dans l'analyse, il est nécessaire d'exploiter les caractéristiques intraséries du mobilier. La sériation est à ce titre l'outil analytique le plus approprié.

**SÉRATION**

Afin de pouvoir pratiquer une sériation, il faut procéder à la sélection des critères qui, sous forme typologique, alimenteront le calcul. Comme il s'agit de l'intellectualisation de l'objet, il n'est malheureusement pas possible d'inclure toutes les caractéristiques. De plus, parmi celles-ci, une sélection doit être faite pour limiter le nombre de facteurs et rendre le calcul compréhensible.

Une première tendance de l'évolution chronologique, observée grâce à la datation des contextes, permet de déterminer des critères qui sont des marqueurs chronologiques potentiels. Le premier des critères retenu est la section d'anse, nous avons établis 6 types (Table 1):

- 1 nodule;
- 2 bactérie;
- 3 orthogonal;
- 4 bandeau (avec ou sans pression);
- 5 bandeau large;
- 6 circulaire.

La seconde caractéristique est celle de la base, dont les types sont limités aux trois suivants : annulaire, concave, plate. Ensuite, les éléments de décoration sont relevés suivant trois cas : sans décoration, incisée, présence de mastic. L'enregistrement de la forme se fait suivant un plus grand nombre de cas : 1 sans col, 2 globulaire, 3 col droit, 4 asymétrique ou ventrue, 5 ovoïde, 6 sphérique.

La méthode qualitative est appliquée dans un premier temps, les pots sont enregistrés dans un tableau selon l'absence ou la présence des critères définis. Ensuite, l'analyse factorielle réalisée informatiquement. Cela se réduit à ordonner les lignes et les colonnes d'un tableau de façon à ce que l'ensemble des cas où il y a présence du critère soit rassemblé sous la forme d'une diagonale. Le résultat obtenu est très satisfaisant puisque le classement a abouti à une formation homogène de la diagonale.

La première observation qui peut être faite est celle de la conformité, tout au moins dans les grandes lignes, de ce classement avec celui précédemment effectué à partir du contexte. Cette première constatation fait office de vérification préliminaire et conforte la pertinence de la méthode employée. Les quelques écarts entre les deux séries correspondent justement à ce que l'on attendait, c'est-à-dire qu'ils sont le reflet des écarts entre la date de production et celle de dépositionnement.

**PROPOSITION ET VALIDATION DU MODÈLE**

À partir de la dernière séquence, chronologiquement ajustée à la production, il est possible de relever avec une plus grande précision

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5. Pour un exemple propre à la céramique commune voir Agora XIII, no. 346; Hesperia Suppl. 2, 1939, no. VII 9, 33, fig. 20.
7. Notons que les atours de l'exactitude des mathématiques et statistiques ne doivent pas cacher la part de subjectivité présente dans le choix des critères.
8. Logiciel créé par Øyvind Hammer de l'université d'Oslo, PAST (Palaeontological Statistics) dans sa version 1.42.
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<th>bibliographie</th>
<th>Krause Zeitstufe</th>
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Table 1: Liste des pots du Céramique
les critères significatifs. Nous procéderons par l'examen singulier de chacune des caractéristiques en les replaçant chronologiquement. Parallèlement, pour servir de vérification ou d'ajustement, il sera fait référence aux individus qui n'ont pas été inclus lors de la sédation, car incomplets ou appartenant à une autre forme.

MORPHOLOGIE

L'évolution s'accorde parfaitement avec celle déjà décrite par K. Reber (Reber 1991, 55). Cependant, celle-ci est affinée. Table 2 permet de faire une nette distinction entre le PGA, le PGM et le PGR. Les éléments caractéristiques essentiels concernant la forme apparaissent dans le traitement du col et de la panse. Le
col est quasiment absent au SM mais apparait peu à peu à la fin de la période pour être finalement toujours présent et traité de manière indépendante au PGA. L'évolution au PGM et PGR se reflète particulièrement encore dans cette partie du vase. L'importance donnée au col est largement acquise à la fin du PGR où le col constitue une partie clairement distincte de la panse. Les parois tendent à être verticales formant ainsi un cylindre. À partir du GA, l'attention se porte tout particulièrement sur la panse. La dissymétrie de la panse est de plus en plus accentuée avec, à l'opposé de l'anse, une grande partie inférieure propice à la cuisson. En plus des individus utilisés pour la sérialisation, il faut signaler le pot no. inv. 1221 (Kerameikos V, 139, 235, fig. 1), qui est fragmentaire mais dont le profil peut être reconstitué. Il est du type pansu et provient d'un contexte du GAI ou II. L'introduction de la forme ainsi que l'atténuation de la dissymétrie sont introduites lors du GR.

Ces considérations sur la chronologie morphologique ne semblent cependant pas pouvoir être généralisées car quelques exemplaires posent des problèmes. C'est le cas du vase no. inv. 2967 (AM 81, 1966, pl. 15; Reber 1991, pl. 4.3) qui a par sa morphologie de se situer entre le pot et la tasse. À ce titre, il devrait dater du SM, cependant le contexte est daté du GMII. De plus il est troublant de constater que d'autres caractéristiques sont propres à différentes périodes. La cuisson fortement réductrice se rencontre ordinairement au PGA ou PGM, de même que les traces verticales de lissage sur le col sont observées sur les individus du PGA au PGR. Enfin, les éléments décoratifs constitutifs de la paire de mastoi placés symétriquement sur l'épaule sont remarqués au GRIP. Il faut en conclure que ce vase ne peut s'inclure correctement dans la série des pots, mais plutôt dans celle des miniatures. Quant aux caractéristiques techniques, nous allons voir qu'elles peuvent se trouver parfois à des périodes plus basses. En conclusion, il est hasardeux de proposer systématiquement une date du SM pour les pots du type 1. En effet, ce type peut se confondre très facilement avec soit des tasses soit des pots miniatures qui sont postérieurs au SM. Un des contre-exemples les plus récents est celui du pot miniature du GR retrouvé dans le tumulus d'Agios Georgios à Anavyssos (IIAE 1911, 124, no. 25).

**TECHNIQUES**

Les caractéristiques morphologiques viennent d'être analysées chronologiquement de façon indépendante ; cependant, elles sont, sur de nombreux points, en étroite relation avec le façonnage employé. L'exemple le plus significatif est la dissymétrie de la panse au GA et GM qui ne peut être obtenue par un façonnage exclusif au tour. D'une façon générale, on assiste tout au long de la période étudiée au développement de la maîtrise des techniques de façonnage sans l'aide du tour. Les premiers individus sont grossièrement modelés avec des parois irrégulières. À partir du PGA des progrès sont faits dans l'homogénéité des parois mais la maîtrise n'est pas encore suffisante pour créer des formes aux courbes plus complexes. C'est au PGM que le modelage est suffisamment maîtrisé pour permettre un résultat régulier, ce qui constitue d'ailleurs le point de départ pour une recherche dans le perfectionnement de la forme. L'amélioration des techniques est aussi significative au cours du G. C'est ce paramètre qui permet le façonnage de vases de plus en plus larges et hauts avec, il est raisonnable de le penser, l'introduction de la technique du façonnage sur moule.

L'évolution des techniques de traitement de surface est plus difficilement observable. On peut remarquer dans le pièces lignes que du SM au tout début du PGM la surface est polie et fumée. Le brunissage n'est pas visible sur les
pots du SM comme le num. inv. 427 mais il l'est sur le pot num. inv. 474 du PGA ainsi que sur le num. inv. 742. Les fragments de la lèvre et du col de ce pot d'un contexte du PGM portent des traces de brunissage régulières et la cuisson est oxydante. La datation attribuée par le contexte s'insère parfaitement dans le modèle chronologique proposé, en raison de la large période (du PGA au PGR) attribuée à ces caractéristiques. Le pot du Céramique, no. inv. 736 (Kerameikos I, 184, pl. 74), n'est que partiellement conservé. Il manque en particulier la base et l'anse et bien qu'il soit conservé de la lèvre à la partie inférieure de la panse, il n'est pas possible de juger de l'inclinaison du profil. Cependant la forme est très régulière et la paroi a une épaisseur uniforme, la hauteur restituée devrait donc être d'environ une vingtaine de cm. Les seuls autres critères sont la technique de façonnage, la pâte et le traitement de surface. La cuisson est oxydante, la surface porte de légères traces de lissage et surtout est soigneusement polie. Sur la base de ces seuls éléments, il n'est pas possible d'inclure cet individu avec assurance dans la série. Le traitement de surface correspond approximativement à celui qui pouvait être réalisé dès le PGA et au PGM alors que la forme trouve son plus proche parallèle dans le pot no. inv. 832 du GM. Seule la cuisson oxydante correspond à celle utilisée pour la plupart des individus du PGR, c'est-à-dire la période de son contexte. Le lissage à l'éponge fait une apparition au GRI comme le montrent les nombreux pots de l'Agora d'Athènes

Les dégraissants n'ont pas été pris en compte dans la série faute de pouvoir en faire une observation systématique. Cependant, la série constituée permet l'hypothèse d'une évolution. Les exemplaires du SM contiennent relativement peu de dégraissants, c'est d'ailleurs pour cette raison que l'on peut observer de nombreuses imperfections à la surface dues au choc thermique. Au PGA, les dégraissants semblent être d'une densité et d'une taille similaires mais alors la cuisson devait être mieux maîtrisée pour pouvoir donner une surface homogène et éviter les détachement de pellicules.

Karl Reber a remarqué que les formes dont la pâte est dégraissée à l'aide de grosses inclusions aux SM et PG ont tendance à être fabriquées avec des parois plus fines et des inclusions plus petites. On peut y voir une amélioration des techniques. Ces récipients avaient comme exigence d'être résistants au choc et à la chaleur, et les meilleures solutions sont celle d'une pâte riche en dégraissants ou de réaliser une cuisson à température et à atmosphère contrôlée. Cela suppose que les potiers étaient plus aptes à maîtriser ces facteurs, il est donc possible d'y voir l'existence d'un réel « savoir faire », transmis de génération en génération, et peut être aussi une certaine spécialisation de l'ouvrage.

Il faut noter ici la présence très nette de dégraissants calcaires sur certains pots, comme le no. inv. 742.

La présence de mica s'avère être quelque peu problématique, tout au moins pour le début de la période. Cela peut paraître paradoxal étant donné qu'il s'agit d'un des types d'inclusion, sinon le type, le plus aisément observable. On trouve d'abord le pot no. inv. 427, du SM qui comporte quelques paillettes de mica argenté. Puis le no. inv. 1090 et le no. inv. 1221, et ensuite les pots de type 6 en sont invariablement dotés (no. inv. 790, no. inv. 1330, no. inv. 1331). De même, selon le matériel observé de l'Agora P23889, P12287, la présence systématique du mica argenté se fait au GRII. Cette production a été identifiée par E. Brann et décrite comme highly micaceous (Agora VIII, 29).

«The coarse domestic ware is well represented, the usual storage and cooking pots of a community, types which do not vary a great deal from century to century» (Desborough 1972, 122).

Cette remarque a été faite par Desborough


pour le faciès céramique de Karphi mais c’est ainsi que pourrait s’exprimer l’opinion de la production pour la plupart des sites de la Grèce du début de l’Âge du Fer. Pourtant, la série des pots constitue un ensemble homogène dont l’évolution chronologique se reconstitue aisément. Il faut souligner qu’aucun des critères pris en compte pour la datation ne peut être considéré comme chronologiquement significatif à lui seul, tout au moins pour une précision au siècle près. Nous avons constaté de nombreuses exceptions, et s’il fallait en rajouter une, ce serait celle qui concerne les dépressions aux attaches inférieures d’anses puisqu’une amphore du PG à Asiné comporte une double marque12, alors que ce critère est attribué principalement au GRII.

C’est donc seulement en considérant l’addition de plusieurs critères qu’il est permis d’approcher une meilleure précision qui, dans certains cas, est celle du quart de siècle. Il reste vrai que dans la plupart des contextes cette datation ne peut se substituer à celle établie pour la céramique fine, et servir d’outil chronologique pour des contextes archéologiques. Cependant, le bilan demeure très positif. Même si l’objectif n’était pas de fournir un outil chronologique plus précis que la céramique fine, il s’est avéré efficace dans certains cas, en particulier lors d’absence de la céramique fine.

**ABRÉVIATIONS**


12. Num. 408, Wells 1983b, 212, fig. 160; provenant de la phase 1. Wells 1983a, 71, fig. 47.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE**


The Geometric settlement site of Zagora on the west coast of the island of Andros was first excavated by Greek and Australian archaeologists during the 1960s and 70s. Analysis of the material has been on-going since then. Excavations revealed a thriving settlement at Zagora during the 8th century BC (Cambitoglou et al. 1971; 1988; Fagerström 1988, 61-66, 143, 171-176; Cambitoglou 1991; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 171-175). The settlement covered 6.7 hectares, of which only about one-tenth has been excavated. To date, up to twenty-five domestic houses have been uncovered (fig. 1). These houses are located in Areas D and H on the crest of the peninsula, in Area J on the sheltered and terraced slope to the south, and in areas B, E and F against the fortification wall (Cambitoglou et al. 1988, pl. 1; Cambitoglou 1991, figs. 4, 6).

All the Zagora houses featured at least one room with a bench. The benches have pot emplacements set into them, designed to hold pithoi and smaller storage vessels (Cambitoglou et al. 1988, 147). Every house at Zagora has one such bench, even the very small one- or two-room houses located along the fortification wall (e.g. B4: fig. 2; Cambitoglou 1972, 269, pl. 236a). Pithoi were found in situ or knocked off the benches by roof- and wall-fall, and pithos fragments broken during the life of the settlement were found across the site.

Three distinct types of pithos have been identified: the rope-band pithos, the relief-band pithos and the applied-relief pithos. Two pithos types—the rope-band and the relief-band—fit comfortably within the local tradition of handmade, plain and incised coarse-ware also found at the site in terms of fabric and manufacturing techniques employed (Cambitoglou et al. 1971, 52-56; 1988, 181-184; Cambitoglou 1991, 39-44). The third type—the applied-relief pithos—does not belong to this local ceramic tradition. Instead it comes from a very specialised production with a wider but specific distribution.

To date, the applied-relief type has been identified at only a few other sites in the Cyclades and Euboia, and on the mainland in Boeo-
tia and Attica (fig. 3: Caskey 1998; Ervin-Caskey 1976; Kontoleon 1969; Metzger 1979; Petroecheilos 1999; Schafer 1957; Simantoni-Bournia 2004). Two allied but independent local traditions have also been documented on the islands of Naxos (Simantoni-Bournia 1990, 2004, 78-79) and Rhodes (Feytmans 1950; 1952; Simantoni-Bournia 1990, 50-52; 2004, 49-62, 71).

The decorative style of applied-relief pithoi from Zagora can be divided into several distinct groups: dot-outlined linear and figured decoration (e.g. figs. 4, 5 left: Cambitoglou 1991, nos. 37, 39-41, 47, 49, fig. 40; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 68-69); exclusively linear decoration (e.g. fig. 13, left & centre: Cambitoglou 1991, nos. 42-43, figs. 18-19; Simantoni-Bournia 67-68, pls. 20-22); generic friezes of animals, archers and dancers (e.g. fig. 5: Cambitoglou 1991, nos. 44-48, 51; Ervin-Caskey 1976, pl. 1.2-3, pl. 2.4; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 71-72); and more complex figured compositions (e.g. figs. 6-7: Cambitoglou 1991, no. 52), with modelling similar to the well known Sack of Troy pithos from Mykonos, usually dated stylistically to the second quarter of the 7th century (Ervin 1963; Ervin-Caskey 1976, 28-29; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 92-93, pls. 47-48).

Examples of both the linear and the dot border styles were found in the earliest floor levels identified in the domestic area of Zagora (fig. 4: Cambitoglou et al. 1988, inv. nos. 603+1460, 1145 and 1374: 182-183 and n. 8, pl. 164, 226b). These date to the transitional phase between MG and LG I, confirming that the production mechanisms responsible were already established by the mid-8th century BC (Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 69).

Examples of the dot outlined linear and plain linear style have also been found at Eretria (Ervin-Caskey 1976, pl. 2, fig. 11; Metzger 1979), the latter in a stratified Geometric context. Although no applied-relief pithos fragments have yet been found in the 8th century levels of the Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria, a re-used pithos body has been recovered from a 5th century settlement deposit elsewhere at the site. The fragment preserves a complex figured scene with very similar modelling to those at Zagora (Kontoleon 1969, 226, pl. 46; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 83 and n. 129; Themelis 2006).

All stylistic groups are also represented among the much larger corpus recovered from the early excavations of the so-called Thesmophorion at Xobourgo on Tenos. The buildings from which these pithoi were recovered were substantially rebuilt in the Classical period, which indicates the esteem in which these vessels were held, but obscures the date and context of their primary use (Kourou 2002, 262-266). The similarity between the Zagora and Xobourgo finds in the motifs and the modelling of the linear decoration and generic figures is striking, and has long been recognised (Cambitoglou et al. 1971, 56 n. 10; Cambitoglou et al. 1988, 182-183; Ervin-Caskey 1976; Kontoleon 1969; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 92-97). Moreover, the fragments preserving complex figured scenes recovered from the settlement deposits at Zagora (figs. 6-7) show very strong affinities with a particular Xobourgo group: For Caskey the oeuvre of the “Master of the Mykonos Pithos” and for Simantoni-Bournia the “Potter of the Tenos Potnia” (Ervin-Caskey 1976, 28-29; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 92-97). At Zagora this group is characterised by the high degree of modelling of the figures and the use of stamps and incision for subsidiary decoration. The close connection between the two groups is best illustrated by the use of a specific tool with a concave tip to create the double indentations on the shield borders at Zagora (fig. 8). A tool of the same type was used to decorate some of the shield borders and the wheels of the Trojan horse on the Sack of Troy pithos from Mykonos (“tool 2”: Ervin 1964, 44, pls. 18-21) and also on the newly published Sack of Troy pithos from Xobourgo (Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 92-97, pls. 51-54).
The close parallels between some of the applied-relief pithos groups at Xobourgo and the corpus at Zagora not only confirm the existence of a shared tradition, but indicate that it was an ongoing relationship that was already active by the middle of the 8th century and continued through to the end of the life of the settlement at Zagora. To understand the nature of that tradition, it is necessary to return to the ceramic production mechanisms at work at the settlement at Zagora.

Although the three types of pithos found at Zagora —rope-band, relief-band and applied-relief— are stylistically distinct, they are all made from the same local clay. The fabrics differ only in the quantity of inclusions over 2 mm in size (notably quartz). Such inclusions are surprisingly rare in the fabrics of the relief-band type, while they are common in the fabrics of the applied-relief pithoi. The fabric of the rope-band pithoi is less uniform in sorting and size of inclusions than the other two pithos types, suggesting less careful treatment of the clay.

The three types of pithos also exhibit different firing regimes. This is indicated by the colour of the fabrics. The applied-relief pithoi have grey non-oxidized cores with a reddish finish to the exterior, showing that the pithoi were fired quite rapidly in a reducing atmosphere, with only a brief cooling period when oxygen was present in the kiln (Orton et al. 1993, 134, fig. 11.1, nos. 9-10).

The relief-band pithoi, on the other hand, have red, fully oxidized cores. Furthermore, hardness tests indicate that the relief-band pithoi were not hard fired. Therefore they must have been fired at low temperatures over a long period in an oxidizing atmosphere (Rice 1987, 86-88, 344-345, 354; Velde – Druc 1999, 122-124). The rope-band pithoi are also largely oxidized through to the core, like the relief-band, but — as is the case with the local handmade incised wares — the firing is less consistent.

The other major difference between the applied-relief pithos and the rope-band and relief-band pithoi is the method of construction. The rope-band and the rope-band pithoi were both built up from the base to the rim in a series of thick wet-clay bands that are often visible on the interior of the vessel (fig. 9). When the lower section was dry enough, the next section was placed over it, pinching it on to the top of the lower section on both sides. Some of the wet clay was smoothed downwards to reinforce the join, while the bulk of the band was simultaneously drawn up to form the next wall section. This process was continued all the way to the rim, which caps the final section (see Hampe – Winter 1962, pls. 16-17 for an illustration of the technique). The surface of relief-band pithoi were also often polished to a fine, but barely visible, skin before firing.

The applied-relief pithoi were constructed utilising a series of different techniques (fig. 10). The base and the neck were constructed from thin coils, and at least in one instance the junction with the neck was reinforced by cutting wedge-shaped “teeth” into the lower section (inv. no. 922). The body itself was built up in abutting sections from wide ribbons of green (semi-dry) clay, already rolled out to the required thickness of the final vessel wall. The upper section only abuts the lower one and does not need to overlap it for purchase, so the joins are not visible on the finished vessel and only in section when broken.

While differences in firing or fabric treatment are not on their own sufficient evidence for the identification of separate ceramic traditions, rather than functional choices made by the potter, together, and particularly when occurring in conjunction with a completely different approach to the processes of vessel formation, they provide more than adequate evidence to isolate and identify individual potting traditions (Van der Leeuw 1993; 1994; Gosselain 1998; Sillar – Tite 2000; Whitbread 2001). The clear differences between applied-relief pithos making on the one hand, and rope and relief-band pithos making on the other, at all three stages in the production sequence indicate that the applied-relief pithoi at Zagora were made
by a different group of potters from that which
made the majority of local hand-made coarse
wares for the settlement.

The affinity between the style of decoration
on the applied-relief pithoi from Zagora and
Xobourgo and fragmentary pithoi recovered
from Eretria suggests that all three were made
within the same potting tradition. Preliminary
examination of the fabrics of these associated
applied-relief groups confirms that this affinity
is also evident in the firing regimes followed by
their makers, as well as in the method of con­
struction, where visible. The most logical ex­
planation for this phenomenon is that potters
travelled, perhaps seasonally, between these
three settlements during the latter half of the 8th
century. There are numerous parallels for such
itinerant potters from the ethnographic record
of the Aegean (e.g. Hampe – Winter 1962; Vo­
yatzoglou 1984; Jones 1986, 849-880; London
1989). The marked differences in construction
method employed for the applied-relief pithos
to those employed for the rope-band and reliefs­
band pithoi, signalling different internalised
motor habits, makes it likely that the applied­
relief pithos-makers were not based at Zagora.

It is also clear, however, that Zagora already
had local potters capable of making a range of
storage vessels of similar or greater capacity to
the applied-relief pithoi. So the question arises:
what created the demand that was met by these
specific pithos makers?

A brief summary of the evidence pertain­
ing to the functionality of all three pithos types
in the context of an agrarian-based settlement
sheds some light on how the inhabitants of the
settlement might have stored their surpluses,
and suggests one possible role for the highly
decorated and enigmatic applied-relief pithos.

Firstly, the use of the applied-relief pithos
was not restricted to an identifiable elite. All
three pithos types have been found in all cate­
gories of house-types identified at the site: mul­
ti-roomed houses, which so far appear to date
only to the last phase of its occupation; large
one-room houses with a courtyard or a porch;
narrow two-room houses; and the much small­
er one- to two-room houses that back on to the
fortification wall.

Instead of using the status or occupation of
the user as a starting point, it is more instruc­
tive to look at the pithoi from the perspective of
bulk storage requirements. Although it is im­
possible to reconstruct fully the diet of any par­
ticular group in antiquity based on the present
evidence, a range of studies utilising ethno­
graphic, archaeological and textual sources
ranging in date from the prehistoric period to
the Byzantine period have shown that there is
a remarkably consistent pattern concerning the
core dietary staples of rural and urban com­
munities in the Mediterranean (e.g. Christakis
1999; Dar 1995; De Angelis 2002; Forbes 2002;
Forbes – Foxhall 1995; Foxhall – Forbes 1982;
Gallant 1991; Halstead 1990; Halstead – Jones
1989; Reger 1994).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family member</th>
<th>Daily Calorific requirement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active adult male</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active adult female</td>
<td>2200 (2500 if pregnant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescent male</td>
<td>2857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescent female</td>
<td>2383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preadolescent child</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active older adult</td>
<td>2200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td><strong>14650</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Calorific consumption per day by gender and age
(modified from Gallant 1991, 73; see also Reger 1994, 85-86.)

These studies show that one can plausibly
estimate the calorific requirements for a hypo­
thesised semi-subsistence based family of six
(Table 1), and also postulate hypothetically the
quantity of each type of basic bulk storage sta—
ple that would meet those requirements annually (Table 2).

While the commodities listed in table

2. As the diet would never have been restricted to long term storage commodities, daily calorific intake assigned here is deemed to be ca. 85% of daily consumption for a typical family of six: i.e.

3. For cereal production and consumption in the Cyclades from antiquity to the 19th century see Reger 1994, 85-109 (incl. discussion of primary and secondary texts and bibliography). The low annual rainfall on most Cycladic islands is more suited to the growing of barley than wheat (Reger 1994, 104).

4. The importance of dried pulses (legumes) in the ancient diet is well known (Sarpaki 1992; Flint-Hamilton 1999) but they are usually lumped with fresh vegetables in the dietary tables (e.g. Gallant 1991, 73, where the total calorific value is given as 25% of the dietary intake). The figure of 18% posited here is based on Dar's breakdown of the food ration of a wife whose husband is travelling, as quoted in the Mishnah Ketubot 5.8-9 (Dar 1995, 338).

5. The degree to which olive oil played a role in the diet in antiquity is not known. The only consensus in the modern literature is that it must have been a great deal less than the 29% recorded for modern traditional rural Greece (Gallant 1991, 72; Foxhall – Forbes 1982, 68-70; Hamilakis 1999, 43-44) but probably more than the 1 sextarius per month allocated to Cato's farm labourers (Cato, de Agr. 58 = ca. 0.0193 litres per day; Foxhall – Forbes 1982, 69). The figure I give here for daily consumption for a family of six is an arbitrary downward scaling of the percentage of olive oil recorded in the food rations discussed above (Dar 1995, 338: 12.9%), and is only marginally more than Cato's labourer's oil rations (0.0193×6 = 0.1158 litres).

6. The calorific value of white wine is 70 per 100 mls (Grivetti 1996, 18, table 1). The estimated quantity of 150 litres per adult follows Reger 1994, 237 (with references).

7. Calorific values: 3340 per kg wheat; 3320 per kg hulled barley (Foxhall – Forbes 1982, 42-43).

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Cereals¹ wheat or barley flakes (alphita)</th>
<th>Pulses¹ Lentils &amp; broad beans</th>
<th>Olive Oil⁵</th>
<th>Wine (3 adults)⁶</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of daily intake</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calorific value⁴</td>
<td>8094.125</td>
<td>2241.45</td>
<td>1245.25</td>
<td>861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount per day</td>
<td>2.44 kg</td>
<td>0.6624 kg</td>
<td>0.154 litres</td>
<td>1.23 litres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litres per annum⁵</td>
<td>wheat: 1155 litres alphita: 1485 litres</td>
<td>314 litres</td>
<td>56.2 litres</td>
<td>450 litres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Hypothetical annual bulk storage commodity requirements for a rural family

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2. The Pithos Makers at Zagora

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The relief-band pithos has the largest capacity of all three types with the smallest ones averaging 200 litres and a mid-sized version of 400 litres, while the largest of the type can hold up to 700 litres (fig. 11). Relief-band pithoi have low-fired, but fully-oxidised, thick walls, made of a dense fabric noticeably lacking in inclusions. Several examples also preserve a highly polished exterior surface akin to burnishing, which sinters during the firing to form an impermeable outer skin. These features all reflect deliberate choices on the part of the potters, as each process increases the time and labour required in manufacturing the vessels. It appears that the potters wished to maximise porosity but minimise permeability, and in particular to enhance the insulation properties inherent in a dense, but open pored, matrix, as opposed to the effect of cooling via evaporation through the vessel wall which results when inclusions or organic tempers are present (Rice 1987, 230-232, 350-354; Skibo-Schiffer-Reid 1989).

It seems most likely, therefore, that this pithos type was designed to provide a buffer against temperature fluctuations while preventing moisture seeping in from the outside. From the perspective of the desired functionality of storage facilities, these characteristics are particularly valuable for the storage of cereals (Cotkin et al. 1999, 328; De Angelis 2002, 301-302; Panagiotakopoulou et al. 1995; Sigaut 1988). Given its large capacity, the upper range of the relief-band pithos type would be the optimum dry storage vessel for wheat or barley; a household with two such vessels could store enough grain to last at least one year.

Control over the ambient temperature is also important for the fermentation and long-term storage of wine (Brun 2003, 63-70; Rice 1996, 790). However, the current lack of evidence for any interior sealant such as pitch or resin precludes this functional identification, as without an interior lining vessel walls would be too porous for the long term storage of liquids.10

As it is more usual for ceramic vessels used as containers for wheat, and indeed for the production of wine, to be buried, and so provide insulation for their contents (Brun 2003, 66; Rice 1996; Sigaut 1988), it is possible that the makers of relief-band pithoi were motivated in their choices by the fact that the settlement at Zagora is built on a local marble outcrop and there is no depth of soil.

It seems improbable that the primary use of the relief-band pithos was for the storage of olive oil, as oil is unlikely to be kept in such quantities at a household level. More importantly, from the economic point of view of the consumers, the relief-band pithos is over-engineered for such a use; the notional costs of the labour and fuel required in constructing these vessels renders them unnecessarily expensive for oil storage. The same issue applies to their use as containers for pulses, although the small-

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9. A: inv. no. M161 (Room in D Area excavated in 1960), reconstructed H. > 1.55 m, est. capacity > 680 litres; B: inv. no. 2547 (J15 bench & floor), reconstructed H. 1.35-1.60 m, est. capacity 560-580 litres; C: inv. no. 1160 (H18 floor), reconstructed H. 1.30-1.40 m, est. capacity 410-445 litres; D: inv. no. 1858 (H34 bench & floor) pres. H. 0.99 m, ext. capacity > 205 litres.

10. Organic sealants such as pitch, tar, wax and even milk are well documented in both the ancient sources and ethnographic literature, but are rarely visible to the naked eye (Christakis 2005, 51-53; Devos-De Paepe-Vermeulen 1999). Increasingly sophisticated residue analyses of archaeological ceramics are now showing that a wide range of sealants were used on ancient storage and transport vessels; their presence on the pithoi at Zagora cannot be ruled out without further testing (Evershed et al. 1992; Roumpou 2006, 82-83; Roumpou et al. 2003).
er sized examples would easily accommodate a year's supply.

The **rope-band pithos** is the smallest of the three types (fig. 12)\(^1\). These have a capacity of 40 litres to 110 litres, not including miniature versions that may have been used to transport or serve the primary commodity. The rope-band pithos has an S-curved profile, with narrow neck and flaring rim. This suggests that, while they could hold either liquids or dry goods, they are optimised for pouring (Henrickson – McDonald 1983, 633; Rice 1987, 241). These vessels are the least carefully fired of the three types. Neither insulation properties, nor porosity were a primary concern. There is also no evidence for any special treatment of their surfaces prior to firing. Therefore the rope-band pithoi were not intended for long term storage of dry goods such as wheat, which would become damp, or of wine, which would leak through the walls. The small size of the rope-band pithos further precludes its use as a bulk storage container for wine or wheat.

Rope-band pithoi may have been used to hold oil, or pulses such as lentils (or indeed lentils preserved in oil, a known insecticide from antiquity: Panagiotakopoulou et al. 1995, 707). Alternatively they could have served as short-term wine or water jars, as water would have been consumed at a sufficient rate to allow storage in a semiporous vessel of this size, and the saturated walls would have provided a cooling effect on the liquid within due to the slow but constant evaporation (Arnold 1985, 28, 139; Rice 1987, 231).

The third type —the **applied-relief pithos**— is best seen as a bulk storage container for liquids. Their capacity ranges from about 200 to 550 litres (fig. 13)\(^2\). The narrow deep form and constricted neck are not suitable for the bulk storage of dry goods, but make it an optimum vessel shape to reduce evaporation and oxidation of liquid contents. Hardness tests on the applied-relief fabrics consistently show that a more advanced stage of sintering was achieved than with the other storage vessel types at the site. Sintering causes closure of the pores and shrinkage thereby reducing the rate of seepage of the contents through the vessel wall (Rice 1987, 350). As these fabrics also consistently exhibit a higher quantity of inclusions, the matrix would still provide some cooling from the evaporation of non-viscous liquids (Skibo – Schiffer – Reid 1989).

Given these attributes, the two most likely bulk goods that might be stored in the applied-relief pithos are oil or wine. However, their large size precludes oil, as the upper end of the size range would provide over six years worth of oil for a standard family. The quoted shelf life of olive oil as understood in modern traditional Greece and Italy, even in times of drought or famine, is a maximum of four years (Forbes – Foxhall 1995, 75; Riley 2002). Wine, on the other hand, is known to have had a much longer shelf life in antiquity, and prior to the wide-spread adoption of the wooden barrel as the wine storage container of choice, the stockpiling of good vintages was common practice (Hordern – Purcell 2000, 217; Koehler 1996, 330 and n. 30). It is therefore likely that wine was the intended commodity for the applied-relief pithos, and even possible that these enigmatic vessels served as containers for aged wines, so lovingly described in Homer’s Odyssey, when Telemachos goes to get provisions from his father's storeroom for his journey to Sparta (Od. 2.337-355).

Wine-storage suggests that the attention-grabbing applied-relief decoration served to commemorate a particular vintage—or a rite of

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11. A: inv. no. 1859 (H34 bench), reconstructed H. c. 1.10 m, est. capacity c. 100 litres; B: inv. no. 1314 (F2 roof-fall), reconstructed H. c. 1.00-1.10 m, est. capacity 100 litres; C: inv. no. 1680 (FI floor), reconstructed H. c. 0.75-0.80 m, est. capacity c. 65 litres; D: inv. 1235 (H20 floor), H. 0.40, est. capacity c. 7.67 litres.

12. A: inv. no. 148+1195 (H26/27 bench), reconstructed H. > 1.70 m, est. capacity > 550 litres; B: inv. M162 (room in D area 1960 excavations), H. 1.60 m, est. capacity ca. 470 litres; C: inv. no. M160 (room in D area 1960 excavations), reconstructed H. > 1.30 m, capacity > 200 litres.
passage— for which the jar was commissioned, or, more prosaically, to advertise the high quality of the contents, thus allowing the householder to promote their personal vintages (and superfluous surplus in years of abundance) to a prospective buyer visiting the settlement.

If Zagora was, in a small way, an exporter of its surplus wine, traders might well stop there, and incidentally provide passage for the Tenian-Boiotian applied-relief pithos makers. It may be no coincidence that the two islands with well-documented separate and thriving local traditions of applied-relief pithos makers were Naxos and Rhodes, both famous in later antiquity for their wine (Feytmans 1950; 1952; Simantoni-Bournia 1990; 2004).

The social nature of the consumption of wine even at this time in ancient Greece (Sherratt 2004) and its association with travellers and the recounting of epics, myths and tall tales such as told by Odysseus during his travels may also explain why the Tenian-Boiotian applied relief pithoi of the 7th century preserve some of the earliest and most intriguing representations of the myths and epics that later coalesce into the classical cannon (Caskey 1998).

The primary staples contained by each pithos type suggested here are speculative, albeit based upon some of the functional characteristics of the vessels and with a view to their agricultural context. It is hoped that residue analysis will be able to confirm or refute these propositions in the near future and in a more general way, that these speculations will help to promote further the integrated study of pithoi recovered from settlement sites, both from a technological and a functional perspective.

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Fig. 1. Isometric plans of the houses in Areas D, H and J and along the Fortification Wall (J.J. Coulton).

Fig. 2. Benches in room B4 preserving 5 pot emplacements (Zagora Archives, AAIA).
**THE PITHOS MAKERS AT ZAGORA**

Fig. 3. Map of the central Aegean showing the distribution of 8th & 7th century BC applied-relief pithoi.

Fig. 4. Linear applied-relief pithos fragments from MG-LG I stratified contexts at Zagora (Zagora Archives, AAIA).

Fig. 5. Generic figured friezes on applied-relief pithos fragments (Zagora Archives, AAIA).
Fig. 6. Inv. no. M160 [House gamma, D area 1960 excavations] (drawing by J.R. Green)

Fig. 7. Inv. no. 2487 [J15 below roof-fall] (photo by the author).

Fig. 8. Detail of shield border decoration on inv. nos. 2487 and M160 (not to scale; photos by the author).
Fig. 9. Relief-band fragment preserving overlap of wet-clay join. A: beginning point of clay band; B: overlapping end; C: upper band.

Fig. 10. Applied-relief construction techniques: examples of coil and abutting slab joins visible in section.
Fig. 11. Capacities of relief-band pithoi from Zagora. A: > 680 litres; B: 560-580 litres; C: 410-445 litres; D: > 205 litres (reconstructions by the author based on drawings by J.R. Green).

Fig. 12. Capacities of rope-band pithoi from Zagora. A: 100 litres; B: 100 litres; C: 65 litres; D: 7.67 litres (reconstructions by the author based on drawings by J.R. Green).

Fig. 13. Capacities of applied-relief pithoi from Zagora. A: > 550 litres; B: 470 litres; C: 220 litres (reconstructions by the author based on drawings by J.R. Green).
CÉRAMIQUE EUBÉENNE À NAXOS
AU DÉBUT DE L’ÂGE DU FER


1. Je tiens à remercier chaleureusement Mme Photini Zaphiropolou de m’avoir invité à collaborer avec elle en vue de la publication de cette nécropole. Ma reconnaissance va à ma femme Nicole ainsi qu’à Claude Lederrey, qui m’ont aidé à établir le catalogue, à dessiner et à photographier les vases. Christina Damatopoulou a restauré le matériel et Judith Jenny a digitalisé les dessins de la céramique; qu’elles soient également remerciées ici.
poser le résultat de ses fouilles. Pour ma part, je me concentrerai sur les vases eubéens issus de cette nécropole, dans le but d’illustrer les relations qui existaient entre Naxos et l’Eubée au début de l’Âge du Fer.

Les tombes de « Plithos » ont surtout livré du mobilier céramique. Certaines d’entre elles contenaient néanmoins des objets en métal: 13 fibules, 1 épingle, 5 bracelets, 2 bagues et 2 objets indéterminés en bronze, 11 bijoux en or, et plusieurs armes en fer. On a en outre retrouvé des colliers avec des perles en os ou en argile, qui constituent des rares. Sur un total de 593 objets catalogués, il y a donc 538 vases de terre cuite (sans compter les centaines de tessons recoltés autour des tombes).

Au sein de ce matériel figurent une série de récipients importés. La prudence est de rigueur lorsqu’il s’agit de déterminer la provenance des pièces sans avoir fait d’analyses de pâtes. On sait par exemple combien les argiles eubéenne et attique peuvent se ressembler, au point qu’il est parfois impossible de les distinguer à l’œil nu. Ce problème d’identification se pose par exemple pour les skyphoi ornés de cercles concentriques, qui sont aussi fréquents en Eubée qu’en Attique au Protogéométrique Récent.

Skyphoi à demi-cercles pendants (PSC) (figs. 1-13)

Certaines classes de vases sont cependant reconnues comme étant de fabrication eubéenne. Il s’agit en premier lieu des skyphoi à demi-cercles pendants (pendent semi-circle, abrégé ci-après PSC). Dans la nécropole « Plithos », ce type de skyphos est représenté par plus de 20 exemplaires plus ou moins entiers et par plusieurs fragments:

2. Voir p.
3. Les fragments ne sont pas inclus dans cette étude.
R. Kearsley (Kearsley 1989). Ils possèdent une vasque profonde et assez globulaire, une lèvre haute légèrement déversée (type 2: nos. 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 18), ou une lèvre plus courte (type 3: nos. 4, 7, 13, 14, 17, 19). Le type 4 de Kearsley (no. 2), dont la vasque est moins profonde, et le type 5 (nos. 1, 9, 15, 16), doté d'un profil plus droit et d'une lèvre inclinée vers l'intérieur, sont aussi attestés.

Sans entrer dans les détails, mentionnons ici une observation qui pourrait être intéressante concernant la chronologie de ces skyphoi. Les tombeaux XXXIV et XLI contenaient chacun deux tombes superposées (XXXIV a-b / XLI a-b) qui ont livré un ou deux skyphoi PSC (Table 1). Dans les tombes inférieures (XXXIV b / XLI b), les vases sont du type 2 (nos. 10, 11 / 3, 12), tandis que dans les tombes supérieures (XXXIV a / XLI a), ils sont du type 3 (nos. 7 / 4). Dans ce cas, le type 2 est plus ancien que le 3, ce qui confirme la chronologie relative proposée par R. Kearsley.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kearsley No. Inv.</th>
<th>Tombe</th>
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<tr>
<td>Type 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>6612</td>
<td>Oik. Kouphopoulou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6780</td>
<td>XXXIII / XXXIV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7168</td>
<td>XII / XXVI</td>
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<td>7235</td>
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<td>Type 4</td>
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<td>6615</td>
<td>XIa</td>
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<td>6741</td>
<td>XLIa</td>
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<td>6774</td>
<td>XXXIVa</td>
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<tr>
<td>7132</td>
<td>XXXVIIa</td>
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<td>7145</td>
<td>K - X6</td>
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<tr>
<td>7243</td>
<td>XXXIII</td>
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<tr>
<td>8242</td>
<td>Oik. Zapheipoulo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Type 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>6721</td>
<td>XLIB</td>
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<td>6855</td>
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<td>67742</td>
<td>XVb</td>
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<td>6743</td>
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<td>6793</td>
<td>XXXIVb</td>
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<td>6794</td>
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<td>8029</td>
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<td>Type 1</td>
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<td>10559</td>
<td>Ktisma Theta</td>
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Table 1 : Skyphoi PSC dans les tombes de Naxos/Plithos

Vases avec un décor de lignes obliques

1. Amphore à anses verticales, Inv. MN 6590. Tombe IX. H. 36 D. (embouchure) 12,6 (fig. 14).
3. Oenochoé Inv. MN 6589. Tombe VII. H 34,0 D. (pied) 9,5 (fig. 15).
4. Oenochoé Inv. MN 6697. Tombe XXXI. H 30,0 D. (pied) 9,0.
5. Oenochoé Inv. MN 6771. Tombe XXXVI. H. 25,5 D. (pied) 8,0.
6. Tasse Inv. MN 6580. Tombe VII. H 9,0 D. 11,7.
8. Tasse Inv. MN 6784. Tombe XXXI. H. 10,0 D. 12,8 (fig. 16).
9. Tasse Inv. MN 7240. Tombe XXVIII. H. 9,1 D. 12,8.

Des oenochoès portent aussi une bande ornée de groupes de lignes obliques (fig. 15). Des parallèles se trouvent dans la tombe Skoubris 59 et dans la pyra 32 de la nécropole de Toumba à Lefkandi (Popham et al. 1980, 130, pl. 108, 266c; Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 91). A « Plithos », le même décor figure enfin sur des tasses fabriquées avec l'argile beige rougeâtre dont il a déjà été question plus haut (fig. 16). Ces vases présentent un profil similaire à celui des skyphoi PSC, avec un bord incliné vers l'intérieur. Pour l'instant, ce type de tasse n'est pas attesté à Lefkandi. Toutefois, la qualité des exemplaires trouvés à Naxos indique qu'il s'agit certainement d'importations eubéennes. Il semble donc que la bande ornée de groupes de lignes obliques soit un motif caractéristique des ateliers eubèens, au même titre que les demi-cercles pendants.

Kalathos

1. Kalathos Inv. MN 6797. Tombe LVIIIc. H 5,5 D. 11,6 (fig. 17)

Un petit kalathos sans anse, dont le décor se compose de triangles imprimés, constitue actuellement une trouvaille unique dans les nécropoles de Naxos. La qualité de l'argile, de même que la présence de vases similaires dans plusieurs tombes à Lefkandi et ailleurs en Éubée, parlent en faveur d'une origine eubéenne (Popham et al. 1980, 304-307, fig. 10c; Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 44 (T 40). 47 (T 44). 51 (T 45). 54 (T 47). 68 (T 63). 71 (T 70). 72 (T 71). 115c (T 54); Lemos 2002, 55-56). Les parallèles de Lefkandi permettent de situer notre exemplaire entre le Protogéométrique Récent et le Subprotogéométrique I.

Lécythe

1. Lécythe Inv. MN 7178. Tombe XXXI. H. 32,7 D. (embouchure) 11,4 (fig. 18)

Le cas du lécythe est intéressant, car, de
CÉRAMIQUE EUBÉÉNE À NAXOS AU DÉBUT DE L'ÂGE DU FER

manière générale, il s'agit d'un vase moins fréquent que ceux dont il a été question jusqu'ici. Notre exemplaire possède une panse globulaire, un col haut et une embouchure arrondie; l'anse est fixée sur le col et sur l'épaule. Sur la partie inférieure de la panse, on observe une bande réservée portant deux lignes horizontales. Sur l'épaule, des demi-cercles concentriques contenant un sablier (hour glass) sont placés entre des lignes horizontales et une bande de petits triangles. Sur le col, on retrouve des lignes horizontales, une bande de triangles, ainsi qu'un zigzag.

Actuellement, on ne connait que deux vases comparables au notre. Le premier appartient à la collection du musée Goulandris à Athènes. Il provient de l'île de Skyros qui, on le sait, faisait partie d'une « koiné eubéo-thessalienne » à l'époque qui nous intéresse (Marangou 1985, 57, no. 57; Lemos 2002, 74, pl. 94. 3). Le second a été trouvé dans la tombe 70 de la nécropole de Toumba à Lefkandi (Popham – Lemos 1996, 110, pl. 17-18. 54), tandis que le décor est comparable à celui d'une autre pièce issue du même bâtiment (Popham – Lemos 1996, 112, pl. 23. 58). L'argile des deux pièces constitue aussi un argument en faveur d'une origine eubéenne.

« Red slip ware »

1. Tasse Inv. MN 6984. Tombe XVI. Fragment d'anse en forme de pied. H. 7,5 (fig. 21)

Il reste à présenter ici un pied en argile, haut de 7,5 cm, qui fut découvert dans la tombe XVI. La pièce est de couleur grise car elle a été brûlée. Ce pied n'appartient pas, comme on aurait pu le croire, à une statuette en terre-cuite. À l'origine, il prolongeait l'anse d'un vase particulier. Le meilleur parallèle provient une fois encore de Lefkandi, plus précisément de la tombe 39 de Toumba, qui date du Protogéométrique Récent (fig. 22: BSA 77, 1982, 233, pl. 19. 29; Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 42. 5; Lemos 2002, 94, pl. 99. 2.). Il s'agit d'une tasse en Red Slip Ware, une catégorie de céramique qui, d'après des analyses d'argile, serait de fabrication eubéenne (Popham et al. 1980, 346; Jones 1986, 629-631). Une catégorie proche, elle aussi attestée à Lefkandi, est connue sous le nom de

6. L. Lemos considère ce vase comme un canthare, ce qui ne se justifie pas, étant donné la présence d'une seule anse (Lemos 2002).
Black Slip Ware (Popham et al. 1980, 346, fig. 21). Or cette dernière trouve des parallèles dans la céramique anatolienne grise venant de Troie (niveau VIIb), où l'on signale même un pied en argile qui faisait sans doute partie d'une anse (Blegen et al. 1958, 177, fig. 275. 8). Le pied troyen n'est pas chaussé comme ceux de Lefkandi et de Naxos, mais il n'est pas exclu que ces derniers soient influencés par des productions anatoliennes.

**CONCLUSION**

Les vases eubéens retrouvés dans la nécropole « Plithos », dont on a présenté un choix ici, illustrent le lien qui existait entre l'Eubée et Naxos aux époques protogéométrique et géométrique. Les recherches sur ce matériel sont encore en cours et l'on ne peut faire état que de résultats provisoires. En première analyse, 55% des vases de la nécropole sont considérés comme étant de provenance indéterminée. Cette proportion élevée s'explique par le fait que la céramique a fait l'objet de observations macroscopiques uniquement et que l'on est resté prudent quant aux attributions. Au sein du matériel dont l'origine est établie de manière plus ou moins certaine, on constate que près de trois quarts des vases (72%) sont issus d'ateliers locaux (Table 2). Un quart des pièces proviennent d'Eubée (25%), tandis que les autres importations, d'Attique ou de Cos, sont très rares (3%). Il est néanmoins important de relever que ces proportions varient au fil du temps. À l'époque protogéométrique, les importations semblent être plus nombreuses que les productions locales. Au Géométrique Ancien et Moyen, la tendance s'inverse. La majorité de la céramique déposée dans les tombes naxiennes est alors issue d'ateliers locaux, qui s'inspirent largement du style attique. Le nombre élevé de vases eubéens suggère toutefois qu'à cette époque, l'île de Naxos entretenait un lien plus étroit avec l'Eubée qu'avec l'Attique. Les contacts se faisaient sans doute par l'intermédiaire de marchands et de navigateurs pour lesquels Naxos constituait une escale sur la voie maritime reliant l'Eubée à Chypre et au Proche-Orient.

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Fig. 1. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 6615.

Fig. 2. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 6721.

Fig. 3. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 6741.
Fig. 4. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 6742.

Fig. 5. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 6743.

Fig. 6. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 6774.
Fig. 7. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 6780.

Fig. 8. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 6855.

Fig. 9. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 7132.
Fig. 10. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 7235.

Fig. 11. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 6793.

Fig. 12. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 6794.
Fig. 13. Skyphos à demi-cercles pendants Inv. MN 7243.

Fig. 14. Amphore à anses verticales Inv. MN 6590.

Fig. 15. Oenochoe Inv. MN 6589.
Fig. 16. Tasse Inv. MN 6784.

Fig. 17. Kalathos Inv. MN 6797.

Fig. 18. Lécythe Inv. MN 7178.
Fig. 19. Cratère Inv. MN 9213.

Fig. 20. Cratère Inv. MN 10211.

Fig. 21. Pied de l'anse d'une tasse Inv. MN 6984.

Fig. 22. Tasse en Red Slip Ware de Lefkandi.
CERAMIC VARIABILITY AND DRINKING HABITS IN IRON AGE CRETE

INTRODUCTION

The archaeology of the Greek Iron Age is dominated by analyses of painted pottery (see mostly: Coldstream 1968; Desborough 1952; Lemos 2002, 27-100). By largely adopting the methodology of culture history, with its emphasis on chronology and typology, these analyses have no doubt built solid foundations for the study of the period; at the same time, however, they leave much open to fresh inquiries, like those advocated by the late W.D.E. Coulson (see mostly Coulson 1990). Drawing from the spirit of his suggestions, I tackle below the analytical challenge of attributing cultural significance to modes of ceramic variability.

My discussion of ceramic variability regards changes in the size, capacity and also popularity of clay vessel forms and their significance for the study of human habits and social developments (cf.: van der Leeuw 1991; Woodward – Blinkhorn 1997, 153-154; Mills 1999; Sinopoli 1999; Tsatsaki 2004, 346-354). By assessing the contribution of ceramic variability to the understanding of drinking habits in Iron Age Crete, the study regards 'not so much a pot, more a way of life' (Cumberpatch – Blinkhorn 1997). The potentially wider significance of this line of inquiry is suggested by the widely held view that the consumption of drink played a major role in shaping both material culture and social formations in the Aegean (relevant scholarship is collected in Halstead – Barrett 2004, 1; Wright 2004a) and beyond (Halstead – Barrett 2004, 10-11).

Any study of drinking habits in Iron Age Greece, Crete included, is faced with the paucity of primary publications of archaeological material from all, but a few sites. Other limitations – which, significantly, do not apply to the preceding Late Bronze Age (Halstead – Barrett 2004, 1; Wright 2004b) or the ensuing Archaic and Classical periods (Murray 1990; Lissarrague 1990) - regard the paucity of textual or iconographic data and the dearth of residue analyses on the interior of vessels. Despite these drawbacks, assessments can be put forward on the basis of the physical properties of the vessels, their context, as well as literary testimonies – particularly those of the Homeric epics (see lately Sherratt 2004) - on the drinking habits of the Greeks. As some scholars have persuasively argued, however, literary or other testimonies should not allow for the development of misconceptions on the absolute, temporal or spatial, uniformity of the drinking habits of the Greeks (cf. Rotroff 1996; Sherratt 2004, 311-
By exploring the particularities of some drinking habits in Iron Age Crete, this paper is aimed as a contribution to this direction.

**THE DEMISE OF THE KRATER**

Unlike other people in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Greeks regularly mixed wine with water (Burkert 1991, 19; cf. Lissarrague 1990, 7; Luke 1994, 23; Sherratt 2004, 325-326); this habit is described in the Homeric epics (Sherratt 2004, 325) - where the consumption of unmixed wine is only rarely mentioned (Sherratt 2004, 326-327, n. 103, 328) - and perhaps goes back to the beginning of the Late Helladic period (Sherratt 2004, 326; contrast Wright 1995, 303-304). The mixing of the two drinks regularly took place in a krater, a vessel the name of which denotes a mingling (hence wine is called *krasi* in modern Greek; cf. Lissarrague 1990, 6; Sherratt 2004, 325). Scholars, however, often erroneously assume that the mixing of wine and water always took place in such a vase, an assumption I wish to challenge. True, the vessel's name served as a metonym for the drinking feast in Archaic and Classical poetry (Lissarrague 1990, 36; Luke 1994, 26-27) and its significant role in such feasts is nowadays widely acknowledged (Lissarrague 1990, 19-46; Luke 1994; Rotroff 1996, 8-10). Nevertheless, there are instances in Greek antiquity when the krater is known to disappear in a region during a particular period, for example in Hellenistic Athens (Rotroff 1996; 1997, 14-15).

Crete of the 9th-7th centuries displays a fairly similar, even if more constrained phenomenon. Although this has hitherto received no systematic attention, it has not passed unnoticed. Coldstream, for example, has made a short note of the scarcity of an 8th-7th century type of krater in funerary contexts (Coldstream - Macdonald 1997, 238; Coldstream 2001, 51), whereas Whitley has discussed the demise of the Cretan krater in domestic contexts at Knossos and the temple deposits at Kommos (Whitley 2005, 47-50; 2004, 438 argues, however, for the continuous popularity of the vessel). In the lines that follow, I sketch the popularity of the krater in cemeteries, settlements and sanctuaries of Iron Age Crete, focusing on sites with substantial bodies of material showing a broad chronological range.

Kraters seem common in the necropoleis of Knossos1 and Eleutherna (Kotsonas 2005, 275; 2008, 184-187) during the 10th and 9th centuries (fig. 1), but become rare thereafter, whether in relative or absolute numbers (Table 1). In Eleutherna, in particular, later kraters were regularly employed as containers or covers of burials and were not accompanied by drinking vessels (Kotsonas 2005, 276). Similarly, the sizeable necropolis of Afrati (Levi 1927-1929) has produced quite a few kraters or dinoi of the late 8th-7th centuries, but these normally served as urns or urn covers; these uses of the krater go hand in hand with the rarity of drinking vessels manifested at the site. The demise of the krater is also noted in East Crete (Table 1); kraters occur in tombs of the 10th - 9th century at Kavousi Vronda (Gesell - Day - Coulson 1983, 396, 399), but are apparently missing from later burials at the site (see Gesell - Day - Coulson 1988, 293-296; 1991, 152-161; 1995, 74-89). Further, in Vrokastro, tombs of the 10th - 9th century have produced several pieces (Hayden 2003, 39-41, nos. 73, 78; 41-43, nos. 80-84; 48-49, nos. 104-106; 51, no. 113), but later burials, which are, admittedly, sparse have not produced any krater. Also, a recent study of several hun-

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1. The Knossos North Cemetery yielded nearly 55 kraters of 10th-9th century date, but only 17 later kraters and dinoi (Coldstream 1996a, 375-376; Moignard 1996, 451-452). 26 local kraters of 10th-9th century date are known from Fortetsa (Brock 1957, 160-161, including the bell kraters and partly the small kraters of types A, C, D). Imported kraters tell a different story, albeit their absolute numbers are small. Two pieces date to the 10th-9th centuries, five to the 8th, five more could belong to the 9th or 8th centuries and one piece is assigned to the 7th (Brock 1957, 190; Coldstream 1996a, 398, 402-403, 405; Moignard 1996, 452).
hundreds of vases from East Crete, which mostly date to the 8th and 7th centuries and come from tombs, only includes six kraters; notably, all, except one hybrid piece, turned up in a single tomb at Kavousi Plai tou Kastrou and date from a single phase (Tsipopoulou 2005, 409-410, also pages 82, 84, 87, 90-91). On the other hand, kraters are present at fair - even if imprecise - numbers in West Cretan tombs of the 8th - 7th centuries (Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1985); however, the paucity of earlier funerary contexts in that area does not allow for a reliable assessment of the vessel's popularity.

Contrary to what was noted for cemeteries, kraters seem common in Cretan settlements throughout the Iron Age. This is clear from domestic deposits in Knossos (Coldstream 1960, 170; 1972, 79; 1973, 35; 1992, 82, 84; Coldstream - Macdonald 1997, 238; Coldstream 2001, 51; Whitley 2005, 53), Vrokastro (Hayden 2003, 52, no. 119; 55-58, nos. 130-133, 135, 138-141; 60-61, no. 152; 67-69, nos. 174-175, 177, 181; 71-72, nos. 192-193: most pieces have no context, but are too fragmentary to originate from tombs) and the Northwest Building at Kavousi Kastro (Mook 1993, 181-182, 204-205, 219-220). The shape is also very popular in the late 8th - early 7th century settlement at Khania (Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1997, 232-233, 2004).

The evidence from sanctuaries is poor, largely due to the paucity or the quality of primary publications. The only sanctuary with a full record of published pottery that spans the Iron Age is Kommos; the evidence, however, from this site is not straightforward. Kraters of the 10th-9th centuries were commonly found in Kommos (Callaghan et al. 2000, 215-216, nos. 16, 17, 27; 218-222, nos. 39-42, 58-62, 66, 76-78, 89; 226-227, nos. 132-133, 138, 147-148; 229, nos. 165-167, 172; 231-232, nos. 180, 186; Johnston 2000, 194, nos. 3-6, 205, 319-323, nos. 29-45), but later pieces are rare in most deposits (Johnston 1993, 346-347, nos. 22-25; Callaghan et al. 2000, 238, no. 255, 239, nos. 263-265, 242, no. 299; Johnston 2005, 328-329, nos. 67-72; 348-350, nos. 141-146). Nevertheless, the finds from Building Z make up for the drop - at least in the 8th century (Johnston 2000, 207-211, nos. 57-78. This important context is missed out in Whitley 2005, 48, 52) - and draw a picture that is hard to interpret, particularly in the light of the rarity of comparable contexts. On the other hand, the number of 7th century kraters found in the sanctuary on the acropolis of Gortyn (Johannowsky 2002, 56-57) and the group of mid- to late 8th century pieces discovered inside a small ritual building at KHALASmenos (Tsipopoulou 2004a, 132-133, 138-139) draw a picture that is different to the one identified in the case of cemeteries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KRATERS</th>
<th>10th - 9th c.</th>
<th>8th - 7th c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knossos North Cemetery</td>
<td>55 local</td>
<td>17 local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knossos Fortetsa Cemetery</td>
<td>26 local</td>
<td>1 imported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleutherana Cemetery, 9th - 7th c. (seasons 1985-2003)</td>
<td>5 local</td>
<td>2 imported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vrokastro</td>
<td>11 local</td>
<td>2 imported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavousi Vronda</td>
<td>4+ local</td>
<td>6 imported</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Review of the deposition of kraters in major Cretan Iron Age cemeteries

It therefore appears that the demise of the krater from around 800 is only identifiable in cemeteries of the central and east part of the island. The likelihood that this phenomenon is a mirage deserves some comment. The large scale substitution of clay kraters by metal ones finds no support in the island's material record, even if bronze cauldrons do occur. Further, the possibility that kraters were regularly used in cemeteries of the 8th and 7th centuries, but later taken back home is weak. It does not come to terms with the regular deposition of other vessels and is against the Greek notion of pollution (Parker 1983, 34-48). A 5th century inscrip-
tion from Keos, which regulates that the vases that serve the funeral should be taken back (Sokolowski 1969, 188, no. 97, line 10), can be cited as a counter argument, but one can hardly envisage a law prescribing that only kraters should be taken back and other drinking vessels be left on the spot. Lastly, a suggestion for the deposition of kraters outside tombs, in areas or buildings located near by, is not unlikely, but remains to be proven. The “Building adjacent to Bone Enclosures” at Vrokastro (Hall 1914, 170-172) could have served such a purpose, but has only produced very few kraters that do not compensate for the general drop. I therefore hold that the demise of the krater is a valid phenomenon, which involved a transformation of drinking rituals bidding farewell to the deceased.

The possibility that some funerary rituals of Iron Age Crete did not involve the mixing of wine and water inside a krater finds some support in the homeric epics. Nestor’s large ‘depas’ serves as a mixing bowl in the Iliad (Iliad XI, 628-641; cf. Sherratt 2004, 319-320), whereas a fairly small and inconspicuous mixing vessel of unknown material, which is called kissivos kirne, is used by Eumaious, the swine herder, in the Odyssey (Odyssey XIV.78, XVI.52; cf. Sherratt 2004, 328-330). Diverse open vessels could therefore have served the mixing of wine and water at this early date, provided they displayed a fairly wide mouth and considerable capacity. On balance, it is assumed that the ‘invention’ of the krater in the Aegean of the Late Bronze Age came about by the enlargement of drinking vessels (Sherratt 2004, 326), whereas the demise of the krater in Hellenistic Athens has been associated with an increase in the size of cups and related vessels (Rotroff 1996, 18, 27). Accordingly, the demise of the krater in cemeteries of Iron Age Crete deserves to be explored in connection with significant changes in the island’s repertory of drinking vessels.

THE RISE OF THE COATED CUP

The repertory of Cretan drinking vessels displays several transformations at around 800, including the fading out of the bell skyphos and the dipped cup and the growing popularity of the low-based skyphos of Mainland type (Coldstream 1996a, 378-386, 2001, 51-55). Sweeping changes are, however, identified only in the case of the coated cup (Coldstream 1996a, 386-388), which is also known as the black cup (Brock 1957, 166; Andreasaki-Vlasiaki 1987, 309-311; Moignard 1996, 457; Coldstream 2001, 55) or the black glaze and black gloss cup (Callaghan et al. 2000, 218, no. 44 and elsewhere). On the other hand, the immense changes in size and popularity that this vessel displays from around 800 have received no study other than chronological and typological, as is often the case with ceramics (Cumberpatch – Blinkhorn 1997, v; Woodward – Blinkhorn 1997, 153), particularly of simple style. Only some coated cups from Knossos have lately been included in a wider metrological analysis (Tsatsaki 2004, 539-555).

The coated cup was introduced to Crete by imports from Athens and the Cyclades (Brock 1957, 167; Coldstream 1996a, 386, 2001, 55), which are known to have reached Knossos (Coldstream 1996a, 401-402) and Kommos (Callaghan et al. 2000, 223-224, nos. 99, 101, 103, 112, 226-227, nos. 139, 144) in the 10th and 9th centuries. Unlike, however, its Attic and Cycladic counterparts that show no consistent change or development from the 9th to the late 8th centuries2, the Cretan coated cup changed considerably from the end of the 9th to the late 8th or 7th centuries, the Cretan coated cup changed considerably from the end of the 9th century examples found in Naxos (Kourou 1999, 20-22, nos. 42-44, 47-49; 59-62) with the late 8th – early 7th century ones from Delos (Dugas, Rhomaios 1934, 66, nos. 95-96). Paros (Rubensohn 1962, 88-89, taf. 14.10). Thera (Dragendorff 1903, 319, nos. 91-92; Pfuhl 1903, 115-116). For Euboea see: Lemos 2002, 28-29 (10th century examples); Andreiomenou 1982, 167-168 (late 8th century examples). The height of the vases cited ranges from 0.055m. to 0.085m. (this excludes some miniatures).
Table 2. Review of changes in weight and capacity of coated cups in Eleutherna and Knossos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COATED CUPS</th>
<th>Tare weight</th>
<th>Net weight</th>
<th>Gross weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Late 9th c.</td>
<td>Eleutherna Knossos</td>
<td>55-135 gr. 65-100 gr.</td>
<td>70-130 gr. 60-135 gr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very small cups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small cups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid to late 8th c. (Knossos)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large cups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early 7th c. (Knossos)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very large cups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

century (figs. 2-3). At that time, the Cretan vessel grew considerably in size and, by the third quarter of the 8th century, a second step towards enlargement occurred (thereafter, the scale of changes is small and less widespread or consistent). This development - which was pursued despite problems in manufacture, including elliptical rims and unsteady bases (Coldstream 1996a, 387; 2001, 55) - can best be monitored in Central Crete, for example in Knossos (Brock 1957, 167; Coldstream 1996a, 386-388; 2001, 55-57) and Eleutherna (Kotsonas 2005, 201-208; 2008, 205-211), but is also evident in the island's east (Mook 1993, 202, 216-217; 2004, 172-177; Tsipopoulou 2005, 423, type γ) and west (Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1997, 230) part. Along with the change in size came modifications in form, which are - I believe - borrowings from bronze cups circulating at the time (cf. the bronze cups in Stampolidis 2004, 275, nos. 342-343). Skeuomorphic features can in particular be identified in the offset lip and tapering lower body (Brock 1957, 167; Coldstream 1996a, 386-387; 2001, 55) of coated cups, and perhaps in the attachment of the handle inside the rim (Coldstream 1996a, 386). The metallic effect was strengthened by the overall coating in black glaze.

The increase in size went hand in hand with a notable change in capacity. This is outlined in Table 2, which relies on measurements taken on coated cups from Eleutherna and Knossos that were filled with water up to the root of the lip. The measurements suggest that the change was not anticipated in any way, since the late 9th century coated cups were less capacious than the most popular open vessels of the time, the bell skyphos and the dipped cup (vessels of...
these types appear in fig. 1)'. Within the time span of no more than 3 generations, however, the capacity - that is the net weight - of the coated cup rose by approximately 10 times. Using a modern - handy, even if loose - metaphor, the gross weight of a late 9th century coated cup is roughly equivalent to that of a common plastic cup, whereas the gross weight of a similar cup less than a century later is comparable to that of a modern plastic bottle of 1.5 litres.

For start, such a change must have affected the way the cup was handled. Small coated cups of early date could have easily been held like modern tea cups, whereas the capacious examples of late date can easily and stably be lifted only if one passes the thumb through the handle loop and holds the lower body and base with the remaining four fingers.

The significant enlargement of the coated cup was concurrent with a marked increase in its popularity. From around 800, the Cretan coated cup becomes by far the most widely represented vessel in the island, against all selection criteria involved in any process of publication. Coated cups far outnumber all other drinking vessels of the time in the necropolis of Eleutherna (Kotsonas 2005, 201-208; 2008, 205-211), whereas, in Knossian cemeteries, they are roughly double than all other cups taken together (Fortetsa: Brock 1957, 166-167. Knossos North Cemetery: Coldstream 1996a, 385-390; Moignard 1996, 457-459). The figure is much higher in Knossian domestic deposits, where plain wares generally predominate.

I argue that the sharp rise in size and capacity and the marked increase in popularity that the coated cup displays from around 800 should be connected with the roughly concurrent demise of the krater in Cretan cemeteries. The late 8th century introduction of a type of krater, the form of which is thought to be inspired by that of the enlarged coated cup (Erickson 2000, 210; Kotsonas 2005, 184-185; 2008, 187), reinforces the link between the two shapes. Accordingly, the enlarged coated cup could have served as a handy ‘mini-krater’, which could easily be taken outdoors. The development would have allowed each member of a drinking party to mix wine and water in an individual container, according to personal preference. After all, such preferences were highly individual, as Athenaeus and Plutarch record – and often depended on the occasion and context of wine consumption (references are collected in: Lissarrague 1990, 8, n. 22; Dalby 1996, 102-103, 243, n. 33). According to the various sources the two ancient authors cite, the favoured mixture of wine and water ranged from 1/3, to equal portions and even stronger. Similarly, some Greeks enjoyed pouring wine on top of the water held in a vessel, while others strongly preferred the opposite.

My suggestion for the replacement of drinking rituals centred on a krater by others that employed a number of drinking vessels for individual use seems peculiar to those familiar with Homeric (Iliad 1, 597-598; Odyssey III, 51-53 and XXI, 141-142; Węcowski 2002, 354-355; Sherratt 2004, 306, 310, 322) and later (Węcowski 2002) references to drinking parties that involve the circulation of a single wine-cup among the participants. It finds a parallel, however, in Hellenistic Athens (Rotroff 1996, 27; 1997, 15). Furthermore (fig. 1), the occurrence of kraters filled with drinking sets in Cretan tombs of the 10th-9th centuries (Knossos: Brock 1957, 161; Sackett 1976, 122; Coldstream 1996a, 368, 378. Eleuther-

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4. Compare the net weight of late 9th century coated cups, which is shown in Table 2, with the net weight of bell skyphoi from Knossos (130-190 gr.) and Eleutherina (120-210 gr.) and the net weight of dipped cups of similar date from the two sites (180-190 gr. and 200-235 gr. respectively).

CERAMIC VARIABILITY AND DRINKING HABITS IN IRON AGE CRETE

na: Stampolidis 2004, 259, no. 298; Kotsonas 2005, 275-276, 316; 2008, 314) suggests that the use of single–instead of multiple–drinking vessels was not a favoured choice in funerary drinking rituals of the island’s Iron Age.

The proposed association of the enlarged coated cup with wine consumption also ties in with the evidence on the funerary context of the relatively few undersized coated cups of the 8th and 7th centuries. Those cups were actually regularly placed in infant or child burials in Knosos and Eleutherna (Kotsonas 2005, 207, 278, 317, 626), which are the only two sites that have produced substantial archaeological and physical anthropological data. One could object that

6. When not from a disturbed context, the 8th century coated cups of small size that were found in the Knosos North Cemetery (Coldstream 1996a, 386-387) have positively or tentatively been attributed to an infant/child burial by the British excavators. Cups nos. 78.4 and 78.7 (classified in: Coldstream 1996a, 387; Moignard 1996, 457) come from an infant pithos-burial (Coldstream – Catling 1996, 123; Coldstream 1996b, 248) and cup no. 75.26 was discovered inside the urn of an adolescent or immature young adult (Coldstream – Catling 1996, 108, 111; Musgrave 1996, 680, 695). Cups nos. 18.14 and 18.34 were found close to an isolated burial tentatively attributed to a child (Coldstream 1996b, 248; no. 18.34 is apparently unclassified in Coldstream 1996a, 386-387, while no. 18.14 has wrongly been classified as large in Coldstream 1996a, 386; for its small size see Coldstream – Catling 1996, 69). Also, a series of cups from tomb 280 (nos. 280.2-4, 7, 8) are tentatively attributed to a child burial (Coldstream – Catling 1996, 229) and the same applies for no. 182.2 (Coldstream – Catling 1996, 190). Further, the tentative identification of a child burial in tomb 104, which produced two small coated cups (nos. 104.52, 104.126), as well as in tomb 31, which produced four similar cups (nos. 31.6, 31.10, 31.17, 31.34) is put forward in Coldstream 1996b, 246-248 (for tomb 31 also see Coldstream – Catling 1996, 81). The small coated cups of 7th century date discussed in Moignard 1996, 457 – including nos. 107.49, 107.1, 292.11, 292.136, 294.3, 294.4, 69.1, 126.8 – mostly come from disturbed contexts. Nevertheless, no. 107.49 was found in an urn that carried an adult cremation (Coldstream – Catling 1996, 150; Musgrave 1996, 697). This case is the only notable exception to the recurring deposition of small coated cups in child/infant burials: nevertheless, the miniature and plastic vessels found in the urn in question hint at the possibility of an unidentified infant/child burial.

undersized vessels are fitting to such burials. Nevertheless, the regular –though not complete– absence of the ubiquitous large coated cup from such burials suggests the significance of the pattern. It therefore appears that the distinction in the size of the coated cup was more than a ceramic development for some Cretans of the 8th and 7th centuries and corresponded with a notional distinction between adults and children. One is perhaps further tempted to draw a connection between large cups and adult males, particularly in the light of discussions of a Cretan custom that involved the offering of a cup to males after their initiation to adulthood (Strabo X.4.21; cf. Lebesi 1985, 189-190) or the Homeric references to wine consumption as a male prerogative (Sherratt 2004, 323-324). There are, however, no substantial physical anthropological data to confirm this hypothesis. In fact, coated cups were largely missing from the 8th and 7th century burials of a chamber tomb at Eleutherna (Kotsonas 2005, 275, 604-630; 2008, 205-211) that was mostly reserved for adult males (Agelarakis 2005; see also Stampolidis 2004, 122-124). On the other hand, the deposition of offerings in that tomb was highly selective during the given period (Kotsonas 2005, 292-294, 297-300, 317; 2008, 333-334, 340).

To conclude, ceramic variability, along with contextual information, suggests that the coated cup was enlarged to accommodate an additional requirement, the mixing of wine and water, in some outdoor settings, and thus replace the krater on particular occasions. Evidently, the change did not happen overnight, but progressed gradually in the first half of the

7. Exceptions identified mostly include ambiguous cases. For example, the Knossian large coated cup nos. 107.63, 285.35, 285.64 were associated with urns of adolescents or young adults (Coldstream – Catling 1996, 150, 240-241; Musgrave 1996, 680, 697). Also, a tomb in Gavomouri, in West Crete, produced a child burial and six large coated cups (Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1987); the tomb was, however, largely destroyed and may have contained adult burials as well.
8th century, if not longer, probably because of experimentation. This argument certainly does not involve that all Cretan coated cups of the 8th and 7th century were intended as 'mini-kraters' and only accounts for the stimulus of the changes described. I also find likely that some Cretan communities and their potters that took on the enlarged form of the coated cup were unaware of the stimulus that created it and simply embraced a spreading ceramic fashion.

CONCLUSIONS

Major contributions to the study of Greek Iron Age pottery regularly adopt the methodology of culture history. Notwithstanding the significance of those works, I maintain that the field is ripe for addressing other, fresh lines of inquiry. In this paper, I have called attention to the potential significance of variability in the size and capacity of ceramics not only for chronological and typological classifications, but also for studies of transformations of human habits and social structures.

Ceramic variability was here studied with respect to the shifting character of drinking rituals manifested in some funerary contexts of Iron Age Crete. Emphasis was placed on the demise of the krater, which is documented in several cemeteries in the central and eastern part of the island from around 800 and contrasts the persistent deposition of drinking vessels at those sites. Drawing from Homeric references and archaeological parallels, I argued that the demise of the krater should be associated with major changes in the size and capacity seen on a popular Cretan drinking vessel, the coated cup, displays from approximately the same period. According to my interpretation, the latter development - which is a peculiarity of Crete, unparalleled in other regions where such cups were produced - was stimulated by the need for a vessel that would facilitate the mixing of wine and water in outdoor settings; the new form was also perhaps intended to accommodate individual - rather than communal - drinking preferences. I argue that these advantages must surely have been appreciated by some Cretan communities, but doubt whether the relevant developments spread over the entire island. More generally, I wholeheartedly subscribe to the argument that the drinking habits of the Greeks were not entirely homogeneous, depending on the occasion of performance, or on regional and chronological trajectories.

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Fig. 1. Mid-9th century krater with accompanying drinking set, found inside tomb E of the Knossos North Cemetery (Sackett 1976, 121; courtesy of the British School at Athens).

Fig. 2. Comparative view of coated cups of the late 9th (b), early/mid-8th (c) to early 7th (d) centuries from Knossos, including an imported Attic piece (a) of the late 9th century (Coldstream 2001, 56; courtesy of the British School at Athens).
Fig. 3. Comparative view of coated cups of the late 9th (a-b), early/mid-8th (c-d) and late 8th/early 7th (e-f) centuries from Eleutherna (courtesy of Professor N.Chr. Stampolidis).
Euboea definitely played a significant role in the course of history and culture during the Early Iron Age, not only within the Aegean Sea, but well beyond it, indeed throughout the Mediterranean. The fame of Eretria and Chalkis recorded by later Greek historians as a faded memory of a distant past, attracted archaeological interest during the past 20th century. However, despite continuous research in Lefkandi and Eretria there are still many problems concerning the development of Euboean Early Iron Age pottery, which was so popular abroad in the Early Iron Age. The largest gap in knowledge about Euboean pottery appears in the MG and LG phases due to the lack of well-stratified contexts. Paradoxically, the evolution of Euboean Middle and Late Geometric ceramics is better known in the north Aegean, than the island of Euboea itself. The Early Iron Age settlement of Sindos in central Macedonia with its eleven successive occupation levels, two of them MG and four LG, has yielded big quantities of imported Euboean pottery in stratified contexts together with a few sherds of Attic vessels which help to establish the relative date (Gimatzidis forthcoming a, chapters 3.4 and 6). Moreover, there was recently a significant find made at Methone in Pieria, where quite a deep pit containing huge quantities of pottery from the end of 8th century B.C. was excavated. Many of the broken vessels that had been thrown into this pit came from Euboea, while others were imported from various regions in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean. The majority of the vessels in this assemblage is of Macedonian origin and belongs to many different local categories including possibly copies of Euboean pottery (Besios 2003, 448-449; Besios et al. 2004, 367-369).

1. Stratified Euboean pottery contexts were examined by the author (Gimatzidis 2006, forthcoming a, chapter 7) in order to create a typological sequence and support a comparative chronology for the Euboean pottery, especially for the Geometric period. Recently, some new closed contexts of Euboean MG and LG pottery from 9 pits and a well from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros and the West Quarter were published by the Swiss excavation team (Verdan et al. 2008).
Our knowledge about the relative chronology of Early Iron Age pottery is based mostly upon grave contexts, which, however, contain vases that are not always contemporary with the burial (cf. Snodgrass 2000, 111). On the contrary, it is the debris of the occupation levels in long stratigraphies, which may offer a more representative picture of the pottery development with an abundance of domestic vessels in their original context. Such stratigraphies are still rare in the Aegean. Therefore, one can comprehend the significance of the eleven successive Early Iron Age occupation levels in Sin­dos and the twelve layers in Kastanas, for the Aegean archaeology and especially for the most obscure north side of the archipelago (Gimatzidis forthcoming a, chapter 3.4; Hänsel 1989, 171-327; for the revised chronology of the Early Iron Age strata of Kastanas see Gimatzidis – Hänsel in press).

Recently published and forthcoming archaeological material from modern, systemati­cally excavated sites and from many rescue ex­cavations in central Macedonia together with new evidence from Thessaly, and Euboea re­veals common trends in the pottery produc­tion of these regions during the Early Iron Age. These trends can be traced in the common shapes used, which sometimes bear the same type of decoration. The first objective of this paper is to study common traditions and innova­tions in pottery production of these regions. A future paper will be concerned with the mean­ing of the circulation of pottery trends, the demand for imported pottery, and its symbolic meaning within this area.

In his opus Proto­geometric Pottery, Des­borough (Desborough 1952, 127, 180) grouped and treated the ceramic production of Thessaly, Skyros and the northern Cyclades – Euboea was a terra incognita at that time – together in the same chapter. Furthermore, he observed some kind of relations between the Macedo­nian wheelmade pottery and the ceramics of the “Thessalo-Cycladic area” (see also Desbor­ough 1972, 195-196). Later the same scholar spoke of a cultural or ceramic “koine” extending from the Thessalian coast through Euboea and Skyros to the northern Cyclades (Desborough 1977; 1979-1980, 286). Relations among these regions during the PG and SubPG period were also discerned by other specialists on typologi­cal grounds (Coldstream 1968, 148-157; Snodgrass 2000, 403; Coldstream 2003, 40-45).

However, if someone insists upon talking about a "koine" in this region today, one has to be more specific and determine first the exact meaning of this word: Is it only a ceramic "koine", or something more?, and what does this mean for the cultural interactions between the regions under consideration? Moreover, before giving priority to one or the other region in this "koine" and giving it a name, for example "Euboean koine", one has to consider bias factors such as the years' long focus of archae­ological research on Euboea and the problem­atic Early Iron Age chronology (see, e.g. Lem­os 1998, 55-56; Papadopoulos 2005, 576, 580). The fact that Euboean mariners were pioneers in the trade enterprise and colonisation in the West and in Macedonia does not necessarily mean that Euboean potters were equally as in­novative in their ceramic styles and vice versa. Before drawing any conclusion about the pri­macy of one particular local pottery style over others in the regions under consideration, one should be certain that research is well ac­quainted with every local pottery style, its de­velopment and its comparative chronology.

2. Other artefacts such as weapons, pins, fibulae and other pieces of jewellery still cannot contribute to our issue, because of the gaps in research and the fact that such artefacts either do not share common morphological fea­tures in the regions we deal with, or they belong to cate­gories and types that generally display a limited morpho­logical variability within the Aegean material culture. The same is true for burial customs and architecture (cf. Lem­os 1998, 51-55); the same architectural forms, including apsidal buildings, are used in settlements in almost every part of the Greek world as well as on its periphery that are far beyond the regions under consideration (for an oval house in Gevjelia, north Macedonia, see i.e. Papazovska 2005, 126-130, figs. 9-11).
For all these reasons and with regard to the material culture I prefer to use the term “northwest Aegean” for the description of the area from central Macedonia through east Thessaly, Locris, parts of Attica, Euboea, Skyros to the northern Cyclades (fig. 1). Among the local pottery styles in these regions, morphological similarities can be discerned not only in the earlier phases of the Early Iron Age, but also until the end of this period. Archaeological material from excavations conducted during the last three decades in the region of Macedonia and other evidence show beyond any doubt that central Macedonia, which was formerly excluded, is definitely part of what used to be called the “Euboean koine” or “Thessalo-Cycladic Protogeometric and Subprotogeometric”.

It has been said that soon after their first appearance in MPG in the Euboean repertoire, the pendant semicircles on skyphoi or plates became the hallmark of Euboean enterprise overseas (Popham – Lemos 1989, 152; Kearsley 1995, 19-20; contra Papadopoulos 1998, 365). However, at the same time or even earlier, this motif appeared in Macedonia. It is due to the paucity of well-stratified contexts that no one can deprive Euboea of its fatherhood as of yet. Nevertheless, new evidence shows that soon after the standardisation of the decoration of the pendant semicircle skyphoi their evolution was parallel in Euboea and Macedonia. The concept for the well known standardised shape of pendant semicircle skyphos with a low ring foot can be traced back to a forerunner type with a conical foot. Only a few fragments of this earlier pendant semicircle skyphos type have been found in Euboea, in the MPG fill of the Building at the Toumba of Lefkandi (Catling – Lemos 1990, 22-23, pls. 12.155-164, 48.155-156, 49.157.160). Many more examples of this forerunner skyphos came from the tumuli graves around Olympia in Pieria and display similar shape and decorative features (see e.g., fig. 2a). Most of the Macedonian vessels, or perhaps all of them, are of a later date than the MPG Euboean ones, which they however outnumber. That can hardly be a matter of chance, since in both regions, Macedonia and Euboea, so many PG and SubPG grave contexts have been so far excavated. Thus, it seems that the pendant semicircle skyphos with a conical foot had the same or even greater tradition in Macedonia than in Euboea. This vessel went out of fashion in Euboea relative quickly, as the “classical” skyphos with a low ring foot replaced it in LPG. The earlier types of the skyphos with the ring foot always have a deep rounded body and a straight lip. At the end of SubPG IIIa they were replaced by new types with shallower bodies, well distinguished from the others as well as from one another by the shape and height of their lips. Today there is no doubt that all types of the pendant semicircle skyphoi were produced and consumed at the same time both in Euboea and Macedonia. Many of them were also used and produced in Thessaly and some perhaps in the northern Cyclades. It is worth pointing out that at some Macedonian sites they represented one of the most popular drinking vessels among the local wheelmade tableware during the LPG and SubPG period. The stratigraphy at Sindos has proven that the evolution of at least the three later shallow skyphos types was parallel in Macedonia and Euboea. In both regions they went out of use permanently in LG Ia. This is a definitive result of the examination of the Sindos stratigraphy and the reassessment of others, old and new, well dated and stratified contexts all over the Mediterranean (analytically see Gimatzidis 2006, 209-226 with forthcoming a, chapter 4.4.1.1.7).

The motif of hanging, occasionally intersecting concentric semicircles seems to appear in the handle zone of many more Macedonian vessel shapes than Euboean ones (fig. 2). Accordingly, the motif of semicircles decorates in almost the same way the body of a handmade bowl, whose shape was derived from the older Macedonian ceramic tradition, as well as the high lip of the wheelmade Thessalo-Macedonian kantharos (fig. 2f, d). Both shapes were widely produced in many sites of central Mac-
edonia approximately during the same period as the wheelmade pendant semicircle skyphos. Besides these, pendant semicircles were used more freely for decorating other Macedonian shapes, such as kraters and cups (fig. 2 c, e). Hence, it seems reasonable to conclude that this motif was more popular in Macedonia than in Euboea itself, although the distribution maps of pendant semicircle skyphoi show a totally different picture. Unfortunate for the reputation of Macedonian wares is the fact that they belonged to farmers and not to merchants, as the Euboean ones did, or they lay remote from Phoenician trade routes.

The jug with a cut-away neck is perhaps the most typical shape of northern Greece with a long tradition and broad distribution throughout Macedonia and Thessaly. In some Macedonian sites it is the most popular closed shape among handmade or wheelmade versions with monochrome or simple linear decoration. The Euboean potters became familiar with it at a relatively late time. They copied it in the later phases of the Early Iron Age and decorated it according to the local fashion of the 8th century BC3.

The strap-handled bowl was produced with few variations according to the local preferences all over the northwest Aegean (fig. 3). Type I with a short, slightly inturned lip and a shallow body became popular during the later phases of Early Iron Age. More common was bowl type II with a flattened rim and a deeper rounded or carinated body, usually with linear decoration or monochrome. During the PG period it stood upon a conical foot, which was soon replaced by a low ring or flat base. The type III bowl has a tall outcurved rim and appears in monochrome or linear decorated versions. Both types II and III of the strap-handled bowl were produced from the beginning of the Early Iron Age until its later phases.

The vertical-handled amphoriskos first appeared at the beginning of the Early Iron Age in the northwest Aegean. This shape was produced in PG and in the early stages of SubPG in Euboea, Thessaly, Macedonia and the northern Cyclades. In later phases of the Iron Age the amphoriskos was also used in east Aegean and the western parts of Greece, with a few different features in its shape.

Kantharoi and skyphoi were two of the most fashionable wheelmade drinking vases in the northwest Aegean during the Early Iron Age. In some PG and SubPG sites in Pieria and East Thessaly the kantharos seems to have been more popular than the skyphos itself (fig. 4). The first type of kantharos with a tall and almost straight lip was a typical Macedonian and Thessalian vessel, derived from an earlier handmade version. It appeared for the first time in the course of PG and was used continuously in northern Greece until the later phases of SubPG. In the earlier stages of its development there were zigzags, hatched squares or bands on the lip, while later it had hanging groups of concentric semicircles or hatched triangles.

Apart from the Thessalo-Macedonian type I of kantharoi, four more types of the same shape were produced in the northwest Aegean (fig. 4). Type II was more popular in Macedonia, type III was used mostly on Euboea, and type IV had a Thessalian origin. The successor to the Thessalian type IV with a short lip and rounded body was perhaps the type V, which was adopted in Attica during the MG II and soon spread, with its new Atticising decoration, all over Greece. In Thessaly and Macedonia this type retained the local character in its decoration for quite some time.

The distribution of the vessels examined here demonstrate a preference for the same particular shapes as well as the same decoration in a large area that extends from central Macedonia to Euboea, sometimes including the northern Cyclades and parts of Attica. Aside from these vessels there are also others, whose decorative treatment displays the im-

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3. All shapes mentioned here, i.e. skyphos, jug with cut-away neck, strap-handled bowl, vertical-handled amphoriskos, kantharos, are discussed in detail in Gimatzidis forthcoming a.
impact of interactions in the ceramic production of the northwest Aegean. Representative examples are the opposed diagonals and the alternating triglyphs and metopes used in many parts of Greece as ancillaries. Only in the northwest Aegean and especially on Euboea did they decorate broad zones of the vessels (fig. 5). These motifs came into fashion in Thessaly and Macedonia especially in the course of SubPG III and LG Ia. In Macedonia they sometimes decorate some shapes, for example skyphoi and cups, in the exact same way as in Euboea. Apart from simple linear decoration, only in a few instances were motifs from the rich LG Greek repertoire, such as birds, animals, human figures, meanders, etc., employed by the local Macedonian ceramic production.

In the 8th century BC for many different reasons the Greeks decided to settle away from the homeland. Pioneers in this movement were the Euboeans. Their commercial and colonial enterprises, according to Greek sources, were directed towards the Italian peninsula, Sicily and Macedonia. Nevertheless, the early economic activity of these mariners was strongly challenged, especially in Macedonia. Inevitably here one must join in on the lively debate that has been going on in recent years about Euboean trade and expansion. The exaggerations of pro-Euboeans in previous decades, with their insistence upon seeing a merchant from Euboea behind every Euboean sherd in both east and west, have been recently followed by the overreaction of the anti-Euboeans who refuse to acknowledge that the Euboeans or any other Greeks took any initiative in commercial activity and expansion (Morris - Papadopoulos 1998; Papadopoulos 1996; 1997; 2005, 571-595 with bibliography). In their eager quest to determine the nationalities of the pioneers of trade in the Mediterranean in the 8th century BC, scholars less often (though more pertinent) use evidence gleaned from mortuary and cult practices - although admittedly, such evidence does not always provide all the answers (see e.g., Docter 2000). So there are considerable methodological problems involved in this perhaps pointless controversy. After all, it is my impression that, there is no scholar today who represents the view that the distribution of Euboean pottery alone reflects the Euboeans' colonial or even commercial spread in the Mediterranean (see also Ridgway 2004, esp. 24-25 with bibliography).

4. Here I would like to examine the example of Mende, which according to Thucydides was founded by Eretria. As far as I could judge from a macroscopic examination, there are only very few sherds from the Vokotopoulou's excavations in Mende, which could have come from Euboean vessels. In my opinion, the majority of the allegedly imported ceramic material in Mende is of local Macedonian ceramic production (cf. Papadopoulos 1996, 161-162; 2005, 588). However, this is no argument for refusing that Mende was a Euboean colony by rejecting other evidence. One should not forget that even if Mende had been a Euboean colony, it was still a Macedonian polis, and that we know only a very small and absolutely no representative part of it. It would be senseless to expect that settlers or their descendents in ancient Greek colonies drank and ate only from vessels produced in motherland or even from local pottery that imitated such prototypes. If that were the case and if one thinks of the life time of a common pot, one would have to conclude that Greek ships systematically transported cargo of beverages, food and storage vessels to supply the colonies.

Unfortunately, one has to accept that one way or another the presence of particular ceramic categories (types and styles of vessels, eating and drinking habits) and other "hard things" in a "colonial" assemblage will always build an argument in a discussion concerning the construction of identities in an ancient community. On the other hand, the absence of imported pottery in a colonial assemblage could say something but only under certain circumstances, e.g. when the material under consideration is quantitatively representative, and this is very rarely the case (Papadopoulos 2005, 585-586).
Here the objective is certainly not to determine the nationality of the merchant, the ship owner or the pirate who transported the Euboean wares to the east or the west, because he may very well have come from Euboea or some other part of Greece, from Phoenicia, or even - why not? - Italy or Thrace. Or he might have been a Phoenician living in the Aegean, or an expatriate Greek living in the east or the west. Without getting embroiled in this futile debate, with the help of the material culture I should like to examine the socio-economic factors that connected two seemingly distant worlds, upon which according to the later literary evidence Euboean colonial and trade activity was focused, most notably Italy and the north Aegean.

It is true that the Euboeans' early enterprise in Italy is attested better by the later written sources than by archaeological material published from 2.5 % of the Pithekoussai cemetery or the earlier and equally limited excavations at Cumae. Yet one can hardly question the Euboeans' role in the colonisation of these two sites (see supra).

On the other hand, those who question the Euboeans' presence in central Macedonia neglect some important factors. The Euboean presence in Chalkidike is attested both by written sources and by archaeological data. Especially significant is the archaeologically attested early Greek cult of Poseidon at Poseidi near Mende, as already pointed out (Vokotopoulou 1994 with bibliography; see also Tiverios 2007).

Another factor is the presence of the so-called Macedonian bronzes in Euboean establishments in Italy. The earliest of these were found in graves of the second half of the 8th century BC at Pithekoussai, Cumae, and continued to appear during the Archaic period in graves and sanctuaries of Greek colonies in Sicily (Pin- gel 1980; Bouzek 2000). If we accept that some of these pendants had "magical properties", then certainly they were not ordinary commercial commodities, but amulets that accompanied their owner everywhere (cf. Mitrevski 1996-1997). And if this is so, we must conclude that some inhabitants of probably non-Greek origin travelled from northern Greece to Italy. We do not know how the wearers of these amulets made the journey. But in this case it does seem certain that, whether as slaves or as spouses of colonists from northern Greece or in any other way, these Thracians - as Greek sources sometimes indiscriminately term them - found themselves in Italy at some point. Even if we disregard any magical properties that may have been attributed to the Macedonian bronzes and consider them as ordinary items of trade, we can explain their presence in Italy as the result of commercial activities on the part of ordinary merchants, active in both the north Aegean and Italy.

Other objects of north Greek origin found in Italy are the 8th century trade amphorae, which mainly circulated in a well organised trade network in the northern and northwest Aegean, perhaps under Greek auspices (Bucher - Ridgway 1993, 600-601, Tomb 621,1, pl. 211; di Sandro 1986, 116, pl. 25, sg264; see also Catling 1998 and cf. Gimatzidis 2002a, 75-76; 2002b; 2006, 329-362; forthcoming b). These amphorae can also be found on Euboea and in sites outside the Aegean, which have traditionally been believed to lie at the end of the Euboean commercial routes to east and west. In my opinion, the presence of northern Greek wares in Italy is connected with economic activities that, initially at least, were based on the island of Euboea. The only known factor, known both from archaeological data and from the written sources, which could account for the socio-economic links between Italy and Macedonia in the second half of the 8th century is Euboean trade. It is true that research has been hampered by the fact that the later Greek written sources mention nothing about the activities of other peoples. However, the available archaeological data makes it difficult to question the role of the island of Euboea as a link between northern Greece and Italy in the 8th century BC.
Even if we ignore:
— the evidence,
— the references to Euboean presence in northern Greece in later sources, and
— the fact that most of the imported 8th century pottery in Macedonia comes from Euboea, we need only to consider the distance that separates Euboea from the Thermaic Gulf and the west coast of Italy, respectively, and ask ourselves what the distant Italian market had to offer to a merchant or opportunist from Euboea that northern Greece did not (cf. Snodgrass 1994, 6).

The common trends that we have observed in the ceramic production of the northwest Aegean pottery disappeared once and for all at the end of LG. In the same period, the Euboean pottery stopped being exported to the neighbouring regions as well as to the east and west. Euboean imports in Macedonia, Thessaly and Cyclades were replaced by Corinthian and East Greek tableware, and the fashion of local northwest Aegean pottery was now influenced by such pottery (cf. Tiverios 1993, 556-57; 1998, 250-51).

The break in this long-lasting tradition should not necessarily be ascribed to some historical event. It is no need to remind here that ceramics and history do not always interrelate. However, in the same period during which significant changes took place in northwest Aegean pottery, there was another important — archaeologically recorded — break. It has been observed that many of the excavated settlements around the Thermaic Gulf, upon which Euboean activity must have been focused, were either abandoned or their occupation area diminished after 700 BC.

In the stratigraphy of Sindos it is clear that next to the occupation level 4, which dates to LG IIb, lay the late Archaic level 3 of the second half of the 6th century BC (Gimatzipdis forthcoming a, chapter 3.4.1.1). Furthermore, only a few graves of the well-known Archaic cemetery at Sindos date a little earlier than the middle of the 6th century BC (Tiverios, 1985-1986).

In the settlement of Kastanas, which was excavated to a large extent, the later occupation level ("Schicht 1") directly below the surface dates to c. 700 BC. There is no find from this site that can be dated to the 7th century BC either (Gimatzipdis – HänSEL in press). The archaeological material of the settlements in Methone and Krania in Pieria conveys the same picture of development. The ancient settlement at Krania was clearly destroyed around 700 BC, and the place was partially used as a cemetery in the late Archaic period (Poulaki-Pantermali 2001, 338-339). In the Euboean colony of Methone there are some indications, which demonstrate a significant decline after the beginning of the 7th century BC. The same development has been observed in many other settlements on the Thermaic Gulf, such as Toumba Thessaloniki, Gona (Skarlatidou – Konstantinou 2003, esp. 222), perhaps Nea Philadelphia (Misailidou-Despotidou 1995; 1998), Thermes (Sedes) (Skarlatidou – Ignatiadou 1996, 480-482) and Leivithra (Poulaki-Pantermali – Bachlas 2004). Exceptions to this are the settlement of Kambournaki (Tiverios et al. 1999, esp. 171-172, fig.

5. I am referring to the large pit which was filled with discarded material of the end of the 8th century BC (Besios 2003, 448-449; Besios et al. 2004, 367-369). According to the excavator, Methone flourished in Archaic times; however we should wait for the final publication of its stratigraphy and pottery, before we accept the information that some structures were erected in the 7th century BC.

6. Among the archaeological material from Toumba Thessaloniki, which I had the opportunity to examine thoroughly, there was not a single sherd which could be securely dated in the 7th century BC. The same is true for the Trapeza of the same site, although the excavators prefer to date in the 7th century BC an architectural phase, which was found between a phase of the 8th and another of the 6th century BC. The dating of this phase is based mainly on a local category of pottery, the so-called silver-washed pottery. It is, however, impossible for the time being to discern stages of typological development in this category of pottery, while there are still some problems concerning its chronology (cf. Gimatzipdis forthcoming a, chapter 4.4.4.4). Regarding the allegedly imported pottery of the 7th century BC found in this site, one should wait for the final publication (see SouereF 1996, 392-393, 396-397, 399).
of alliances during a Panhellenic war presupposes a network of complex relations between the Greek states of that time. The states in the northwest Aegean could not have been excluded from these upheavals, whose effect is archaeologically recorded.

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7. The phenomenon we described in the settlements of the Thermaic Gulf cannot be attributed to another factor, such as a natural catastrophe, which would have been recorded in the archaeological material.


Fig. 1. Map of the northwest Aegean.
Fig. 2. Macedonian vessels with pendant semicircles: a. wheelmade skyphos on a conical foot from Gavria, Dion, Pieria (ΔΔ 40, 1985, Χρονικά, pl. 103, c). b. wheelmade skyphos on a ring foot from Τούμβα, Θεσσαλονίκη (Θεσσαλονίκη, Από τα προϊστορικά μέχρι τα χριστιανικά χρόνια, 1986, 87, fig. 66). c. wheelmade krater from Πυδνα (Κάρλιαμπας et al 2004, 345, fig. 9). d. wheelmade kantharos from Σίνδος. e. wheelmade cup from Λόνα (Σκαρλατίδου – Κωνσταντινίδου 2003, 226, fig. 19). f. handmade bowl from Τούμβα, Θεσσαλονίκη (Θεσσαλονίκη, Από τα προϊστορικά μέχρι τα χριστιανικά χρόνια, 1986, 88, fig. 69).

Fig. 3. The strap-handled bowl in the northwest Aegean.
Fig. 4. The kantharos in the northwest Aegean.

Fig. 5. Northwest Aegean vessels with the same decoration: a. Macedonian wares from Sindos, b. Euboean wares from Sindos (skyphos) and Siris, Policoro (cup, Berlingo 2003, 323).
The subject of my brief contribution to the Conference in memory of William Coulson was supplied by two vases in the exhibition of the Brauron Museum; the first is a triple skyphos published by M. Xagorari in her recent book on the Geometric Necropolis of Merenda (fig. I: Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 15, 86, no. 235, pl. 25b, fig. 19), the second an unpublished double tankard from the Geometric cemeteries of the same ancient demos, extending to the north of the Byzantine chapel of the Virgin Mary. These two vases are far inferior in craftsmanship to the plentiful, first quality pottery unearthed in the cemeteries of Myrrhinous. The same holds true for the roughly contemporary, multi-storeyed pots with which the present paper is dealing; they hardly match the elegance of shape and decoration, not to mention the size, of vases produced in Attic workshops. Nevertheless, they bear witness to the playfulness displayed by Attic potters, to their tendency to make "a practical joke" out of a vase in a period whose austerity and -allegedly - severe spirit led scholars to characterize it as "Geometric".

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1. It is part of the material excavated by A. Vavritsas in 1968, ΑΔ 25, 1970, Χρονικά 1, 127-129 that I am preparing for publication. I wish to thank the former and present Ephors of East Attica, Dr. V. Petrakos and Dr. V. Vassilopoulou, for granting me permission to publish the pottery. On the location of the Merenda Geometric cemeteries see Vivliodetis 2007, map 7.2; Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, XIV; on the tombs, grave-goods etc, Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 29 sq; AAA Ι, 1968, 31-32 (D. Lazaridis); ΑΔ 25, 1970, Χρονικά 1, 127-129 (A. Vavritsas).

2. Unlike other similar vases, e.g. the slightly later
a zig-zag band, bordered by triple horizontal lines, runs around the upper part of the bellies. Almost nothing survives of the two or three horizontal lines that originally bordered the lip of the upper tankard. Each neck zone is divided into three square “metopes” separated by vertical “triglyphs”. The metopes and triglyphs are drawn with great care and correspond exactly on the two vases. A hatched swastika occupies the central metope (opposite the handle), while hatched quatrefoils, with hatched triangles between their petals, decorate the two metopes flanking each handle. The triglyphs are formed by a vertical zig-zag band bordered by three vertical lines.

Triglyphs and metopes bearing quatrefoils with triangles similar to these on the Merenda double tankard are encountered on LG Ia pyxides\(^3\). Quatrefoils alternating with swastikas are by far the commonest patterns on early metope vases\(^4\). Both patterns are combined on LG Ib high-rimmed bowls from Kerameikos\(^5\) and, in a more negligent way, on the Merenda high-rimmed bowl 1608, transitional to LG II (Xagorari 2005, 82, no. 213). The quality of pot making, “the cutting up of the focal zone into square metopes attracting the eye to the parts of the vase needing the greatest stress” and the careful drawing of the decoration on the Merenda double tankard are fully compatible with LG Ia standards (Coldstream 1968, 47-50).

**TERMINOLOGY**

It is not easy to find a term that adequately describes the superimposed components in question: J. Noble called them *trick* vases, intending by this a vessel made to fool the viewer (Noble 1968, 371)\(^6\), while J. Bouzek, like P. Gardener before him (Gardener 1904, 294, fig. 501 left), preferred the term *storeyed vessels* (Bouzek 1969, 264). To call them *multiple vases* would create confusion with the (usually miniature) vessels linked horizontally, either in a row, or attached on a ring shaped base, or clustered together with or without a central stem (Koukouzelis 2007, 67-68). We opted for *multi-storeyed vases*, translating the term “Mehrstöckige Näpfen” used in the CVA Heidelberg 3, 46, pl. 110.5 (fig. 6). By this we intend recipients that give the impression of being composed of more than one vessel of the same shape stacked vertically, one on top of the other, but having inside a continuous cavity that extends throughout the vase.

**SHAPES**

A brief survey of the shapes preferred by potters for vertical stacking, shows that open forms are the commonest\(^7\). The individual components of multi-storeyed jugs and tankards are miniatures. In the case of aryballoi and skyphoi or cups the vases piled up have, more or less, the normal size of the shape regardless of whether they were intended for cult or for funerary use. The shapes stacked vertically to form a multi-storeyed vase more often than not are complete: comprising the lip, handles and belly, but lacking their bases, apart from the lowest vessel. There are, however, some exceptions to the rule especially when a multi-storeyed jug (fig. 5) or lekythos is concerned: the potter, instead of piling up fully-formed jugs, with handles and tre-

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6. On trick vases and on how highly they were appreciated by the participants of a symposion cf. Vierneisel – Kaeser 1990, 268-269, fig. 42. 8a. More recently Kefalidou in press.

7. If we omit the Cretan double jugs belonging to an early and very distinct local category, we count in the Catalogue only seven different closed pots [jugs, aryballoi, lekythoi] contrasting with more than twenty seven open ones [mostly skyphoi and a few tankards but later on Ionian cups, even one Attic kylix].
foil lips, confines himself to stacking a number of bellies crowned by a complete vase 8.

The handles of the superimposed vases are usually placed symmetrically, one above the other (figs. 6-7). There are very few exceptions to the rule, usually skyphoi, where alternating sets of handles are placed at right angles; this is the case of the triple skyphos from Merenda (fig. 1) 9.

DATE

To my best knowledge there are no Mycenaean or Sub-Mycenaean ancestors for this category of vases; neither do they seem to have been produced in the first centuries of the Iron Age 10. Small lekythoi or jugs placed on top of larger bellies and double aryballoi appear in Crete as early as the PG B period 11; they seem to be a local phenomenon and are the forerunners of the fully formed multi-storeyed vessels we are discussing. Complete vases stacked one on top of the other are potted in Athens as early as the MG II period: the triple skyphos in the Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg, the triple skyphos from Xeropolis and the double skyphos in the Louvre are all MG II in date 12, but not nearly as impressive as the contemporary five-storeyed jug from the Areopagus “grave 2” (fig. 5) 13, a bold achievement of the potter’s wheel. The production of multi-storeyed vessels thrives around the mid-8th century BC (LG Ia-Ila) 14 and passes out of fashion in the last quarter of the century. In the second quarter of the 7th century some ambitious examples turn up in East Greek pottery workshops, especially on Samos 15. By the second quarter of the 6th century their production stops. Compared to other categories of wares, multi-storeyed vessels were a rather short-lived phenomenon.

DISTRIBUTION

When one reviews their distribution pattern, it is evident that we are dealing with a geographically limited matter. As already noted something like multi-storeyed vessels make their earliest appearance in Central Crete (Knossos North Cemetery, Fortetsa, Eleftherna, Prinias and Kourtes cemeteries) and seem not to be produced in other areas of this island after the PG B period 16. These early Cretan jugs and lekythoi cannot be considered as proper multi-storeyed vessels since they are formed by placing a complete, if small-scale form over a larger belly, and not by vertically piling up a series of complete pots. Some peculiar Early Archaic shapes from East Crete combine a cylindrical stand with three conical cups set around the lip and a fourth vessel perched in turn on top of these three 17. Such fall

8. e.g. CVA Athènes 1, Grèce 1, pl. 1.5 (K. Rhomaios); Bouzek 1969, 265, fig. 1.1 (from the Areopagus, “grave 2”, here no. 1); Stampolidis 2004, 241, no. 265.
9. Xagorari 2005, 86, no. 235, pl. 25b, fig. 19a; here no. 28; cf. also the Samian double cup from Vulci, Tomba della Panatenaica, Brijder 1997, fig. 5, or the Ionian cups CVA München 6, Deutschland 28 (H. Walter-Karydi), pl. 293.2, fig. 21; Boldrini 1994, 187, no. 451, pl. 18, from Gravisca: here nos. 9-10 (“7th-6th Centuries”).
10. Bouzek 1969, 264: “they are not earlier than the late ninth c. BC”.
11. Jugs and lekythoi: Stampolidis 2004, 241, no. 265 with photograph; Brock 1957, 46, no. 432 (tomb X), pl. 34.432 and 51, no. 513 (tomb X), pl. 34. 513; Coldstream – Catling 1996, 344 type iv, figs 102, 151; Rocchetti 1988-1989, 203-204, nos. 80-81. Aryballoi: Brock 1957, 53, no. 537 (tomb X), pl. 36. 537, 149; here nos. 2-15, 25.
12. Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg NJ836: Schweitzer 1918, 51, fig. 3; Bouzek 1969, 268, no. 8; Simon 1975, 53, no. 148, dates the vase in the second half of the 8th c. BC; Xeropolis skyphos: AR 2004-5, 52, fig. 91; Louvre CA 1736: CVA Louvre 16, France 25, 1972, pl. 12.3(A. Samaras-Kaufmann); here nos. 26-28.
13. Supra n. 8; on the Areopagus “grave 2” cf. D’Onofrio in this volume.
17. A jug, in the case of Praisos, a cup in that of Sklavos, see Tsipopoulou 2005, 236, no. H1447, 296, no. AN1669, 444. Similar or more extravagant combinations occur in some other parts of East Crete, e.g. in Gortina, Johannowsky 2002, 22-39; I owe the last reference to Dr. A. Kotsonas.
in the category of kernoi rather, since they are composed from several small cups clustered together and they do not share a common cavity running through them all.

A brief glance at the Catalogue demonstrates that the main center of production of the vases under discussion must be Attica, if not Athens itself. Athenian potters of the Geometric period used current pottery shapes, mainly skyphoi, to make vertically piled-up vessels, beginning only a short time later than their Cretan counterparts (MG II). More than eighteen out of the thirty four Geometric multi-storeyed vases here compiled are Attic, five of them with an undoubtedly Athenian provenance. The few Argive and Boeotian specimens ought to be dated late in the 8th century and are considered clumsy imitations of Attic prototypes.

FUNCTION AND SYMBOLISM

Apart from being recognized as an intentional display of the potter's virtuosity, a number of theories have been advanced to explain the function and symbolism (if any) of multi-storeyed vessels.

J. Bouzek suggested affinities with the vertically multiplied knobs of Attic Geometric pyxis handles. He also saw resemblances with the repetitive arrangement in the decorative elements of Macedonian - possibly also of Hallstatt - bronze pendants. Nevertheless, he denied the existence of any "close link between the European and Greek storeyed vessels" and regarded them as an independent Greek invention (Bouzek 1969, 266).

With the exception of three skyphoi found in sanctuaries and of two coming from settlements, almost every other multi-storeyed vessel of the Geometric period with a known provenance was found in a funerary context. On the contrary, only one of the 7th and 6th century vessels comes from a tomb (Cat. no. 6, from Vulci, Tomba della Panatenaica); all others were unearthed in sanctuaries. The fact that after the turn of the 7th century they were no longer manufactured in Attica for funerary purposes, while at about the same time Ionians took over their production as votives, is a strong indication that after 700 BC the symbolism of these shapes must have changed.

Vases either stacked vertically as ours, or aligned and clustered together horizontally, have long been considered to allude to fertility rites, related to the cycle of life. Their occurrence in the 7th century Samian Heraion led H. Walter to the assumption that multi-storeyed vessels were intended solely for ritual use (Walter 1957, 48), in some way similar to the kernoi (Pollitt 1979, 228-232; Bignasca 2000; ThesCRA V, 2005, 250-255; Mitsopoulou 2005, 325-331; Tsipopoulou 2006, 444-445) and the multiple vases (Kourou 2007). Whether they were actually used in offering ceremonies or simply alluded to them, is a question that at the present remains unanswered. Nevertheless, we must keep in mind that if they served a cult purpose, this must have been different from the one in which kernoi were used, as multi-storeyed vessels are deprived of the typical trait of any kernos or multiple vase, i.e. of the aptitude to hold small quantities of goods, well separated in individual containers. Rather, by having but one internal cavity that runs through all its components, a multi-storeyed vase behaves as a single pot within which liquids inevitably mix.

Even if the cult use of multi-storeyed vessels can be sustained in cases like that of the Samian Heraion in the 7th and 6th centuries, some
other reason must yet be sought for their production in Attica and their constant presence in tombs, sometimes also in settlements, during the 8th century (i.e. from MG II to LG II). I suspect that a practical matter might better account for the inspiration and production of multi-storeyed vases in Geometric Attica. In any potting establishment of any date one may see various vases left to dry in shaded and well-ventilated areas. A lack of space would cause them to be piled up and as far as skyphoi are concerned, this could result into real skyphostowers. Further, vases are often stacked in the kiln, with small clay furniture placed between them to keep the pottery from sticking together during the firing. A firing accident could result in fusing the pots together, so producing piles of inseparable vessels: such too could have served as a source of inspiration.

Outside the workshops, the heaping up of vessels, especially of open shapes, is the normal way for arranging and storing table ware (plates, skyphoi, cups, tankards and the like) on shelves in any ancient, or modern, household. A skilled potter in a playful mood might have decided to amuse his customers by imitating these towers of pots, preparing trick vases that would give the impression of plurality while, in reality, they were but a single container. This "practical joke" (Noble 1968, 371) would be a great success in social gatherings; the more so if symposiasts, deceived into trying to lift one vessel from the pile, raised the whole lot.

It is not against reason to look for playful behaviour in MG II and LG times, a period otherwise renowned for its austerity and sternness, especially if this behaviour is detected in Athens and Attica. Athenian potters — following their customers’ demands — were always striving to produce functional and utilitarian products. This, however, did not hinder them from also seeking beauty and originality in the shape and decoration of their vases. Partaking in this latter spirit of innovation "a clever potter would enliven", from time to time, "his output by making a trick vase" (Noble 1968, lc). The extent to which these products were appreciated by their owners is hinted at by the fact that they accompanied them in the tomb.

The argument is particularly strong when drinking vases of normal size are concerned, thus alluding to their use by grown-ups. The trick, however, works equally well with closed shapes or with miniature vases, offered usually as funerary gifts in child-burials. Children are more prone than grown-ups to appreciate a funny trick and such vessels would make a great success among young boys during their initiation into sympotic customs (Pomadère in the present volume). Multi-storeyed vessels in the funerary equipment of a dead child suggest the grief of the relatives: they are expressions of love, possibly also of the belief in an afterlife, as they offer the departed with the opportunity of amusement in the grim surroundings of Hades (Langdon 1993, 96).

Initially conceived as "gags" that would enliven Attic social meetings, multi-storeyed vases became first part of mortuary practice. Their simulated multiplicity gradually took on connotations of the cyclic renewal of life, as was the case with genuine multiple vases or kernoi, frequently found in graves (Bignasca 2000, 163-170; Kourou 2007, 73-74). We cannot be certain of the nature of their use by mourners during burial rituals, but their presence in funerary contexts induced, in time, their association with fertility ceremonies in Sanctuaries. Thus, after the end of the 8th c. BC, multiple vases lost...
their initial practical and hilarious side, along with their Attic pedigree, with the emergence of a new symbolism referring to rites related to the cycle of life, performed mainly in East Greek Sanctuaries.

CATALOGUE

A select list of multi-storeyed vessels is given below: the Catalogue could be easily enlarged.

Geometric Period

Jugs-leythoi

Attic

1. Areopagus "grave 2", Athens, National Museum (fully-shaped miniature trefoil jug, placed on top of four bellies), CVA, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1.5 (K. Rho-maïos); Bouzek 1969, 265, fig. 1.1; fig. 5; MG II.

Non Attic

2-3. Fortetsa, Herakleion Museum (two double jugs: fully-shaped miniature trefoil jugs placed on top of larger bellies); Brock 1957, 46, no. 432 (tomb X), pl. 34.432 and 51, no. 513 (tomb X), pl. 34. 513; PG B.

4. Eleutherna, Rethymnon Museum II 6456 (double jug: fully-shaped miniature trefoil jug, placed on top of a larger belly); Stampolidis 2004, 241, no. 265; PG B.²

5-12. Knossos, North Cemetery, Herakleion Museum (eight double jugs: fully-shaped miniature trefoil jugs, placed on top of larger bellies); Coldstream – Catling 1996, 344, type iv, figs. 102 (T.100.14), 151 (T.306.3); all PG B, but for one which is EG (T286.5).

13-14. Kourtes, Herakleion Museum (two double jugs: fully-shaped miniature trefoil jugs, placed on top of larger bellies); Rocchetti 2004, 241, fig. 33; Bouzek 1969, 264, 268, no. 2; CVA Mainz, Zentralmuseum 1 (Deutschland 42) 1977, in the discussion of pl. 12.5; LG II a.

15. Primias, from tomb 36 (double jug: fully-shaped miniature trefoil jug, placed on top of a larger belly); Rizza 1971, 218 (non vidi); PG B.

16. Tiryns, Nauplion Museum 4248 (double jug: fully-shaped miniature trefoil jug, placed on top of a belly), Courbin 1966, 129 (non vidi); LG.

Tankards

Attic

17. Myrrhinous, Attica, Geometric cemetery, Brauron Museum (double tankard: two fully-shaped miniature superimposed vases), unpublished; figs. 2-4; LG lb.


20. Empedokles Coll., Athens, National Museum 18431 (double tankard: two fully-shaped miniature superimposed vases); Bouzek 1969, 268, no. 4; LG lb/IIa.

21. Palaia Kokkinia, Athens, Geometric cemetery, child burial (double tankard: two fully-shaped miniature superimposed vases, not exactly alike), IIAE 1951 118, fig. 33; Bouzek 1969, 264, 268, no. 2; CVA Mainz, Zentralmuseum 1 (Deutschland 42) 1977, in the discussion of pl. 12.5; LG II a.

22. From the commerce of Art in Munich (double tankard: two fully-shaped miniature superimposed vases, not exactly alike), CVA Mainz, Zentralmuseum 1 (Deutschland 42), pl. 12.5; fig. 8; LG II.

22a. Tomb 72, Geometric Cemetery, Kotzia Square, Athens (double tankard: two fully-shaped miniature superimposed vases, not exactly alike), AD 43, 1988, B1, 26, pl. 31a (middle row, left); LG

Aryballoi

23. Athens, Kerameikos Museum (double aryballos: two fully-shaped superimposed aryballoi?, cf. the discussion in Brock 1957, 53, no. 537, ["a similar (to the Cretan) unpublished example"]; Bouzek 1969, 264, 268, no. 6 (non vidi); MG ?

24. Anavyssos, Attica, Geometric cemetery (double aryballos: two fully-shaped superimposed handmade aryballoï with incised decoration); unpublished; IIAE 1911, 126, fig. 24; Bouzek 1969, 264, 268, no. 7; LG II.

Skyphoi

Attic

26. Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg NJ836 (triple skyphos; the superimposed han-
MULTI-STOREYED VASES OF THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD

27. Settlement on Xeropolis, Lefkandi (triple skyphos; the superimposed handles on the same axis; Attic), AR 2004-2005, 52, fig. 91; MG II.

28. Louvre CA 1736 (double skyphos-strainer; the superimposed handles on the same axis, provenance Boeotia, Attic), CVA Louvre 16, France 25, 1972 (A. Samaras-Kaufmann), pl. 12.3; MG II.

29. Myrrhinous, Attica, Geometric cemetery, Brauron Museum Inv. 423 (triple skyphos; the superimposed handles on different axis), Xagorari 2005, 86, no. 235, pl. 25b, fig. 19a; fig. 1; LG la.

30. From the commerce of Art in Athens, Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum O7226 (double skyphos; the superimposed handles on the same axis); CVA Mainz, Zentralmuseum 1, Deutschland 42, (A. Büsing-Kolbe), pl. 12.3-4; fig. 7; LG la.

31. Heidelberg G 14 (double skyphos; the superimposed handles on the same axis); CVA Heidelberg 3, Deutschland 27, (F. Canziani), pi. 110.5; Bouzek 1969, 268, no. 9; Xagorari 2005, 86, cited in the bibliography of inv. no. 235; fig. 6; LG la/IIa.

32. Tampa Museum of Art, Collection J.V. Noble 86.20 (triple skyphos; the superimposed handles on the same axis); Noble 1968, 371 and n.1, figs 1-2; Langdon 1993, 95-97, no. 23; Xagorari 2005, 86, cited in the bibliography of inv. no. 235; LG lb/la.

33. Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos (double skyphos; the superimposed handles on the same axis); Langdon 1976, 65, no. 273, pl. 22; Brijder 1997, 13, n. 4; LG II.

34. Ashmolean Museum Oxford (double skyphos; the superimposed handles on the same axis; Attic or Boeotian); Attic: Gardener 1904, 293-294, fig. 501 left; Boeotian: Bouzek 1969, 268, no. 10; CVA Heidelberg 3, Deutschland 27, (F. Canziani), in the bibliography for pl. 110.5; CVA Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Great Britain 24, pl. 49.7-9; LG.

Non Attic

35. "Aire sacrificielle" of the Apollon Sanctuary, Eretria Museum (Sherds of a double skyphos; the superimposed handles on the same axis); Huber 2003, vol. I, 34, no. V.30, vol. II, 34, no. V.30, pl. 30, 102; LG.

36. Eretria, the settlement, Eretria Museum; (multisto­reyed skyphos, unpublished, non vidi); Huber 2003, 64, n. 176; LG.

37. Acropolis of Larissa, Argos Museum (triple skyphos, the bottom one with clumsily made handles, the rest without); Courbin 1966, 129, 213, pl. 59 C 490; Bouzek 1969, 268, no. 11; LG II.

7th-6th centuries BC

Non Attic

Lekythoi

1. Heraion, Samos (double lekythos: a fully-shaped lekythos placed on top of a second belly); Walter-Verneisel 1959, Beil. 21.6, from the well F, first third of the 7th c. BC; Bouzek 1969, 265 and n. 5; CVA Mainz, Zentralmuseum 1, Deutschland 42, in the discussion of pl. 12.5; "after 700 BC".

2. Heraion, Samos (triple lekythos: a fully-shaped lekythos placed on top of a double belly); Samos V, 109, pl. 55.321, first half of 7th c. BC.

Aryballoi

3. Perachora ("a miniature aryballos standing on a disk and neck, apparently the top member of a series of vases one on top of another...The base of the aryballos is pierced", cf. Heurtley-Robertson 1948, pl. 40.546, from ithaca) Dunbabin 1966, 127, no. 1307, pl. 2. 1307; Bouzek 1969, 265, n. 7; Middle Protocorinthian.

4. Syracuse, cemetery, tomb 559 (laconian triple aryballos: a fully shaped aryballos with a compressed spherical belly on top of two more similar bellies); Stampolidis 2003, 363, no. 512 with bibliography, first quarter of 6th c. BC.

5. Gela, Archaeol. Museum, Navarra Coll. (laconian three aryballos, as above); Stampolidis 2003, 363, no. 513 with bibliography, second quarter of 6th c. BC.

Skyphoi

6. Heraion, Samos (at least three examples of five-sto­reyed skyphoi; the superimposed handles on the same axis; Samian); Walter 1957, 48, pl. 70.2; Bouzek 1969, 269, no. 13; Brijder 1997, 4, fig. 6 right; second quarter of 7th c. BC.

7. Heraion, Samos (six-storeyed skyphos; the superimposed handles on the same axis; Samian). Viern eisel 1961, pl. 33; Bouzek 1969, 269, no. 14; Brijder 1997, 4, fig. 6, left; third quarter of 7th c. BC.

8. Vulci, Tomba della Panatanica, Vulci 64206 (double skyphos/cup; the handles on a different axis; Samian). Riccioni – Falconi Amorelli 1968, 15, fig. 1a; Brijder 1997, 4, fig. 5; Early 6th c. BC.

Non Attic

25. I warmly thank Dr. I. Lemos for the information.

26. I gratefully thank Dr. S. Huber for the two entries in the Catalogue from Eretria.
Cups

9. Munich (double Ionian cup, the handles on a different axis), CVA München 6, Deutschland 28, (H. Walter-Karydi), pl. 293,2, fig. 21; early 6th c. BC.

10. From Naukratis, London British Museum 88-6-1-392 (double eye-cup with a dedication inscription from Rhoiqos to Aphrodite; the handles on the same axis), Schmidt 1968, 114, pl. 121; Naukratis II, pl. 71; early 6th c. BC.

11. Gravisca (double Ionian cup; the handles on a different axis), Boldrini 1994, 187, no. 451, pi. 18; second quarter of 6th c. BC.

12. Heraion, Samos, Vathy Museum K 1196 (a double Black-figure cup by the KX Painter; Attic); Brijder 1997, figs 1-4; 580-570 BC.

13. From Sardis, Lydian Trench (double Ionian cup; the handles on the same axis), Hanfmann 1962, fig. 10.

14. From Apollonia Pontica, Paris, the Louvre (double Ionian cup), Frel 1960, 240, fig. 1, 3 (non vidi).

Mixed shapes

15. Ithaca (“two ring vessels attached to a pilgrim bottle” cf. here the aryballos from Perachora); Heurtley – Robertson 1948, 89, no. 546, pl. 40; Bouzek 1969, 265, n. 8; 7th c. BC.

16. Heraion, Samos, Vathy Museum K 1196 (a double Black-figure cup by the KX Painter; Attic); Brijder 1997, figs 1-4; 580-570 BC.

17. Tocra (the upper half of a cup on top of a deep kantharos with broken vertical handles; vertical and horizontal handles on different axis; Laconian), Hayes – Boardman 1966, 91, no. 992, pi. 67; 6th c. BC.

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Fig. 1. Triple skyphos from the Geometric cemetery of Merenda, Attic LGIa (Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, pl. 25b.).

Fig. 2. Double tankard from the Geometric cemetery of Merenda, Attic LGIb (photograph by the author).

Fig. 3. Double tankard from the Geometric cemetery of Merenda, Attic LGIb (drawing by the author).

Fig. 4. Double tankard from the Geometric cemetery of Merenda, Attic LGIb (drawing by the author).
Fig. 5. Jug with five bellies, from the Areopagus "Grave 2", Attic MGII (CVA Athens 1, pl. 1).

Fig. 6. Double skyphos, Attic LGIb-IIa (CVA Heidelberg 3, pl. 110.5).

Fig. 7. Double skyphos, Attic LGIa (CVA Mainz, Zentralmuseum 1, pl. 12.3).

Fig. 8. Double tankard, Attic LGII (CVA Mainz, Zentralmuseum 1, pl. 12.5).
THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE “DARK AGE”: FROM LH IIIC TO GEOMETRIC: CONTINUITY AND CHANGES

The last years saw much interest in the problems of the transition from the Mycenaean to the Early Iron Age in Greece, a decisive period for understanding the step from the pre-philosophical to the philosophical mind in the terminology of Auguste Comte, or the path from *mythos* to *logos*, as this process was called in the terminology e.g. of Bruno Snell. The monumental Edinburgh conference volume sponsored by the Leventis Foundation (Deger-Jalkotzy – Lemos 2005) was devoted to this issue from many points of view as was the Swedish conference volume published in 2006 (Rystedt – Wells 2006), and I tried to contribute to this question in my article in the Festschrift for Stephan Hiller in Salzburg (Bouzek 2007). There I compiled the evidence for the changes in LH III C, while this paper tries to show what of later Geometric art had its seeds in LH III C, and how from the 12th century a rather fluent development prepared the emergence of Late Geometric art. Even if the figural representations were rather modest during the Protogeometric and Early Geometric periods, the parallels between LH III C and LG imagery are too close to deny a possibility of a kind of continuity, which is well attested for non-figural elements and for simple figurines namely of birds, horses and humans.

NEW ICONOGRAPHIC FORMULAE IN LH III C: BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND THEIR GEOMETRIC SUCCESSORS

New iconographical ideas, starting the development towards the Geometric artistic idioms, are known first from the Tanagra sarcophagi of LH III A-B (Spyropoulos 1969; 1970; Demakopoulou-Konsola 1981): mourning around the deceased and the riddle of the Sphinx (fig. 6.1-4) are subjects familiar in later Greek art (Cavanagh – Mee 1995; Immerwahr 1995). But there is (or was, if not survived the last war there?) a neo-Hittite relief from Tell Halaf in the Mosul museum with representation of mourning quite similar to the Geometric representations1.

Especially interesting are the figural representations on vases in simplified sketched manner reminding one of later Geometric art; most of them are war scenes (fig. 7: Hiller 1999; Wedde 1999). Among the most important items are the krater sherds from Kynos (Dakoronia 1997; 2006a; 2006b; Crouwell 1999; Deger-Jalkotzy 2004), from Pyrgos Livanaton (Wachsmann 2000, fig. 6.13; Barakos 2003, fig. 4) and Tragana (Korres 1998), all with ships and warriors, as is also the new sherd from Lefkandi (AR 2004-2005, 51, fig. 90). The krater fragment from Ayia Triada Eleias (Schoinas 1999; 2003) probably represents a prothesis with mourners (fig. 6.5), similarly as it is depicted on some of the Tanagra sarcophagi (fig. 6.3-4). One sherd in similar style comes from Ugarit (Le Royaume d’Ougarit 2004, 234, cat. no. 251); a hunter and a stag are represented here (fig.

1. The dead under check board cloth surrounded with mourners is very similar to Attic Geometric representations, but there is also a woman with flag or standard and another person leading a bull. For other models of prothesis in Egyptian art cf. Hiller 2006.
7.7). The Bademgedighi warriors (fig. 7.6) wear helmets similar to the Warrior Vase type, but the drawing is much cruder (Mountjoy 2005). Dakoronia rightly saw here the predecessors of Geometric art, even if little bridges exist between the two (Dakoronia 2006b, as pointed out by Coldstream 2006).

The Kynos figural style is especially fascinating (fig. 7.1); the artistic formulae are very similar to those of the rock carvings in Scandinavia, but there are also the seeds here of the much later stylistic vocabulary of Greek Geometric art (cf. similar scenes on fig. 13). The whole group resembles, moreover, engravings on bronze razors from Denmark, while there exist also less close parallels in Alpine rock art and on the Central European decorative elements on bronze objects.

The ships with birds (figs. 7.3-4, 9.3: Benson 1975; Korres 1989; Lenz 1995; Hiller 1999; Wachsmann 2000; Bouzek 2004) go with the Sea Peoples (Yon 1992), probably in later tradition called Pelasgoi (Briquel 1984). Much of the LH III C iconography goes with the ships, appropriate subject for the Sea Peoples period (fig. 7.1-4: Wachsmann 1998; 2000; Wede 1999; 2000; 2006). According to Dion. Halic. I, 28, 3-4 the Pelasgoi were originally called Pelargoi, as all with them resembled storks. The Circus Pot of Mycenae (Wace 1932, pl.18) represents something that can hardly be understood properly; it mirrors the stress of the painter who was just searching to depict strong impression of something, for what he had no artistic model in his conventional tradition; it also reminds us of some dancers in Scandinavian rock art. The transition between Mycenaean idols and the bell-shaped items also happened in this period (fig. 11: Bouzek 1997, 127 with bibliography; Karageorghis 2001; Kourou 2002).

The horned and curved symmetrical patterns (fig. 8.2) resemble those used on the hilts of the Urnfield swords (fig. 8.1) and on the finials of the so-called “Antenna” swords (Bouzek 2007), and may have been signs of some fraternity in arms, as were later similar ‘pair-of-dragons’ motives on sheets of Celtic swords (Bouzek 2005; Furumark 1942, 362-364, antithetic spiral pattern, fig. 62; Mountjoy 1995, fig. 434.227, 441d, 469.7 etc.). The warlike character of LH III C might have had similar symbols, as the Aegeans of that time used the same type of swords as the people living more to the north. The only substantial difference is that the full-grip swords do not exist in the Aegean: apparently the metal was more expensive there; the wooden hilts were satisfying enough.

The “menagerie-vases”, as Fritz Schachermeyr called them, remind one of the Tree of Life with animals on it, even if the central element is more like the old octopus: birds, fishes and four-legged small animals prevail (fig. 5). They are known mainly from the eastern Aegean (Mountjoy 1995, fig. 456.141 Kos, fig. 464-465 Kalymnos), but parallels also exist on the Greek mainland (Günther pl. 56.46 and pl. 82; Crouwell 1991; Sakelarakis 1992; Mountjoy 1995). The so-called hedgehogs in this context may rather be boars, known in their adversary function to the Tree of Life (Ydrgalss) in the Nordic mythology, but less negative attitude to them exists in other mythologies. The Tree of Life with animals, mainly goats, was very popular in Late Geometric (fig. 12) and Early Orientalizing art in Rhodes and the Cyclades.

There are, however, in Greece also other stylistic traditions in representations, some of them typical for Crete, where the tradition between LM III C and PG B is still more apparent (Andreanaki-Vlasaki - Papadopoulou 2005; Eder 2005).

Horse and bird are among the most frequently represented subjects on LH III C pottery, while fish is also often depicted; men are rare (Benson 1970, 1975; Bouzek 1997, 140-143; Yon 1992; Güntner 2000, pls. 34-56 and pl. 61). The same frequency and similar representations of man and horses (fig. 10) appear on Geometric vases of the 8th century, while there are only few joining links between the two periods in this field during the Protogeometric period (Bouzek 1997, 142-143; 2004). As the
Geometric pottery owes much of his models to non-ceramic vessels, basketry and textiles (Bouzek 1969), perhaps the tradition in media not accessible to the present stage of archaeology would help to explain these links.

SOLAR SYMBOLS AND BIRDS

Since LH III B solar symbolism similar to that of European Urnfields (Kossack 1954; Briard 1987; Kaul 1998) can be traced in the Aegean (Bouzek 1997, 125-126); a kind of religious message seems to have existed behind the new iconography. The sea anemone, rosette, circles and concentric circles (Furumark Mot. 1942, 27, 17, 41 and 43) are of special importance in LH III B-C (fig. 9.1-4); isolated semicircles and dotted rosettes are predecessors of similar main ornaments of Submycenaean and Protogeometric pottery (fig. 9.6-9; Bouzek 1970, 98-101, in metal). In the Greek tradition the Hyperboreans, Thracians and other northern people were bearers of important religious messages, and this seems also to be expressed in the iconography of LH III C and in what was still popular notably in Argive Geometric art (fig. 13). The gold sheet of Central European or North Italic provenance from the Trésor d'Artémision in Delos also belongs to this phenomenon (Jung 2007), besides the story of the Hyperborean maidens and of amber sent through the relay transport from the Baltic across various tribes to Delos (Herod. IV, 32-36; Bouzek 2000b). The popularity of birds and the sun went with the Sea Peoples to the Levant with the Sea Peoples and were of extreme importance also for the Philistines (Yon 1992; Lenz 1995; Bouzek 1997, 141-143; 2004); the ships of the Sea Peoples with bird protomae are even known from the Medinet Habu reliefs (Wachsmann 1998; 2000). The development of birds even in their stylistic features shows a number of parallels between the LH III C and Geometric representations (Bouzek 2004).

The reciprocal relations between Greece and Europe during the Late Bronze Age, known from warfare and from dress fasteners mainly, can also be seen in the related style of depicting humans and animals, and in the iconography (Briard 1987; Bouzek 1997, 124-139; Kaul 1998) and these elements reappear in Geometric style, most notably on Argive vases (Pappi 2006).

The earlier part of the Dark Age simplified the vocabulary, but already the Late Protogeometric and Early Geometric arts took over and adopted some of the earlier tradition, in combination with the new feeling of structure, proportions and order. The new system put in the centre human figure, which already at that time became the measure of other things. The ordering system of space and of rhythmic arrangements (combinations of multiple varieties of triglyphs/metopes scheme) achieved its most sophisticated level in the Attic Middle Geometric II and Late Geometric IA styles, but earlier attempts in Late Protogeometric and Early Geometric periods, as it appears now against the earlier picture, were more sophisticated, too.

Interesting parallels to Greek Dark Age art can be found in the structure of the Iliad, but also in other provinces of the Early Iron Age koine of Geometric styles in Europe and the Near East (Bouzek 1997, 48-53). All of them seem to reflect more or less the rise of the new
philosophical mind, leading to the new understanding of the world, most clearly accomplished in the emergence of Greek philosophy and poetry. Through its structural studies, the Geometric art prepared the scaffolding for all later phases of Greek artistic development (more in detail Bouzek 1997, 56-63).

NON-FIGURAL ICONOGRAPHY AND INNOVATIONS

The 'Barbarian Ware' was probably made to fit the culinary preferences of people coming from outside Greece. Parallels can be seen in Italy and in the western Balkans. This style of pottery started in LH III B and later was transmitted eastward with the Sea Peoples to Cyprus and to the Levant, including Palestine. Later cooking pots of the Submycenaean – Protogeometric periods in Greece show similar characteristics and apparently developed from the Barbarian Ware tradition (Bouzek 1985, 183-187; Bader 2003); so some specific cooking habits were kept during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods.

Some new shapes, like FS 240, started in LH III B (Deger-Jalkotzy 1982), while several decorative elements in LH III C. Among new features are the bosses on shoulders of closed vessels (amphorae and pitchers), apparently showing their sex (fig. 1: Bouzek 1997, 128ff.). The humanisation of the world in the Greek anthropocentric attitude is a new phenomenon, especially characteristic for later development of the Greek mind during the whole of the Dark Age.

The same quality is also expressed in changing proportional relations between the body, neck and foot of vases. In the old Minoan-derived tradition the main element of the vase was the body, to which minor accessories were attached. In LH III C a new approach started towards the later concept of amphorae and pitchers. These were now understood as related to human body in their proportions: neck, body and foot became separate parts, their mutual proportions resembling the structure of the human body. In this field LH III C was a predecessor of later Protogeometric development, when female and male amphorae were distinguished and used for burials of men or of women accordingly.

The triglyph-metopoid articulation of horizontal bands of decoration had some earlier tradition in the Mycenaean pottery, but it became especially important in LH III B 2 – C styles; notably LH III C prepared the basis of the main rhythmical system of later Greek art, developed into a more sophisticated stage in Late Protogeometric style and reaching its climax in Late Geometric I period (Bouzek 1997, 56-60). Protogeometric and Early Geometric stages prepared the structural scaffolding for all later stages of Greek art.

The duck vases already started in Greece in LH III A 2, and they showed continuous development until Middle Geometric and later styles (figs. 2-3). Parallel barrel animals are also known from LH III C (Bouzek 1997, 129-131; Guggisberg 1996; Hiller 1989). Even the latter showed some kind of continuity until Late Geometric times. The triple vases are particularly characteristic for the Protogeometric period, but they had predecessors in LH III C and successors in the Geometric style (Bouzek 1997, 133-134).

BRONZE OBJECTS

The Naue II sword of pan-European distribution became the model of early iron swords, as did some varieties of spearheads and armour: helmets, corselets and greaves. Similar foundations for later development dress fasteners were laid by LH III C violin and bow fibulae and by Submycenaean pins. Remarkably enough, the dress and the wearing of dress fasteners known from Danish burials in wooden coffins, and from Central European skeleton graves, are nearly identical with the fashion of wearing Doric peplos, the most common
female dress of the Geometric period (Bouzek 1997, 104-120). The tradition of LH III C weapons and protective armour was kept until the 7th century, when the phalanx of hoplites became the main tactical unit.

SPINNING AND WEAVING UTENSILS

The pyramidal loom weights of European tradition replaced in Early Geometric Greece the earlier types, and the spools, known mainly from the contexts of the Sea Peoples, are known from EIA Italy and the western Balkans (Bouzek 1997, 87; Barber 1991, 302-306; Hood 1982, 98-103). The pyramidal loom-weights became the standard Greek shape used until Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. While the spools and the Barbarian Ware go with the Sea Peoples to the East (Rahmstorf 2005; Badre 2003; Barakos 2003), the pyramidal and conical weights remain the standard implements in Greece, and there is also an unbroken tradition between the technology and shapes of the Barbarian Ware and later hand-made vessels in Submycenaean to Geometric Greece (Strack 2007).

THE ARCHITECTURAL CONCEPTS, SANCTUARIES

The transition of the palatial megaron to the Early Greek sanctuary is better known now than it was a few decades ago. The Mycenaean palace building was the model for the temple in antis, but its wooden construction is alien to the local tradition. It derives from the European building techniques known from Britain to the Ukraine, and from Scandinavia to Italy and the Balkans. It is a traditional technique developed in those parts of Europe where there was enough timber available the construction of posts carrying walls and roof prevailed during the whole prehistory (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 124-233; Bouzek 1997, 64ff.). The walls were of wattle-and-daub technique, and the roof of plastered reed. The gables left space for decoration. This construction developed during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods and became the model for later Greek temple architecture in stone; it must have been understood by its builders in Greece to be the most proper dwelling for the gods. The main Greek sanctuaries, like Olympia and Delphi, started in LH III C, and show a continuous tradition through the Dark Age to Archaic Greece, while their predecessors are very modest and/or uncertain (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 375-377). New excavations at Kalapodi do not seem to have changed the evidence essentially; at Ephesus the traces of some predecessors of the Protogeometric cultic activities are only few as on the Greek mainland.

CYPRIOT AND LEVANTINE IMPORTS, EGYPT

Perati (Iakovidis 1969), Tiryns and Lefkandvi are the most representative sites for understanding this phenomenon, while Crete was probably even more important. The scarabs, other small faience objects, ivory and glass are of Egyptian inspiration, but as far as we know, they were products of the Levantine workshops. Tripods and other bronze vessels are clear evidence that much impact came from the east, notably from Cyprus, a country where a large part of the Mycenaean population fled during and after the catastrophes (Catling 1966; Matthäus 1985). In the field of iconography and pottery style, there were close contacts as well (Mountjoy 2005). In particular the octopus changed into the Tree of Life Tree of Life on the menagerie-vases may have had eastern inspiration (fig. 6.1-5), which is also reflected in Greek myths, as shown notably by W. Burkert (Burkert 1992), but Ydrasil was part of European mythology as well. The Tree of Life can be traced as popular motif until Late Geometric period in Eastern Greece and Crete, and the Cretan North Cemetery goddess can be com-
pared with Near Eastern and European traditions as well (Burkert 1988; Hiller 1989).

**XOANA AND NEW FORMULAE TO DEPICT HUMAN AND ANIMAL BODY**

The LH III C figurines from Olympia, Phylakopi and elsewhere resemble the wooden «statues» known from the British Isles and Scandinavia (fig. 4: Bouzek 2000a). A tree trunk with remains of cut-off branches, changed into suggestions of legs and arms, was the common source of those prehistoric "statues" and of Greek xoana as well. But even the facial details of LBA wooden statues and the earliest Iron Age figurines known to us are strikingly similar. The xoana derive from the same tradition of forest areas as the new temples of gods in Greece; from the tradition in which wood and timber were considered the most proper materials for the human figure and those of gods as well. The early clay figurines of animals are also very similar to those known from prehistoric Europe (Bouzek 2001-2002, fig. 3), while the Levantine Reshef figurines, known also from the earliest phase of the Phoenician enterprises in the Western Mediterranean, were the models of the Protogeometric figurines of smiting god (Seeden 1980; Bouzek 1985, 69-70; 1997, 168; cf. esp. the figurine from Phylakopi). These two areas yielded models for most of the Geometric bronze and clay figurines until mid 8th century B.C.

**CONCLUSIONS**

Generally speaking, some of the new «Iron Age» artistic ideas appeared already in LH III B, and the first of them in LH III A 2, too. In the field of visual art, as stressed by Gombrich, any new idea must grow from what existed before, and can only add to what already exists. The dissolution of old figural and floral decorative motives opened the way to a new language, whose foundations were laid notably in LH III C. The path from curvilinear compositions to rectilinear, from spiral to meander, from loose organisation to the triglyph/metopes rhythm, was started in Late Mycenaean times, perhaps also as a return to earlier Middle Helladic ancestry (Hiller 1991; Bouzek 2001-2002).

New subjects, like mourning, prothesis, etc., were first – on the Tanagra sarcophagi – expressed in the old manner or in attempts where the new stylistic phenomena were only suggested, like on the Circus Pot, but the Kynos and Aya Triada Eleias sherds (Dakoronia 2006a; 2006b) show the seeds of the new Geometric style in which the more primitive “barbarian” impact started to merge with the earlier Aegean heritage to lay the foundations of the new Iron Age Greek world, similarly as the Early Christian art of Ravenna prepared the Medieval development. It appears that the pan-European koine of 13th-12th century BC was not only of weapons, armour and dress fasteners, but also of many common religious ideas generally understandable over a very large territory (Betancourt 1999; Marinatos 2001; Gauer 2001). These iconographic formulae were simplified during the Submycenaean and Protogeometric period, but like seeds they reappeared in more sophisticated form in 8th century Geometric art. Perhaps it means that these symbols lost much of their meanings and sank into a folklore or sorcery, like it happened with the wheel with birds (wry-necks, cf. Bouzek 1997, 125-127).

Greek mythology took over impulses from various traditions (Burkert 1998) and no wonder that the iconography did the same. It descended from Mycenaean tradition, accepted impulses from various sides: East, South, West and North, and prepared a new synthesis of Greek Geometric and Archaic art.

New finds and studies enable a deeper insight into the roots of Greek Geometric and Archaic art. Some elements of new LH III C vocabulary can be traced back to LH III B (ev. to LH III A 2), but they are only few, with the exception of the Tanagra sarcophagi, produced...
near to the periphery of the Mycenaean centres. The Late Mycenaean B-C period thus saw some phenomena which later became more intensively evolved, but only in its roots. In the field of visual art, as stressed by Gombrich, any new idea must grow from what existed before, and can only add to what already exists. The Mycenaean dissolution of old figural and floral decorative motives opened the way to a new language, but the foundations of the new artistic language were laid fully in LH III C.

From LH III C on, we can trace a continuous development of Greek sanctuaries, temples, architecture and most of the arts; in many respects, there is more difference between LH III C and the earlier Mycenaean development than between LH III C and the Geometric period. The LH III C iconographic formulae of depicting humans and animals are on transition between the earlier Mycenaean artistic language and that of Iron Age Greece, similarly like the Ravenna art is situated between Classical Antiquity and Middle Ages in Western Europe. Various landscapes of Greece found their particular ways, while Eastern Lokris was apparently of particular importance for the future development of Geometric art. This picture gained from representations of human and animal figures (Benson 1970) has parallels even in the field of arms and armour, dress fasteners and fashion, architecture and other domains. This all seems to show that the Early Iron Age Greece development started already in LH III C, a specific period of Greek history, which produced the seeds of Geometric art and laid the foundations for the development of the new Iron Age mind, the background of the whole European civilisation.

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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE "DARK AGE"


Fig. 3. Types of Cretan bird askoi. I, IIA, III B Fortetsa II B and III A Arkades, right lower corner Rhodian Orientalizing (Bouzek 1997, fig. 148).
THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE "DARK AGE"

Fig. 4. Clay figurines. 1 and 3-4. Olympia. 2. Stránky, Bohemia. 5. Bavaria. 6. Phylakopi (Bouzek 1985, fig. 174).

Fig. 6. 1-4. Tanagra sarcophagi (Demakopoulou-Konsola 1989; Immerwahr 1985; Bouzek 1997; Marinatos 1997). 5. mourning scene on the krater from Ayia Triada Eleias (Schoinas 1999 and 2003).

Fig. 8. 1. decoration on guards of the Liptov swords, Slovakia (Bouzek 2005).
2. Antithetic spiral pattern (Furumark 1940, fig. 62).

Fig. 10. Man leading horses. Above LH III C from Ugarit, below Argive LG (Bouzek 1997, fig. 166).

Fig. 12. Tree of Life (and of Wisdom?) on LG Rhodian vases (Bouzek 1997, fig. 145).

Fig. 13. LG I vases. Above kantharos with birds and wheel, middle and below scenes on a kantharos in Copenhagen (Bouzek 1997).
ΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ ΝΑΚΑΣ

ΝΗΣ ΜΕΛΑΙΝΑΙ:
ΠΛΟΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΥΠΗΓΙΚΗ ΣΤΟ ΑΙΓΑΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΙΜΗΣ ΕΠΟΧΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ

ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ


1. Κατάλογος μαρτυριών

1.1. Εικονογραφία (Αιγαίο)


2. Πήλινο ΥΠΓ γραπτό ομοίωμα πλοιαρίου από τη Φορτέτσα, Κρήτη. Το μικρό και απλοϊκά κατασκευασμένο ομοίωμα αποδεικνύει την κυρτή τρόπιδα, τον τρόπο των κυρτών ακροστόλια, τη σκληρή σκάλα, την προσαρμογή της πρύμνης και τη μεγάλη ουσιαστική χρήση εντραχτής (ικρ/α).

3. Παράσταση μακρύ πλοίου σε αγγείο Πανεπιστημιού Ιωαννίνων κ. Γιάννο Λώλο για τις υποδείξεις, διορθώσεις και την εν γένει υποστήριξη του στη συγγραφή της παρουσίασης αυτής.
από την Κρήτη (9ος αι. π.Χ.). Απεικονίζεται με αρκετή επιμέλεια ένα μακρό (κωπηλατό) πλοίο και καταγράφονται, σχηματικά, τα κύρια χαρακτηριστικά του: το χαμηλό και μακρύ κήτος που απολήγει σε έμβολο στην πλώρη και κάμπτεται σε υψηλό ἀφλάστο στην πρώμη, τα πλευρικά ξύλινα κιγκλιδώματα που υψώνονται περισσότερο στα δύο άκρα του πλοίου, τη συμπαγή και διακοσμημένη με οριζόντιες απολήξεις υπερκατασκευή της πλώρης, η οποία επιστέφεται από υψηλό κυρτό ακροστόλιο και τον ιστό με τα ξάρτια του (πρότονος και επίτονος) (εικ. 3).2

4. Πήλινο ομοίωμα πλοιαρίου από τον Κούκο Χαλκιδικής (Μέση ΠΓ περίοδος). Φτιαγμένο χωρίς ιδιαίτερη επιμέλεια, το αυτό ομοίωμα (ίσως παιχνίδι) διασώζει δυο πανομοιότυπα άκρα που αποδίδουν πιθανότατα τις απολήξεις της τρόπιδας (εικ. 4: Carrington-Smith - Vokotopoulou 1992, 430, εικ. 10).

5. Παράσταση μακρού πλοίου σε θραύσμα κρατήρα από τον Καστάνα (αρχαία Αμυδώνα), Μακεδονία (Υστεροελλαδική II-ΙΓ-ΠΡΓ περίοδος). Η παράσταση διασώζει τη μορφή ενός μακρού πλοίου με τα πλαϊνά ικρία, τους σκαρμούς και την υψηλή υπερκατασκευή της πλώρης με το στοιχειώδες έμβολο. Το αγγείο είναι κατασκευασμένο από τοπικό πηλό, η ακριβέστερη χρονολόγησή του όμως παραμένει προβληματική (εικ. 5: Jung 2001).


7. Πήλινο ομοίωμα από το Λευκαντί (Ξερόπολις, Area R - ΠΡΓ περίοδος). Από τη μοναδική φωτογραφία του ομοιώματος που έχει μέχρι στιγμής δημοσιευτεί, μπορεί κανείς να συμπεράνει ότι αυτό αποδείχτηκε ένα σχετικά μακρόστενο πλοίο με τουλάχιστον τρεις ζυγούς ή πάγκους κωπηλασίας (εικ. 8: Lemos 2006-2007, 39-40, fig. 47).


1.2. Εικονογραφία (υπόλοιπη Μεσόγειο)

Η «εικονογραφική πενία» όσον αφορά στα πλοία του Αιγαίου των «Σκοτεινών Αιώνων» μοιάζει να κυριαρχεί και στην υπόλοιπη Μεσόγειο την ίδια εποχή, ακόμα και σε περιοχές με μεγάλη παράδοση στη ναυτική εικονογραφία.
ΠΛΟΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΥΠΗΓΙΚΗ ΣΤΟ ΑΙΓΑΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΙΜΗΣ ΕΠΟΧΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ


1.3. Τα Ομηρικά Έπη


Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος των αναφορών σε πλοία στα Ομηρικά Έπη ανήκει σε τυποποιημένες ποιητικές φόρμουλες (Gray 1974, 93. Mark 2005, 97-137, 250-255). Τα πλοία (νήες) συνδέονται από μια πληθώρα επιθέτων. Χαρακτηρίζονται γοργά (ώκύποροι, θόες), ποντοπόρα, όμορφα (περικαλλέα), κοίλα, συμμετρικά (<άμφιέλισσαι), πελώρια (μεγακήτει), με είκοσι έως πενήντα δύο κωπηλάτες, πληροφορίες που από μόνες τους ελάχιστα στοιχεία προσφέρουν για τη ναυπηγική τέχνη αυτή καθαυτή και θα μπορούσαν να περιγράφουν σχεδόν οποιοδήποτε κωπήλατο πλοίο της αρχαιότητας στο Μεσόγειο. Άλλες αναφορές περιλαμβάνουν την ύπαρξη ενός καταρτιού και πανιού, ικρίων, σκαρμών και πάγκων κωπηλάτων. Συνηθισμένη είναι και η αναφορά στα μαύρα, κόκκινα ή γαλάζια πλοία (μέλαινοα, μιλτοπάρηοι, κυανοπρωρείονς), κάτι που πιθανότατα παραπέμπει στην κάλυψη των σκαριών (κυρίως της πλώρης τους) με πίσσα ή άλλα υλικά και χρώμα για την προστασία του ξύλου από τη φθορά.

Ιδιαίτερα βάρος δίνεται, τέλος, στην Οδύσσεια στην τέχνη της ναυσιπλοΐας. Περιγράφονται οι ικανότητες των ναυτικών να πραγματοποιούν με ασφάλεια μεγάλα ταξίδια, ακόμα και στην ανοιχτή θάλασσα (παρά την αδυναμία τους να πλεόσουν κόντρα στον άνεμο), να επιλέγουν ακρίβεια και να γλίτωσαν το θιάζοντας τον άνεμο (McGrail 1996. Μια μοναδική αναφορά σε λιμενικά έργα γίνεται στην Οδύσσεια, όπου αναφέρεται οι σκεπαστοί νεώσοικοι του λιμανιού των Φαιάκων (Οδ. 6, 264-265). Η καταγραφή της μεγάλης αυτής ναυτικής παράδοσης, παρότι δεν μπορεί να συνδεθεί με ασφαλεία με κάποια συγκεκριμένη ιστορική περίοδο, δείχνει τη σημασία που η γνώση της θάλασσας είχε για τους κατοίκους του Αιγαίου κατά την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου. Επίσης, παρότι η ναυαπόλοδα δε συμπεριλαμβάνεται στις βασικές ενασχολήσεις των ηρώων-προτύπων της Ομηρικής κοινωνίας, τα αναπόσπαστα κομμάτια της ζωής τους, απαραίτητα τότε για το ταξίδι και το εμπόριο όσο και για τον πόλεμο και την πειρατεία (Mark 2005, 145).

1.4. Ναυάγια


Από τα τρία πρώτα τα οποία έχουν μέχρι στιγμής ερευνηθεί, μόνο το ναυάγιο του Uluburun διασώζει ένα ικανό τμήμα του ξύλινου σκαριού του από κέδρο του Λιβάνου που να αποκαλύπτει με σαφήνεια τη μέθοδο κατασκευής του. Η τελευταία συνίσταται στη πρωταρχική συναρμογή των σανίδων του κελύφους με τη βοήθεια εσωτερικών συνδέσμων και κελυφικής ή mortise-and-tenon (εντελώς αντίθετη με την πολύ μεταγενέστερη σκελετική μέθοδο, όπου πρώτα στήνεται ο σκελέτος του πλοίου) (εικ. 10.1). Η τρόπιδα, οι νομείς και οι μεταλλικοί σύνδεσμοι παίζουν δευτερεύοντα ρόλο στην κατασκευή του πλοίου και ουσιαστικά απλώς ενισχύουν την μέθοδο κατασκευής του.
ΠΛΟΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΥΠΗΓΙΚΗ ΣΤΟ ΑΙΓΑΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΙΜΗΣ ΕΠΟΧΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ

2. Η θεωρία, στηριγμένη σχεδόν αποκλειστικά στις αναφορές του Ομήρου, ότι τα δετά πλοία, τα οποία ήταν ιδιαίτερα συνηθισμένα στη Μεσόγειο από τον 7ο έως τον 5ο αι. π.Χ. (Mark 2005, 40-46), χρησιμοποιούνταν και κατά της Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου στο Αιγαίο.

2.2. Μακρά πλοία

Η πλειονότητα των παραστάσεων πλοίων κατά τους «Σκοτεινούς Αιώνες» ανήκει στον τύπο των μακρών πλοίων. Οι ομοιότητες αυτών των παραστάσεων με τις προηγούμενες (εικ. 11) και τις μεταγενέστερες απεικονίσεις (εικ. 12) είναι ιδιαίτερα εμφανείς, υποδεικνύοντας μια συνέχεια στους τύπους των σκαφών.

Η γάστρα, το κήτος των πλοίων, φαίνεται να είναι ιδιαίτερα χαμηλή, με μικρή ή καθόλου κύρτωση στην τρόπιδα, ένα χαρακτηριστικό που εξυπηρετεί την ταχύτητα και την ευελιξία. Επίσης είναι σημαντικό το «έμβολο» στην πλώρη, που εμφανίζεται ως συνέχεια του κήτους ή της τρόπιδας (εικ. 3, 6, 7). Ο πρώτος, ένα βοηθητικό στοιχείο της υδροδυναμικής του σκαφούς. Η πρύμνη καμπυλώνεται ομαλά σε υψηλό άφλαστο, ένα σημαντικό και διακοσμητικό στοιχείο με Μυκηναϊκή πιθανότατα καταγωγή και σταθερή παρουσία σε όλα σχεδόν τα αρχαία πλοία του Αιγαίου.
Ιδιαίτερα σημαντική είναι η απεικόνιση σκαριών στις παραστάσεις, κάτι που επιβεβαιώνει ότι πρόκειται για κατά βάση κωπηλάτα πλοία, κατασκευασμένα για να φιλοξενήσουν ένα πλήρωμα ερετών, το οποίο όμως ποτέ δεν απεικονίζεται (εικ. 5, 6). Η παραστάσεις του Καστανά και του Λευκανί διασώζουν 19 και 31 σκαρμούς αντίστοιχα. Γνωρίζουμε από μεταγενέστερες πηγές ότι, για λόγους δομικής σταθερότητας, τα περισσότερα αρχαία και μεσαιωνικά μακρά πλοία σπάνια ξεπερνούσαν τους εκόσι πέντε πάγκους κωπηλασίας (Pryor 1995, 109), με ευνοϊκό πεπεράζοντας 50 κωπηλάτες σε Ζεύγη, ένας σε κάθε πλευρά (πεντήκοντοριά), ενώ κοινά ήταν και τα πλοία με 10 ζεύγη (εικοσόροι), αριθμοί που καταγράφονται και στα Ομηρικά Έπη. Οι 19 σκαρμοί του Καστανά φαίνονται επομένως ένας ρεαλιστικός αριθμός, όχι όμως και οι 31 της παράστασης του Λευκανί, που πρέπει να είναι μια καλλιτεχνική υπερβολή.


Ένα ακόμα βασικό στοιχείο της εικονογραφίας είναι η παρουσία ενός ή δύο μεγάλων πλατιών κουπιών-πηδαλίων στην πρύμνη (εικ. 6), ο κύριος τρόπος διεύθυνσης του πλοίου σε όλη την αρχαία Μεσόγειο και στα Ομηρικά Έπη (Mark 2005, 122-123).

Ελάχιστες υπερκατασκευές διακρίνονται πάνω στα κωπηλάτα πλοία των «Σκοτεινών Αιώνων». Αυτές, άλλωστε, θα επιβάρυναν το ιδιαίτερα ελαφρύ σκαρί, επηρεάζοντας τη ταχύτητα και τη σταθερότητά του. Μόνο στην πλώρη διακρίνεται ένα είδος ισχυρών ικρίων, πιθανότατα προστάτευαν ένα μικρό υπερψωμένο κατάστρωμα, εμποδίζοντας παράλληλα τα κύματα να εισβάλουν στο ανοιχτό κεντρικό τμήμα του πλοίου. Ελαφρύτερες ικρίς με τη μορφή ξύλινων κιγκλιδωμάτων υψώνονται επίσης και στις πλευρές του σκάφους.

2.2.2. Κοίλα πλοία

Μόνο η παράσταση της Κνωσού μπορεί να θεωρηθεί με σχετική ασφάλεια ότι αποδίδει κοίλα πλοία (εικ. 1), ενώ οι μοναδική αναφορά σε εμπορικά (φορτηγά) πλοία βρίσκεται στην Οδύσσεια (νηός... φορτίδος έυρείης, Οδ. 10, 322-323).

Παρατηρείται μια κύρτωση σε όλο το μήκος του πλοίου. Η τρόπιδα είναι ελαφρώς καμπύλη, καμπυλώνεται δε περισσότερο και γίνεται κάθετη στα ποδοστήματα. Ψηλά συμπαγή ικρία εμφανίζονται στα άκρα των πλοίων.
ΠΛΟΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΥΠΗΓΙΚΗ ΣΤΟ ΑΙΓΑΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΙΜΗΣ ΕΠΟΧΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ

ων ως προέκταση της κουπαστής. Στις εξωτε­
ρικές πλευρές τους έχουν σχεδιαστεί σειρές
από οριζόντιες γραμμές, που πιθανώς αποδί­
δουν ενισχυτικά ξύλινα στελέχη και εμφανίζο­
νται με τον ίδιο τρόπο και σε ΥΓ πλοία (εικ. 12:
Basch 1987, figs. 407-409). Το κυρτό ακροστόλιο που επιστέφει συμμετρικά την πλώρη και
την πρύμνη των πλοίων είναι παρόμοιο με το
στέλεχος σύγχρονων και μεταγενέστερων μα­
κρών πλοίων και παραπέμπει πιθανότατα στις
νήες άμφιέλισσαι του Ομήρου (Basch 1987,
figs. 328, 401). Αποδίδεται (με κάποια επιφύ­
λαξη) το πλατύ κουπί-πηδάλιο της πρύμνης,
δεν εικονίζεται, ωστόσο, ιστός. Και εδώ ελλεί­
πουν τα στοιχεία για το εσωτερικό των πλοί­
ων, η ύπαρξη όμως ικρίων στα άκρα υποδεικνύ­
ει ότι το αμπάρι ήταν ακάλυπτο, με μικρά κα­
ταστρώματα στην πλώρη και στην πρύμνη, δι­
ευθέτηση γνωστή από πολλά μεταγενέστερα
πλοία (εικ. 14).
Η παράσταση της Κνωσού είναι μοναδι­
κή για τους «Σκοτεινούς Αιώνες». Εντάσσεται
όμως στη ναυπηγική παράδοση του Αιγαίου,
όπως δείχνουν τα διακοσμητικά στοιχεία του
πλοίου, που απαντώνται σε σύγχρονα και με­
ταγενέστερα πλοία (εικ. 12). Τα προστατευμένα καταστρώματα στα άκρα των πλοίων εμφα­
νίζονται επίσης στα προγενέστερα πλοία των
«Λαών της Θάλασσας», καθώς και σε ένα πή­
λινο ομοίωμα της Ύστερης Χαλκοκρατίας από
την Βύβλο. Είναι άγνωστο, ωστόσο, αν πρόκει­
ται για κάποια ανατολική επίδραση στη ναυπη­
γική, ή απλώς για κοινές κατασκευαστικές λύ­
σεις σε κοινά προβλήματα.

2.3. Τα πλοία στο ανθρώπινο περιβάλλον της
εποχής τους
Έχει υποστηριχθεί ότι η Πρώιμη Εποχή του
Σιδήρου στο Αιγαίο ήταν μια εποχή πλήρους
οπισθοδρόμησης, τόσο στις τέχνες και την τε­
χνολογία, όσο και στις ανταλλαγές και το εμπό­
ριο. Η επιλογή, ωστόσο, απεικόνισης πλοίων
σε μια εποχή που η εικονιστική τέχνη είναι σχε­
δόν ανύπαρκτη, δείχνει τη σημασία που αυτά

1009

είχαν για τους κατοίκους του Αρχιπελάγους.
Παρά τις ομοιότητες με Μυκηναϊκές παραστά­
σεις, οι απεικονίσεις της εποχής δεν αποτελούν
πιστές αντιγραφές παλαιοτέρων πρωτοτύπων,
ενώ οι καλλιτέχνες φαίνεται να γνωρίζουν αρ­
κετά καλά τι αναπαριστούν, έστω και με το δικό
τους, αφαιρετικό τρόπο. Το γεγονός αυτό υπο­
δεικνύει ότι απεικονίζονται υπαρκτά πλοία που
οι καλλιτέχνες έβλεπαν στις θάλασσες της επο­
χής τους, οι ομοιότητες δε των οποίων με τους
Μυκηναϊκούς προκατόχους τους οφείλονται
κατά πάσα πιθανότητα στο ότι τα πρώτα απο­
τελούσαν τη συνέχεια και την επιβίωση τύπων
της Μυκηναϊκής ναυπηγικής (Wedde 2005,36).
Ιδιαίτερα σημαντική είναι η σαφής προ­
τίμηση στην απεικόνιση μακρών πλοίων, τα
οποία κατά βάση μπορούν να θεωρηθούν πο­
λεμικά. Το ελαφρύ, στενόμακρο και χαμη­
λό σκαρί με το μεγάλο πλήρωμα κωπηλατώνπολεμιστών τα καθιστά ιδανικά για γρήγο­
ρα ταξίδια, ταχείς ελιγμούς, προσέγγιση αβαθών νερών (κόλποι, δέλτα ποταμών) και εύκο­
λο τράβηγμα σε παραλίες, μια εικόνα που περιγράφεται εύγλωττα στα Ομηρικά Έπη. Ο πολε­
μικός χαρακτήρας των μακρών πλοίων φαίνε­
ται επίσης στην απεικόνιση δοράτων (τα ξυστά
ναύμαχα της Ιλιάδας. 7Α.15, 388-389) σε πλοίο
από το Λευκαντί, χωρίς όμως να υπάρχουν
στοιχεία για χρήση των εμβόλων για τη βύθιση
των εχθρικών σκαφών, ούτε και για μάχες στη
θάλασσα, όπως γινόταν στη Μυκηναϊκή εποχή.
Και τα Ομηρικά Έπη δείχνουν να αγνοούν τις
ναυμαχίες και καταγράφουν τη χρήση των μα­
κρών πλοίων ως μέσων για την πραγματοποίη­
ση ταξιδιών αλλά και επιδρομών, στο πλαίσιο
μιας ενδημικής πειρατείας που ασκείται στο Αι­
γαίο ήδη από την Εποχή του Χαλκού και κατα­
γράφεται και από το Θουκυδίδη (1.10.5).
Μάλλον άγνωστα παραμένουν τα κοίλα
πλοία της εποχής, πέραν της παράστασης της
Κνωσού και κάποιων αόριστων αναφορών στα
Ομηρικά Έπη. Η απουσία μέχρι στιγμής ναυ­
αγίων και γραπτών πηγών δε σημαίνει φυσι­
κά ότι αυτά δεν ταξίδευαν στο Αιγαίο, ο ρό­
λος τους, ωστόσο, σε σχέση με τα μακρά πλοία
φαίνεται δευτερεύων. Η μορφή του υπερπό­

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ντιου εμπορίου της εποχής, το οποίο βασιζόταν στη διακίνηση μικρών ποσοτήτων υλών και αντικειμένων πολυτελείας και όχι στο εμπόριο μεγάλων ποσοτήτων προϊόντων όπως θα συνέβαινε αργότερα με το λάδι και το κρασί, δεν ευνοούσε τόσο τα τακτικά ταξίδια των εμπορικών πλοίων όσο τις εμπορικές, διπλωματικές και πολεμικές αποστολές με μακρά πλοία τα οποία μπορούσαν να μεταφέρουν λίγα, αλλά ιδιαίτερα σημαντικά αγαθά, αποκτήμενα μέσω του εμπορίου, της ανταλλαγής δώρων ή του πολέμου (Knapp 1993, 339-341. Sherratt - Sherratt 1993).

Η σημασία των μακρών πλοίων ως σύμβολα ισχύος και η τεχνολογική πολυπλοκότητά τους είναι πιθανότατα τα στοιχεία που εξηγούν τη σταθερή εμμονή στην απεικόνισή τους στη σύγχρονη τέχνη. Όχι τυχαία οι απεικονίσεις των κοίλων πλοίων μοιάζουν να είναι αδιάφορες στους καλλιτέχνες και παραμένουν ελάχιστες και στις μετέπειτα περιόδους. Το ενδιαφέρον των καλλιτεχνών στρέφεται με σαφήνεια στα πλέον θαυμαστά, όσον αφορά τόσο την τεχνολογία όσο και τη χρήση, επιτεύγματα της σύγχρονης κοινωνίας, που είναι τα μακρά πλοία (Muckelroy 1978, 3). Πέραν τουτού, όμως, τα μακρά πλοία αντιπροσωπεύουν το ομαδικό πνεύμα τόσο των κατασκευαστών τους, όσο και του πληρώματος τους, την ισχύ της κοινότητας ή του ηγεμόνα που τα κατέχει (Wedde 2005, 33-34). Έχουν μια δική τους ψυχή και έτσι αντιμετωπίζονται στη ζωή και στην τέχνη.

ΕΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ

Δεν μπορεί κανείς να ισχυριστεί ότι η ναυπηγική τέχνη των «Σκοτεινών Αιώνων» δεν είναι και αυτή «Σκοτεινή». Τα στοιχεία που παρουσιάστηκαν είναι πράγματι πολύ αποσπασματικά για να δώσουν οριστικές απαντήσεις στα ερωτήματα που αφορούν στη μορφή, την τεχνολογία και τη χρήση των πλοίων αυτής της εποχής. Η δυναμική, ωστόσο, του τομέα έρευνας είναι μεγάλη. Η ενδελεχής μελέτη των υπαρχουσών αρχαιολογικών και γραπτών πηγών, αλλά και τα νέα ευρήματα που μπορεί να προκύψουν κυρίως από τον τομέα της ενάλιας αρχαιολογίας, μπορούν να βοηθήσουν στην κατανόηση και γνώση αυτής της ιστορίας του Αιγαίου.

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ΠΛΟΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΥΠΗΓΙΚΗ ΣΤΟ ΑΙΓΑΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΙΜΗΣ ΕΠΟΧΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ

Εικ. 1. Απεικόνιση δύο εμπορικών πλοίων της Πρωτογεωμετρικής περιόδου σε κρατήρα από την Κνωσό (Basch 1987, 159, fig. 320).

Εικ. 2. Πηλινό γραπτό ομοίωμα πλοιαρίου της Υστερης Πρωτογεωμετρικής περιόδου από τη Φορτέτσα, Κρήτη (Basch 1987, 159, fig. 321).

Εικ. 3. Παράσταση μακρού πλοίου του 9ου αι. π.Χ. σε αγγείο από την Κρήτη.
Εικ. 4. Πήλινο ομοίωμα πλοιαρίου της Μέσης Πρωτογεωμετρικής περιόδου από τον Κόκκο Χαλκιδικής (σχέδιο του γράφοντα βασισμένο στη δημοσίευση των Carrington-Smith – Vokotopoulou 1992, 430, εικ. 10).

Εικ. 5. Παράσταση μακρού πλοίου σε θραύσμα κρατήρα από τον Καστανά (αρχαία Αμυδώνα), Μακεδονία (Υστεροελληνική ΙΙΙΓ-Πρωτογεωμετρική περίοδος. Jung 2001).

Εικ. 6. Παράσταση μακρού πλοίου της Υποπρωτογεωμετρικής ΙΙΙΑ/Μέσης Γεωμετρικής I περιόδου σε θραύσματα πυξίδας από το Λευκαντί (Popham – Lemos 1996, pls. 107, 126).

Εικ. 7. Παράσταση μακρού πλοίου της Υποπρωτογεωμετρικής ΙΙΙΑ/Μέσης Γεωμετρικής I περιόδου σε θραύσμα κρατήρα από το Λευκαντί (Popham et al. 1979-1980, 267, pl. 274, 918).

Εικ. 9. Παράσταση πλοίου της Πρωτογεωμετρικής περιόδου σε κρατήρα από θαλαμοειδή τάφο στο Dirmil της Αλικαρνασσού (Τουρκία) (Basch 1987, fig. 400).

Εικ. 10. Οι δύο βασικές μέθοδοι κατασκευής των αρχαίων πλοίων της Μεσογείου: 1. Η μέθοδος mortise-and-tenon. 2. Η «δετή» μέθοδος.
Εικ. 11. Απεικονίσεις Μυκηναϊκών μακρών πλοίων.

Εικ. 12. Απεικονίσεις πλοίων της Ύστερης Γεωμετρικής περιόδου.
Εικ. 13. Υποθετική αναπαράσταση μακροποιήματα πλοίου της Πρωτογεωμετρικής περιόδου (σχέδιο Γ. Νάκας).

Εικ. 14. Υποθετική αναπαράσταση εμπορικού πλοίου της Πρωτογεωμετρικής περιόδου (σχέδιο Γ. Νάκας).
THE HANDMADE TERRACOTTA ANIMAL FIGURINES AT THE END OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE AND IN THE EARLY IRON AGE IN CRETE: CHRONOLOGY, TECHNOLOGY AND FUNCTION

Many problems exist in defining the function, use, and even the chronology of the terracotta animal figurines of the Early Iron Age. Several important groups, including those from the Patsos sanctuary, the open air sanctuary at Hagia Triada, the settlement at Vrokastro, and the terrace area at Plaï tou Kastrou just south of the Kastro at Kavousi, were excavated or found by chance in the early years of the 20th century. The publication of the best known LM IIIC settlement site, Karphi dug in 1937-39, was completed in a rush before the Second World War and does not contain all the information that would be included today. Only a few of the figurines found there are pictured in the publication. However new studies have been completed on the openair sanctuary material from Patsos (Kourou - Karetso 1994, 81-164), figurines from the Piazzale dei Sacelli at Hagia Triada (D'Agata 1999), and the figurines from the town of Vrokastro (Hayden 1991, 103-144). Although no excavation data is available from Patsos and little from Plaï tou Kastrou (Boyd 1901, 149-150) and Vrokastro (Hall 1914), some information has been pieced together from notebooks and inventory data at Hagia Triada (D'Agata 1999) and Karphi (unpublished notebooks in the archives of the British School at Athens). The figurines including their construction, decoration, and clay type, from these sites have been carefully studied. To this can be added information from the Vronda settlement site at Kavousi where modern excavation data is available (Gesell – Day – Coulson 1995, 71-73; Day – Klein – Turner 2009, 97-98, 101). The study of the figurines from the Kastro site at Kavousi has not yet been completed, so they are not discussed here, but preliminary information and photographs are available for some of the figurines (Gesell – Day – Coulson 1988, 300, pl. 83d, e, f). The figurines of this period from Kato Syme have been recently published (Muhly 2008). This publication adds greatly to our knowledge and understanding of terracotta handmade animal figurines.

First to be considered is a group of three...
animal figurines—two horses and a bovine—from Vronda. Their context is known. They came from Room 1, the main room, in the LM IIIC House D on the summit of the ridge (Geesell – Day – Coulson 1995, 71-73, figs. 1, 2.2-4; Day – Klein – Turner 2009, 97-98, 101). One horse and the bovine were found on a platform in the southeast corner of the room; the other horse was nearby. The question of the function of individual figurines found in houses is problematic. First, not many have been found in houses or settlements of this period, and, of those that have been found, the details of excavation are usually missing. Second figurines cannot be said to be cultic per se and used to identify ritual areas in houses without some corroborating evidence, at the very minimum, another possible indication of cult. In fact, that they might have been toys or decorative objects is more likely considering that the normal cult use for figurines at this time was as offerings at outdoor cult sites; however, the platform, the find-spot of these figurines, is an unusual construction in a house at Vronda. It is important to see if parallels can be found elsewhere, both for the platform and the figurines themselves, to determine their function.

Since the Vronda figurines have a context, they will be discussed first and then compared with the bovine and horse figurines from the cult sites to see if they are similar in appearance, taking into consideration size, pose, decoration, and construction. The three Vronda figurines are solid, handmade, of the same clay, and painted. Since there are more details preserved on the bovine figurine (V90. 108) both in its modeling and its painted decoration (figs. 1, 2), it will be discussed first. Important details modeled in the clay are the head with its horns curving upward and forward, ears behind the horns, face with tiny pellet eyes, pierced nostrils, and straight incised mouth, as well as the hooves, curve of the tail with the tip resting on the right leg, and hole pierced under the tail. The painted details serve two purposes—first, to highlight or outline body features such as the horns, legs, hooves, and tail and, second, to provide a picture of the animal’s equipment—a muzzle around the animal’s mouth, a strap across the neck, and a blanket or covering over the back, possibly somewhat like the much earlier example from nearby Pseira (Marinatos – Hirmer 1960, pl. 90 below). The horses, on the other hand, are more best left as sketchily modeled. Although at first glance they look very similar to each other, in fact they differ in details of pose and construction. The first horse (V90. 109) with the better preserved paint is leaning backward (figs. 3, 4), while the second (V90. 112) is standing with its left feet ahead of the right (figs. 5, 6). Both have modeled manes and the position of their tail stubs indicates that the missing tails would have hung down behind, but not touching their legs. The first has hooves modeled in the clay but no eyes; however, the second has no modeled hooves but pierced eyes. The edges of paint on the first horse were clear enough to be reproduced in the drawing, but, although there were many traces of paint on the second horse, no edges could be seen, so no pattern of paint has been drawn. What the paint on the body of the first horse indicates is unclear; however, there are no traces of paint on either horse on its underbody and the interior of its legs. There is no indication of sex on any of these figurines. All three have pierced nostrils, straight incised mouths, and short legs.

The sanctuary sites of this period have produced a greater variety of animal figurines in size, type, and construction than the settlements. The bigger figurines are generally hollow, wheel made, often in several parts such as figurine #7 (MH 1155) from Patsos (Kourou – Karetsou 1994, 89-90, figs. 11-13, drawings 6-9); the smaller figurines are handmade of solid clay like the Vronda figurines, although two from Patsos, #24 (MH 1162) and #25 (MH 1140) were constructed over a wooden block (Kourou – Karetsou 1994, 101-102, figs. 44-47). The painted decoration of both the wheel made and handmade figurines is sometimes similar, outlining the body parts with a deco-
ANIMAL FIGURINES AT THE END OF LATE BRONZE AND EARLY IRON AGE CRETE

The figurines from the sanctuary at Patsos are closest to the Vronda figurines. Although there is no excavation data for this site, the figurines have been dated stylistically from the end of LM III to Archaic times, and the changes in style match the different types of clay of the figurines. The Patsos figurines, which have been dated closest to the Vronda figurines are those of Type 2 clay (LM IIIC), Type 3 clay (Subminoan), and Type 4 clay (transitional Subminoan to PG and PG). Among the solid handmade clay bovines that can be compared to the Vronda bovine both in size and details are Patsos #26 and #27 (Kourou – Karetsou 1994, 102, figs. 48-49). Patsos #26 (MH 1119) is made of Type 3 clay (Subminoan) and #27 (MH 1150) is of Type 4 clay (transitional Subminoan to PG and PG). The body of #26 (figs. 7, 8) is the closer; its size is nearly the same as the Vronda bovine, and several physical features are the same: short legs, schematic hooves, and the curve of the tail. The painted decoration is better preserved on #26, but it is basically the same outline pattern on the limbs and tail and curvilinear pattern along the flanks, the decoration of a blanket. Kourou and Karetsou (Kourou – Karetsou 1994, 139) feel that, although of Subminoan type clay, #26 has the spirit of LM IIIC. The Vronda figurine, dated LM IIIC from context, supports the earlier date.

Patsos #27 (figs. 9, 10) is slightly larger and proportionately longer. The features of its head are similar to those of the Vronda bovine: pellet eyes, cylindrical muzzle, pierced nostrils, and a straight incised mouth. The body has the short legs, but is slightly larger and proportionately longer and what painted decoration remains is linear. Kourou and Karetsou (Kourou – Karetsou 1994, 139) have placed it in the PG period on the basis of the Type 4 clay and the length of the body, but, commenting on the short legs and widening at the chest, they suggest the possibility of a Subminoan date. Again comparison with the Vronda bovine supports the earlier date.

Many of the LM IIIC bovine figurines from the open-air sanctuary at Hagia Triada of this period are wheel made in a special way producing an attractive figurine (D’Agata 1997, 87-88, figs. 1-4; 1999, 39-40, pls. 31-37). They are made of three cylindrical units–head, neck, and body–joined while the clay was still pliant. Then the legs and horns were added. After this, a thick layer of moist clay was spread over the figurine, and the details of the spine, tail, and dewlap were neatly modeled. Last, the sexual attributes, indicating that they were bulls, were applied. D’Agata has suggested that this type of construction is likely to be the result of the need for mass production of figurines on this sanctuary site. She proposes an assembly line with different workers producing the different parts of the figurines, putting them together, and sticking on the legs and horns. Then the master potter would add the last layer of clay and model the details. A painter would complete the decoration at the end. The painted decoration on the Hagia Triada wheel made bovine figurines picks out the same outline of the body parts and a possible blanket or covering as appears on the solid handmade Vronda bovine figurine; however, the simpler solid figurines at Hagia Triada, even though bovines, do not have the same shape as the Vronda figurine.

Horse figurines also were found at both the Patsos and the Hagia Triada sanctuaries, but they are quite different from the Vronda horses. Patsos horse #40 (HM 1129) (Kourou – Karetsou 1994, 105, fig. 60) has a much shorter neck, added eyes, and a very cylindrical muzzle with a painted bridle and reins (fig. 11). The muzzle area is closer to the Vronda bovine with its pro-
portionally larger pierced nostrils and incised mouth. Although made of solid clay, the body and neck of the Patsos horse are pierced with an unusual number of holes, some of which pass all the way through, perhaps to hold trap­pings. The closest Haghia Triada horses are hollow with added eyes and an added bridle on their heads (D’Agata 1999, 58, pl. 24 C1.38 and C1.39).

Two important settlement sites of this pe­riod are at Vrokastro and Karphi. Vrokastro can be seen from the Kavousi sites. Like the Kastro site at Kavousi, the LM IIIC settlement is covered with another settlement dating to Geometric times and the animal figurines published by the excavator (Hall 1914, 101-102, fig. 56) appear to be from the Geometric period. However, Barbara Hayden (Hayden 1991, 103-144) has included other, previously unpublished, figurines in her publication. A few of these without context could be of LM IIIC date; however, they are not similar in size or type to the Vron­da figurines, and without context they cannot help us with the function of figurines found in settlements.

The LM IIIC settlement at Karphi has nev­er been built over. It is divided into blocks of buildings by streets; houses and shrines have been identified. Although there are a number of figurines recorded in the publication (Pendle­bury – Pendlebury – Money-Couts 1938-1939, 57-145, pl. 9-plan), most were singly in rooms without any other special context. However, there is a group of figurines found in Room 85 and the adjoining Room 87 that may shed some light on the function of figurines of House D at Vronda (Pendlebury–Pendlebury–Money-Couts 1938-1939, 90-92; see also Day 2009, 146-151 and Hallager 2009, 114-120 for theories too recently published to be considered here). Room 85, which contained a large amount of domestic pottery and a stone tool as well as five figurines and a sherd from an altar, appears to have been the major living and working area in the house. The long narrow Room 87, opening off 85, is perhaps a store room. It contained a pithos, tripods, jars, dishes, some fine ware includ­ing sherd s from a jug, kylikes, bowls, and two figurines. The architectural features are sign­ificant. In Room 85 there is a small ledge in the west wall where the excavators thought that the five figurines, three human and two animal, had been displayed. Room 87 has a rock table at its south end next to the door to Room 85, on which the two animal figurines were found. The figurine types themselves are significant as well. Those from Room 85 (Pendlebury – Pendle­bury – Money-Couts 1938-1939, pl. 32.2) include a small female head #515 similar to those of the goddesses from the Temple (Pendle­bury – Pendlebury – Money-Couts 1938-1939, 75-76, pl. 31), a human torso #514, which was probably broken out of a kalathos like that with the attached miniature goddess inside (Seiradaki 1960, 11, pl. 4c; Gesell 2004, 142, fig. 7.10). One arm is bent upward, but the position of the other is unclear. The third human torso is not pictured. The two animals were listed as bulls, but only their heads survive. The larger head #516 appears to have belonged to a wheel made bovine figurine; the other #517 is listed as similar but smaller. Other objects that may have been part of the ritual equipment found in the room, are a sherd of what Pendlebury calls an altar but today is called a fenestrated stand (from other contexts, Pendlebury – Pendlebury – Money-Couts 1938-1939, pls. 34, 35.7 left), five kalathoi or offering bowls (from other contexts, Seiradaki 1960, fig. 7, pl. 3d), which could have been used on the altar, and a lamp (from another context, Seiradaki 1960, fig. 8), which is the shape today called a scuttle for carrying burning material. Even more like Vronda House D is Room 87, where the figurines were found on the rock table. These are an unidenti­fied, unpictured animal #556 and a horse, now restored, MH 11058 (Pendlebury – Pendle­bury – Money-Couts 1938-1939, 92, pl. 32.1). Although the horse is larger and of different con­struction, hollow with added hooves, its pose is similar with respect to its head, neck, mane, and tail (fig. 12). The possibility of domestic cult in
Room 85 and Room 87 is very strong with human figurines similar to the goddesses, animal figurines, both bovine and equid, representing gifts as at outdoor sanctuaries, and ritual equipment for small ceremonies. Thus the various similarities to figurines from sanctuaries and to the cult assemblage from domestic rooms 85 and 87 in the settlement at Karphi support the hypothesis that the three animal figurines and the platform in Room 1 House D at Vronda indicate a domestic cult area.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Fig. 1. Vronda bovine figurine V90.108 (photo by Kathy May).

Fig. 2. Vronda bovine figurine V90.108 (drawing by Roxana Docsan).

Fig. 3. Vronda horse figurine V90.109 (photo by Kathy May).

Fig. 4. Vronda horse figurine V90.109 (drawing by Roxana Docsan).
Fig. 5. Vronda horse figurine V90.112 (photo by Kathy May).

Fig. 6. Vronda horse figurine V90.112 (drawing by Roxana Docsan).

Fig. 7. Patsos bull figurine #26 (MH 1119) (photo by Chronis Papanikolopoulos).

Fig. 8. Patsos bull figurine #26 (MH 1119) (drawing by Roxana Docsan).
Fig. 9. Patsos bull figurine #27 (MH 1150) (photo by Chronis Papanikolopoulos).

Fig. 10. Patsos bull figurine #27 (MH 1150) (drawing by Roxana Docsan).

Fig. 11. Patsos horse figurine #40 (MH 1129) (drawing by Roxana Docsan).

Fig. 12. Karphi horse MH 11058 (drawing by Roxana Docsan).
ΚΟΣΜΗΣΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΚΗ:
ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΚΟΤΕΙΝΟΥΣ ΑΙΩΝΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΓΗ ΤΗΣ «ΠΟΛΕΩΣ»

Metaxú tôn ekráseon tis anvrípni-νής dhmiourygíktòtas pou échoun apotelései antikeíméno arxaiologikís éreunías, h téchni tis kósmimatos kathékei diachroniká stímati-kí thesi, óchi mónon lógou tis apaithtikís techni-kis katárterpsis pou apaitei h katakeufh kai pou exekoloubei na ekpláthesi ton meléte-τη, allá kurióis lógou twn polalláwn koinno-vnikon kai oikonomikon ptoqséasawn pou pro-kuptoun mésa apo tìn meléte tis typologías, tou ulikou, tis technhs kai twn diaphoretikon xhrísewn pou epifylásonyn sta kósmima.

H poikilómorfo̍g gеωγραφiκά, iστορικά kai kalλíteχniká xýrous tis òstheßaliakhs kathexi̊e iαxhori̊sth thesi sth meléte tis kóσmimh: poluyari̊th ws týpou échoun érthei sth fws tis telénu-taiés dekakástites sta pláAsia swoistikôn kai su-sthmatakînicos anaskakwvostwn stoû vouvou kar dziś-sas, iρi̊kalws, lárisas kai magneśias. Apa-vntov pórtres, perðones, daktu̍lous, penia kai perìpasta filotexhnwménna se idiáiterh poikilía ulikwn, apo tis aplou̍stera, tαpεινóterwv kai sarfws oikoño̍mikóterwa (þíðhres, χαλκó) eisós tis pléon polultelh, dapanhrra kai spánia (χρυςós kai áργυρωs, steatitéis, elèse̊ntodô-

* Θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω θερμά το Πανεπιστήμιο Βόλου και ιδιαίτερα τον Καθ. κ. Μαζαράκη Αινιάν για την ευκαιρία της παρουσίασης αυτού του υλικού στα πλαίσια του συνεδρίου των «Σκοτεινών Αιώνων» και για το ενδιαφέρον που έδειξε για την έρευνά μου. Επίσης οι ευχαριστίες μου απευθύνονται στον αγαπημένο φίλο και συνάδελφό Βασίλη Σκουλά για τη συνδρομή του σε αποφασιστικό σημείο συγγραφής του παρόντος άρθρου και στη φίλη και συνάδελφο Ελένη Μπαλωμένου για την πρακτική της συνδρομή στη φάση της τελικής επεξεργασίας των εικόνων.

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τους δίσκους από ελεφαντοστό (εικ. 3), 19 δι-
pλές χρυσές ψήφους περιδεραίων με παράστα-
sη ναυτιλία, και δυο τεμάχια χτένας από ελε-
fαντοστό (ΑΔ 19, 1964, Χρονικά, Β2, 255-258).
Ο πλούτος αυτός ευλογού να μπορούσε να συν-
dεθεί με την αντίστοιχη παραγωγή της γεωτο-
kής Βουμίας, περιοχής που ήνω από την Πρω-
tοσελλαδική και Μεσοσελλαδική περίοδο, αλλά
και κατά την Υστεροσελλαδική περίοδο, εμφα-
vίζει θέσεις με παρόμοιο υλικό [Αγγαντί Δο-
κρίδος, Σηματάρι-Λυγ. Ηλίας, Κάλλθεα, Ελά-
teia-Αλουνάκι’, Εύρηση (Goldman 1931, 199-
201, pl. XX)]. Η παραγωγή αυτή αποτελεί ιδιός
της μυκηναϊκής παρουσίας και στην ευρύτερη
περιφέρεια – ενδεικτικά αναφέρουμε τον τάφο
στις Φερές (Βελεστίνο), όπου η ταφή οκτώ συ-
vολικά προσώπων συνοδεύτηκε από μια πλη-
θώρα αγγείων και κοσμημάτων, κυρίως ψή-
φοι διαφόρων υλικών (τηλός, στειάτης, σάρ-
dίος, ελεφαντόδοντο) και σχημάτων (μυκη-
kικές, κανθαρίδια, αμυγδαλόσχημα, καλλιόμορ-
φες), και η χρονολογείται μεταξύ ΥΕ ΠΙΑ και ΥΕ
ΠΙΙ Α1 (1500-1350 π.Χ.) (Κακαβογιάννης 2003-
2004, 167-179, πιν. 35). Παράλληλα ευρήμα-
τα εμφανίζει και ο λαξευτός θαλαμοειδής τά-
fος από τον Κάτω Μαυρόλοφο του Αλμυρού,
tη απεικονίζει και ο λαξευτός θαλαμοειδές τά-
ερως Κονσολά 1981, 140, 142), αργυ-
γικό τύπου (όπως πρώτος την ονόμασε έτσι ο
Οι δυο παρουσιάζουν ελαφρώς ωοειδή, καμπύλη σφεν-
dσχήμα της ασπίδας. Οι τρεις αυτοί δακτύλιοι παραδόθη-
cαν μαζί με μια κυλινδρική πυξίδα με τρεις κάθετες λαβές
και μοτίβα ομόκεντρων κύκλων. Ο Μ.Α. Furumark χρο-
νίσει χαλκός (Konstantinidi 2001, 145-150 και 208). Στα
Οι δυο παρουσιάζουν ελαφρώς ωοειδή, καμπύλη σφεν-
dσχήμα της ασπίδας. Οι τρεις αυτοί δακτύλιοι παραδόθη-
cαν μαζί με μια κυλινδρική πυξίδα με τρεις κάθετες λαβές
και μοτίβα ομόκεντρων κύκλων. Ο Μ.Α. Furumark χρο-

1. Οι πρώτοι απλοί χάλκινοι και ενίστες αργυροί δα-
kτύλιοι προέρχονται από τάφους της ΜΕ και ΥΕ περιο-
dου και εκπροσωπούν σημαντικό μέρος των κτηρία-
μάτων. Τα παραδείγματα είναι από χρυσό (Μεγάλο Καστέλ-
lι, Ελάτεια, Θήβα – βλ. Κονσολά 1981, 140, 142), αργυ-
ρο (Ελάτεια), σίδερο (ΥΕ ΠΙΙ Β Μεγάλο Καστέλλι, ΥΕ
ΠΙΙ Α1 Γα Αγγαντί), ενώ στις περισσότερες θέσεις κυρια-
ρείως ο χαλκός (Konstantinidi 2001, 145-150 και 208). Στη
τέλη της ΥΕ περιόδου χρονολογείται και το σύνολο τρι-
ών χρυσών δακτύλων, σημεία στη συλλογή Σπαθάτου. Οι δύο
για των παρουσιάζουν ελαφρές ωοειδίς, καμπύλη σφεν-
dσχήμα της ασπίδας. Οι τρεις αυτοί δακτύλιοι παραδοθή-
cαν μαζί με μια κυλινδρική πυξίδα με τρεις κάθετες λαβές
και μοτίβα ομόκεντρων κύκλων. Ο Μ.Α. Furumark χρο-
νίσει χαλκός (Konstantinidi 2001, 145-150 και 208). Στη
τέλη της ΥΕ περιόδου χρονολογείται και το σύνολο τρι-
ών χρυσών δακτύλων, σημεία στη συλλογή Σπαθάτου. Οι δύο

2. Κοιτάμε σύνθετες σφιχτές κατασκευές στον Υπερθρό,
χρυσές και μεταλλικές πηγές, που κατασκευάζονται από τα
πλατάνια του Πελοποννήσου και της Κρήτης. Τα πλατάνια κατασκευάζονται από τα πλατάνια 
της Πελοποννήσου και της Κρήτης. Τα πλατάνια κατασκευάζονται από τα πλατάνια 
της Πελοποννήσου και της Κρήτης. Τα πλατάνια κατασκευάζονται από τα πλατάνια 
της Πελοποννήσου και της Κρήτης. Τα πλατάνια κατασκευάζονται από τα πλατάνια 

[προσθήκη του καλκουτά]
ΚΟΣΜΗΣΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΚΗ: ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΚΟΤΕΙΝΟΥΣ ΑΙΩΝΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΓΗ ΤΗΣ «ΠΟΛΕΩΣ»

το τόξο της είναι συχνά αμφικωνικής διατομής και οι εγχάρακτες φυτικές και γεωμετρικές παραστάσεις μεταφέρονται στο ορθογώνιο πλακίδιο πόρπωσης που φέρει κάθετο στέλεχος, σχηματίζει θηλιά και απολήγει στην φαρδία περόνη. Από τις παραστάσεις με ζώα, πτηνά, φυτικά και γεωμετρικά μοτίβα (730-725 π.Χ.) περνάμε σε συνθετότερες παραστάσεις και σε πολυπρόσωπες συνθέσεις (700 π.Χ.). Από τις παραστάσεις με ζώα, πτηνά, φυτικά και γεωμετρικά μοτίβα (730-725 π.Χ.) περνάμε σε συνθετότερες παραστάσεις και σε πολυπρόσωπες συνθέσεις (700 π.Χ.). Από τις παραστάσεις με ζώα, πτηνά, φυτικά και γεωμετρικά μοτίβα (730-725 π.Χ.) περνάμε σε συνθετότερες παραστάσεις και σε πολυπρόσωπες συνθέσεις (700 π.Χ.).


4. Η ανασκαφή ΥΓ τύμβου στη θέση Καμηλόβρυση Παραλίμνης έφερε στο φως αδιατάρακτες ταφές από τη βάση του τύμβου, ενώ σε ψηλότερο επίπεδο ο τύμβος είχε αναμοχλευτεί και καταστραφεί. Μεταξύ των τάφων, ο κεντρικός, ένας από τους πλουσιότερους της εποχής αυτής, περιείχε τα οστά μιας γυναίκας και δυο νηπίων, που είχαν εναποτεθεί κοντά στα πόδια και στην κεφαλή της νεκρής. Τα κτερίσματα περιελάμβαναν πλήθος χάλκινων κυρίως κοσμημάτων, ψελίων, περονών, πορπών, δακτυλίων {ΑΔ 26, 1971, Χρονικά, Β2, 215-217}.

επιβεβαιώνεται και αναπαράγεται από τα ευρήματα πολλών θεσσαλικών θέσεων – αναφέρουμε, κατά χρονολογική σειρά, τις εξής περιπτώσεις: τον κτιστό θολωτό πρωτογεωμετρικό τάφο από το Βελεστίνο (στα βορειοανατολικά του χωριού Χλόη, στη θέση Αμυγδαλιές), όπου βρέθηκαν εκτός της πλουσίας κεραμικής πέντε χρυσοί σφηκωτήρες, δαχτυλίδια από χαλκό, χάντρες όρμων από φαγεντιά, υαλόμαζα και χαλκό, πήλινα κομβία, μια χάλκινη τοξωτή πόρπη, χάλκινες και σιδερένιες περόνες, σιδερένια μαχαίρια και αιχμές βελών (ΑΔ 18, 1963, Χρονικά, 135 κ.ε. ΑΔ 19, 1964, Χρονικά, 244 κ.ε. ΑΔ 20, 1965, Χρονικά 311 κ.ε. ΑΔ 22, 1967, Χρονικά, 295 κ.ε.). Ο κύριος χώρος αποθέσεων των αναθημάτων έμελλε να φέρει στο ψφως αφθονία χάλκινα αντικείμενα, δαχτυλίδια, πέρονες, πόρπες, πτηνόσχημα και ζωόμορφα εξαρτήματα, σιδερά, χάντρες και εξαρτήματα, χρονολογούμενα στους όψιμους γεωμετρικούς χρόνους και την αρχαϊκή περίοδο. Ιδιαίτερως «ομιλούσα» είναι η πλούσια σειρά υαλόμαζων πορπών της Φιλίας, όπως η εκκονιδόμενη σχεδιαστική αναπαράσταση (εικ. 6); στη μια ψήφα παρατηρούμε παράσταση ίππου που θηλάζει και ελαφιών, ενώ στην άλλη η εγχάρακτη απόδοση των δελφινιών χωρίς δήλωση του θαλάσσιου βάθους αποτελεί εξαιρετικό δείγμα της ομάδας αυτών των πόρπων. Οι περισσότερες από τις πόρπες της Φιλίας ανήκουν στον «ελλαδικό» τύπο του Blinkenberg (Blinkenberg 1926, 128 κ.ε.)6, όπως εξάλλου και εκείνες από το ιερό του Διός Θαυλίου των Φερών (ΠΑΕ 1890, 89 κ.ε.)7. Σημαντικό είναι το γεγονός ότι αυτός ο τύπος πόρπης, με τις εγχάρακτες παραστάσεις στο πλακίδιο πόρπωσης, δεν αποτελεί μοναδικό εύρημα στο ιερό αυτό, αλλά απαντά και σε άλλες περιοχές της Θεσσαλίας - ενδεικτικά αναφέρουμε τα ευρήματα από τον Αγ. Γεώργιο Λάρισας, όπου η εν λόγω πόρπη συμπληρώνεται και με ένα περίαπτο που παριστάνει πτηνό πάνω σε σφαίρα (εικ. 7: ΑΔ 30, 1975, Χρονικά, Β1, 194-195, πιν. 103 α-β. ΑΔ 31, 1976, Χρονικά, Β1, 181-183, πιν. 129, ευρήματα αρχαϊκής περιόδου). Εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρουσα είναι η τυπολογική ομοιότητα του περιάπτου αυτού με τα αντίστοιχα ευρήματα από τον γεωμετρικό μουσείο Βόλου.

6. Τα ευρήματα του ιερού αυτού ενσωμάτωσαν την θεωρία της συγχρόνως πως το εργαστήριο των πορπών του τύπου αυτού (VII) βρισκόταν στην Θεσσαλία.
7. Σήμερα οι πόρπες αυτές εκθέτονται στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Βόλου.
κό τάφο στο Πολύδροσο της Παρνασσίδας και εδώ συναντάμε ένα πιο λεπτό πιθνό που συν-δέται μέσω σφαιρίδιου με έναν διόκο με εγχάρακτα γεωμετρικά μοτίβα. Το σώμα του πιθνού διαπερνάται από οπή, προφανώς για την ανάρτησή του ως περίπτωτο (εικ. 8: Αραπογιάννη-Μαζοκότακι 1982, 76-85, 82-84, εικ. 6, σχέδιο 5). Για περιπτά με μορφή πιθνών, Bouzek 1974, 13 κ.ε.).

Κι άλλοι όμως τύποι πορπών, όπως η υστερογεωμετρική και πρώιμη αρχαϊκή πόρη με κομβία στο τόξο της έχει βρεθεί στη Φίλια, όπως και σε άλλες θέσεις της Θεσσαλίας (Kilian 1975, 44 κ.ε., 60 κ.ε.). Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει το γεγονός πως το ιερό αυτό πιστοποιεί τις εποχές της περιοχής με την Ανατολική θέση, καθώς από την γύρω περιοχή παραδοθήκεν ένας χάλκινος αντικείμενος (επίθεμα) από το Λουκανίαν του Ιράν και ένα «κυλινδράκι» (ορθογώνιο πλαίσιο που απολογείται στις δυο πλευρές του σε μικρά χέρια που κρατούν έναν μικρό κύλινδρο) από τη Μεσοελλαδική-ες την Πρωτο-γεωμετρική περίοδο9. Τα ευρήματα αυτά φανερώνουν πως το ιερό της Φίλιας διατηρεί και διεθνεί σχέσεις, οι οποίες κατά κάποιον τρόπο έκπληξαν την Κρήτη (Hoffman 1997, 29, αρ. 5, πιν. 2), ενώ κάποια ευρήματα από την Περαχώρα ίσως ανήκουν στην ίδια κατηγορία (Payne 1940, 138 κ.ε., εικ. 20, πιν. 44.5).


10. Παραδείγματα αυτών των πορπών, όπως η αναφερόμενη τοξοειδής πορπή με τοξοειδή σταυρόσχημο με σφαιρίδια στο τόξο της (Blinkenberg 1974, 130 κ.ε.). Συγχροί είναι ακόμα οι οποίες προσεπενδούν το ιερό και μικρές πόρπες με τοξοειδή στο τέλος του τύμβου, στον τυμβαρό και στην περιοχή τους.

8. Παραμερισμό αντικειμένων έχουν βρεθεί στο Ηραίο της Σάμου (Schmid 2001, 8-22, Moore 1974, 190 κ.ε., στην Κρήτη (Hoffman 1997, 29, αρ. 5, πιν. 2), ενώ κάποια ευρήματα από την Περαχώρα ίσως ανήκουν στην ίδια κατηγορία (Payne 1940, 138 κ.ε., εικ. 20, πιν. 44.5).
χές του ελλαδικού χώρου (Βοιωτία, Πελοπόννησο). Αλλά τεράστιας σημασίας είναι και η παράλληλη πορεία της τυπολογίας των πορπών, περονών και περιάπτων που ακολουθεί η παραγωγή στον Βορρά και τα σημερινά Βαλκάνια. Η σημασία επομένως της περαιτέρω διερεύνησης των σχέσεων ανάμεσα στην καλλιτεχνική παραγωγή των θεσσαλικών κοσμημάτων και της παραγωγής στην περιφέρεια της Θεσσαλίας προβάλλει ως επιτατική ανάγκη: οι καρποί μιας τέτοιας μελέτης πιθανότατα θα μπορέσουν να οδηγήσουν σε μια ανασύνθεση της πορείας των εμπορικών δικτύων και συναλλαγών που λαμβάνουν χώρα, από και προς τη Θεσσαλία, και διαμέσου αυτής, από την Υπομυκηναϊκή περίοδο μέχρι και την αυγή του αρχαϊσμού, ρίχνοντας έτσι περισσότερο φως σε νέες πτυχές του θεσσαλικού πολιτισμού.

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Εικ. 8. Περίἀπτο με μορφή πτηνού πάνω σε δίσκο. Πολύδροσο Παρνασίδας, 8ος αι. π.Χ. (Αραπογιάννη-Μαζοκοπάκη 1982, εικ. 6, σχ. 5γ).
INTRODUCTION

This paper navigates in the “dark waters” of the exploitation of aquatic resources during Early Iron Age. Dark waters indeed, as archaeological and literary evidence is until now poorly studied. Earlier scholars have repeatedly reproduced the long-established idea of an Early Iron Age Sea without fish or fishermen, mainly based on the study of the Homeric record. Modern research offers a much wider range of study areas, which have not been previously exploited. Our goal is to bait our hooks with questions regarding this issue and to fish for some plausible, direct or indirect, evidence coming from various fields of study.

Three kinds of tools will come to use:
a. homeric passages referring to aquatic animals and/or activities related to the sea,
b. iconographic record focusing on marine animal motifs, and
c. archaeological remains, such as aquatic animal remains themselves, as well as artefacts related to fishing gear.

A. EVIDENCE FOR AQUATIC ANIMALS

One of the first questions to address regards the sea world itself, and, more precisely, organisms inhabiting this environment.

Early 20th century scholars have shown interest for the Homeric poems as source of information. Although there is an ongoing discussion as to the admissibility of an Early Iron Age written source describing Late Bronze Age practices (Riley 1999, 62),1 epic poems still remain the only textual tool shedding light to these remote seas, the Homeric ἀλς, ἀλασσα, or πόντος (Buchholz et al. 1973, 131). Indeed, earlier texts, such as Linear B tablets, do not refer to any word related to aquatic animals or products2. On the contrary, the fishy or fishful Homeric sea (ἰχθύοεις πόντος) swarms of marine creatures3: words like fish (ἰχθύς), eel (ἐγχελυς), oyster (όστρεον), cuttlefish (πολύπους), seel (φώκαι) and dolphin (δελφίς) are found in both

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1. Historical reliability of this source is also discussed in M. Wekowskï's "On the historicity of the "Homeric world" - some methodological considerations", see in this volume.
2. Prof. Pierre Carlier (Université de Paris I), specialist in Linear B matters, personal communication. The only indirect evidence concerns professions possibly related to the sea, such as workers involved in ship construction, or in sea-derived secondary products, such as purple dyers (see Palaima 1991). Also, see related words (ko-ki-re-ja, decorated with shells, or po-ry-pode-qe, possibly cuttlefish) (Fischer 2007).
3. The word ἰχθυοεις also occurs once in connection with a river, the Hyllus (II. XX.392)(Radcliffe 1921, 85).
the Iliad and the Odyssey (fig. 1a: Buchholz et al. 1973, 132-134; Voultsiadou – Tatolas 2005). Although a primary distinction between different marine animal classes is made, there seems to be no further knowledge or interest to distinguish specific bony fish species4. Other descriptions involve size (ἰχθύσι ὀλίγοισι “little fishes”) or specific properties of the fish (ἱερὸς ἱχθύς “sacred fish”, ὀφθαλμός ἱχθύς “ravenous fish”, on interpretations see Radcliffe 1921, 76ff.). In general, terrestrial fauna attracts more attention than marine fauna (Voultsiadou – Tatolas 2005). The word fish does not appear but once in later archaic literature, namely in the Works and Days of Hesiod (line 227).

Similarly, Early Iron Age art offers some examples of marine representations, although not nearly as well illustrated as in previous periods, namely in Late Bronze Age art (see, for example, the work of Bradfer 2000) (fig. 1b). Examples from mainland Greece (Argos, Boeotia, and the Euboan workshop) generally stick to a more decorative rather than naturalistic level. Aquatic animals are depicted either as independent motifs, usually related to horses, or with the aim of defining the natural environment5. None of these mainland representations is directly related to human activities, thus contrasting with earlier Aegean or Cypriot examples (see below; also, Karageorghis 2006, fig. 56, 86). The majority of the examples are related to votive or funerary objects (vases, fibulas, larnax), usually continuing local traditions6. As in the case of Homeric poems, general identification of fish, shellfish, and marine mammals, such as dolphins, may be made, although it would be rather risky to attempt any identification different species (Buchholz et al. 1973, 136).

Setting aside the literary and artistic sphere, modern research provides more tangible evidence for the presence of aquatic organisms during the studied period through the recovery of their remains from excavations. Indeed, aquatic remains are not missing from coastal and inland Neolithic and Bronze Age settlements (Rose 1994; Fischer 2007; Theodoropoulou 2007a). Fishbones and shellfish are also reported from several Sub-Bronze Age/Early Iron Age sites, to name some (fig. 2): Nichoria in Laconia (Reese 1992), Asine in Argolid (Reese 1982b), Asiros in Chalkidike (Reese’s initial inspection in Halstead – Jones 1980), Berbati (Wells – Runnels 1996), Kalapodi in Boeotia (Stanzel 1991), Kastanas in Macedonia (Becker 1986), Knossos (Reese 1982a), Mitrou in Boeotia (R. Veropoulidou, personal communication), Naxos (Lambrounoudakis 1988), Perati (Iakovidis 1969-1970), Thessaloniki Toumba (Veropoulidou 2002; Theodoropoulou 2007b), Torone (Papadopoulos 2005), Xombourg on Tenos (Theodoropoulou study in progress). On the contrary, fishbones and shells are absent from other sites: Thorikos (Mussche 1998), Vitsa (Vokotopoulou 1986), Zagora (Cambitoglou et al. 1992).

For the purposes of this paper, I decided to use as case study an area of great interest for this period, namely the S. Euboan gulf area, represented by the sites of Skala Oropou, Lefkandi-Xeropolis, and Eretria, for which personal

4. It is interesting to note that eels are not ranked as fish in a strict sense: "both eels and fishes" (ll. XXI.203, 353, see Radcliffe 1921, 84). Yet, in general, reported animals can be assigned to recent taxa, according to Voultsiadou – Tatolas 2005.

5. For instance, on individual marine motifs from Argos, see Courbin 1966, 397-403; Coldstream 1968, 124, 130, 134-138. On some Boeotian examples, see Hampe 1936, Abb. 8, no. 36. On marine animals as part of the marine environment, for Boeotia see Hampe 1936, Taf. 13, nos. 13, 14; on the Pithouskassai "shipwreck" louteron identified as made by a Euboan workshop, see Ridgway 1988; on some PG II Cretan examples relating fish to the sequence of seasons, see Coldstream 1988: Also, on the depiction of various marine animals, see Buchholz et al. 1973, 136ff. I would like to thank Dr. Vicky Vlachou for her useful comments on Early Iron Age pottery.

6. See, for example, the discussion about Cretan lar­­­­­nax and earlier Minoan funerary representations in Cold­­­­­­­­­­stream 1988; also, Laflamme 1991. See, also, examples in: Dakoronia 2006; Iakovidou 2006; Papapostolou 2006. For a discussion relating fish representations from later periods (Late Geometric) to a more general ontological cosmic view (tripartite structure of the world, as found in Homeric epics and later in epic poet Hesiod), see Langdon 1993, 78-80.
study of relevant remains has been undertaken. In these sites, molluscan and fish remains are quite regular finds, in more or less significant quantities (fig. 3). More precisely:

The Geometric/Archaic habitation and artisan complex of Skala Oropou provided a wide range of species, among which, murex or πορφύρα (Hexaplex trunculus), rough shells or χρυσές (Mactra stultorum and Mactra glauca), the noble pen shell or πίννα (Pinna nobilis), and the common cerith or κέρατο (Cerithium vulgatum) are well represented, accounting between 10% and 25% of the remains (Theodoropoulou 2007b, 2008). Other species, such as the band-ed murex or πορφύρα (Bolinus brandaris), the cockle or μπουρλίδες/καρδιές (Cerastoderma glaucum), the common piddock or κυδώνι (Venus sp.), occurred in limited numbers (between 4 and 7% of the total). Crustaceans and sea urchins are also present. A cuttlefish cartilage has also been recovered, indicating the satisfactory preservation conditions in this site. On the other hand, only 5 fish vertebrae are present in the material, probably from the Mugilidae family (grey mullet or κέφαλοι), despite the good preservation of the osteological material.

The Early Iron Age settlement of Lefkandi-Xeropolis, on the east coast of Euboean gulf, shows an interesting orientation to this kind of resource from Late Bronze Age onwards, as suggested in a recent publication of the LBA material, undertaken by D.S. Reese (Reese 2006). Early Iron Age material, still under study by the author of this article, is also quite interesting. Preliminary observations point to the considerable gathered quantities, as well as to the wide spectrum of collected species, ranging from penshells (Pinna nobilis), venus (Venus verrucosa) and murex (Hexaplex trunculus), to large numbers of sea-worn thorny oysters or γαϊδουρόποδα (Spondylus gaederopus), seemingly collected dead on the beach. Other common species identified are: Noah’s arc or καλόγνωμη (Arca noae) and bittersweet or κυδώνι (Glycymeris sp.). The presence of two rocky-dwelling species is also noted, rare in the

neighboring site of Oropos, namely the limpet or πεταλίδα (Patella sp.) and the topshell or κοχλίας (Monodonta sp.). Fish remains are also present: sparids or τσιπούρες/σαργοί (Sparidae), mullets or κέφαλοι (Mugilidae), seabass or λαβράκια (Moronidae), as well as remains of a smooth hound shark or γαλέος (Mustelidae), have been recovered to this day.

In contrast to neighboring sites from S. Eu-boean gulf, the Geometric layers in Eretria indicate a limited gathering of seashells (Theodoropoulou under study). In this case, the collection pattern rather focuses on the collection of a few taxa, that all occur at similar sizes: murex shells (Hexaplex trunculus, Murex brandaris), fresh thorny oysters (Spondylus gaederopus), penshells (Pinna nobilis), and secondarily, piddocks (Pholas dactylus) and scallops (Pecten jacobeus). Various other molluscs, cuttlefish and corals have also been identified, although only represented by one or two individuals. The Early Iron Age levels did not yield any fish bones.7

The Early Iron Age sites studied to this day seem to fill the gap left by the textual and iconographic record. The Euboean Gulf area, in particular, provides evidence for a rich and diversified coastal exploitation, focusing on shellfish and other invertebrates. In all three case studies, various depths of coastal and sea habitats were exploited, although the collection generally occurred in the lower coastal to the deeper sea waters of the gulf, in sandy as in rocky substrates.

On the other hand, fish are curiously under-represented, if not completely absent from these sites. Taphonomic and post-deposition-al constraints could be in part responsible for this astonishing lack. However, the recovery of other fragile and small finds, either artefacts or organic remains, indicates that we cannot solely account this lack to the above factors. It is then to be examined, what this absence is due to. Human factors, such as discard after con-

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7. One vertebra of little tunny has been identified in the Bronze Age material.
sumption away from the site, specific prepara-
tion/conservation methods involving removal
of bones, even abstinence from fish flesh might
all be brought up. Nevertheless, recovery meth-
ods and punctual water-sieving are, in my opin-
ion, the most plausible reasons for this biased
image. This remark calls for a more careful and
detailed sampling during excavations involving
historical sites.

B. EVIDENCE FOR FISHING ACTIVITIES
AND RELATED GEAR

If the sea was plentiful of marine animals,
as portrayed by various sources of information,
the question raised is: did people actually fish
and, if they did, how? Archaeological, textual
and zooarchaeological record may provide an
insight into fishing and fishing methods during
Early Iron Age. In the following, a combined
approach of different study tools presented.

Considerable attention is drawn to catch-
ing methods and fishing gear in the epic poems.
Nearly all homeric passages related to this ques-
tion function as similes and lead to the assump-
tion that Homer’s audience was familiar with
traditional fishing methods. Some of them are
better illustrated than others. Four methods of
fishing are mentioned: spear, net, rod, line and
hook. These descriptions, along with archaeo-
logical and zooarchaeological finds, might pro-
vide a better understanding of fishing activities
during the encountered period.

Collecting and diving:

The earliest exploitation of the marine en-
virnment probably occurred at the coastal
fringe with nothing more that bare hands
(Cleyet-Merle 1990, 20). The consumption of
molluscs in the Aegean is attested from pre-
historic times through Antiquity (Karali 1999;
Theodoropoulou 2007a). Given the uneven ef-
fert/energy/time ratio of this activity, molluscs
would have never been a staple food for Aegean
populations. However, the discovery of mollus-
can assemblages from Early Iron Age Greece
testifies to consumption during this period (see
above).

Although different methods can be chosen
for collecting molluscs, collection with hands or
with the help of a pointed instrument or a stone is
enough. Sometimes, the collector has to dive for
molluscs that inhabit deeper waters. In this case,
the diver requires a sinker, viz. a heavy stone or a
marble (cf. Oppian’s description in Powell 1996,
86), a rope around his waist, a lead that he grasps
in order to overcome his positive buoyancy, and
sometimes oil for clarifying the waters.

The collection and diving for molluscs is
once mentioned in the Iliad (Il. XVI.745-8) (Pa-
troklus jeers as Hector’s slain driver pitches out
of the chariot):

“If only he were somewhere on the sea,
where the fish swarm,
he could satisfy the hunger of many by div-
ing for oysters”

On the other hand, the archaeological
record is more difficult to interpret. Zooarchae-
ological remains may offer some information
on collections methods and diving. Encoding
of the species biology and habitat may lead to
the employed methods (see Theodoropoulou
2008).

Fishing with spears and tridents:

In Odyssey (Od. X.124), there is a descrip-
tion of a trident: the simile describes Odysseus’
crew being speared like fish by the Laestrygones
after their boats had been destroyed:

“And spearing them like fishes, they car-
rried home their hideous meal”

8. On the meaning and translation of the word τήθεα
(oysters), see Andrews 1948.
The spear would probably be among the first fishing tools used by man (Brothwell – Brothwell 1998, 58; Cleyet-Merle 1990, 20). Nonetheless, use of spear in fishing requires a good skill and knowledge of the technique (Riley 1999, 63; Powell 1996, 84; Theodoropoulou 2007a, 366). Although generally limited quantities of catch are to be expected, spearing can sometimes be quite productive, especially when combined with nets (Tsountas 1898-1899 on the annual catch of octopuses on the island of Antiparos; Powell 1996, 87; Theodoropoulou 2007a, 367).

Fishing with spear usually involves large coastal fish, octopus and cuttlefish, rays and sharks, even dolphins (Vickery 1936, 77; Bcker-Nielson 2004 citing Oppian; more ancient sources in Powell 1996, 87). Isolated cuttlefish and shark catches in Euboean sites, as indicated from retrieved bones, might have involved this method of fishing.

On the other hand, archaeologically actual tridents are rare to find. Isolated Bronze Age examples from Late Minoan Agios Onoufrios, Late Helladic Orchomenos, as well as an undated Bronze Age example from the waters of Cyprus are cited by Buchholz et al. (Buchholz et al. 1973, 171). However, a range of stone/bone/metal implements found in several occasions in Early Iron Age contexts might have been used as spear-points, as ethnographic record suggests (Oswalt 1976, 120). Iconographic record from this period is not very helpful as to this matter (Rose 1994, 138; Powell 1996, 89).

**Fishing with hook and line:**

The Homeric poems also mention the use of the hook and line, for instance, when Patroklos is driving the Trojans away from the ships (Il. XVI.406ff.):

"as when a man sits on a jutting rock and drags a sacred fish from the sea with line and glittering hook of bronze, so the bright spear dragged the Thestor"

or, when Menelaos is telling Telemachus of his voyage home (Od. IV.368ff.):

"(the companions of Menelaus) were always roaming round the isle fishing with bent hooks,..."

and, when the companions of Odysseus (Od. XII.330ff.):

"...went wandering with barbed hooks in quest of game, as needs they must, fishes and owls, ...

Athenaeus (i. 13B) claims that Homer not only is the oldest authority on angling but also, that his descriptions are more accurate and trustworthy than those of Caecilius, Oppian, or others who have treated fishing as their special topic (Radcliffe 1921, 64; Couch 1936). The reference to this method by Homer is no surprise to the reader. The hook and line is among the most popular methods of fishing from prehistoric times onwards, and can vary from very rudimentary to more elaborate forms and can be either passive or active (among others, see Radcliffe 1921, 9ff.; Gallant 1985, 14ff.; Powell 1996, 122ff.). From the Homeric descriptions, one can only assume the simple use of hand-held lines or rod from the shore, traditionally employed for fishing in limited depths (>50 fathoms). Yet, the use of fishing boats is archaeologically attested (for instance, Mazarakis Ainian 2002, Table 7). It can be argued that this method is generally less prolific, although this will be offset by the size of fish caught (Powell 1996, 123).

Textual information is, in this case, quite accurate as to the materials (bronze) and shapes (barbed) of the encountered tackle. Hooks can, of course, be made from various materials (see Theodoropoulou 2007a, 369 citing works of Cleyet-Merle 1990; Greenspan 1998; Choyke}

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9. According to Riley (Riley 1999, 63), "of 35 fish taxa reported in ancient sources for which the fishing method is described, 28 were caught using hook and line".
Stone, bone and metal hooks have been discovered in various instances in the Aegean area from the Neolithic period onwards. A catalogue of Bronze Age to Early Iron Age hook finds, similar in shape to the bent bronze hook described by Homer, has been included in the Buchholz et al. review (Buchholz et al. 1973, 170-175, fig. 55), as well as in J. Powell's book (Powell 1996, 139-158). In Early Iron Age Euboean contexts, Skala Oropou and Lefkandi-Xeropolis provided some typical examples of barbed hooks (Mazarakis Ainian 2001, Dr. Irene Lemos, personal communication). Their occasional presence can either mean a limited use of the hook-and-line method in these settlements, or that different areas were reserved to this kind of activity. Yet, this latter assumption is not supported by the general image of multi-functional buildings, as the study of the Oropos complex suggests (Mazarakis Ainian 2007).

An interesting and much-discussed detail in the use of hooks and line is found in the Iliad (II. XXIV.80ff.), in the description of Iris delivering a message from Zeus to Thetis:

"And she sped to the bottom of the sea like a weight of lead that, mounted on the horn of a field-ox, goes down bearing death to the raw and ravenous fish"

Similarly in the Odyssey (Od. XII.251ff.),

"As when a fisher on a jutting rock casts with a long rod his baits to the little fishes below, sinks into the deep the horn of a field ox"

Several explanations have been offered for this "ox-horn" device, ranging from a little pipe or a hollow piece of horn protecting the line passed through it from the fish biting, to an artificial bait or lure made of horn carved into a small fish (Radcliffe, 1921), or a carved ox horn hook (Riley, 1999, 64). It still remains unclear what is meant by this horn "mentioned naturally in each of these passages as a part of the fishing tackle which would be familiar to the Homeric audience, but is unfortunately unknown to us" (Couch 1936), as no relevant find has until now been recovered from an Aegean context (compare with finds from prehistoric Europe in Cleyet-Merle 1990).

Other parts of the hook-and-line method include floaters, sinkers, occasionally a fishing rod, and the line itself. Floaters, rods and lines are usually difficult to recover within an archaeological context, because of the organic materials used for their manufacture (Theodoropoulou 2007a, 370 and references). For instance, lines could be made of flax, mentioned by Homer, horse or goat hair, or lily leaves (Shewan 1927; Powell 1996, 133; Riley, 1999, 64). On the other hand, sinkers made from various materials might occur in excavations. Yet, the distinction between weights for weaving and those used for fishing is not always clear (see below).

Pictorial evidence for the hook-and-line method is also scarce and rather ambiguous, both in the Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age (for example, see Karageorghis 2006, fig. 86; for earlier examples, Powell 1996, 133ff.). Therefore, any effort to highlight the fishing method in question would primarily depend...
on comparison between the fishing artefacts and the actual fish remains found in an excavation. Catching fish with hook and line may vary in both species representation and numbers of catch, depending on the method, the form and size of the hook or lines (for instance, longline), as well as the bait used. In the same way, the type and biology of the aimed resource will determine the type of hook and line to be used: non-barbed hooks and stronger lines for pelagic fish\(^{11}\), barbed hooks for benthic coastal fish, like the ones described in Odyssey (see above) (for a description of different methods employed see Powell 1996, 127ff.; Theodoropoulou 2007a, 369ff.). To this day, the existing Early Iron Age archaeo-ichthyological record (see above), as well as any finds identified as hooks are rather limited to attempt any such overall approach of this fishing method.

**Fishing with nets:**

The most profitable method in terms of harvested quantities is net-fishing. The use of beach seine nets is attested thanks to a simile from Odyssey (Od. XXII.383ff.):

"But he found all sort of them fallen in their blood in the dust, like fishes that the fishermen have drawn forth in the meshes of the net into a hollow of the beach from out the grey sea, and all the fish, some longing for the salt waves, are heaped up on the sand, and the shining sun bakes their life away."

Other types of nets are mentioned by later textual sources (Gallant 1985, 17; Bekker-Nielsen 2004; Powell 1996, 102ff.). Some of these nets, such as cast nets, small dip nets and seine nets, require the active participation of fishermen, while others, such as set fill or trammel nets, are passive and rely on knowledge of fish behaviour and marine habitats. Some methods are employed by individuals, while others require cooperative effort.

Various fish can be captured with nets, ranging from small coastal shoal fish to open-water larger shoals, depending on the type of net, the mesh-size and the fibres used. For instance, small nets, such as cast nets, are designed to catch only small numbers of fish, whereas gill nets, trammel nets and seine nets have the potential for much larger catches. Yet, fish catch from these latter nets may be considerably lower if smaller nets are used or less resistant materials in the manufacture of the net are chosen.

Natural materials suitable for net twine include stalk and leaf fibres, namely flax, willow or lime bast and fibres from the leaves of flowers (Powell 1996, 102). Flax, in particular, is a common material used for fishing nets in the ancient world, as suggested by archaeological from Egypt (Egyptian Collections, British Museum, Catalog 1969, 23), as well as literary sources (Sarpedon urging Hektor to attack, Il. V.487ff.):

"Let not yourselves, as entangled in the mesh of all ensnaring flax net, be taken as war-spoil and plunder”

No such organic materials, either nets or any auxiliary tools, such as floats, have been found in the Aegean. Metal leads and weights from stone, pottery or metal are the only non-perishable parts of a net. Powell (Powell 1996, 108-121) provides an iconographic and archaeological record of relevant finds from Bronze Age Aegean. On the contrary, no such catalog exists for the Early Iron Age. Among S. Euboan sites, the Oropos complex offers a range of finds presumably related to net-fishing. The inscribed stone disc found on the threshold of building IA, has been interpreted as a weight for a fishing net (Mazarakis Ainian – Matthaiou

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11. This is the most usual form in Greek islands, according to Powell 1996, 127. Also cited by Oppian and other ancient authors for the fishing of larger species, such as tunny.
Additionally, an interesting assemblage of folded lead weights found in groups inside the central room of building Θ in Skala Oropou, might suggest the presence of one or more decomposed nets (cf. Powell 1996, 106, fig. 78).

**Fishing with various tools:**

No other auxiliary equipment is mentioned in the epos, although various rudimentary tools might have been used during that time, ranging from simple knives or stones to fishing baskets and traps. Only pointed or flat pieces of metal found in excavation might suggest such equipment. Yet, it still would be difficult to identify those as fishing gear.

**Fishermen:**

Unlike the above “invisible” fishing gear, the reader of the epos can, in some cases, actually visualise the person engaged in this activity (ἀλιέως), as well as the method of fishing (ἰχθύαω) used (Od. XII.251ff.).

"As when a fisher on a jutting rock casts with a long rod his baits to the little fishes below, sinks into the deep the horn of a field ox, and as he hauls them up writhing and throws them ashore, so were they (the companions of Odysseus) borne upward to the cliff”

The only relevant post-Bronze Age depictions relating fish to fishermen come from Cypro-geometric art (Karageorghis 2006, fig. 56, 86) and may bring to mind the Homeric passage. Relevant examples from the Aegean antedate the Early Iron Age (Powell 1992).

An interesting aspect deals with the status of fishermen themselves during this period. Neither Homeric poems nor relevant representations shed any light to this question. As Radcliffe (Radcliffe 1921, 64) notes: “While farmers occupy an acknowledged and –next to the chiefs and warriors– the highest position, no fisherman or trader is regarded as a representative unit of a body, politic or social […].” The scholar claims that the word ἀλιεύς generally describes a seaman or one connected with the sea and not merely a person professionally involved in fishing (Radcliffe 1921, 67). On the other hand, although “the Poet mentions the hardships of hunters in traversing forest and mountains, nowhere does he give any indication of sport in hunting or fishing […]]” (Radcliffe 1921, 72). As for the Homeric heroes, “the poet assumes a familiarity with fishing on the part of his heroes” in the Iliad, when a simile drawn from oyster-fishing is put into the mouth of Patroclus (see above, ll. XVI.476ff., Heath 2000); but they are actually portrayed fishing only in the Odyssey, when they are nothing more than simple seamen sailing back home. Nevertheless, the fishing episodes in the poems imply that the heroes either had fishing tackle with them or knew how to improvise it.

The presence of fishing tackle within well-defined archaeological structures may shed light to this problem. Early Iron Age finds relating fishing tools to the people who used them are scarce. An interesting in situ assemblage from the Oropos dwellings may provide some information. The impressive oval, apsidal dwelling Θ provides evidence for a number of different activities taking place simultaneously, such as eating and drinking, preparation of fishing nets (see above), sleeping and storage. This seems to be the case in other buildings from this site, as well as from other Early Iron Age Euboean settlements (Mazarakis Ainian 2007). If one accepts, on the basis of the archaeological evidence from this period, that each household had a significant degree of economic autonomy, it could be argued that fishing also occurred on a family-scale and probably involved one or two fishermen at a time. Net-weaving and mending might also have taken place...
place among members of both sexes within a household (for ethnographic parallels, see Theodoropoulou 2007a, 389-395). The somewhat wealthy status of people in the Oropos dwellings invites for a reconsideration of the "impoverished fishermen" model. On the other hand, in the light of present archaeological data, it is difficult to speak in favor of a distinctive professional and/or social group during this period (see also Radcliffe 1921, 67; Theodoropoulou 2007a, 356), as it is attested for later periods (for instance, Flacelière 1960, 170). As long as the exact role of fishing amongst subsistence strategies of these coastal communities is not yet quite clear, it seems wiser to suggest that fishing activities were practiced on an occasional or semi-professional level.

All the same, the question remains: if people went fishing and collecting and were equipped with fishing tools, as relevant archaeological and textual evidence suggest, in this case what did they do with their catch?

C. EVIDENCE OF CONSUMPTION OF AQUATIC RESOURCES

From Classical Antiquity through early 20th century scholars it is commonly accepted that, although Homer was familiar with fishing activities, fish was not consumed by Homeric heroes. According to Davidson (Davidson 1997, 11ff.) "various antique readers of Homer noted that fish were missing from the banquets of the Iliad and from much of the Odyssey [...]. It seems clear that for the Greeks of the classical period, fish were a regular and automatic feature of banquets and their absence in Homer would be therefore particularly striking."

Indeed, contrary to the relatively abundant references to fishing, consumption of fish and invertebrates is rarely mentioned. Fish is completely absent from Homeric description of celebrations and banquets in Homeric households, where guests were offered ἐδατὰ πολλὰ (many relishes), namely κρεῖων πίνακες παντοίων (platters of all kinds of meat)(Od. I.140-142). Fish is not even preferred by the poorest (Od. IV.80-81):

(Eumaeus apologizing to Odysseus)
"eat now, stranger, what servants have to eat: piglets, but the fat sows are eaten by the suitors"

The only passages referring to fish-eating show starving heroes in quest of whatever food they may find (Radcliffe 1921,69; Od. IV.368ff.):

"And now that food would have all been gone and men's strength with it, (the companions of Menelaus stranded on Pharos) were always roaming round the isle fishing with bent hooks, for hunger was gnawing at their belly"

(and XII.330ff.):
(The companions of Odysseus on the island of Helios)
"When all the provisions in the ship had given out, went wandering with barbed hooks in quest of game, and ranging after fishes and fowls, whatever might come to their hand, for hunger gnawed their belly"

The collection of molluscs is referred to only once, in the Iliad (XVI.745-748)(Patroklus jeers as Hector's slain driver pitches out of the chariot):

"If only he were somewhere on the sea, where the fish swarm, he could satisfy the hunger of many by diving for oysters"
Early commentators and modern scholars have noted this absence and have tended to relegate aquatic resources to a second rate, trivial foodstuff (το μικροπρεπές), only consumed by heroes in the direst of straits (Gallant 1985, 42; Heath 2000). Athenaeus (a.46) reproduces a question found in fourth-century Middle Comedy, expressed by poet Eubulus, among others: “Where has Homer ever spoken of any Achaean eating fish?” In Athenaeus (i. 26D) the explanation is given that the catching and cleaning of fish lacks dignity or elevation, hence is unsuited to the high characters of the Homeric epic. The same approach persists through early 20th century articles (Scott 1917; 1923; 1936; Radin 1922; Fraser 1923; Mireaux 1954), using words such as dislike, taboo, repugnant, little esteemed, to describe the abstinence from fish. They put forward ethnographic examples from Asia Minor and Arabia, where reigns the belief that “fish are unworthy of a warrior” (Scott 1936). In other articles, this abstinence relates with the fact that fish are sometimes depicted in morbid contexts eating human flesh and are connected to “ghastly human death” (Combellack’s 1953 “savage fish”; also Levine 2002-2003; cf. with LG krater from Pithekoussai, inv. 168813, depicting capsized ship and sailors drowning, some swallowed by fish; Ridgway 1988)15. Some scholars even relate this absence to Homer’s origin and personal taste16.

On the other hand, a descriptive passage from Od. XIX.111, in which Odysseus praises Penelope’s reputation as of a ‘blameless King’, may be of some importance:

“the black earth yields him with wheat and barley, his trees are heavy with fruit, his sheepflocks bring forth and fail not and the sea gives him store of fish”

Fish in this passage are equated with important staple food, such as cereals, fruit and domestic animal products. This pacific scene is in contrast to with the Iliad’s war context, from which fish is absent. In this case, the question might be dealt more in terms of low meat yield of aquatic resources compared to time/energy consumed, especially in period of war, as warriors had to hunt and prepare their food themselves. In this respect, it can be argued that fish/shellfish collection and preparation was not adequate during a war campaign, namely if we assume that fish were cooked in pots or smoked/salted to last a few days. It seems that the same restriction applies to other foodstuff, like eggs and birds, cakes or fruit, which are not part of the Homeric diet. In a similar approach, Plato in his Republic (4, 404c) explains this absence in terms of the appropriate diet for warrior athletes: “You know that when his heroes are campaigning he doesn’t give them fish to feast on, even though they are by the sea [...]. Instead he gives them only roasted meat, which is the kind most easily available to soldiers, for it’s easier nearly everywhere to use fire alone than to carry pots and pans […].” On the contrary, Homeric heroes are only seen in quest for seafood when in the status of simple seamen sailing back home and not merely in a heroic soldier context. Nevertheless, the answer is not straightforward, for, as a later commentator notes “not even the luxurious Phaeacians or the suitors are portrayed eating fish” (Heath 2000).

From an archaeozoological point of view, the few fish remains and the more important shell quantities recovered from Early Iron Age sites in Euboean gulf indicate that aquatic animals were indeed used for food. Practically all species are edible and some of them provide an important caloric input, especially when generous quantities are consumed, like in the case of murex, penshells, thorny oysters, scallops, venus, roughshells, arks, limpets. If one accepts the newly risen suggestions of metalworking
local elites inhabiting the Oropos dwellings, the Lefkandi-Xeropolis settlement as well as the area of the future Daphnephoreion in Eretria (Mazarakis Ainian 2006 and citations; see also his suggestions about Nichoria, cf. Reese 1992), it would be interesting to consider the role of marine resources in the diet of these distinguished groups of people.

The consumption of marine food accompanies the Euboean populations in their religious expressions as in the afterlife. Sea faunal remains have indeed been found in a ritual and funerary contexts, as examples from the Euboean area suggest: the rich burials of Toumba at Lefkandi (topshells and venus, Theodoropoulou forthcoming), the Oropos cremations and heroic cult related to structure XXXIV (cerithes, murex and penshells, Theodoropoulou 2007b; 2008) and, possibly the first expressions of the Eretrian sanctuary (murex and pen­shells, Theodoropoulou internal report). Other funerary examples from Greece include: LH IIIB-C cemetery from Perati (Iakovidis 1969-1970, 364-6), EIA cemetery at Torone (Papadopoulos 2005, 258), EIA burials at Knossos North Cemetery (Musgrave 1996), and EG to MG cist graves from Naxos (Lambrinoudakis 1988), which are thought to be burials of important persons.

D. OTHER USES

The latter comment leads to a range of other possible uses, which can only be suggested thanks to animal remains from excavations.

Ornaments:

The use of shells as raw materials is attested from the prehistoric times. According to Y. Taborin (Taborin 2004, 67), "la nature a mis à la disposition des hommes de véritables bijoux, les coquillages, une source accessible, toujours renouvelée, diversifiée et colorée d'espèces de dimensions et de formes multiples". Shell shape and structure provided ancient populations with a valuable raw material for the manufacture of ornaments and tools. Shell ornaments are common in the prehistoric Aegean (see, for instance, Karali 1999). Although there is no detailed study regarding the post-Bronze Age ornaments from the mainland and insular Aegean, Early Iron Age examples are not abundant. It might be that the trade of valuable and prestigious materials from the Levant, such as metals and ivory (Coldstream 1977, 71), has replaced the low-cost and easy to find shell in the ornament production.

Several shell ornaments, namely perforated cowries, tuskshells and cones, have been identified in Oropos and Lefkandi. Eretrian corpus provides some perforated Nassa nerita from the later Daphnephorian area as well as a number of rectangular, occasionally perforated plaques of penshell, either used as ornaments or inlays on cloths or furniture. The use of shells as elements of adornment is more present in funerary contexts, as the case of Lefkandi burials suggests (Theodoropoulou forthcoming). This cemetery provided important numbers of dog whelks, and various other holed small gastropods, namely Columbella rustica, Pisania striata and Conus mediterraneus. No shell ornaments have been recovered from the Oropos cremations, although shell remains are present. In fact, shells feature among the scarce and rather poor offerings from the burials of this period (Mazarakis Ainian 1996; Coldstream 1977, 30).

Tools-contenants:

The use of shells as tools or receptacles dates back to Palaeolithic (Karali 1999, 23; Theodoropoulou 2007a, 253ff.). Their use is either primary, in the sense that shells had been collected dead on the beach in order to be used, or secondary, meaning that some shells have been re-used, after their flesh have been consumed.

Examples from Oropos, Eretria and Lef-
kandi might reflect uses such as spoons, vases, spatulas and polishers. Namely, pen shells, limpets and worn spondylus valves are sometimes given a useable shape or provide a convenient shape for the above uses (cf. Prummel 2000). A single *Tonna galea* found in structure XXXVI in the Eastern Sector of Skala Oropou, related to the cenotaph XXXIV, could have served as ritual vase (Theodoropoulou 2007b, 2008).

The Geometric record from Greece offers a unique fragment of a scapula of a fin whale (*Balaenoptera physalus*), the second largest mammal to have inhabited the earth after the blue whale, that was discovered inside an Early Geometric well in the area of the later Athenian Agora. According to the authors (Papadopoulos – Ruscillo 2002), the piece probably “derived from the carcass of an immature beached animal, was brought to Athens and was probably used as a cutting surface, before being discarded ca. 850 B.C.” Although the exact function of the artefact within the Early Iron Age settlement of Athens was not directly revealed, analysis of the various cuttings, together with the wear on the bone, suggested a possible use as cutting surface, perhaps supported by legs, thus forming a small table of sorts, and conceivably used for leatherworking in this industrial district.

**Purple-dye production:**

An interesting question regards the possible use of the Muricidae family (purple) for purple-dye production. This activity is thought to have been introduced in the Aegean as early as in the late Middle Bronze Age (Reese 2000). The purple is also mentioned by Homer when describing the Carian and Meonian women who used ivory coloured purple (*Il. IV.141*). Purple shell remains from prehistoric Aegean have been found in different contexts throughout the Aegean (for instance, Reese 1987; Everly 1987; Ridout-Sharpe 1998; Becker 2001; Karali 2002; Veropoulidou *et al.* 2008). Iron Age purple-dye industry is also attested (Reese 2000). Murex remains are quite common and abundant in all three Early Iron Age Euboean sites. Both numbers of remains and recurrent traces and patters of fracturation from Lefkandi and Oropos indicate that purple-dying might have occurred on a limited scale. On the other hand, important quantities of murex from Geometric Eretria would rather be interpreted as food refuse, in the absence of characteristic fracturation of shells.

Although, this activity involves the exploitation of a significant number of molluscs as well as specialized structures (Moatsos 1932; Kardara 1947; Forbes 1964, 112-121; Ridout-Sharpe 1998; Karali 1999, 43-45; Ruscillo 2002), their association to other finds may provide a more solid hypothesis concerning purple-dye production. To cite a well-studied example from Oropos, the presence of a quite important concentration of murex in some buildings (houses) of the East artisan complex, associated with a relatively high number of loom weights (over 80), could possibly suggest a limited and certainly family restricted production of pigments (cf. Becker 2001; Veropoulidou *et al.* 2008). These remains become particularly interesting in light of relevant finds from the site, namely the substantial number of loom weights and spindle whorls that have been discovered inside several buildings (over 80 in building IA). According to Prof. A. Mazarakis Ainian and the author, the above finds may suggest that, in addition to spinning and weaving activities purple-dying in a limited scale might also have occurred in the site (Mazarakis Ainian 1998). The apparent dual role of buildings from Oropos, presumably as dwellings and workshops, supports the above suggestion.

Indeed, the presence of numerous loom weights found in the sites of Oropos, Lefkandi-Xeropolis and Viglatouri, as well as the proximity of Oropos and Eretria to running waters and wells may reinforce the idea of family-scale dying activities (Mazarakis Ainian 2002). Taking the idea one step further, if one considers this...
activity within a rising Early Iron Age economic system, in which a group of people could assure the continuation of metallurgical industry and the provisioning of metal goods and other prized objects (Mazarakis Ainian 2006), it has to be examined what the role of these time-consuming, thus highly esteemed purple-dyed garments would represent within such a network.

CONCLUSIONS

The question of fishing and exploitation of marine resources during the so called Dark Ages remains dark to this day. Various approaches have been presented in this paper, with the aim of providing an insight to these dark seas. The Homeric record offers some information. Yet, the riddle of fish and fishing still remains unsolved, like the one related to Homer's own death17. As to the historicity of this source, it is clear from the above discussion that it more raises new questions than answers to the old ones. In the same way, iconographic evidence might provide a better illustration of how people perceived the marine world, but it still does not add a more concrete knowledge to how these same people interacted with this environment. A more tangible insight to everyday relation to the sea can be achieved through the study of marine remains and fishing gear. The results of zooarchaeological studies provide a concrete view of everyday relation of people to the sea in Early Iron Age settlements.

It is still early to conclude on the exact role of fishing activities among Early Iron Age subsistence strategies of coastal communities. New fieldwork and zooarchaeological research should add this important aspect to the list of questions to examine. It is then by looking for the dark seas in the very same archaeological record, that the dark waters of research might become a little clearer to us.

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Fig. 1a. Marine creatures mentioned in the Homeric poems: a. oyster (δστρεον). b. cuttlefish (πολύσπους). c. fish (ιχθύς). d. eel (έγχελυς). e. dolphin (δελφίς) and f. seal (φώκαι) (Fischer et al. 1987).

Fig. 1b. Pictorial evidence of sea animals: a. The Pithekoussai “shipwreck” louterion (Ridgway 1988), and examples of fish representations: b. naturalistic. c. geometric. d. marine mammals (Buchholz et al. 1987, fig. 53).
Fig. 2. Map of the Aegean with sites mentioned in the text.

ANIMAL REMAINS RELATED TO SACRED AREAS ON THE CYCLADIC ISLANDS AMORGOS AND TENOS, DURING THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD: TWO DISTINCT EXAMPLES BEARING EVIDENCE OF SACRIFICIAL RITES AND BONE WORKING ACTIVITIES

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING AND BRIEF HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH (fig. 1)

A. Amorgos is the easternmost island of the Cyclades. It is a long island covering an area of 120 km² with rocky mountainous terrains and steep cliffs. The peak Krikelos rises to a height of 821 m.

Minoa, one of the three ancient towns of Amorgos (Aigiali, Minoa and Arkesine), is located in the middle of the island, above the main port of Katapola. The site was identified by L. Ross in 1837 and excavated by Deschamps (1888). Brief surveys were undertaken from 1974 to 1980 by Prof. Dr. L. Marangou. Systematic research is held since 1981, sponsored by the Archaeological Society at Athens and the University of Ioannina (Marangou 1981; 2002, 3-5, 105).

B. Tenos is located near the geographical center of the Cyclades island complex. It has a land area of approximately 194 km². The landscape is mountainous (the highest peak on the island is at 750 meters), but there is a fertile plain near (E)xobourgo.

The hill of Xobourgo at the centre of the southern part of the island is distinct overlooks important routes across the island; it provides sufficient water supply and it is clearly seen from the boat, when approaching the modern port. Systematic research at the site was first conducted in 1939 and 1949-1958 by Kontoleon. Present research began in 1993 by Prof. Dr. N. Kourou and is financially supported by the University of Athens (Kourou 2002).

THE ACROPOLIS OF MINOA AND THE BUILDING COMPLEX K: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE (figs. 2-3)

The acropolis of Minoa was naturally defensible and artificially fortified on the only accessible part of the eastern side (a wall 3.50 m high and 40 m long), which surrounded a large agglomeration (fig. 2).

On the summit of the acropolis, 255 m above the sea level, the edifice K (fig. 3) had been excavated by A. Blanas and A. Mazarakis Ainian, under the direction of Pr. L. Marangou. The investigated surface was ca. 100 m² (Marangou 1991).
Defined by the successive strata, the pottery contents and the masonry, the disposition of the chronological phases were: 1. Late/ Final Neolithic or Early Bronze Age. The material came from the natural cavities on the rock, in the main room, the oikos, and the space K/A2. There was a gap in ceramics typology between the Early Bronze Age and the Middle Geometric Period.

2. The first building phase (K with the inner wall and the retaining perivolos) dates to the second half of the 8th century BC. It was constructed at the same time as the fortification wall.

3. The second building phase spans the Late Geometric period (enlargement of edifice K – the construction of the room K3 and the outer retaining wall –) and the Early Archaic period (bench in the compartment K2).

4. During the Hellenistic period the building or a part of it has been repaired, as shown from the roof tiles on the main room (K1, the only roofed compartment). The building complex was in use up to the early 4th century AD (Marangou 1983; 1990a; 182-196, 1990b, 212-218; 1993, 257-265; 1994, 282-287; 2002, 254-262).

THE FUNCTION OF EDIFICE K (fig. 3):

A. The archaeological evidence

The material evidence, finds (pottery, metal votive offerings) and architectural remains leave no doubt as to the cult character of the building complex. The main features are:

1. The presence of benches: Offerings were deposited on and in front of the bench in the main room (K1), the prodomos (KA/1) and the room K2. Benches were not used for ritual meals or banquets.

2. The presence of numerous animal bones collected.

3. The presence of wood charcoal and ash which certified the remains of burnt sacrifices (pyres).

4. The variety of objects found in the pyres, outside the main room and the retaining wall (Marangou 1999, 9-26).

According to the interpretation of the excavator, the sanctuary was originally dedicated to a chthonic deity or a hero, may be hero Ktistes, the mythical homonymous founder of the acropolis of Minoa.

During the Archaic period (late 7th and 6th centuries) pottery evidence supports the Dionysiac connotation of the cult, but it is throughout the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods that there is reliable evidence for the Dionysiac nature of the cult. During the Imperial period the Alexandrian Triad (Sarapis, Osiris and Isis) has been celebrated (Marangou 2002, 254-259).

B. The archaeozoological evidence

1. Recovery: Until 1993, the total number of the bones collected from the interior and the exterior of the architectural complex was 6786 fragments (Tables 1a-c) and the number of invertebrate specimens (NISP), occurring in the sample, was 782 shells (Tables 3-5).

The method of quantifying the frequency of each bone and all the individual bones of each species, as well as the preservation, the sequences of taphonomic process (fragmentation, abrasion, heating) and the disturbance process (earth perturbation by terrestrial rodents and humans) was used both in every excavated room and in the defined stratigraphy (conventionally named as “strata I to IV”). A short version of this effort will be presented in this text.

2. Spatial distribution (Tables 1a-c): The main room (K1) yielded 462 bones (6.81% of the total assemblage), the vestibule (K/A1) 429 fragments, the space K/A2 produced 92 fragments, the adjacent rooms, K2 (where most of the finds were dated from the geometric period) and K3 gave 1382 (20.37%) and 7 fragments respectively. The trenches outside the perivolos (named as K/A3, K/A4, K/B2 and K/B1, according to excavation system) produced...
ANIMAL REMAINS RELATED TO SACRED AREAS ON AMORGOS AND TENOS

330, 3163 (46.61% of the assemblage), 59 and 10 fragments, each area separately.

We can, therefore, certify that the cult had an open air sacrificial character and that the great bulk of the remains were found outside the retaining wall. Besides, the quantification of shelled animals inside and outside the building (Table 3) proved that the accumulation is more important outside the building.

3. Chronological distribution (Tables 2, 5): The upper layers and some other earth zones (“stratum VI”) were clearly disturbed. They contained a limited amount of bones and sea shells, corresponding to 13.35% of the vertebrate remains and to the 27.5% of the total calcium carbonate exoskeletons found at the site.

The largest quantity of the animal bones was found in the successive pyres, named all together as “stratum V”. The whole accumulation of pyres consisted of 3844 fragments, which correspond in the 56.75% of the faunal assemblage. Pyres contained the material accumulated throughout the use of the sanctuary.

The second layer, full of bones, was detected between the floors and the rock. That last unit, called “stratum IV”, mainly dating to the Geometric period (Marangou 1990, 185), contained 1705 specimens, corresponding to the 25.27% of the remains.

“Stratum IV” represents the most important human accumulation in the shell debris (64.5% of the shelled organisms collected). The occurrence of shell fragments in the layer that contained the pyres is rather limited (7.9% of the whole assemblage).

4. General state of bones and shells (Tables 6a-f): Most of the bones were broken (53.47% of them were preserved in less than the 1/5 of their initial length). A small part of the most numerous species occurring, the caprinae assemblage, was totally burnt (2.91% up to 4.61%, depending on the period, with the exception of the core of the pyres), 0.55% of those bones bore butchery marks and 0.60% had traces of gnawing.

Shells were eroded but the fire has not seriously altered the assemblage.

5. Species proportions (Tables 1a-c, 2-5, 6a-f): Due to the very high fragmentation, it was essential to calculate each animal contribution to the creation of the deposit by using different statistical formulae. Neither the quantification of the specimens, the Number of Anatomical Units nor the Minimum Number of Sacrificed Individuals gave a satisfactory approach. Nevertheless, by examining the material from the interior and exterior of the building, at all the strata, we can attest that the goats were the most sacrificed and consumed animals. It is not a coincidence, however, that the caprinesub-family realise ca 70-84% of the collected material at the Early Bronze Age Markiani and Skarkos (Trantalidou 2006, 228). The bones simply reflected the biotope on Amorgos and Ios. Worshippers offered the animals they possessed or those they could easily found.

In all excavations units of the area of the sanctuary, goats make up half of the material. In fact, if we consider that the morphological distinction between sheep and goat in small pieces is unattainable, we realise that goat make up the 94% of the fragments with cattle (1.90%), pig (1.12%), sheep (0.74%) and hare (0.90%) accounting for the most of the reminder (fig. 4). There were also a few bird (e.g. order Galliformes, example: family Phasianidae: Alectoris graeca- patridge) and fish specimens (e.g. Scarus cretensis). One left distal dog femur and some bones of intrusive rodents were also incorporated in the faunal assemblage.

According to the quantifications methods, the bones correspond to, at least, 14 goats and sheep. Yet, if we calculate the horn cores, the most offered or better preserved bones, and we distinguish the right and the left horn cores, we can arrive at the point that there were at, least, 86 animals slaughtered.

If we use the same method, the Minimum Number of Individuals Offered, we have 5 hares, one cattle, one pig, some bird and fish. Those considerations are only indicative of the relative frequency of the animals present in the sanctuary. The topology of the sanctuary, the centuries
that it was in use and, above all, the morphology of the bones plead for the consumption of many more animals.

Taxonomic richness in the mollusc assemblage is attested by the presence of 12 families of marine animals and one family of terrestrial snail (Helicidae: 16.9%). Relative frequencies of the shellfish testify that the Patellidae family (65.6% of the whole amount; two different species) and the majority of the aquatic gastropod fauna, are species habituated to rocky beaches (fig. 5).

Patella coerulea and Patella lusitanica formed the 87.10% of the invertebrate faunal material from Markiani (Karali-Giannakopoulou 2006, 242-244).

According to Tsountas (Tsountas 1898, 192, 199-201) the same bio-archaeological remains were found in graves on Amorgos and other Cycladic islands; at the same article he described the artefact (probably bronze chisel) used to detach limpets from the rocks or to open the cockles. Besides he exposed the whole fishing activities based on the fish and molluscs species uncovered, the implements discovered during his excavations, incorporating remarks of the every day life (ethnology) of his time. He also explained the absence of species due to the specific island taphonomic conditions.

6. Skeletal frequency (Tables 6a-f, 7a-g, 8): In terms of anatomical presentation, the remains of goat, sheep and pig included all parts of the carcass. Horn cores are the most numerous element occurring. After the killing and the skinning, the frontal part of the skull bearing the horns was discarded and offered to the gods. That act is relevant of a different kind of deposit than the “thysia”.

The presence of head and foot bones of all animals suggests butchering at the site, with the possibility, only for the bovid, that the meat was distributed for consumption elsewhere (pre-depositional human behaviour). This is true for the filling of all the layers (one by one and all together).

7. General comments: 7.1. 56.71% of the faunal material was found (remains could have been swept or thrown) outside the perivolos. 20% of the assemblage was recovered in K2, indicating the compartment where most sacrifices took place.

7.2. The bone preservation is poor.

7.2a. Specimens in pyres (“XIX” concentrations of charcoal, bones, ashes and offerings) were burnt at various temperatures, mainly at 300-350 °C. Only goat and sheep bones were carbonized (from 0-3% in the different layers to 55-77% in pyres). Sometimes they were totally calcinated (for the degree of heating and the calcinations in sanctuaries, see Trantalidou, in press). It seems that, mostly, the head and the vertebrae, parts of the animal with very little meat around them, as well as the femur were burnt for the gods (Tables 8, I-XIX). On the monumental altar dedicated to Aphrodite Ourania (built at the end of 6th, repaired at the end of 5th century BC) at the Athenian Agora, the majority of burnt fragments come from the caudal vertebrae and thigh bones of sheep and goats. Unburnt shells fish and bird bones, probably chicken, were also found (Reese 1989, 63-70).

Cult practice was not uniform throughout Southern Greece, but in literary testimonies such as Homer, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Pherocrates or Euboulos, gods received mainly femora, often just bare bones, osphos and splanchna (van Straten 1995, 118-144).

7.2b. Some of the bones in the mixed but also in the lowest undisturbed levels bear pit-like fractures providing, again, the information that bones remained unburied for at least sometime. The cancellous ends of long bones are the first to be gnawed by dogs.

7.3. Relative frequencies of specimens permit synchronic and diachronic exploration of cultural differences and/ or environmental fluctuations.

7.3a. At the sanctuary, in all layers goats and sheep totalize more or less 95% of the fragments. The percentage is quite the same (81.5%) in the Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros on Euboea (8th c. BC) but the sample was very...
small (740 bones) to allow any serious comparison (Chenal-Velabre 2001; Trantalidou 2007). Moreover the material published from Greek sanctuaries comes from altars that were used mainly from the Classical period onwards.

7.3b. At “stratum IV” (Table 7a-g), goats (using the Minimum Number of Individuals) could be up to 12 times more numerous than sheep. At “stratum V”, which contained the pyres and some other material, the analogy is 6:1. It also seems that in the “XIX” pyres (Table 8, I-XIX, 10) at least 12 goats and 3 sheep (4:1) were sacrificed.

7.3c. It is impossible to estimate the initial number of animals that were sacrificed, the number of the events, the number of participants or persons the quantity of meat was destined for. However, from the analysis of the “XIX” pyres (Table 8, I-XIX, 10) a constant characteristic appear. There were either parts of one caprine burnt, or one kid or parts of another victim (a piglet or a calf). Sometimes smaller animals (a hare, a bird, snails or marine gastropods (Patella, Monodonta) completed the meal. Usually, the head, the hindquarter and the forequarter were recovered. However, only pyre 1/85 could suggest a “thysia” as it is reported on the classical literature.

In Greece, at the end of the XIXth- beginning of XXth centuries, on the occasion of life events, such as the name day of a Saint, when praying to prevent the evil (sickness, drought), or to express a wish, birds were offered by poor people and mammals by wealthier persons (Aikaterinidis 1979). In antiquity, worshippers offered consumable goods, such as domestic animals and cereals, frequently accompanied by votive offerings of a durable material, sometimes less expensive than the real animal. Perhaps, the presence of molluscs, hares and birds could indicate meals between persons of different social strata.

At Minoa, considering that the sanctuary was in use for more than a millennium, that in Classical Greece the meat was distributed mainly in festivities, that each person required 2500 kcal a day for his subsistence and that the hypothetical calculation of meat consumed is less than 2 tons (Table 10), we can estimate that either a small community attend the place or, more probable, that people had access in limited animal protein sources.

7.3d. During the Geometric period the procurement of shellfish was systematic.

7.4. The age at death (Table 9) of the goats assessed from features such as the fusion between limb shafts and their epiphyses was less than 2 years (livestock that usually is less expensive: van Straten 1995, 176-178). In layers “IV and III” very few individuals were brought at death at the age of 3 years old. The study of teeth attrition confirms those data. Cattle and pigs seem also to have met the death very young.

In recent years (736 references relating between the years 1859 and 1977), when bloody sacrifices were realized in Greece very young animals (sheep, goats, pig, cattle or chicken/turkey/duck) were offered to the Saint, mediatory between people in need and God (Aikaterinidis 1979).

7.5. At the sanctuary K, more male goats than females seem to have been offered. However, handling the bones of goat and sheep together, it seems than female and male animals were equally butchered.

In recent years, male and female animals were equally slaughtered but the choice of the sex of the animal depends on the event. Based on the data given by Aikaterinidis (Aikaterinidis 1979) and if our calculations are right, 40% male, 4% castrated, 48% female, 2% of unknown sex animals were offered. Usually, black haired or woolly animals were preferred.

It is however premature to try to discern any ritual change, reflecting the socio-religious change, through the centuries. There is still osteological material that is not studied and the chronological definition of the pyres, in case they belonged to a single period, is not yet through-out finished. The present attempt is just the canvas for a further discussion.
THE ARCHAIC WALL AA AND THE PYRE PITS AT XOBOURGO (fig. 6)

A. The archaeological evidence

At the terraces down the hill slopes, a part of an ancient town, surrounded by a wall of 2.50 m width, was discovered. The construction of that Cyclopean wall (A) should be placed between the Late Bronze Age and the Protogeometric period, thus during the 12th century or later. When the settlement expanded, in the middle of the 6th century, another defensive wall (AA) was erected at the same place (terrace AA), protecting the south and west part of the hill (fig. 4: Kourou 2001a, 2001b, 2002).

A cluster of 32 cremation grave pyres dating to the Geometric period was found in front of the Cyclopean wall and mostly under the foundations of the Archaic wall AA. In the Archaic period most of the pyre pits were dismantled during the opening of the trench for the foundations of the fortifications. Several pyre pits remain unexcavated underneath the fortification wall. Others have been partially recovered. Very few have been found undisturbed.

The pyres pits, whose maximal dimensions are 0.40-1.10m in width and 0.50m in depth are more or less rounded and cut into the bedrock. They extend over an area of c. 150 m².

The function of the pits: The excavated pits served varying purposes. Some of the large grave pits (e.g. Π1, Π2, Π3) were apparently cremation graves in which burnt human bones were recovered, a pit (Π11) included a triple burial, two pyre-pits (Π4-Π5) were jointed by a wide channel. Some other pits were serving post-funeral burial rites as they contained ash, sherds, burnt bones and pebbles in alternative layers. Pyre pit 14 was related to cult practice for the dead, because it contained pure sand.

The pyre pits were often marked with piles of stones, which created a kind of small cairn or tumulus above it. Boulders, which had fallen from the cyclopean wall, were also used as tombs markers (Kourou 2002, 258-261).

The use of this terrace as a burial ground extends from the 10th to the early 7th century.

According to the excavator the following features suggest cult evidence: 1. A large eschara, full of ashes, partially buried under wall AA, was discovered east of the pyres. The construction was very similar to the eschara of a sacred building the “Thesmophorion”.

2. A large ash deposit, having superimposed pyre layers, was found east of the eschara. The ash deposit contained burnt bones. It can be considered as an open air funeral or sacrificial pyre that served the burial ground prior to the construction of the Archaic wall (Kourou 2002, 262).

B. The archaeozoological evidence

1. Recovery and species proportion. The excavations at the terrace yielded 1713 bone fragments (Table 11), found in the pyre pits, in the eschara, the rectangular wall enclosure which surrounded the pits and the area in between the several constructions (retaining walls: perivoloi) of the terrace (fig. 6).

In total, the sub-family of the caprinae formed the 70.75%, cattle fragments represent the 14.52%, pigs the 11.99% and deer the 1.99% of the faunal sample studied so far. Dog and intrusive animals were also present. Goat bones seem to be more prevalent than sheep (fig. 7). Until now, no human bone was recognized in the assemblage.

2. Spatial distribution. The number of bones found in pits, pyres and amounts of charcoal represent the 10.15% of the total number of specimens (Tables 11, 12, the content of pits 35, 36, 36a, 36b, 37, 39, 39a, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48 was also examined). The contents of the particular structures, the 7 perivoloi, of terrace Α, independently of the surface they enclosed, they provided more or less similar quantities of bones and the same species debris. Only inside the perivolos 7, the quantity of bones seem to realize 33.00% of the total assemblage. Howev-
ANIMAL REMAINS RELATED TO SACRED AREAS ON AMORGOS AND TENOS

er, the results are provisory, since the work is still going on.

3. Skeletal frequency. There were not intact bones apart some teeth. On terrace Δ, all parts of the main edible domestic animals were more or less present. A single tibia shaft of a dog was found in the area bounded between the walls XLII, XXXV and the Archaic fortification wall. Reptiles were represented by turtles. During the winter season, turtles could have hibernated by digging into the soil and a number of them could have died.

The interesting phenomenon is the occurrence of deer. Red deer is one of the most common wild animal found in temperate Europe, but Cyclades do not provide any ideal habitat for it. There are no remains of the whole animal. In fact, mainly the proximal and distal parts of metacarpus and metatarsus sawn and smoothed, bearing transverse regular cut, could be identified (fig. 8).

Discarded articular ends of cattle and caprine long-bones with or rarely without epiphysis, as well as cut off fragments of solid bone tissue, were also determined. That group comprises 102 (5.95% of the debris) such fragments, quite all uncovered in trenches 18, under the layer of pyre, or underneath the "old dry wall", the trenches 19 and Ω7. There were 54 metacarpoi (fig. 9) and 11 metatarsii of cattle, 14 metacarpoi and 10 metatarsii of deer (figs. 8), 3 metacarpoi of sheep, 1 metacarpus of goat as well as 3 tibiae of red deer and 1 tibia of cattle.

Some other pieces were clearly long bone fragments refuse having marks of drilling inside the medullar cavity of the bone shaft (fig. 10). They were abandoned in the course of production because of breakage. The common implement used was probably a bow drill as it is attested from ethnological examples (on bone tools of the Mackenzie Inuit: Lemoine 1997, 27-28) and the iconography (a red-figured hydria at Boston Museum, n° 13200 and a seal at the British Museum).

4. General state of the bones. 15 bones (0.8%) bear carnivore gnawing marks annotating that the area was open and the derived material was left unburied. 125 pieces (7.29% of the assemblage) have cut and hack marks (at all stages of carcass preparation: skinning, disjointing procedures and filleting) showing probably that the whole manipulation of the animal took place on the terrace or the adjacent area. 42 fragments (2.45%) exhibited evidence of burning. In some cases the heat has been sufficient to calcite the bone.

5. General comments. 5.1. Presented as a structure by structure analysis the results of the examination throw little light on the general picture of the economy of the Geometric town. Perivoloi 1, 2, 5 and 7 seem to contain the remains of 1 sheep, 1 goat, 1 pig and 1 bovid each; perivolos 3 provided the bones of 1 sheep, 1 goat, 2 pigs, 2 cattle and lastly perivolos 3 comprised the fragments of 1 sheep, 1 cattle, 2 goats and two pigs. The age determination from the epiphyseal fusion (Table 13) provided the information that animals were rather killed at a young adult age. Certainly sheep, goats and pigs were sometimes killed earlier.

5.2a. Deer and even some cattle bones seem to have been introduced in the area on purpose. There was a deliberate selection of long bones for certain purposes and a distinct recognizable bone breakage. During the pre-industrial period, every midden was a potential source of raw material, besides butchers and slaughterers could have reserved specific bones but in the case of Xobourgo suitable material could have been provided also by trade. The Minimum Number of Individuals that could have been used for the on site manufacture is 14 and 27 animals respectively, but the morphological examination assure us that they were much more.

5.2b. The fact that the mechanical properties of bone may be adversely defected by prolonged heating would rule out the use of cooked bones. That is one of the reasons that a relatively small percentage of bones were burnt.

5.3. There were not finished products. Metapodia and tibiae were industrial waste. Metapodia, which have little meat on them and
minor nutritional value, provide ideal raw material for cylindrical handles into which a pointed tang could be fitted, handles for knives, hinges that were attached alternately to the door and to the framework of the box or cupboard, textile equipment (needles), points, cheese scoop, pins associated with clothing or hair pins etc (handle from tomb 292 at Knossos, 850-600 BC: Evely 1996; furniture and music instruments from Delos, during the 2nd c. BC - 2nd c. AD: Bovon 1970; bone furniture joints from Corinth during the Hellenistic and Imperial period: Davidson 1952; bone pierced cylinders, part of a box hinge in a Flavian period context: Sackett 1992; material related to medieval period: Mc Gregor 1985, 166, 168, 181). Tibia, especially deer tibiae, could also be used for the production of auloi (personal remarks in the Volos, Thessaloniki, Brauron Archaeological Museums; auloi from the Corycien cave could be from the same material (Bélis 1984).

5.4. We may assume that the area had multifunctional use through the ages.

5.4a. The mounts of bones seem to be refuse deposits, perhaps from funeral meals.

5.4b. Five knucklebones were smoothed. Modified astragal is a common feature of all sacred places in Eastern Mediterranean region (Trantalidou – Kavoura 2008). In addition, they are frequently found in graves. The most common uses were as gaming pieces or in astragalo-mancy (Trantalidou Kavoura 2008).

5.4c. On the other hand the concentration of manufacturing waste allows the hypothesis that the area –perhaps a nearby terrace– could also have served as an organised workshop. Seasonal factors such as warm weather or rituals parameters would have encourage outside carcass manipulation and handicap. The quantities of fine sand could also be used together with a piece of leather to smooth and polish the surfaces.

That report is again preliminary. Who were those bone workers? Did they work in other materials too? Were they sedentary or itinerant? Terrace Δ was a specific area of Xobourgo settlement? etc. are questions which could only be answered, when the colleagues working on the project will finish the study of the rest of the archaeological material so that we will be able to proceed in intra-site observations and wider comparisons.

Meanwhile, two things are certain: 1. The domestic animal (living with the man, being dependent on him) was considered the mediator between human beings and the god. That was the meaning of the sacrificial act, not accepted in the Judaic tradition and Christian religion. 2. For humans, everything can be used from the animal and everything is good (Delort 1984).

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ANIMAL REMAINS RELATED TO SACRED AREAS ON AMORGOS AND TENOS


Tsountas, Chr., 1898. Κυκλαδικά I, AE 37, 137-211.
Fig. 1. Map of the Cyclades, showing the most important fortified settlements (after Kourou 2001b, 37).

Fig. 2. Minoa on Amorgos. General plan of the Akropolis (after Marangou 2002, pl. 246).
Fig. 3. Plan of the building complex K, which was constructed in the 8th century BC on the summit of the acropolis (Marangou 1990a, 183).
Fig. 4. Sanctuary K. Histogram of the main vertebrate species.

Fig. 5. Sanctuary K. Histogram of mollusks consumed by pilgrims during ritual occasions or offered to the deities.
Fig. 6. Xobourgo on Tenos. Wall AA and pyre pits (after Kourou 2002, fig.3).

The use of this terrace as a burial ground spans a large period from the 10th to the early 7th century.
ANIMAL REMAINS RELATED TO SACRED AREAS ON AMORGOS AND TENOS

Fig. 7. Tenos, Xobourgo. Terrace Δ. Horn core of Goats. Marks from a large instrument are to be seen at the lateral borders of the horn core bases (Photo by A. Iliakopoulos, Ephorate for Palaeoanthropology-Speleology of S. Greece).

Fig. 8. Tenos, Xobourgo. Terrace Δ. Deer metatarsi, proximal part. It seems that the ends (proximal extremities) were systematically separated from the shafts. The use of a handsaw cannot be excluded (Photo by A. Iliakopoulos, Ephorate for Palaeoanthropology-Speleology of S. Greece).
Fig. 9. Tenos, Xobourgo. Terrace Δ. Distal extremities of cattle metatarsi with transverse, regular breakage pattern on compact bone surfaces (Photo by A. Iliakopoulos, Ephorate for Palaeoanthropology-Speleology of S. Greece).

Fig. 10. Xobourgo. Long bone discarded material bearing traces of drilling. The workshop waste is 5% of the total faunal assemblage found on the terrace. Photo by A. Iliakopoulos, Ephorate for Palaeoanthropology-Speleology of S. Greece.
### Table 1a-c: Minoa on Amorgos. Building K. 8th century BC - early 4th century AD. Spatial distribution and Relative Abundance of the Identifiable Bone Fragments and Indeterminate Long Bone Fragments in their archaeological context (inside and outside the sanctuary). Quantification of the taxa is based on the number of fragments (NISP: Number of Identified Specimens; TNF: Total Number of Fragments).

<table>
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Total 462 6.81 429 6.32 92 1.36 329 4.86 3163 46.61 620 9.14 718 10.55

Total 150 2.21 475 7.01 28 0.59 9 0.18 4 0.04 4 0.04 10 0.15

Total 60 0.87 32 0.47 34 0.5 21 0.32 132 1.95 6772 100
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Table 2: Minoa on Amorgos. Building K, area inside and outside the building. Stratigraphical distribution of the identified bones (NISP) and the non-identified Long Bone Fragments and Ribs: Total Number of Fragments (TNF).

The stratigraphy, based mainly on the relevant material inside the building (Prakt 1985), was:
- **Stratum I**: Present surface, top-soil.
- **Stratum II**: Deposit in between the present surface and the floors (e.g. at K1: 0.10-0.26m).
- **Stratum III**: Context on and inside the floors (at K1: 0.22-0.30m). That corresponds in the latest use of the building, the Hellenistic and Imperial period.
- **Stratum IV**: Lower layer, in between the floors and the natural bedrock level fill with fallen stones (at K1: 0.26-0.72m; at K/A2: 1.50-1.90m). Stratum IVb, red soil (at K1: 0.46-0.72m, otherwise less than 0.05m in depth). It had very few bones.
- **Stratum V**: Layer where pyres have been recovered (at K1: 1.15-1.28m). Bones modified by the flames occurred in other layers, too.
- **Stratum VI - unit VI**: Disturbed filling: between the excavation trenches and from the cleaning of trenches. In fact, layer I and VI could be both regarded as mixed.
## Table 3: Minoan Building K, area inside and outside the building. Spatial distribution of marine molluscs and land snails (NISP: Number of Identified Invertebrate Specimens).

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**Total**: 80, 82, 82, 10.6, 25, 3.8, 36, 4.7, 93, 13.0, 196, 25.7, 8, 1.0, 74, 10.0, 62, 8.3, 40, 5.2, 11, 1.4, 7, 0.9, 1, 0.1, 4, 0.5, 11, 2.2, 6, 0.8, 1, 0.2, 0, 0.1, 10, 13770, 100
### Table 4: Minoa on Amorgos. Distribution of shelled animals. They could have been food debris or votive material such as in the case of the Syme Sanctuary in Crete (Lebesi – Reese 1986).

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### Table 5: Minoa on Amorgos. Building K. Stratigraphical distribution of marine molluscs and land snails.

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**ANIMAL REMAINS RELATED TO SACRED AREAS ON AMORGOS AND TENOS**

Table showing the counts of various anatomical elements from different parts of an animal, categorized by preservation, sex, and human-modification markers such as burned, cut marks, and gnawed. The table includes columns for weathering and MNI (Minimum Number of Individuals).
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## ANIMAL REMAINS RELATED TO SACRED AREAS ON AMORGOS AND TENOS

### Table 1: ANATOMICAL ELEMENTS AND MODIFICATION DUE TO HUMAN ACTIVITIES

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<th>BONE PRESERVATION</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>SHAPE</th>
<th>MODIFICATION DUE TO HUMAN ACTIVITIES</th>
<th>GNAWED</th>
<th>WEATHERING</th>
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<td>F</td>
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**Table Cont.**

- **C. CAPRA HIRCUS**
  - Horn core
    - NISP: 3173
    - NISP: 70 63 3040 2905 233 5 22 4 4 17 14 39 6 3 6
    - Burned 1 1 1 1
    - Cut Marks 1 1
    - Chop Marks
    - Weathering
    - MNI 2 [70]
  - Skull & Horn core
    - NISP: 5
    - NISP: 4 1 5 5 1
    - Burned 1
    - Cut Marks
    - Chop Marks
    - Weathering
    - MNI [4]
  - Skull
    - NISP: 5
    - NISP: 4 1 5 5 1
    - Burned 1
    - Cut Marks
    - Chop Marks
    - Weathering
    - MNI
  - Mandible
    - NISP: 2
    - NISP: 2 2
    - Burned 1
    - Cut Marks
    - Chop Marks
    - Weathering
    - MNI
  - Lower dentition
    - NISP: 1
    - NISP: 1 1
    - Burned
    - Cut Marks
    - Chop Marks
    - Weathering
    - MNI
  - Scapula
    - NISP: 1
    - NISP: 1 1
    - Burned
    - Cut Marks
    - Chop Marks
    - Weathering
    - MNI
  - Scapula, p
    - NISP: 1
    - NISP: 1 1
    - Burned
    - Cut Marks
    - Chop Marks
    - Weathering
    - MNI
  - Radius, p
    - NISP: 1
    - NISP: 1 1
    - Burned
    - Cut Marks
    - Chop Marks
    - Weathering
    - MNI
  - Metacarpus, p,d
    - NISP: 1
    - NISP: 1 1
    - Burned 1
    - Cut Marks
    - Chop Marks
    - Weathering
    - MNI
  - Metacarpus, p
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    - NISP: 2 2
    - Burned 1
    - Cut Marks
    - Chop Marks
    - Weathering
    - MNI
  - Metacarpus, d
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    - NISP: 2 2 2 1
    - Burned 1
    - Cut Marks
    - Chop Marks
    - Weathering
    - MNI
  - Femur, p
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    - MNI
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**D. SUIDAE**

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Table 6a: Minoa on Amorgos. Building K, 8th century BC - early 4th century AD. Frequency of different bones and species. The quantification of the body parts and the modifications were recorded by using a numerical analysis of bone preservation (the shaft of a limb bone was divided into visually estimated fifth parts). The different stages in the butchering and utilisation of the carcass, as well as the canid or the rodent gnawing (CGN, RGN) damage were recorded. Estimation of MNI (that is the judgement on the smallest number of individuals which is necessary to account for all of the skeletal elements of each particular species, based on the most abundant element represented), is also given. Certainly, if we trust part of the skeleton such as goat or sheep horn cores, the MNI could be 70 and 9 respectively. Finally, weathering is one of several natural processes by which nutrients are recycled.
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<th>MNI</th>
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I. Pyre 1/85, K2. Quite everything was burnt.

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| Total              | 1    | -    | -    | 1     | -   | -   | -   | 1   | -   |

| MOLLUSCA           |      |      |      |       |     |     |     |     |     |
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ANIMAL REMAINS RELATED TO SACRED AREAS ON AMORGOS AND TENOS

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**CAPRINAE**

- Horn core
- Skull
- Upper dentition
- Vr. Fragments
- Ribs
- Femur, p
- Patella
- Metapodium
- L.B.FR

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**OVIS ARIES**

- Horn core
- Skull & Horn core

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**SUIDAE**

- Skull
- Patella

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**LEPORIDAE**

- Maxilla
- Mandible
- Humerus, p
- Radius, s
- Metacarpus, d
- Femur, p

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XI. Pyre 3/90, K/A4.
### ANIMAL REMAINS RELATED TO SACRED AREAS ON AMORGOS AND TENOS

#### ANATOMICAL ELEMENT NISP SIDE BONE PRESERVATION MODIFICATION MNI

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#### XII. Pyre 5/90, K/A4.

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#### XIV. Pyre 5b/90
### XV. Pyre. Depth: 0.71-0.75m

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### XVI. K/A2. Stones heat in the fire. Depth: 0.77m

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Institutional Repository - Library & Information Centre - University of Thessaly
30/04/2021 13:35:52 EEST - 54.70.40.11
### XVII. Pyre. Depth: 1.50-1.60m

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### XVIII. K2.1985. Pyre on the schist ground.

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Table 8, I-XIX: Minoa on Amorgos. Building K. Lenses where concentration of charcoal and other materials were uncovered. Specimens represented (NISP and MNI), taxonomic identification and modifications, such as burning, weathering and cut marks were recorded in the assemblages. It seems that only some parts of the animal were burnt for the deities.
**ANATOMICAL ELEMENT** | **Age in months** | **BUILDING K - Strata**
--- | --- | ---
| | **Stratum I** | **Stratum II** | **Stratum III** | **Stratum IV** | **Stratum V** | **Unfused** | **Fused** | **Unfused** | **Fused** | **Unfused** | **Fused** | **Unfused** | **Fused** | **Unfused** | **Fused** |
| **CAPRINAE** | | | | | | |
| Radius, p; Humerus, d | 3-6m. | - | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | - |
| Scapula; Pelvis; Phalanx II, p | 5-8m. | - | 1 | - | - | - | 8 | 1 | - | 1 |
| Phalanx I, p | 7-10m. | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 2 | 1 | - |
| Tibia, d | 12-18m. | - | 3 | - | - | - | 1 | - | 3 | - |
| Metatarsus, d | 16-18m. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Femur, d | 18-26m. | - | - | - | - | - | 11 | 2 | 34 | 1 |
| Femur, p; Tibia, p | 20-26m. | - | 1 | - | 2 | - | 6 | 1 | 7 | 4 |
| Ulna, p | 25-35m. | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | 2 | 1 | 1 | - |
| Ulna, d | 26-32m. | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Radius, d | 28-30m. | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Calcaneum | 36m. | 2 | - | - | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | - |
| Vertebræ | 48-60m. | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | 4 | - | 10 | - |
| **OVIS ARIES** | | | | | | |
| Humerus, d | 3-6m. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Scapula; Phalanx II, p | 5-8m. | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Phalanx I, p | 7-10m. | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | 1 | - |
| Tibia, d | 12-18m. | - | - | 1 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Femur, p | 20-26m. | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Calcaneum | 36m. | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| **CAPRA HIRCUS** | | | | | | |
| Radius, p | 3-6m. | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Scapula; Phalanx II, p | 5-8m. | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | 1 | 2 | - | 5 |
| Phalanx I, p | 7-10m. | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | 8 | - | 6 |
| Tibia, d | 12-18m. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Metacarpus, d; Metatarsus, d | 16-18m. | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Femur, d | 18-26m. | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Femur, p | 20-26m. | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Calcaneum, p | 36m. | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **SUIDAE** | | | | | | |
| Scapula; Humerus, d; Phalanx II, p; Phalanx I, p | 12-13m. | - | 1 | - | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Fibula, d | 42m. | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| **BOVIDAE** | | | | | | |
| Scapula | 7-10m. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Phalanx II, p | 15-20m. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Phalanx I, p | 20-24m. | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Femur, p | 36m. | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| Vertebræ | 54-60m. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| **CANIDAE** | | | | | | |
| Femur, d | 18-26m. | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |

Table 9. Minoa on Amorgos. Building K. Estimation of the ages at death deduced from the fusion between limb shafts and their epiphyses after Barone, R. *Anatomie Comparée des mammifères domestiques.* tome I. Ostéologie, Vigot Frères Paris 1976. Age is been estimated by comparison with information on these features in modern populations, though differences in geography or nutrition are hard to allow for: Renfrew, C. - Bahn, P., *Archaeology, Theories, Methods and Practice*, London 1991, 252.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF PYRES</th>
<th>ANIMAL REMAINS INCLUDED IN THE RESIDUES OF ASHES, CHARCOAL AND ARTEFACTS</th>
<th>% among pyres</th>
<th>Mean Live Weight (KG)</th>
<th>Mean Available Meat (KG)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>Bovid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Minoa on Amorgos. Animal distribution in the XIX recorded pyres. Calculation on the available meat, after the killing of the victim and the roasting of some pieces on the carefully arranged firewood. Animal bones found around pyres are not taken into account. Yet, if our calculations are correct, there were 28 more goats and 3 more sheep in the layers of pyres inside and outside the building. A second major issue of controversy is that bones of swine, cattle and hare were quite not represented. Taphonomic loss or distribution at other places was very important. Since the carcass weight varies considerably according to sex, breed and general level of nutrition, we have adopted the estimation on live weight of Legge 1981; Barker 1885; Vigne 1988.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAXON</th>
<th>PYRES</th>
<th>Area between the walls XIX-XXXVIII (Perivolos 1)</th>
<th>Area between the walls XXXVII-XLIII-XLIIIb (Perivolos 2)</th>
<th>Area between the walls XLI-XLV-XXXV (Perivolos 3)</th>
<th>Area between the walls XIIX-XLIIV-XXXVI-XXXV (Perivolos 4)</th>
<th>Area between the walls XLII-XXXV and the Archaic fortification wall (Perivolos 5)</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPRINAE</td>
<td></td>
<td>111</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>63.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPRA HIRCUS</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVIS ARIES</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOVIDAE</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14.11</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANIDAE</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CERVIDAE</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.B.FR./ RIBS</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>28.22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>174</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Tenos, Xbourgo.Terrace Δ. The animal bones found in between the perivoloi. Relative frequency of species. The category "Other" includes turtle.
Table 12: Tenos, Xobourgo. Terrace Δ. Bone remains in pits and layers containing charcoal and ashes.
### Table 13: Tenos, Xobourgo. Terrace Δ. Ages at death deduced from the epiphyseal fusion (after Barone 1976).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANATOMICAL ELEMENT</th>
<th>AGE OF FUSION</th>
<th>Area between the walls XLV and XXXV</th>
<th>Area between the walls XL and XLIV</th>
<th>Area between the walls XLII, XXXV and the Archaic fortification wall</th>
<th>Area between the walls XIX and XXXVIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfused</td>
<td>Fused</td>
<td>Unfused</td>
<td>Fused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Caprinae:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scapula; Humerus, d; Radius, a; Pelvis</td>
<td>6 - 10 m.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metacarpus, d; Tidia, d, Metatarsus, d</td>
<td>18 - 28 m.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humerus, p; Radius, d; Femur, p-d, Calcaneum</td>
<td>30 - 42 m.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ovis aries:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scapula; Humerus, d; Radius, a; Pelvis</td>
<td>6 - 10 m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metacarpus, d; Tidia, d, Metatarsus, d</td>
<td>18 - 28 m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humerus, p; Radius, d; Femur, p-d, Calcaneum</td>
<td>30 - 42 m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Capra hircus:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scapula; Humerus, d; Radius, a; Pelvis</td>
<td>6 - 10 m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metacarpus, d; Tidia, d, Metatarsus, d</td>
<td>18 - 28 m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humerus, p; Radius, d; Femur, p-d, Calcaneum</td>
<td>30 - 42 m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Suidae:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scapula; Humerus, d; Radius, a; Pelvis</td>
<td>12 m.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metacarpus, d; Tidia, d, Metatarsus, d</td>
<td>24 - 30 m.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humerus, p; Radius, d; Femur, p-d, Calcaneum</td>
<td>42 m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bovidae:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scapula; Humerus, d; Radius, a; Pelvis</td>
<td>12 - 18 m.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metacarpus, d; Tidia, d, Metatarsus, d</td>
<td>24 - 36 m.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humerus, p; Radius, d; Femur, p-d; Calcaneum</td>
<td>42 - 48 m.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>