

Of Odysseys and Oddities:

Scales and modes of interaction between
prehistoric Aegean societies
and their neighbours



Sheffield Aegean Round Table 2013

Of Odysseys and Oddities: Scales and modes of interaction between prehistoric Aegean societies and their neighbours

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Of Odysseys and Oddities: Scales and modes of interaction between prehistoric Aegean societies and their neighbours

Friday 25th January

Keynote Address

19:00 Kristian Kristiansen *Connectivity and conflict in the Bronze Age*

Saturday 26th January

Session 1 (Chair: Barry Molloy)

09:30 Paul Halstead *Scales and modes of interaction in and beyond the Neolithic Aegean: talking across the barriers*

10:00 Çiler Çilingiroğlu *Impressed Pottery as a proxy for connectivity in the Neolithic Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean*

10:30 Marina Milić *A question of scale? Applications of obsidian provenancing for tracing connectivity in the Neolithic Aegean, Anatolia and Balkans*

11:00 Dusanka Urem-Kotsou *Connectivity in the Balkans during the Neolithic*

11:30 Tea and coffee break

Session 2 (Chair: John Bennet)

11:50 Barbara Horejs *The Aegean as source of supply and inspiration at Çukuriçi Höyük. Raw materials, technologies and ideas from 7th to 3rd mill. BC.*

12:20 Roger Doonan and Yvette Marks *The Winds of change: The origins of metallurgy in the Aegean*

12:50 Volker Heyd *Selimpaşa – Kanlıgeçit – Michalić-Baa Dere and the Question of Anatolian Colonies in Early Bronze Age Southeast Europe*

13:20 Ourania Kouka *Built environment and cultural connectivity in the Aegean Early Bronze Age*

13:50 Lunch

Session 3 (Chair: Kristian Kristiansen)

15:20 Lorenz Rahmstorf *Emerging economic complexity: The beginning of weight and seal use in the earlier third millennium BC Aegean*

15:50 John Bennet *"Only Connect": thoughts on connectivity + connexions in the Bronze Age*

16:20 Michael Boyd *The creation, adoption, co-option or adaptation of traits: piecing together and pulling apart 'Mycenaean' identities*

16:50 Barry Molloy *Raiders, traders, trinkets and identities in the Late / Final Bronze Age of the Balkan and Apennine peninsulas – a view from metalworking traditions.*

17:20 Discussion

Sunday 27th January**Session 4 (Chair: Roger Doonan)**

09:30	Borja Legarra Herrero	<i>Sirens and Sailors: Ideological paradigms and archaeological interpretations in the prehistoric east Mediterranean</i>
10:00	Maria Emanuela Alberti	<i>Aegean trade and weight systems from LBA to EIA: how changing circuits influence changing “glocal” measures</i>
10:30	Susan Sherratt	<i>The role of metals in the linking-up of the Mediterranean at the end of the second and in the early first millennia BC</i>

11:00 Tea and coffee break**Session 5 (Chair: Susan Sherratt)**

11:30	John Papadopoulos	<i>Komai, colonies and cities: the failure of the polis and the rise of urbanism in the Greek and non-Greek world</i>
12:00	Sara Strack	<i>Degrees of isolation: views on socio-cultural developments during the Iron Age in Greece</i>
12.30	Naoise MacSweeney	<i>Anatolian-Aegean connectivity in the Early Iron Age: Migration, Mobility, and the Movement of People</i>

Discussion

13:00	John Barrett	<i>Discussant</i>
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General discussion and closing remarks

Social events 2013

Friday 25th January

20:00

Reception at the Department of Archaeology

Saturday 26th January

19:00

Buffet dinner at the home of Debi Harlan and John Bennet

Useful information

Department of Archaeology

**Northgate House, West
Street, S1 4ET**

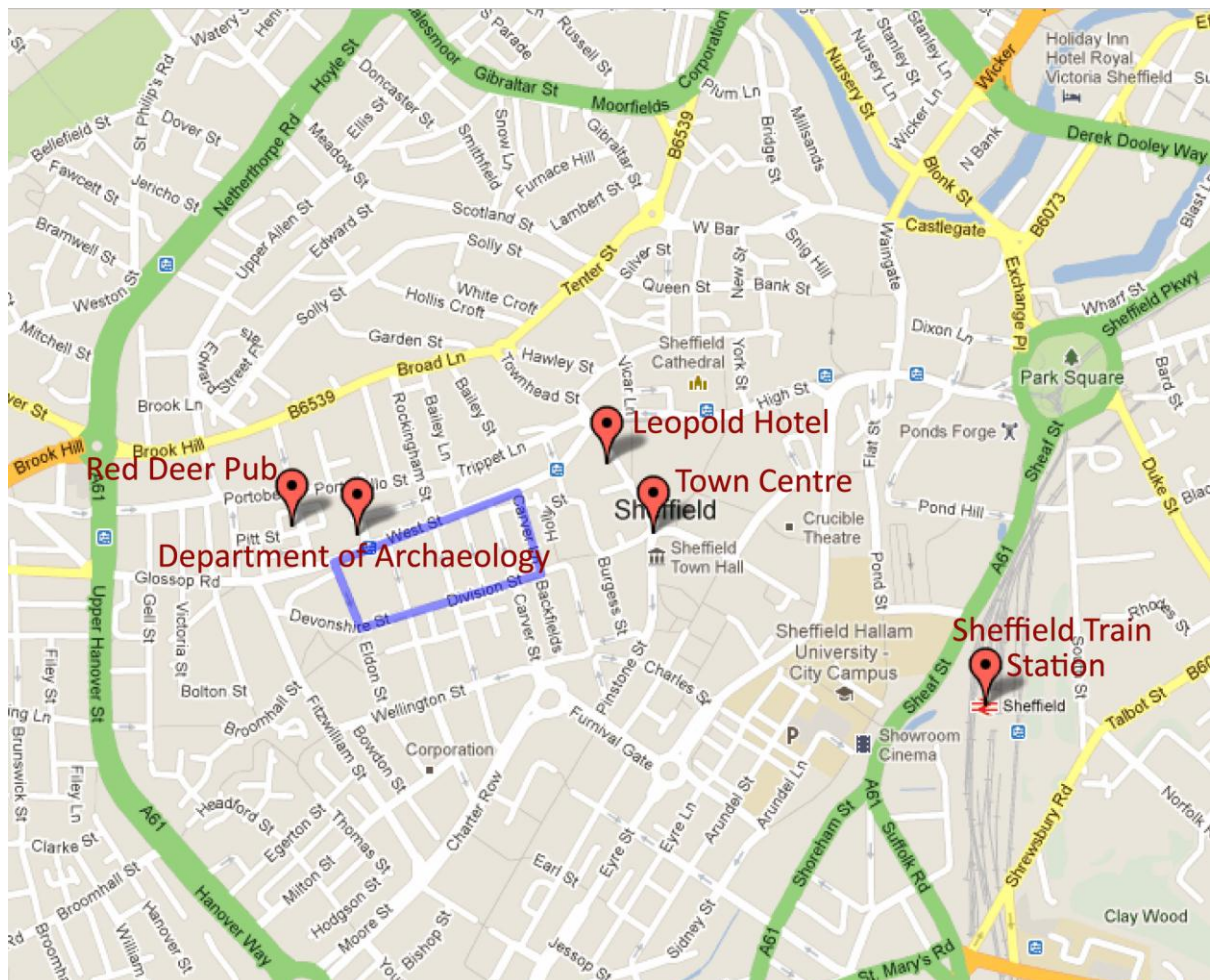
Barry's mobile:

+44 (0) 7907696876

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Location map: <http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/visitors/mapsandtravel/university>



Acknowledgements

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Round Table abstract

The image of the Greek world we receive from literary works, ranging from the *Oresteia* to the *Odyssey*, is one of multiple scales of interaction, from the household (*oikos*) to the supra-regional. Extensive connectivity also characterises the Aegean in most periods, a region into which various influences are drawn and from which they are shared with surrounding societies. From the microcosm of a household to the macrocosm of a possible 'Mycenaean empire', spatial and temporal gradations of influence extend from the ground beneath the agent to far ranging political and economic relations. Although raw materials and finished products carry with them cultural meanings, these are transformed within local traditions as they move across wide fields of social discourse. The Aegean, traditionally viewed as a core area, comprises a number of geographical sub-regions that interact differently with each other, and with neighbouring societies in the Apennine, Anatolian and Balkan peninsulas. In this sense the Aegean may be seen as a composite entity and dividends arise from assessing the many scales and directions in which influences exist in each part, irrespective of cores, peripheries, liminal zones or margins.

The focus of this Round Table is twofold: to explore how and why we make connections *and* to investigate how we recognise and define connectivity. Participants are invited to discuss the modes and motivations for the sharing of objects and ideas through studies that foreground practice and context alongside typology and 'value'. In particular, the ways in which connectivity, or indeed a lack thereof, is used to formulate social and economic models that draw in different parts of the Aegean and the above regions will be evaluated. By adopting a diachronic perspective, we seek to reveal how the character of connectivity is construed in different ways and on different scales through time.

The Round Table will provide an opportunity to assess how Aegean evidence can be utilised in wide-ranging syntheses that extend throughout the Aegean itself and well beyond into the neighbouring societies of the Anatolian, Apennine and Balkan peninsulas, and into Temperate Europe. In doing so, we hope to collapse differences in the ways "Classical", "European" and "Near Eastern" archaeologies read and interpret essentially the same data.

Participants

Maria Emanuela Alberti
University of Sheffield

John Barrett
University of Sheffield

John Bennet
University of Sheffield

Michael Boyd
University of Cambridge

Çiler Çilingiroğlu
Ege Üniversitesi, İzmir

Roger Doonan
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Paul Halstead
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Bryan Hanks
University of Pittsburgh

Volker Heyd
University of Bristol

Barbara Horejs
Österreichisches
Archäologisches Institut

Ourania Kouka
University of Cyprus

Kristian Kristiansen
Göteborgs Universitet

Borja Legarra-Herrero
University College London

Naoise MacSweeney
University of Leicester

Marina Milić
University College London

Barry Molloy
University of Sheffield

John Papadopoulos
University of California in Los
Angeles

Lorenz Rahmstorf
Johannes Gutenberg-
Universität Mainz

Susan Sherratt
University of Sheffield

Sara Strack
University of Leicester

Dusanka Urem-Kotsou
Democritus University of
Thrace

Abstracts

Saturday 26th January

Session 1

09:30-11:30

Chair: Barry Molloy

09:30 Paul Halstead

Scales and modes of interaction in and beyond the Neolithic Aegean: talking across the barriers

Regional and inter-regional similarities in material culture have long been a focus of Aegean Neolithic studies, as the basis for building regional relative and absolute chronologies and as 'evidence' for attempts to explain culture change (especially initial Neolithisation) in terms of human migration. More recent work has demonstrated long-distance movement of some materials and objects, but has also focussed on the role of material culture in demarcating social groups and forging identities at a range of smaller scales ('house[hold]', 'neighbourhood' and 'village').

It is becoming increasingly clear that the distinctive material culture of the Neolithic – in the Aegean as elsewhere – marks the emergence of a new social world in which groups of varying scale emphasised their shared and competing identities and, presumably, the rights and obligations that these implied. These domestic, communal and regional allegiances were plainly forged and – over time – re-cast at a *local* level, regardless of the geographical and biological origins (e.g., Anatolian, Aegean) of the first generation of Aegean farmers. They can plausibly be understood in terms of stresses and contradictions inherent to a sedentary, storage-based way of life in which households and village communities laid claim to resources while maintaining close relations of mutual dependence with their competitors.

Accordingly, despite emerging evidence from Central Europe that early farming communities were of fairly fluid composition on a generational timescale and that distinctions of material culture to some extent signalled members' variable geographical

'origins', residential mobility is neither a necessary nor a sufficient explanation for long-distance movements or stylistic similarities of Neolithic material culture. On the contrary, it is argued that the wealth of Neolithic material culture in southeast Europe reflects its potential for *renegotiating* social relationships and for facilitating the maintenance of potentially contradictory rights and obligations by defining the particular social contexts in which competing claims might be honoured.

10:00 Çiler Çilingiroğlu

Impressed Pottery as a proxy for connectivity in the Neolithic Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean

Emergence of Neolithic life ways is observed on both sides of the Aegean from around 6750/6600 cal. BCE onwards. The material remains and subsistence strategies of early farming communities in the Aegean (including Eastern and Western shores) display many analogous elements at first sight. Divergences appear as one search through the details. A social network and mutual interaction is archaeologically most visible in the long-lasting obsidian exchange. This paper suggests that archaeology can use other sources of evidence, such as the impressed pottery, to elaborate on the issue of connectedness in the Neolithic Aegean as well as Eastern Mediterranean.

Impressed pottery is one of the elements in the material culture that occurs somewhat suddenly on both sides of the Aegean around 6100/6000 cal. BCE. The decoration techniques and their arrangements on the pots show both similarities and differences in the western and eastern Aegean. In both eastern and western Aegean, impressed pottery constitutes minute amounts in the ceramic assemblages which are typically dominated by red slipped and burnished wares. In eastern Aegean impressed pottery, showing common characteristics, is attested at sites like Ulucak, Çukuriçi, Ege Gübre and Yeşilova (all around modern Izmir). The impressions appear always on the outer surface, cover the whole body except the rim area and are executed with multiple techniques leaving different shapes on the pot surface like thin-horizontal lines, half-circles or triangles. In the western Aegean, pots with very similar decorations are also observed. One significant difference between the eastern and western impressed wares, however, is the presence of comb-impressions at Thessalian sites like Argissa and Achilleion, leaving continuous dotted impressions on the

vessels. This technique is simply non-existent in the eastern Aegean sites in Turkey. As a result, although, the simultaneous appearance of impressed pottery in the entire Aegean strengthens the tightly connected image of Neolithic Aegean communities, varying trends and choices were adapted by the potters in those regions.

Interestingly, a contemporary appearance of impressed pottery is recorded at some Syrian and southeast Anatolian sites. At Tell Sabi Abyad, the site with the best refined radiocarbon evidence, the impressed pottery appears around 6100-5950 cal. BCE and disappears with the onset of the Halafian elements. The connected dotted lines are a typical feature of impressed pottery from these sites too. Especially, the decoration techniques seen on impressed pottery from Greek sites match with the ones from sites like Tell Sabi Abyad (Syria), Halula (Syria) or Mezraa Teleilat (Turkey). Moreover, combination of a red-band running along the rim or the around the body with the dotted lines of impressions is also observed at both Syrian and Greek sites. None of these decorative elements appear at the eastern Aegean sites.

This paper will argue that such similarities in execution and arrangement of pottery decoration at contemporary sites in different regions cannot be a mere coincidence. Judging by the patterns of distribution of impressed wares, this emerging trend around 6000 cal BCE was possibly transmitted by maritime networks operating in the Eastern Mediterranean including the Aegean.

The history of navigation in the Mediterranean extends beyond the Neolithic period. Recent discovery of Lower Paleolithic findspots on Crete and early colonization of Cyprus are only two well-known cases for organized seafaring in these waters by prehistoric groups. Braudel used the term 'slow-motion shipping' to describe coastal seafaring which involves frequent stops at coastal settlements creating endless opportunities of social and economic contacts for the crew.

I will try to argue that coastal distribution of impressed wares and the certain recurring decoration techniques make implications as to the existence of a prehistoric slow-motion seafaring using multiple routes across the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean.

10:30 Marina Milić

A question of scale? Applications of obsidian provenancing for tracing connectivity in the Neolithic Aegean, Anatolia and Balkans

Obsidian has long been recognised as a proxy for tracing long-distance procurement and exchange mechanisms. Through the characterisation of obsidian artefacts it became possible to propose interpretations about how societies developed and interacted across a large scale. Mapping obsidian has been employed to trace hunter-gatherer mobility as well as processes of Neolithisation, in which routes of obsidian distribution have been considered as a key marker for the spread of farming from the Fertile Crescent (e.g. Sherratt 1995; Cauvin 2000). For Neolithic societies that used obsidian, the intensity of movement and consumption has been used to suggest short and long-range interactions involving both colonisation episodes and exchange networks.

The archaeological “success story” of obsidian provenancing using trace elements to pinpoint artefacts to specific sources, was pioneered in the 1960s through the work of Renfrew, Dixon and Cann, working in the Near East and Mediterranean. The scale of their initial research was notably large, with the intention of providing a regionally significant dataset. Using material from around 50 sites, but only a handful of artefacts from each, interaction was measured through mathematical models in which the percentage of obsidian at sites was seen to decrease in relation to the linear distance from the source. This enabled the formulation of what they termed ‘contact’ and ‘supply’ zones, with the former being supplied directly from the quarries, while latter, located further away from the sources, received obsidian from the sites in the contact zone. The quantity of obsidian decreases on a basis of reciprocity, by which it is meant that some communities kept a proportion of obsidian, while exchanging the rest with the neighbours further *down-the-line*. This model has undergone considerable revision in line with developments in the field, both theoretical and scientific, taking account of different environmental, cultural and material factors, and utilising new techno-scientific improvements in the provenancing (e.g. Pxrf) and spatial modelling statistics and software (e.g. GIS). This has created new challenges in multi-scalar analysis, as it has become possible to discuss patterns within a single site, and sites within their regional context.

Distribution fall-off curves have typically been applied in the regions considered in this paper, marking the circulation of obsidian from central Anatolian, the Aegean and the Carpathian sources (e.g. Renfrew et al. 1965, 1968; Williams Thorpe 1984). The consumption of obsidian from these source areas has been documented amongst Neolithic communities in the Aegean, Anatolia and the Balkans, although the emphasis here will be on the areas and sites located on the “margins” of the distributions. Surrounding the Aegean, the study areas are based on the interface with the neighbouring regions of Anatolia and the Balkans: a) on the western Anatolian coast two obsidian interaction zones overlap, the Aegean and Anatolian; b) on the opposite coast of the Aegean, in the northern Greek mainland, the circulation of Carpathian and Aegean obsidian “meet” in southern Balkan setting.

According to the basic trade models typically applied to the distribution of obsidian in the Neolithic, those communities on the edge should receive obsidian down-the-line through contact with neighbours closer to the source or via intermediary and “redistribution” centres. These communities are naturally not dependent on obsidian as a primary raw material, and therefore the obsidian objects in these areas have often been considered by archaeologists as ‘exotic’. When we move beyond mechanistic pathways we may consider obsidian to have moved through enchain social relations or as a component of more complex ‘journeys’ rather than trade or exchange *per se*.

When we take into account quantity, provenance, technology and contextual data (where possible) as primary parameters, then the roles that obsidian played in Neolithic social relations can be seen to have been diverse, and often leaning more towards mundane tool than exotic prestige item. Furthermore, this was not strictly depended on physical distance from sources. Considering the edges of distribution zones we also gain a higher resolution picture of the proportion of obsidian to other chipped stone artefacts, particularly from a techno-typological (and hence functional) perspective, and in turn how these relate to practices of exchange. If the appearance of obsidian from a common source is an indicator of interactions between two distant communities (e.g. case of Vinča and Mandalo), as it was many times emphasised, can we consider this observation as inevitably *fait accompli*?

As part of an ongoing program of research, mass sampling of obsidian artefacts from sites in Anatolia, the Aegean and the Balkans using portable XRF has been conducted, building a dataset of over 1000 artefacts. Through analyses of large proportions of obsidian assemblages and following an approach that incorporates the interrelationship between raw material and technology, this paper examines the role that obsidian acquisition played in long-distance movement. The results showed that in different regions, the interactions are not necessarily uniform, allowing variations on micro-regional scale to occur, as will be particularly demonstrated through examination of sites in western and north-western Anatolia. The quantity of obsidian that is found at these sites is relatively small, so it is hard to consider it to have been a major trade commodity, and in purely logistical terms, it could be the product of very occasional contact or mobility, though it is suggested that this occurred along established social and physical pathways.

11:00 Dusanka Urem-Kotsou

Connectivity in the Balkans during the Neolithic

The Balkans seems to have been connected with the northern Aegean throughout the Neolithic, from the very beginning of the period to, at least, its late phases. Shared characteristics of pottery from Thessaly to the Danube testify to continuity in communication for more than 2000 years. During this long period the intensity, scale and paths of communication between sub-regions of the Balkan interior, on the one hand, and between the Balkan interior and the Aegean, on the other, certainly varied through time. In this paper some evidence for communications between the sub-regions of the Balkans and the north Aegean will be discussed. Production and circulation of various categories of material culture such as chipped and polished stone tools, marble vessels and figurines, and stone and marine shell ornaments indicate diverse and well-differentiated forms of exchange networks throughout the Neolithic. Archaeologically less visible commodities, such as salt, will also be considered in order to illustrate the complexity of communications and their role in the social changes that took place in Neolithic communities in this vast area.

Session 2**11:50-13:50***Chair: John Bennet*

11:50 Barbara Horejs

The Aegean as source of supply and inspiration at Çukuriçi Höyük. Raw materials, technologies and ideas from 7th to 3rd mill. BC.

The case study of Çukuriçi Höyük at the central Aegean coast of Western Anatolia offers a diachronic perspective from the Neolithic to Early Bronze Age (7th to 3rd millennium BC) at one particular site. Interpreting relations of regions in this Aegean-Anatolian interface also requires discussion of provenance and origin of objects on the one hand, as well as source of ideas on the other, to understand possible connections in general. The tell allows us to scrutinise common cultural attributions as “Aegean” or “Anatolian” in different periods, which forms the basis of this paper; to recognize connectivity of Çukuriçi Höyük to neighbouring regions as well as to the wider Aegean.

To consider the Aegean as source of supply and inspiration in more detail, this contribution compares and contrasts aspects of the settlements of the site of the Late Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age 1 (in Anatolian chronological terms). Discussing both distinct periods in local, regional and supra-regional perspective, focussing on raw materials, technologies and ideas, demonstrate Aegean elements on different levels of material cultures at Çukuriçi Höyük. In order to obtain a broader picture, various studies of this current research project¹ will be integrated in this paper, including provenance studies of obsidian, stones, metals and pottery as well as zoological and botanical analyses.

Late Neolithic Çukuriçi Höyük (phase ÇuHö IX: c. 6400–6200 BC) can be seen as well integrated in a regional context by means of material culture (all categories of finds, architecture) and principle concepts of living (settlement structure, subsistence strategies etc.). As the whole regional group around Izmir with a handful of excavated sites (Dedeçik Heybelitepe, Ege Gübre, Ulucak, Yeşilova) and also Çukuriçi Höyük demonstrate, these well developed agricultural societies of the Pottery Neolithic period are strongly connected

¹ ERC Starting Grant „Prehistoric Anatolia“ 263339.

within the region and demonstrate continuous communication between the sites. Above this regional level some general connections to Inner Anatolia and to the Aegean can be identified e.g. in clay stamps, lithic industries, ritual objects and distinct pottery decoration and technology (e.g. Özdoğan 2002, Lichter 2005, Gatsov 2005, Çilingiroğlu 2010). Based on the convincing results of the Ulucak excavations and studies, migrations of small Inner Anatolian groups most probably represent the first farming communities in the Izmir region (Çilingiroğlu-Çevik- Çilingiroğlu 2012). Although Çukuriçi's foundation levels are not excavated yet, its relation to Ulucak suggests similar explanations on first sight. But it contrasts with other sites in the region, Çukuriçi's Late Neolithic societies show a strong connection to the Aegean Sea, as indicated by raw materials and the practice of fishing. The surprising high amount of Melian obsidian, its intensive local production as well as its hoarding in form of long blades in the settlement let assume a special impact of obsidian at Çukuriçi in relation to amounts and varieties at other sites. The site could be understood as a possible gateway community for obsidian in the Izmir region, where the specific material was used in the lithic industries of all farming villages, but in smaller quantities.

Aside from the postulated exploitation of obsidian, the Aegean represents an important source for nutrition, as indicated by a variety of shells and fish remains at least in Late Neolithic Çukuriçi. In addition to small or midsize fish, there is evidence that large tuna were also caught, presumably not close to the coast, but in the open sea. While freshwater fishing was surprisingly not practiced at all, different techniques of sea fishing are obvious: diving for shells, fishing with nets and open water fishing. Raw materials and seafood therefore indicate a Neolithic society frequenting the Aegean continuously and travelling far from the coast into open sea. The sea presumably not only represents an important source for objects and raw materials, but also a medium for communication for coastal areas. Consequently, the often discussed cultural connections between early farming communities of the Greek mainland and Western Anatolia could be linked directly through the Aegean Sea.

The role of the Aegean appears different around 3500 years later. The inhabitants of Çukuriçi in Early Bronze Age 1 (phases ÇuHö IV–III: 2900–2750 cal BC) still intensively used the sea for raw material and food supply, as evidenced by fishing and obsidian exploitation

continuing to play an important role. But even if Aegean shipping seems part of local tradition, communication and connections seem to shift towards the Western Anatolian coast mainly, objects or ideas from other Aegean areas are hardly detectable. Integrated in Kouka's *"North-Eastern-Aegean Koine"* (Kouka 2002) by means of settlement organization and architecture, other main categories of cultural expressions are strongly linked with inland regions of Western Anatolia and beyond.

The site's function in EBA 1 as a centre of arsenical copper production is demonstrated by 33 areas with metallurgical installations detected so far, and it seems not to be important for Aegean islands or other regions to the north, west or south of the Aegean Sea by means of direct connections. On the one hand only a few exotic imports can be noted, e.g. from the Cyclades, and appear to reflect single contacts without further impact on Çukuriçi's societies. On the other hand, the metallurgical industry is inspired by Anatolian and Mesopotamian technologies (like e.g. silver-copper alloy comparable to Arslantepe) and raw metals seem to have originated in Western Anatolia (at a local or regional level). The objects produced can be integrated into an early metal horizon between Central and Western Turkey primarily. Another sustainable impact at EBA 1 Çukuriçi from the east or southeast is recognizable in early stone weights using the Syrian Mine of 7.8 gram.

Çukuriçi in the early 3rd millennium BC seems rooted in local and Western Anatolian traditions, with important impacts and innovations being influenced and inspired by the east. Intensive contacts through the Aegean Sea are only detectable along the Turkish coast and the coastal islands. But though no further Aegean impact beyond singular contacts reflected in exotic items can be recognized at Çukuriçi EBA 1, the possible transferring of new ideas and technologies through the region should be considered at the beginning of this new period.

12:20 Roger Doonan and Yvette Marks

The Winds of change: The origins of metallurgy in the Aegean

The contexts and material culture of craft practice offer good opportunities for examining aspects of cultural transmission and interaction. The development and presumed transmission of metallurgy has occupied a significant position in Neolithic and Bronze Age

research with the Aegean being closely associated with assumed and debated centres of innovation.

Whilst most studies of archaeological metallurgy have focussed on provenance to reconstruct exchange networks and to identify production centres, a few studies have focused on production evidence and practice. Such recent studies have produced a wealth of archaeological material that invites a wider synthesis concerning the development and spread of metallurgy in the Aegean region.

In this paper we emphasise the importance of detailed technological characterisation using complementary approaches and how such studies can provide original insights into the mechanisms of cultural transmission. Focussing on the Aegean and neighbouring regions this paper synthesises new and existing evidence and suggests how we might better understand the development of metallurgy in the Aegean region. In aiming to accomplish this we explore how existing studies have conceptualised and defined ‘technological connectivity’ along with ideas about how the study of metallurgical practice can provide detailed insights into specific mechanisms of transmission.

12:50 Volker Heyd

Selimpaşa – Kanlıgeçit – Michalić-Baa Dere and the Question of Anatolian Colonies in Early Bronze Age Southeast Europe

While the first half of the third millennium BC in the most southeast of Europe is characterised by a —comparatively— medium level of social and economic complexity and the dominance of pastoral tribes of a north-Pontic origin (Yamnaya), the period between 2500 and 2000 BC sees a sudden explosion in complexity, and the inclusion of the Eastern Balkans region in a much wider network now dominated by exchange and trade, the accumulation of wealth, and new forms of prestige and status expression. In Bulgaria, key sites for this development are the lavishly equipped graves of Dubene (Plovdiv), Izvorovo (Haskovo) and Rupite (Blagoevgrad), and the new gold and silver hoards of Haskovo, Panajot Hitovo (Targovishte) and Provadiya (Varna). Contemporary comparable graves and hoards are not yet known from Turkish Thrace or Romania.

Although prehistoric archaeology is still struggling here with its own inherent problem of an accurate chronological resolution, it seems obvious that neither simple mechanisms of diffusion of information, ideas and goods are at work here, nor that the models of World-System-Theories can be easily applied, but that there existing a much more complicated interference of ideological peripheries and traditional cultural boundaries, of acculturation processes, and seemingly contemporary different levels of complexity in the same region.

The most puzzling element in this rather unstable contact zone are finds and features that show a western Anatolian and eastern Aegean background. Exotic finds, such as the copper/bronze fenestrated axe from the Haskovo hoard, the only one of its kind in Europe, the goldwork from Dubene and the *depas amphikypellon* cups of Michalić-Baa Dere, Assara, Gulubovo and probably Ezero, demonstrate this link. To add are complex settlement sites, consisting of a strongly defended citadel and an outer settlement, like the Selimpaşa Höyük (Istanbul, TR) at the Sea of Marmara, particularly Kırklareli-Kanlıgeçit (TR), Michalić-Baa Dere (Haskovo, BG) and potentially some others. These represent a form of central place that can only be regarded as foreign in a regional environment still dominated by tell settlements, wattle-and-daub architecture and hand-made dark burnished pottery. In Kanlıgeçit, examples of these foreign elements are: A citadel with a layout of megaron buildings similar to Troy IIc, an extended outer settlement of c.5 hectares, mudbrick architecture on stone foundation, a tower or gatehouse, wells, and besides many other aspects a pottery inventory with a high percentage of red-slipped wheel-made wares and international forms such as tankards, plates and depata. Even the few clay idols have their best comparisons in western Anatolia. Does this speak for the presence of Anatolian or eastern Aegean foreigners, and a need for these sites to be regarded as trade emporia and even potential colonies?

This picture of rising complexity in the mid and second half of the 3rd millennium BC, and the growing importance of exchange and trade is not confined to this most southeastern part of Europe, the Aegean and Greece. Similar developments, again visible in the form of elite graves, lavish hoards, gold and silver prestige goods and exotic imports, and sometimes combined with stratified settlements, are also known from parts of former Yugoslavia, south

and Central Italy, and southern Iberia in the third millennium BC, thus ringing in the true beginnings of Early Bronze Age structures in Europe.

13:20 Ourania Kouka

Built environment and cultural connectivity in the Aegean Early Bronze Age

Archaeological research in the Aegean, since its beginnings in 1870 with the excavations of Heinrich Schliemann at Troy, has revealed an amount of sites dating to what has been defined as the Aegean Early Bronze Age (3200/3000-2000 BC). The publication of excavations and surveys undertaken under typological, sociological, anthropological and economic criteria clarified the different development and character of the cultural process in the various geographical and climatological landscapes of the Aegean (Mainland Greece, Cyclades, North and East Aegean, Crete). This became distinct in particular in the Early Bronze Age, a period characterised by population growth, new settlement patterns, changes in size and intra-site structure of settlements, intensification of agriculture, craft specialization, technological development and more specifically development in the metallurgy of tin bronze, and expansion of trade, social stratification and ranking.

Despite the shaping of a different cultural profile, some parallel phenomena can be traced in the various land- and islandscapes of the Aegean, as a result of limited and/or more extensive land- and sea-trade networks in the late 4th and in particular in the 3rd millennium BC.

This paper aims to define and investigate cultural connectivity in the Early Bronze Age Aegean and Western Anatolia based on specific levels of a spatial analysis, such as architectural units (houses, communal buildings, administrative buildings), settlement planning and settlement patterns (central and satellite sites). A diachronic study of these levels from the EB I through the EB III will be undertaken within the wider cultural framework of each land- and islandscape, in order to clarify the extent of connectivity in the successive chronological phases. Moreover, questions such as targets of connectivity, architectural tradition and connectivity, connectivity and cooperation vs. connectivity and conflict, networks of architectural connectivity related with economic networks, symbolism

and connectivity, collapse of connectivity will be discussed based on select paradigms from the Aegean and Anatolia. Finally, diversities in the scale of connectivity, or reasons for non-existent connectivity, will be verified as a result of different social complexity within the same or different Aegean and Anatolian geographical regions.

The issues of the built environment of the Aegean Early Bronze Age to be discussed in this paper, have been, so far, neglected in discussions on cultural connectivity. It is therefore expected to enlighten our understanding of connectivity of different political and social entities in the Aegean Early Bronze Age.

Session 3**15:20-17:20***Chair: Kristian Kristiansen*

15:20 Lorenz Rahmstorf

Emerging economic complexity: The beginning of weight and seal use in the earlier third millennium BC Aegean

The appearance of weight metrology and of the administrative use of seals in the third millennium BC Aegean requires special attention. For several reasons it is not likely that both innovations were local inventions made in the Aegean. This is especially indicated by the earlier existence of both innovations east of the Aegean (eastern Anatolia, Syria, Mesopotamia). Both innovations left their first traces in the earlier third millennium BC at the turn from EBA I to EBA II, definitely before the Lefkandi I-Kastri-horizon starting around the middle of the third millennium BC. Indeed the Lefkandi I-Kastri-horizon, as well as the Philia-horizon on Cyprus, have been characterized as intensive contact phases representing only culminations of extended processes (Peltenburg 2007). The changes taking place in the 28th–26th centuries are however still difficult to explain. I would like to discuss the archaeological context of early weights and sealings at a couple of Aegean sites (Aghios Kosmas, Lithares, Poliochni, Myrina, Thermi, Çukuriçi Höyük etc.) from this time slot before they become rather common finds in the later EBA II. This shall contribute to a better understanding of the emerging economic complexity in the EBA Aegean.

15:50 John Bennet

"Only Connect": thoughts on connectivity + connexions in the Bronze Age

Available soon.

16:20 Michael Boyd

The creation, adoption, co-option or adaptation of traits: piecing together and pulling apart 'Mycenaean' identities

The first part of this paper reviews recent concepts of Mycenaean identity in the light of the aims of this Aegean Round Table. Although the term 'Mycenaean' has been bequeathed to us with a full complement of historical baggage, it has recently been asserted that not only does the term retain its usefulness but that it can be said with confidence to relate to an

empirical historical reality: the Mycenaeans are asserted to have been a well-defined ethnic group. Some initial sceptical observations are offered on this assertion.

The second part of this paper problematises the term 'Mycenaean' in terms of practice. If certain traits can be seen as quintessentially Mycenaean (in itself a questionable assumption), how did those traits come to be part of the routines of life, and how did their adoption and employment differ throughout Mycenaean time-space? Many of the most recognisable aspects of Mycenaean practice – writing, iconography, architectural forms and aspects of cult – are poorly represented in the early Mycenaean period, but the creation and adoption of Mycenaean burial practices can be traced from the later Middle Helladic period in the Peloponnese and have been widely used as a key indicator of Mycenaean culture, eventually to be traced throughout the 'koine' of the later Mycenaean period. Indeed the only Mycenaean trait more widely evidenced in practice in the time-space under consideration is Mycenaean pottery. The latter may ultimately be the better evidentiary strand to consider, but in a paper such as this the specificities of mortuary practice may better be tackled.

Recent work has shown that Mycenaean burial practices are more diverse than is sometimes appreciated. Nonetheless, certain characteristics are common to most of them. These characteristics may be defined as follows: 1) the development of architectural forms enabling of certain practices; 2) the use of collective burial; 3) a rich variety of practices of secondary treatment of the dead; 4) use of a funerary landscape; and 5) use of material culture in funerary contexts. If Mycenaean burial practices are recognised as a key component of being Mycenaean, given their early appearance they are central to investigating how, where and when the cultural traits we call Mycenaean first appeared. Their subsequent adoption, from site to site or region to region, may give insight into this possible adoption and formation of a Mycenaean identity.

The paper will examine data from several regions in order to consider these hypotheses. This examination confirms that trajectories of development differ markedly between distant and even neighbouring regions. In the Peloponnese, the differential adoption of Mycenaean burial practices in Messenia and Elis is striking. In Elis the LHIII phenomenon of chamber

tomb cemeteries is arguably evidence of cultural discontinuity with Messenia. The sequence at Mycenae itself shows a late adoption: tholos and chamber tombs and their attendant burial practices are imported from elsewhere, disrupting established practices. Sequences in central Greece, Crete and fringes of the Mycenaean world will also be considered

The final part of the paper considers the notion of being Mycenaean in the light of the foregoing discussion. What prompted the widespread but differential adoption of Mycenaean traits? The paper will argue against an ancient concept of Mycenaean ethnicity. But does the widespread adoption of certain traits indicate ongoing cultural construction of identity through an explicit process of assimilation of valued non-local practices? Beyond adoption, what is the nature of the longevity of these practices? Answers will be rooted in local factors, but it will be argued that some aspects of identity were being constructed in reference to factors widely recognised though sometimes differently interpreted.

16:50 Barry Molloy

Raiders, traders, trinkets and identities in the Late / Final Bronze Age of the Balkan and Apennine peninsulas – a view from metalworking traditions

Leading up to and immediately following the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system, changes occurred in established trade and communication networks of Aegean societies. The flow of many trading goods, exotica in particular, deteriorated in the East Mediterranean, though the flow of metals continued, probably still led by Cypriot producers. Following an initial expansion of trade between Italian and Aegean groups during palatial times, exceptional sites such as Frattesina in the Po Valley suggest that a variety of networks were maintained to some degree until the eleventh century at least. New or intensified links between the lands east and west of the Adriatic are also notable at this time, particularly with reference to a “Balkanising” of Italian metalwork (Borgna 2009). This presentation explores the transmission of metal types and artefact forms, alongside aspects of practice relating to crafting and use of bronze weaponry and tools.

The massive increase in the flow of bronze in the societies of Italy and the Balkans has been seen as a potential attraction for Aegean interests, providing a new alternative source of

metal. The distribution of bronze artefacts of “Urnfield” type has long served as a marker for the existence of increased connectivity between Italian, Balkan and East Mediterranean groups. Of these artefacts, the Naue II family of swords are perhaps the most widely occurring. Ceramic finds from Italy suggest that the origins of underlying networks through which these Urnfield bronzes travelled may date as early as the fourteenth century, though from 1300 BC, we have clear signs of a remarkable synthesis beginning in military material culture throughout the central and east Mediterranean. Attempts to account for this influx of Urnfield forms have ranged from migration, to invasion, to trade, to mercenaries. Two factors emerge that complicate acceptance of any one of these alone to explain this “displacement” of artefacts: the first is the extreme rarity of metals chemically consistent with Urnfield bronzes in the East Mediterranean, and the second is the rapid deviation from Urnfield prototypes to new local variants that suggest manufacture in the Aegean, including regional variations.

In light of recent advances in the resolution of LH IIIC chronology, it is increasingly possible to define shifts in the historical character of the connections between Italy, the Balkans, and Greece with specific reference to metalwork in the twelfth and eleventh centuries. The example of Naue II swords will be used to illustrate the changing character of regional connections, because these artefacts occur widely, can be closely categorised by typology and other traits, have been the subject of several programs of compositional analyses, and lend themselves well to assessment of practices associated with their use. It will be suggested that communities of practice, or institutions, influenced the continued use of these swords for over two centuries across a wide area, maintained by occasional long-distance movement by small groups. A similar explanation is posited for other bronzes, so that small-group mobility, as opposed to trade of metals or finished artefacts, best explains the distribution patterns.

Bronze weapons provide an attractive resource for a chaîne opératoire approach, because we can consider connections relating to the metal producers, the craftsmen, the traders, the users and the depositors. These represent different social contexts through which objects may have been moved, received, adopted and adapted, and the variable scales at which these occurred. Methodologically, this is achieved through tracing variability in the

taxonomic, functional, and chemical characterisation of artefacts. In so doing, we are tracing mobility of practices alongside the diffusion / distribution of actual objects, and the manner in which small-unit mobility, interaction and definition can contribute to multi-scalar narratives.

Apart from weapons, the few, but far flung, portable valuables (e.g. amber) can only with great difficulty be attributed to a meaningful network of either trade or communication, because of their numerical rarity. In the case of 'foreign' ceramics, there is a preponderance of local imitation over direct imports in most of Italy (Mycenaeanising) and in Greece (HBW), contributing to the likelihood that mobility was based more on social than economic networks. A single explanatory model, such as the migrations of older literature, is unlikely to reveal the regional and temporal complexity of long period characterised as "the end of the Bronze Age". In terms of movement of people, the interplay between various modes and scales of interactions would seem to include raiding-cum-trading, going a *viking* (long distance journeys focussed on repeated raids *en route*), partial migration (e.g. elite deposals / conquests), infiltration or gradual migration, and seasonal migration (e.g. mercenaries). In such contexts, warrior mobility can be seen to occur within social institutions that had relevance beyond the proximate, and constituted a network that enabled local groups to participate in (their interpretation of) a macro-regional common experience. This suggests that scales of mobility were related to particular practices, and that related modes of connectivity varied for different groups, reflected in the disparity in the distribution of European types in the Aegean and vice-versa.

For Urnfield bronze-work, the actual movement of artefacts may well have been restricted to LH IIIB, and only an occasional occurrence during the succeeding centuries. In this presentation I suggest that the majority of areas using Urnfield type bronzes in LH IIIC were not only manufacturing them locally, but they became part of the negotiation of smaller scale dynamics that incorporated earlier martial and craft traditions. The known outliers of possible Italian swords in the Aegean and possible Aegean swords in the Balkans, based on taxonomy and chemical analysis, suggests that multi-scalar interactions nonetheless remained a part of this picture. It is argued that the variable subscription to aspects of this military *koine* can be considered a selective mechanism for claiming authority through local

lineages and traditions while also seeking to exploit the new opportunities of the 'international' tradition. This can be seen in the continuity of both local craft and combat conservatism adapting, but not changing wholesale, to cater for new needs. It is argued in this presentation that swords are useful proxy for charting entangled biographies of artefacts, their producers, their users, and how these relate to mixed networks of connectivity. This in turn reveals the specific way in which Urnfield bronzes were introduced to, and adapted in, the East Mediterranean, and how vacillating scales of interaction played a significant role in these developments.

Sunday 27th January

Session 4

09:30-11:00

Chair: Roger Doonan

09:30 Borja Legarra Herrero

Sirens and Sailors: Ideological paradigms and archaeological interpretations in the prehistoric east Mediterranean

One of the main changes in archaeological thought in the 80s refers to the object of study. The relationship between people and their physical environment in order to guarantee their subsistence started to become less central in archaeological research and it was replaced by a myriad of new studies on all things ideological: religion, identity and more relevantly for us, cultural contact.

The contrast between these two different general views on the past is particularly clear in the study of the east Mediterranean. The 80s work on the secondary products revolution, the exploitation of a harsh landscape and the mechanisms to secure the basic means of living (Halstead 1989) has been replaced by studies interested in how people managed to create stable networks in which items, individuals, ideas, values, tastes and power could move.

The rise in the last decade of a 'Mediterranean' archaeological approach (Horden and Purcell 2000, Broodbank 2010, Knapp and Blake 2005) has brought together this dualistic approach to the study of human populations in the Bronze Age:

1 –the Mediterranean geography presents clear challenges in terms of its orography and climate, with variability and uncertainty a major problem that requires a wide range of solutions.

2-one of the best solutions is attached to the relatively easy navigability of the Mediterranean Sea that encourages movement and contact, presenting new opportunities through cultural and economic interaction.

It is fair to say that it is this second paradigm of interconnection and mobility that has become predominant in current studies of the Neolithic, Bronze Age and even Palaeolithic periods in the east Mediterranean. World systems theory (Sherratt 2010), cross-craft interaction (Brysbaert 2008), branding (Wengrow 2008), identity (Knapp and Van Dommelen 2010) and actor-network theory (Knappett 2011) are constructing the main narratives to understand the Bronze Age. For example, Cretan state formation is now envisioned as the result of local individuals taking advantage of the prestige built upon new long-distance connections with the Levant and Egypt (Manning 2008). Medium and long distance connectivity has become the key factor to explain Bronze Age dynamics.

Like every trend in archaeology, the contribution of these models has started to be compromised by a process of academic saturation. Interconnectivity is not the magic panacea for every academic conundrum:

- 1- From an evidence point of view, data do not only always support the emphasis on connection and trade. For example, in the case of Middle Bronze Age Crete I have argued that the role of foreign material in explaining change is minimal in relation to local dynamics (Legarra Herrero 2011). Foreign materials seem to carry very few prestige meanings, and they may have had a limited impact on explaining major changes on the island.
- 2- From a theoretical point of view, the almost exclusive use of such models has in many ways impoverished our understanding of the rich human experience in the past, drawing from a very small pool of theoretical ideas: prestige, conspicuous consumption, valuable exotica. Subsistence, local political economies or regional ideologies have become secondary in our models. On top of that we are ignoring other theories that may contribute greatly to the study of the interaction between local and international spheres: new studies in local responses to consumption (Van Dommelen, Hodos 2006), distance-parity models (Stein 1999) and the anthropological work by Wiessner and others in the social context of change in power relationships (Wiessner 2009, 2002, Hayden and Villeneuve 2010).

But there is another type of risk in the overuse of connectivity approaches: the engraving of a modern ideological world-view in our study of the east Mediterranean.

Beyond specific models, archaeologists are starting to sound too similar to modern socio-economic capitalist paradigms in the study of the past. Ideas of trade, economic gain, the social and cultural desirability of entrepreneurship, the benefits of change and development and the significance of individualism as a new ideological ideal are all modern cultural values that are applied to the study of the past. There is no reason to assume that past societies shared these values, quite the contrary, cultural values are specific to a context and a society, and hardly transferable. Trade, exchange and socio-economic development seem to be the backbone of the east Mediterranean, a place in which entrepreneurs and other individual agents create and meet novel consumption patterns driving change and bringing new exciting cultural and social interactions in a quasi-perfect networked system. The east Mediterranean is starting to sound too similar to globalization ideals in the modern western world.

In the presentation I intend to examine an alternative to this model in which the majority of the population, the one that is not related to foreign materials or social customs in the archaeological record become much more central. It is possible to make a social prehistory that does not concede all the significance to a small group of elites, traders and highly skilled craftsmen, and which gives back the agency to broader populations. Following the case of Middle Bronze Age Crete and based on modern anthropological work (Wiessner 2009) and archaeological work in other parts of the world (Blanton and Fargher 2008) I hope to show common populations held an extraordinary amount of power. I propose a case study in which the dynamism of the Bronze Age east Mediterranean is explained through the understanding of powerful collective players that are able to shape and adapt their social, economic and ideological environment in their own benefit. This means also to bring the focus back from medium and long distance networks to local dynamics, from the exceptional to the everyday experiences and actions that were the most pressing concern for Mediterranean populations: i.e. to meet their basic needs (food, clothing) and to secure a significant position in relevant political, social and ideological structures.

Ultimately, I would like to ask whether it is possible to gain some distance from modern ideological frameworks in order to build a different picture of the past that relies more on

past cultural values as identified in the record and whether the paradigm of interconnectivity should be considered one of the main cultural values that shaped human experience in the east Mediterranean during the Bronze Age.

10:00 Maria Emanuela Alberti

Aegean trade and weight systems from LBA to EIA: how changing circuits influence changing “glocal” measures

Being a basic feature for all practical aspects of life, measuring systems belong to the principal framing elements of the culture of each society, mirroring its historical developments and cultural encounters. Among pre-coinage societies, as the Bronze Age Mediterranean was, weighing systems play a fundamental role in economic transactions, assuring comparison between different valuables, i.e. establishing the value of the measured goods. They are not only an administrative tool, but also a trade facilitator. It is with no surprise, therefore, that we see the trading history of the Bronze Age Mediterranean systematically reflected in the history of its regional and “international” weighing systems.

In the Aegean, at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, a complex pattern of variegated Minoanisation phenomena take place, with the corresponding diffusion of the Minoan weighing system in the Cyclades, Eastern Aegean and even on the Mainland. However, some elements of the system recall the Levantine one and Levantine weights occur in the most important Aegean trade centres, in parallel with the various attestations of Aegean and especially Minoan involvement in Mediterranean trade.

In the following Mycenaean period, when the Mycenaeanisation phenomena spread across the whole Aegean and beyond, and Mycenaean and Mycenaeanizing products circulate and are also imitated all around the Eastern and Central Mediterranean, Aegean weighing systems change once again. The Mycenaean system evolves from the standards used for the Minoan system, with some major transformations meant to fit better the Levantine and Cypriot standards and perhaps incorporating also some previous local traditions (from the

Early Helladic period?). It is also noteworthy that Levantine weights occur quite often in the major Mycenaean centres.

After the end of the Mycenaean palatial era, the internal Aegean trading circuits acquire new patterns, with the decline of previous important trading centres and the flourishing of new ones. The leading role of Cyprus and the importance of the Adriatic connection in the Mediterranean trading systems are underlined by Levantinization and Westernization phenomena, especially where metallurgy is concerned. Quite interestingly, almost no attestation of the Mycenaean weighing system is known for this period, while Levantine weights occur, even if low number, from the major Aegean trading centres. It seems then that local systems were essentially administrative tools, linked to the palatial administration, and/or that the evolution already started during the Mycenaean palatial times ended with a complete Levantinization of the system.

This weighing pattern asset seems to last at least until the 8th century BCE, reflecting the continuing leading role of the Levant in the Mediterranean trade. Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence for balance weights in the Aegean during the last period of the LBA and the beginning of the EIA is very scarce: it is highly possible, however, that the origins of many Greek weighing measures, which are at the base of the following coinages, are grounded on Levantine standards.

10:30 Susan Sherratt

The role of metals in the linking-up of the Mediterranean at the end of the second and in the early first millennia BC

With apologies to anyone who may have been misled into taking my relatively broad title at face value, I would like to concentrate on exploring the particular role of silver in the macro-scale connectivity (in other words, progressively direct linking-up) of the Mediterranean at the end of the second/beginning of the first millennia BC, and also perhaps its possible role in linking the Mediterranean directly with the Black Sea during the 7th century. While I would not wish to deny the importance of other metals, such as gold, copper, tin and iron, in this and other periods, silver initially acquired a particular significance in much earlier times - a significance which was continued and enhanced in the early 1st millennium BC and has, indeed, been maintained, at least at an ideological level, ever since.

Session 5
 11:50-13:50
 Chair: Susan Sherratt

11:30 John Papadopoulos

***Komai*, colonies and cities: the failure of the polis and the rise of urbanism in the Greek and non-Greek world**

I want to start at the end in order to focus on a process that took shape in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, namely the dichotomy between *polis* and *polis*-less states, which I believe is paralleled by the earlier dichotomy between palatial and non-palatial states in the Late Bronze Age. The aim is to show how two very different systems of political organization not only connected with one another, but how each influenced and determined the other.

In spectacular fashion, Philip II, in the fourth century BC, showed how powerless *poleis* were in the face of his Macedonian, tribal, clan-based, *polis*-less, state with central authority. His son, Alexander III, extended his empire from Greece to the frontiers of India, including all of Egypt. In a similar fashion, Pyrrhos of Epirus, in the third century BC, extended his empire from the Peloponnese well into Illyria, before turning his gaze to Sicily and the Italian peninsula. Philip the Macedonian and Pyrrhos the Molossian did much more than build empires; they built cities—*real* cities—ushering in a new form of urbanism. Just at the time when the Macedonian and Epirote *komai* were being abandoned in the fourth century BC, large cities, like Pella, were being founded in Macedon, as were settlements like Antigoneia and the large theater at Dodona in Epirus, the former by Philip, the latter by Pyrrhos. This was *synoikismos* at an unprecedented scale. It was the *polis*-less, tribal, clan-based states with central authority that not only ushered in the Hellenistic age, but also paved the way for a new type of urbanism and society.

By the closing stages of the Early Iron Age, much if not all of the southern Balkan peninsula was composed of two very different types of social and political forms of organization. The first is the distinction that has been drawn between the *polis* and the *ethnos*—the latter a looser type of political organization associated above all with regions such as Achaia, Elis, Aitolia, Akarnania, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epirus in Greece, as well as Illyria, and much of the rest of the Balkan peninsula beyond. Various Classical authors—not least Thucydides,

Herodotus, and Aristotle—state that unwalled villages, referred to as *komai*, were characteristic of an *ethnos*. Some scholars have argued that the term *ethnos* in the Greek sources denotes a tribal state based on kinship, and others draw a distinction between consolidated *ethne* and dispersed *ethne*. Perhaps the best examples of excavated *komai* are those of Epirus, particularly Vitsa Zagoriou and Liatovouni. These settlements are certainly small, unfortified, and sometimes at relatively high elevations.

The distinction between the *polis* and the *ethnos* in the Archaic period, I would argue, has a Bronze Age ancestry in the distinction between the palatial and non-palatial polities. Such a distinction extends beyond tracing the “borders” of the Mycenaean world. Among the *ethne*, Achaia and Elis, in the Peloponnese, or what was otherwise the heart of Mycenaean Greece, together with Aitolia, Akarnania, and Macedonia, never boasted a Mycenaean “palace,” and even in Thessaly, the only palatial centre is at Iolkos (equated with the site of Dimini)—if it is “palatial”—whereas northern and western Thessaly display a very different material record. In much of the literature, something of a linear development is often assumed in the passage from a tribal to a state society in early Greece, but I am not convinced that such a straightforward linear development was the case. The two systems represent parallel developments, ones that collided with one another in remarkable ways.

The political pattern that emerged in the Late Bronze Age between palatial and non-palatial was to continue, albeit much altered, in the Early Iron Age, surviving the collapse of the Mycenaean world in an unpredictable and overlooked manner. The distinction between palatial and non-palatial in part mirrors that between the *polis* and the *polis*-less *ethne*. This distinction, clearly visible in the Archaic and Classical periods, was to have enormous ramifications in later history.

I will focus on two particular areas: Macedon and Epirus. With regard to the former, Alexander the Great, in the well-known passage in Arrian (7.9.2), boasted that his father, Philip II, had transformed the Macedonians from stock-breeders to city-dwellers. However controversial this statement may seem, the transformation of Macedon from a disparate series of villages to mega cities in the fourth century BC is indeed one of the greatest transformations to have occurred in the Greek world. It happened not in the political heart

of Greece—the world of the city-states—but on its fringes. By moving their capital from land-locked Aigai to Pella, with its access to the sea, Macedon developed into an outward-looking state not only connected to the Greek world but ready to become a major player on the world stage. This transformation happened within a dynamic area of early Greek colonies—and thus *poleis*—and an already established kingdom based on a tribal system. Among the Greek cities there were the colonial foundations, especially those in the Chalkidike, but also in Pieria, with the site of Methone near the delta of the Haliakmon and Axios Rivers. For Philip to transform Macedon from an inward-looking kingdom he had to control these Greek cities or what these cities had access to and what they represented: first Methone in 354 BC, where he famously lost his right eye, and slightly later at Olynthos, which he razed to the ground in 348, thereby crushing the Chalkidian League. By the end of the fourth century, Kassander carried out the *synoikismos* of the Chalkidian cities, establishing on a new scale the city of Poteidaia.

A parallel development occurred in another area on the fringes of the Greek world: Epirus. Here the mixture of different types of settlement was far more elaborate and diverse than anything currently known in Macedon. Two extensively excavated *komai*—Vitsa Zagoriou and Liatovouni—provide critical information of what settlement was like from the closing stages of the Late Bronze Age to the Classical period. Both villages were abandoned early in the fourth century BC, precisely when the Macedonians were moving their political capital to Pella. Further north in Chaonia and Illyria are the enigmatic fortified hilltops, the so-called proto-urban centers. The very nature of occupation of such sites—and whether they were true towns, hilltop refuges, or regional trading and meeting places—is still far from clear. Then there are the full-fledged Greek colonies, the *apoikiai* that boasted a *metropolis*: Apollonia, Epidamnos and, further south, Ambrakia, all involving Corinth or Corinthian-established cities such as Korkyra. There are, in addition, what I would call the *Nostos* settlements, those that looked back for their founders to the returning heroes from Troy blown off track by some proverbial storm, most famously Aulos and Orikon. The coast saw established, polis-like towns and cities, whereas the hinterland was very different, fringe-Greek at best, monarchically governed with fluid geographical and ethnic boundaries, but no significant urban centres, no clearly developed civic life, and a political system managed more by custom than by law. Yet, it was the latter—whether Epirus, or neighbouring Aitolia

and Macedon, or even the Anatolian hinterland to the east—that became the crucible of political activity that was to determine and define the trajectory of the latter Greek world. In contrast, the established and evidently stable *poleis*, which found it so difficult to merge their sovereignties in any way that was both militarily effective and politically acceptable, became irrelevant: a political dead end. Yet one could not exist without the other; the two systems had become irrevocably intertwined, in a sense mutually dependent on one another. The aim of this paper is to trace and attempt to understand the effectiveness of the non-palatial, *polis*-less, clan-based tribal *ethne*.

12:00 Sara Strack

Degrees of isolation: views on socio-cultural developments during the Iron Age in Greece

The Early Iron Age in Greece (ca. 1100-700BC) has traditionally been viewed as a period of isolation, regionalism, and communities with inward-looking tendencies – hence 'isolation' as a chapter heading in Boardman's *Geometric Greece*, or the recurring term "Dark Ages", to denote this period (though recently often teamed with 'new light'). This paper will explore the degree to which communities in the Iron Age Aegean can really be described as isolated, by examining layers of networks which existed, even during the "Greek Dark Ages". Elite and non-elite, regional and "global" interactions are highlighted, to gain a better understanding of the social and cultural changes taking place during the Early Iron Age. Furthermore, "connectedness" is examined as a contributing factor to formulating, and maintaining identities.

In comparison with the preceding Bronze Age, and the peak of Mycenaean civilization in particular (ca. 1400-1200BC), but also with the Orientalizing and Archaic periods of the late 8th and 7th centuries BC, the Early Iron Age appears characterized by loss and absence. Numbers of known settlement and burial sites decline steeply after 1200BC; achievements of the Mycenaean palaces, such as writing, monumental architecture, or accomplished craftwork, disappeared together with the palatial administrations. Crucially, the Mediterranean-wide networks of contacts in which the Mycenaean palaces were enmeshed, and which arguably provided a source of legitimization for their power, were in decline by 1200BC, and soon ceased to function altogether. What follows is a period during which any evidence of contact with the wider world – generally in the shape of imported luxury items

– stands out from a background of by and large region-specific material culture. The often significant distances between known sites re-enforce this notion of isolation and parochialism; instead of the dense, layered network of sites during the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age sites end up being studied as islands unto themselves, with only tenuous connections to the world beyond.

However, while the overseas contact routes of the "Mycenaean empire" are no longer in evidence during the Early Iron Age, indications of contacts are by no means scarce. Connections are often tied to individual archaeological finds, for which a more or less precise provenance can be established, other than the find spot itself. Large parts of this evidence are concentrated on a small number of sites, first and foremost Lefkandi/Euboea and Knossos/Crete, where they occur in well-appointed burials which indicate that the deceased had been part of an elite stratum of the local community.

Elite connections go beyond these singular finds; burial practices which, with some amount of regional variation, occur across the Aegean in the 11th and 9th/8th cent. in particular, attest to shared conceptions of status and elite representation. Among these symbols are horse burials (or parts of harnesses), weapons, as well as an array of items on non-local provenance (the material value of these items seems to be only one factor in their overall value).

Looking beyond elite practices, evidence exists for connections that may have operated independently from social hierarchies. Examples include pottery production, which after ca. 1200BC is characterized by the introduction of handmade wares into a previously largely wheel-made production. However, it is the region-specific response to changes in pottery manufacture that is of interest, since similar solutions appear to be adopted across fairly wide areas of the Aegean. These similarities may stem from particularly close associations between different macro-regions, which are sustained throughout the Iron Age.

Another case in point are migrant craftspeople who may have ensured the spread of ideas and techniques across wider areas of the Aegean.

Cooking (pot) styles and cooking techniques are another area which reveals subtle differences and coherences across the area studied. Preferences for handmade or

wheelmade, globular or flat-based, tripod-footed, stander or plain pots speak towards different traditions of cooking and of kitchen set-ups. While virtually no kitchen installations of the period are known, the consistent differentiations of cooking utensils indicates that these "traditions" are likely more than coincidences.

A brief mention shall be made of sites which may have functioned as nodal points for dispersed communities, such as the rural sanctuary of Kalapodi in Phokis, a region for which very little archaeological evidence is known outside of the sanctuary itself (and which, due to its proximity to the Parnassos and Kallidromo mountain ranges, may have accommodated communities with a partially settled lifestyle). In addition to providing a venue for elite display and competition, these sites may have functioned as meeting places for all social groups and facilitated the forging and maintenance of connections, e.g. on a kinship level.

In conclusion, evidence for a range of networks can be detected in the Early Iron Age Aegean, functioning on different levels of intensity and with varying motivations. Those pertaining to elite groupings are not entirely surprising, but it is the resilience of regional connections, across archaeologically empty spaces, that may be key to understanding Iron Age communities.

Patterns of interaction may have changed in comparison to the Mycenaean period; however, many routes of communication, and in particular regional associations, remain functional beyond the demise of the palaces. Similar to Whitley's "unstable settlements", however, the argument is made that contacts beyond regional boundaries were not maintained beyond the initiatives of individuals or small groups ("entrepreneurs").

Questions this paper would like to pose include: how did these connections reverberate within communities of the Iron Age Aegean? What was the awareness of shared ideas and practices, what was the realization of difference? Did special items signify anything more specific than connections to a world beyond the horizon of most members of the community?

12.30 Naoise MacSweeney

Anatolian-Aegean connectivity in the Early Iron Age: Migration, Mobility, and the Movement of People

This paper considers how we model interaction, not in terms of the movement of objects, practices, and ideas, but in terms of the movement of people. As a case study, it focuses on interaction between the Aegean and Anatolia in the Early Iron Age (hereafter EIA).

Within the field of Aegean archaeology (and indeed within Mediterranean archaeology more generally), a common way of conceptualising interaction is connectivity. In particular, the focus tends to be on the eventual consequences of connectivity – especially on the adoption, adaptation, and appropriation of objects, practices, and ideas in different cultural contexts. In comparison, one vital aspect of connectivity has remained relatively little discussed – the movement of people. The reluctance to discuss the movement of people in Aegean archaeology may be in part due to the way that this subject has traditionally been approached in the past. Traditional approaches tended to characterise the movement of people in terms of large scale, unidirectional Migrations, and often used the concept of Migrations to explain cultural change. These approaches have long been discredited, and are now widely dismissed as being outdated and unreflective.

The movement of people, however, would necessarily have constituted a central part of prehistoric connectivity. Indeed, the movement of people would have been a necessary prerequisite for the movement of objects, practices, and ideas. I argue in this paper that it is now time for us to address this topic directly, and to develop new ways of thinking about the movement of people in Aegean prehistory. We need to go back to the drawing board to re-conceptualise the movement of people, developing new models for understanding these phenomena that go beyond the traditional models based on Migration.

Within the disciplines of Anthropology and modern Migration Studies, many different typologies have been developed to describe and classify the many different ways in which people can move through geographic space. No typology, however, applies equally well to all situations, and any model for Aegean prehistory should also consider movements which

are not generally included under the category of ‘migration’, such as trading, diplomatic missions, military campaigns etc. Drawing from modern, historical and ancient comparisons, I will propose a framework for categorising different ways in which people may have moved in Aegean prehistory. This framework suggests that movement can vary in five distinct ways: in terms of geographic scale, permanence, frequency, directionality, and people. The multiplicity of different combinations amongst these variables highlights the diversity of ways in which people may have moved in the past. I also argue that the term ‘migration’ is heavily loaded with undesirable connotations, and that it may be more fruitful to think in terms of ‘mobility’ instead. I would like to add that while I hope the model presented in this paper will be helpful for distinguishing different types of mobility, it remains work in progress. Suggestions and criticisms would be very welcome, and I hope that our discussions may contribute to the development of a robust new framework for approaching the movement of people in Aegean prehistory.

In the second part of this paper, I will discuss Anatolian-Aegean interactions in the EIA. This has traditionally been characterised as being driven by migration from the Aegean to Anatolia, and is often discussed in terms of ‘the Ionian Migration’ or ‘the Aeolian Migration’. Despite the fact that traditional models of Migrations have now been discredited, this view of EIA Anatolian-Aegean interactions remains widespread, as no alternative models are currently available. Using the framework from the first part of the paper, I will consider which modes of movement best characterise Anatolian-Aegean interactions in the EIA. I will survey the archaeological evidence, as well as the small amount of relevant literary and epigraphic material.

While several different modes of movement can be identified during this time, it seems that Anatolian-Aegean relations may best be characterised as being shaped by high personal mobility. Personal mobility, as understood here, relates to the capacity and willingness of individuals to undertake movement through space – the propensity to travel. High levels of personal mobility would therefore result in a situation where individuals were willing and able to undertake travel relatively frequently, perhaps at small or medium scales, and perhaps on a temporary basis. Patterns of interaction would therefore have been shaped by ongoing and multi-directional circulation, rather than by a series of single unidirectional

journeys. By modelling connectivity as being primarily shaped by high personal mobility rather than by Migrations, we gain a dramatically different picture of interactions between the Aegean and Anatolia in the EIA.