



REGIONAL STORIES  
TOWARDS A NEW PERCEPTION  
OF THE EARLY GREEK WORLD

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Professor Jan Bouzek



ABSTRACTS

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**Alexandridou Alexandra**

***A burial anatomy of the Attic kinship groups: social complexities facing the emergence of the polis***

The last three decades of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. marked a number of changes in the funerary practices in Attica. Inhumation dominated over cremation for adults. More importantly, a high degree of variability, unprecedented in earlier periods, is observed in the treatment of the deceased.

This Late Geometric II evidence has been considered as a reflection of the changes in contemporary social structures affected by the emergence of the polis. Based on the detailed study of all the available funerary evidence, a reconsideration of the attested funerary variability is attempted, contesting the proposed interpretation. It seems that the Late Geometric II burial inclusiveness combined with the funerary variations should not be examined within the frame of the wider society, but rather within the confines of the kinship groups, which seem to have been seeking a wider representation of their members in the necropoleis. Thus, it is this horizontal dimension of the mortuary rites and its implications for the contemporary Attic social developments that needs to be addressed.

**Bouzek Jan**

***From Bronze Age mythos to Iron Age cosmos: summary***

LH III C laid the foundations of Iron Age development by attempts to overcome the collapse of the bureaucratic pyramidal Bronze Age system by creating independent smaller self-sustaining units, by taking new inspiration from south and north in the fields of religion, architecture, ironworking, agriculture, and in the way of perception of the world. It started the new path in art by changing iconography and stylisation of human and animal figures from the Mycenaean dilution of already degenerated schematic forms to new simpler geometric formulae, thus planting the seeds fully developed later in Geometric art, together with introducing clay figurines reflecting the wooden xoana. It made the first step towards the new understanding of the principles of wooden architecture of which later the architectonic orders arose, of structure and rhythm of vase painting and sculpture. Even if not yet completely freed from the Bronze Age stylisations, the LH IIIC represents a transition towards the EIA Greek synthesis of reflecting and depicting the world.

The Submycenaean period signalled the arrival of stronger individualisation by change from family tombs to individual inhumations flanked by stone slabs, and the Protogeometric to cremations, aiming at sharper frontier between the spheres of living and dead. The spiral, symbol of retour éternel, was replaced by separate concentric circles, symbolising sun, female breasts and by its seven circles the seven spheres of the universe. The male and female varieties

of amphorae whose shape was understood as reflection of the human body (including breasts represented on the female version), into which burials of both sexes were put, show the first steps of a human-centred civilisation, in which the man is the measure of all things. The anthropocentric character of Greek culture from its EIA beginnings replaced the pyramidal Bronze Age hierarchy by the society of free citizens, homoioi.

The masterly drawing of multiple circles in one draft, which could not be corrected, with multiple brush compass required high awakening of mind paralleled for example in the zen exercises of training of supreme concentration, as bow shooting into the preceding arrow. The LPG Close Style, notably in Athens, achieved sophisticated level in combination of rhythmic structures, from triglyph-metopes to five and more members of symmetric patterns and in the application of modules, probably at the time of legendary synoicism; these patterns are also applied in the structure of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Men went in arms, and they followed them into their graves, as did women the jewellery. The constitution of synoicism also reflects the similar difference in the Iliad between Troy, founded by the gods, and the Greek camp, with through human agreements introduced its laws.

Both Protogeometric and Geometric styles owed much inspiration to textiles and basketry. The strictly rectilinear Geometric style is paralleled in children's psychology where the transition from spirals to straight lines in children's drawings is explained as the birth of abstract thought. The angular meander fixed the sharp transitions from one to another direction as against the fluent old spirals. The LPG and EG art offer the best parallels to Iliad, the Lefkandi burial to its heroes. Of the main three generations of Homeric characters, the earliest is best represented by Aias with Bronze Age shield and helmet, who has least clear mind and out of shame committed suicide, the middle level by Hector and Achilles, who were also enable to enter the new world, into which after many troubles the cunning Odysseus arrived, supported by goddess of wisdom Athena, after stealing her palladium from Troy. The change of identity needed individual intelligence of logos even of those with less moral character; David in the Old Testament is similar to Odysseus; the Lord supported him also with accepting of problematic sides of his character: both were examples of the way from pre-philosophic to philosophic mind in the sense of August Comte.

The Late Geometric art refined the structure and modular systems with great progress of mathematic understanding of space and formed the scaffolding for all later development of Greek art. The competitive spirit lead creations of local styles, notably in the poleis; the ethnoi tried less. Being the most sophisticated province of the EIA koine of Geometric arts, including large parts of Europe and northern Eurasia, it gave them inspiration, but also took it in reverse direction from Villanovan Italy, the Hallstatt style of Central Europe, and the Geometric animal styles of the East Balkan and North Pontic areas, Transcaucasia and Luristan. Imports (in Greek sanctuaries brought by pilgrims)

and exports of bronze items preceded that of pottery in some directions, while the latter was known in the Levant and Italy since the Late Protogeometric period.

At the turn of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century and during the 7<sup>th</sup> century the Greek art adopted more inspiration from the Near East, while it formed as its leader and via its colonies the new Orientalizing koine, including Etruscans and other Italics in Italy, Iberians in Spain, Thracian, Paionian and Illyrian arts in the Balkans, Situla art north of the Adriatic, Scythian in the northern Black Sea. Even in Asia Minor and the Levant Greek art influenced its eastern neighbours and similar situation existed in Transcaucasia. With some retard the Greek Orientalizing art inspired even the Celts further northwards. But in addition to general resemblances the new evidence knows fragments of East Greek and Early Archaic pottery even far inland in the Balkans, Italy, Spain and southern France.

### **Charalambidou Xenia**

#### ***Viewing Euboea in relation to its colonies and relevant sites in Northern Greece and Southern Italy and Sicily***

After the disintegration of Mycenaean civilization, Euboea becomes one of the leading forces in the emerging Aegean and Mediterranean trade networks of the Early Iron Age from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. Furthermore, in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, Chalcis and Eretria on Euboea evolved among the key players in the Greek colonisation phenomenon.

This paper highlights significant phenomena related to Euboean settlements, cemeteries and sanctuaries and compares these contexts with equivalent contexts in Euboean colonies and sites with which Euboea had connections in Northern Greece and Southern Italy and Sicily.

Such an approach will help us identify the focal points of development for Euboea and the Euboean colonies in the Early Iron Age and early Archaic period and understand the ways in which Euboea contributed to the diffusion of material culture and practices in its colonies and beyond.

### **Chemsseddoha Anne-Zahra**

#### ***New perspectives on the burial customs in Macedonia during the Early Iron Age***

Since the first excavations in the Early Iron Age cemetery at Vergina during the 1950s, the new discoveries and different works in Macedonia yielded important data, allowing us to update our vision of the burial customs in this area at these times. Large and small *tumuli*, flat organised burial grounds, pit and cist graves, *enchytrismo* and cinerary urns, chamber and tholos-like graves, inhumation and cremation coexist in this wide area, depicting a rich and eclectic range of burial practices. Each cemetery is characterized by a specific set of

features, which reflects the choices offered or accepted by the community for the treatment of its dead. After defining those combinations, it is then possible to analyse their geographical distribution and to discuss the variety of these burial customs in the complex societies who lived between the Balkans and the Aegean Sea.

### **Crielaard Jan Paul**

#### ***The Early Iron Age site of Karystos-Plakari (southern Euboea) and its wider context***

The Plakari Archaeological Project is a collaboration between VU University Amsterdam and EFA Euboias (formerly IA' EPKA). The project is multidisciplinary in nature and focuses on the site of Plakari and its immediate environs. Plakari is a low hill (85 m. a.s.l.) located on the coast about 2.5 km west of modern-day Karystos. The site was first occupied during the Final Neolithic (ca. 4300-3300 BCE). A second habitation phase commences in the Early Iron Age when a cult place was established on a terrace near the summit of the hill. Cult installations are preserved on this terrace dating from the 8th or early 7th century onwards. However, to the south of the terrace, a large deposit of sacrificial refuse material was excavated. The earliest datable items (incl. Sub-Mycenaean dress pin, Protogeometric pottery) show that cultic activities started already in the 11th or 10th century BC. The Plakari sanctuary is thus one of only a handful of Greek cult places of a very early date. However, the majority of the pottery is of MG-LG date, suggesting a peak in cultic activity during the 8th century BC. Votive offerings and a host of pottery and animal bones provide detailed information about how this early cult functioned, in what kind of spatial and architectural setting cult took place, what sort of rituals were performed, what groups of people were involved in what sort of ceremonies, etc.

The aim of this paper is to present some preliminary results and interpretations of the EIA material excavated between 2011 and 2013, and place this early phase of the sanctuary in a wider regional and historical context.

### **D'Acunto Matteo**

#### ***The Protogeometric and Geometric necropolis of Ialysos: burial customs, society and commerce***

The paper deals with the general aspects of the necropolis of Ialysos as a mirror of the society and its commercial relationships: the topography, the chronological development, the burial rituals, the burial offerings, the outer relationships mostly with the Eastern Mediterranean and Euboea all concur to draw the picture of an open society which undergoes socio-political changes from the LPG until the LG periods.

## **Damigos Stelios**

### ***Early Aitolia***

In ancient sources Aitolia appears as a defined geographical and ethnic entity. The exact location of this entity, however, is far from being concrete, as various texts very often provide different descriptions.

This becomes even more evident, when the early origins of the characterization “Aitolia” is considered, as two different descriptions are traced. The first derives from the Homeric texts, with a strong mythological background, and the second from the earliest historiographical accounts from the area. Both these accounts need to be considered when the early identity of the area is examined.

Therefore, the present paper aims at discussing the principal problems emerging from the later narratives referring to the early history of the particular area. This discussion will be tightly woven with a monitoring of the main aspects of the early material culture in Aitolia spanning the period from the end of the Late Bronze Age to the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The early Archaic era is set as the final point of this exploration, since by then the main sites seem to present a more solid pattern.

## **van den Eijnde Floris**

### ***The Areopagus oval building and the cult of the dead?***

Dorothy Burr’s publication in 1933 of the Areopagus Oval Building was a model of translucent archaeological presentation (Burr 1933). Even so, both the date and the nature of the building have been matters of debate ever since. The dates of construction and abandonment have been variously placed from the early 9<sup>th</sup> to the late 8<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, while suggestions for the function of the building vary from purely domestic to sacred or a combination thereof. Burr herself identified the structure as a house without being any more specific about why this should have been so. In 1968, however, the director of the Athenian Agora, Homer Thompson, suggested that the seemingly isolated position of the building, its superposition directly over a child’s burial and its proximity to the so-called Areopagus Geometric Burial Lot should identify the structure as a cult of the dead rather than a dwelling (Thompson 1968). In his assessment “a thin, low stone socle for the bounding wall, a clay floor cobbled in part, and traces of burning on the floor, would be equally and perhaps more appropriate to a temenos open to the sky.” But what seemed to secure the structure’s status as a shrine most of all was the so-called Protoattic Votive Deposit, which included fine pottery, figurines of horses and chariots, rectangular pinakes and miniature terracotta shields.

Until very recently, most scholars considered the matter settled. In recent years, however, standard orthodoxy has come to be questioned. Several

elements have been defined as problematic: 1) The fact that the building was “isolated” may have more to do with the scattered nature of the Early Iron Age settlement; 2) The architectural features, here classified as an open-air “temenos”, in fact do not necessarily argue for an open-air shrine; 3) The child grave in itself seems to be an unlikely focus for a hero cult. Even so, it is difficult to ascertain what relationship there may have been between the house and the child grave; 4) There is no reason to connect the building with the (much later) votive deposit on top of it (cf. Laughy 2009); and finally 5) contrary to what had been assumed, evidence of domestic use has, in fact been ascertained.

In this paper, I propose a fresh analysis of the remains, based on a close reading of the pottery and the original notebooks conducted in collaboration with Michael H. Laughy (Washington and Lee). I will argue that a solid treatment of the wider archaeological context of the building, in particular the graves, wells and associated structures, is essential to understand the building’s history and the people who used it. While most of the remains have been published and have been widely integrated in various studies on burials or religious sites, a comprehensive narrative of the Geometric remains on the Areopagus north slope is still lacking. Placing this narrative in the context of similar early buildings throughout Attica reinforces the notion that a black and white distinction between religious and domestic use is unwarranted and that the two functions were, in fact, closely related.

### **Yorgos Facorellis**

#### ***Radiocarbon dating of the ‘Dark Ages’ in Greece: an overview***

More than 150 radiocarbon dates falling within the time interval of 1100-750 BC, also known as the ‘Dark Ages’, originating from nineteen different archaeological sites from all over Greece will be presented. These dates have never been uniformly calibrated so far, because they were published successively since the early years of the radiocarbon dating method (1965) until very recently (2014). During this period, six different issues of the international calibration curve have been produced. In this study all dates are reconsidered, calibrated and plotted with the latest IntCal13 curve using the program Oxcal version 4.2 in order to create a database of radiocarbon dates for this period.

### **Gadolou Anastasia**

#### ***The formation of religious landscapes in Achaia during the early historical era (10th-7th c. BC): political structures and social identities***

The important role of sanctuaries in the process of the formation of the polis in the second half of the 8th century BC is widely acknowledged. One line of research focuses on the point that religious behaviour represents an expression



of social values and beliefs through the symbolic meanings conveyed by the offerings dedicated at sanctuaries.

Within this frame, the core of this presentation will focus on two sanctuaries. The first is the extra-urban sanctuary of Artemis Aontia in Ano Mazaraki. This was one of the first to boast a peripteral temple in the region and has also been characterized as the centre of a loose religious union where local interplay was promoted. The second is the urban sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios in Ancient Helike. There, an apsidal temple with a prostyle porch supported by columns set in a semicircle and an inner colonnade, was erected in the last quarter of the 8th c. BC by the aristocracy of Ancient Helike. The temple housed the cult activity that until then had taken place exclusively in association with an open-air altar. In addition, the development of other Achaean cultic sites will be presented, and their association or not with the religious sites of the wider West mainland region will be discussed.

Furthermore, certain votive offerings will be presented and discussed in an attempt to understand the religious network dynamics and the dedicatory code developed in the region, through which a complex political and social hierarchy may be revealed.

### **Gaignerot-Driessen Florence**

#### ***The rise of the polis in the Mirabello region, Crete: sites and settlement patterns (10<sup>th</sup> c.-7<sup>th</sup> c. BC).***

The region that surrounds the Mirabello Bay, an area of transition between Central and Eastern Crete, owes its unity to the small piece of sea shared to the North and the mountainous borders, which delineate it to the South, East and West. Since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this geographical zone has been the focus of a great number of excavations and surveys that have brought to light numerous sites dating from the Late Minoan III to the Archaic period, including seven poleis. This diachronic occupation makes it an excellent candidate to study the rise of the polis from a regional perspective. Although the roots of the formation process of the Greek city-state in this area of Crete must be looked for in the 13<sup>th</sup> c. BC, this paper primarily focuses on the 10<sup>th</sup> c.-7<sup>th</sup> c. developments, when major economic, social, and political changes took place. The study is based on an examination of the settlement patterns and sites throughout the period, which allows retracing a history of occupation in the region and detecting notable transformations in the organization of communities.

**Emanuele Greco**

***Poleis of Magna Graecia and Sicily: some observations***

Following the current debate on the 'Greek colonization in the West' which should be recognized for opening up a discussion of considerable interest, it seems useful to sum up our knowledge related to the problem of the birth of Greek cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily. First of all, a global and comprehensive evaluation of Greek and Western Greek archaeological data is necessary. As it can't be done in a short presentation, just the main issues will be presented. In second place the political dimension of Western ktiseis, denied by some scholars, will be recovered in the light of the available information on the earliest forms of organization of the urban space and territory.

**Kaklamani Olga**

***Funerary rituals in the early Cyclades: the case of Thera***

The study of the funerary rites of the Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Cyclades is mainly based on preliminary reports from excavation projects carried out on a small number of Cycladic islands. Thus an overall study of the Cycladic mortuary practices is not yet possible, due to the insufficient available information. Thera, as the only island with enough evidence, could provide the only exception.

This paper focuses on the funerary practices of the two necropoleis of the ancient city of Thera, discussing burial types, mortuary rituals and assemblages. The custom of cremation seems to have been applied to the majority of the adult population, while in most cases the choice of the grave offerings do not seem to have been dictated by the gender of the deceased. An important differentiation of the two cemeteries of the ancient city of Thera is observed. In particular, the cemetery in Mesa Vouno is organized in chamber tombs with multiple burials, which must have belonged to the prominent families of the community. On the other hand, the individual burials represent the majority of the burials at Sellada, where the multiple burials are limited. The origin of most of the burial offerings found in both cemeteries indicates that the members of this community were in close contact with various Aegean regions.

The funerary evidence from both necropoleis will be examined in combination with literary and epigraphical sources referring to the role of the family in the Theran social life in an attempt to provide an insight of the early local society.

**Karouzou Eleni**

***Thessaly from the Protogeometric to the Early Archaic period***

This paper aims to draw a rough sketch of the physiognomy of the region of Thessaly from the Protogeometric to the Early Archaic period. Until recently PG-EA Thessaly was mainly known through its pottery and fibulae. The publications of the pottery from the settlement at Kastro Volou, and the tholos tombs at Kapakli, Marmariani, Theotokou and Chloe, as well as a comparative study of Thessalian fibulae were the main contributions to the study of this period. The combination of new studies (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002) and articles as well as recent discoveries from excavations and surveys, such as those conducted in the Almiros and Sourpi plains, have considerably enriched our knowledge.

Through a combined study of older and recent finds and drawing upon the archaeological evidence from settlements, necropoleis and sanctuaries, this paper will attempt to give a brief overview of the research up to date as well as the challenges that it has to overcome. Finally, by examining the phenomenon of the tumulus cemeteries at Agios Georgios and Voulokalyva in conjunction with the evidence from sanctuaries further regional and inter-regional homogeneities and/or differences will be explored. The connections that Thessaly shared with other regions in the Greek mainland and the Aegean will be also addressed.

**Kerschner Michael**

***Spatial development of Ephesos from ca. 1000 – ca. 670 BC against the background of other EIA settlements in Ionia***

The spatial development of Ephesos during the Geometric and Archaic periods reflects both general developments in the Aegean as well as specific local responses to geomorphological phenomena. Starting as a small settlement on the easily defensible hill of Ayasoluk in the Dark Ages, new habitation quarters were founded along the slopes of Panayırdağ from the Late Geometric period onwards.

Thus, Ephesos evolved into town consisting of a cluster of settlements with common institutions, the most important of which was the sanctuary of Artemis. The choice of the location of the new settlement areas was essentially influenced by the progradation of the coastline due to the alluvium of the river Kaystros and its tributaries, gradually silting up the old anchorage at the foot of Ayasoluk hill and forcing the Ephesians to search for new harbours. The general outline of the spatial development of Ephesos will be discussed in comparison with other contemporary settlements in Ionia.

**Kotsonas Antonis**

***Cretan and other Greek sanctuaries in the Early Iron Age: assessing regionalism in aspects of cult practice***

The comprehensive analysis of Cretan sanctuaries of the Early Iron Age by Mieke Prent (2005) has inspired interesting questions on the 'strangeness' of cult practice on the island (e.g. Haysom 2011). This paper contributes to the discussion by comparing Early Iron Age Crete to the rest of Greece in two respects: a) the number of sanctuaries and its fluctuation in the course of the Early Iron Age; b) the number of temples and its ebb and flow during the same period. Drawing from the collective data entering in the website of the ARISTEIA project, and focusing on relative (as opposed to absolute) numbers, I will investigate to what extent Crete represents a departure from traditional narratives of the history of Aegean sanctuaries, and of the emergence of Greek temples in the Early Iron Age.

**Koutsoubou Maria**

***The Dodecanese in the Early Iron Age: revisiting the evidence from sanctuaries and burials***

The evidence for the Early Iron Age in the Dodecanese is uneven, as shown in the review attempted in this paper: the period is documented with sufficient clarity in the case of the two largest islands, Rhodes and Kos, while evidence for the smaller islands is limited. In the first part of the paper, all available evidence is being summarized, while specific problems are treated. Burials form the main focus, since the relevant evidence is abundant.

In the second part of the paper, the ceramic finds from sanctuaries and burials are discussed on a comparative basis, while the character of the sites preserving only ceramic finds is brought into discussion. In this frame, the type and quantity of pottery offered to the deceased is more specifically examined, attempting to identify similarities and differences in the shapes chosen for child and adult burials per period and region.

**Lang Franziska**

***Early Akarnania***

In geographical terms, mythical places such as Ithaca and the land of the Phaeaceans belong to the western Greek region. While the latter has been identified with Corcyra from the 5th century BC onwards, the exact location of Homeric Ithaca is still disputed. In contrast to other areas of Greece, Akarnania never had a Mycenaean palace system. The process of the polis formation mainly took place in Classical times. Though the picture in Akarnania is still

fragmentary, recent investigations have greatly added to our knowledge of this landscape, which can be seen in various areas of the material culture.

It is conceivable that culturally Akarnania held an intermediary position between the eastern mainland, northern and southern Greece and, due to its long stretches of coast, also the Transadriatic area. However, regional and transregional contacts – reconstructed on the basis of ceramic evidence – are quite different. The Ionian Islands off the coast of Akarnania were involved in the exchange system with the Adriatic and Italy. The settlements on the mainland, however, show a more differentiated regional network. A systematic analysis of the Early Iron Age and Archaic pottery not only allows some insight into production and contact zones, but also into the living environment (*Lebenswelt*) of this landscape. Thus, changes in the ceramic repertoire possibly indicate modifications in food strategies.

Leaving ceramic evidence aside, the erection of various public or cultic buildings suggests that despite the largely segmentarily organised society in the Early Iron Age, communal projects were also designed and carried out.

The necropolis of Stamna is of particular significance. More than 600 graves dating mainly to the Early Iron Age have been excavated allowing preliminary socio-archaeological analyses. The synopsis of the material culture creates the picture of an autonomous and quite sophisticated landscape.

### **Margaritis Evi**

#### ***Domestic and ritual use of plants in Early Iron Age***

This paper will focus on main strands of evidence for the use of plants in Early Iron Age society: not only agricultural and domestic, but also their role in ritual contexts. The paper will offer an overview of published and new data obtained from recently excavated sites where recovery techniques for organic remains have been employed. A first assessment of agricultural choices, crop processing regimes and domestic activities across Greece will be presented, based on the presently limited archaeobotanical remains of the period. These offer an insight into how the domestic life was organised, how the diversity of resources were exploited, as well as into the labour requirements and which areas of land were exploited. Spatial variation within sites and regional variations will be highlighted, and the degree of continuity and change in farming regimes comparing with the preceding Bronze Age will be evaluated. Overall, this paper will try to bring together information on how the economy of the period was shaped.

The paper will also touch upon the role of plants in ritual contexts of the period. It will focus on identifying specific rites, as well as on observing variation of the plant remains within ritual contexts and between ritual and domestic. In addition, it will examine whether plant remains are imports from other areas, whether they are edible and whether they are intended to be consumed. The

possible use of plants mentioned in the literature as symbols of sleep, death, reincarnation, immortality will be considered. Although the dataset for the Early Iron Age remains poor in comparison with other periods, the situation is improving. More archaeobotanical and other environmental records were created, forming for the first time a unique opportunity to develop an insight, through a holistic approach, into farming, economy, diet and ritual of this period in Greece.

**Mazarakis Ainian Alexander & Markos Mazarakis Ainian**

***The Oropos settlement in the early first millennium BC. A new perception in 3D***

The ARISTEIA EIA-EA research project had several case-studies. The main one was the Early Iron Age – Early Archaic settlement at Oropos. Here, our aim was on one hand to map with the use of GIS the distribution of the finds within their contexts and their chronological sequence and on the other to produce a three dimensional reconstruction and video of the numerous architectural phases. In the process of reconstructing in 3D the seven architectural phases of the EIA-EA periods we had to face a series of inconsistencies in our perception of the architectural forms and the possible reconstruction of the individual buildings or their structural relationship with one another. This case study allows to reassess our perception of the appearance of edifices and settlements in the EIA-EA periods. Indeed, whenever attempts have been made to reconstruct individual buildings or entire settlements, the result is up to a certain degree subjective. These reconstructions, from the period of ink drawings to that of digital reconstructions are sometimes biased and occasionally misleading.

**Nakas Yannis**

***From the black ships to the trireme: ships and shipbuilding in the Mediterranean of the Early Iron Age***

The Early Iron Age in the Mediterranean and especially in the Aegean is one of the most important but at the same time challenging periods concerning the study of seamanship and shipbuilding, mostly due to the lack of material and literary evidence. A closer and more thorough look on the archaeological data, however, reveals that this period is far from a gap in our knowledge of seamanship of the ancient world. It actually bridges the rich naval tradition of the Bronze Age Mediterranean with the even richer Archaic and Classical tradition. This paper will try to present all the available data (iconography, texts, shipwrecks) and draw some basic conclusions on the form and types of ships of the period, the shipbuilding technology and their impact on contemporary economy, society and culture.

**Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier**

***The oracle sanctuary of Apollo at Abai/Kalapodi. Cult continuity through the «Dark Age»***

As the results of the second excavation period (2004 – 2013) at the sanctuary near Kalapodi Pthiotidas, now not to be identified any more as the sanctuary of Artemis Elephebolos of Hyampolis but as the oracle sanctuary of Apollon of Abai, this sanctuary was not founded in LH IIIC as thought after the first excavation period (1973-1982) but in LH IIIA 1 if not earlier. A sequence of not less than 11 southern temples, from the Mycenaean age to the Roman Imperial period, one lying above the other and containing rich finds sealed in destruction deposits and providing important informations about cult and ritual, has been excavated. The first three are Mycenaean (south temple 1: LH IIIA 1-2; south temple 2: LH IIIB; south temple 3: LH IIIC) followed by a Protogeometric (south temple 4) and an early Geometric (south temple 5) one. At the time of south temple 5 the sanctuary underwent an important extension: a second cult place, a temple with a hearth, was installed in the north. From now on until the destruction by the Persians in 480 B.C., the sanctuary had always two temples, one in the south and one in the north, and at least from the time of south temple 7 (late Geometric to early Archaic) on the north temple was the bigger one and thus the main temple of the sanctuary.

The paper will discuss continuity and changes in the sanctuary from the Mycenaean to the Archaic periods. As it appears Artemis, who was already a Mycenaean goddess as evidenced by the Linear B texts, was the deity venerated in the sanctuary during the first 5 ½ centuries. Around the middle of the 9th century B.C. she was joined by Apollon, who became her brother in Greek mythology and the main god of the sanctuary at Abai/Kalapodi. Until the introduction of the new cult in the north, the main function of the sanctuary had been to form a meeting point for the elites of the region who joined here in sacrificial activities and feasting. With the introduction of the new cult the first votives of metal objects appear, tripods probably connected with the cult of Apollon. As in other Greek sanctuaries, metal votives increase during the course of the 8th century B.C. At the end of the 8th century B.C. the sanctuary was monumentalized with the construction of two new temples. After the destruction of the sanctuary ca. 580 B.C., probably by the Thessalians, it flourished soon again with the construction of two new temples, the first peripteroi in the sanctuary, until the destruction of the sanctuary by the Persians in 480 B.C.

## **Papadopoulou Zacharoula**

### ***Social organisation in Central Greece during the Early Iron Age: the settlement and funerary evidence***

The aim of this paper is to highlight and discuss aspects of social organisation, as these are revealed through the study of the funerary and habitation archaeological evidence. The area under discussion includes Boiotia, Phokis and East Locris. It is clear that the area is far from uniform, but the spatial and chronological framework of such a research contributes into a wider study of the EIA communities of Central Greece. Such an approach facilitates the understanding of interactions, while avoiding applying patterns of organisation from a small sample in wider areas.

Local diversity in primary aspects, such as habitation patterns, burial customs, and development of pottery styles, is among the major cultural features of the Early Iron Age. The diversity of cultural expression between communities, as identified in the burial record, will be highlighted. On the other hand, a common tendency for cultural changes, especially evident in the burial customs is also noted. It will be argued that these changes were highly dependent on social organisation changes.

Moreover, the decline of centralized organisation and the formation of loose social organisation models, such as oikoi, will be also examined. This development seems to have been the result of the communities' need for structures able to survive and easily transform through the radically changing political and economic conditions.

The possible networks operating within the examined area, their contribution to the cultural and social development of communities, as well as their association with identified shifts of economic and social power will be also discussed.

## **Pappa Eleftheria**

### ***Early Greek presence in the 'Far West': commodities, traders and their impact***

Greek pottery and its imitations have been unearthed both from indigenous and Phoenician settlement sites and burial grounds in Iberia across the western Mediterranean. The earliest evidence for contacts with the Aegean, nevertheless, appears to predate the earliest Phoenician settlement. A synthetic presentation of the evidence for direct and indirect contacts with the Aegean in the western Mediterranean between the 10th and until the end of the 7th c. BC rests on a limited but diverse corpus of evidence, ranging from ceramic imports to their local copies and adaptations, as well as on metalwork and toponyms. The aim of this paper is to offer interpretations of possible trade patterns and the



associated agents of commerce, as well as to provide a qualitative assessment of the impact of trade of Greek commodities in western Mediterranean societies.

**Paspalas A. Stavros**

***Zagora and the wider Aegean***

The Early Iron Age settlement that flourished at the site known as Zagora is no longer considered to have been an isolated outpost. Its position on the western coast of Andros can now be shown to have been one in a string of sites on this coast that were occupied by settlements all of which exploited their access to the passing sea lanes over, cumulatively, a period of millennia. In this paper I shall have recourse to material excavated both in the 1960's and 1970's as well as in the current campaigns at Zagora with the aim of examining how the off-island contacts of the settlement's inhabitants are, at least to a degree, reflected in the archaeological record.

The focus shall lie primarily on imported, mainly painted, fine wares, a category of evidence that has been commented on in the past but which, especially in view of the new excavations, warrants a re-examination. Undoubtedly, Euboean imports remains dominant, and Attic too is not insignificant, though a higher profile may be intimated for imported vessels from some Cycladic islands. A review of the finds from the earlier campaigns has also brought unexpected finds to light which expand the horizons of imports to the settlement. Alongside the fine wares the growing evidence for the importation of transport amphorae will also be examined in the hope that the wider networks to which Zagora was connected may be elucidated, at least in a preliminary fashion. Finally, the relatively small number of bronze finds will also be presented, and their links with the wider world noted.

**Petropoulos K. Elias**

***The diffusion of early (7<sup>th</sup> century) Greek pottery in the Black Sea region***

The links between the Black Sea and the Aegean go very far back in time, as can be seen by the results of recent archaeological investigations. The so-called "Circumpontic production centre", a general *koine* of bronze objects was already established in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> millenniums BC. Especially closer links are attested from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium: shapes of bronze objects, vehicles with spoked wheels were well known as far as the western Siberia at that time. New finds in Bulgaria, confirm trade links between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Moreover, some Mycenaean presence could be traced through the material found at the western Black Sea coast, while some Mycenaean pottery is known from other parts of Bulgaria, like Koprivlen and Drama in the south and south-west. According to the opinion of some scholars, the few bits of Mycenaean pottery and Mycenaean-style stone anchors found on

the Bulgarian part of the Black Sea coast may argue for a Greek presence there during the Bronze Age. It seems very possible that the necessity to acquire metals and the adventurous spirit of the Greek sailors enabled early maritime adventures in the northeast Aegean, the Propontis and the Black Sea which may have been reflected in mythical form in the Argonauts' story. The alleged finds of 8<sup>th</sup> century BC pottery in the Black Sea area are still doubtful. However, finds dated from the late second to the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, and in some sites slightly preceding the official historical foundations of the colonies, are more common now due to recent archaeological investigations in many sites of the entire region. The aim of this contribution is to demonstrate the spread of the 7th-century Greek, mainly East Greek, pottery in the Euxine Sea, including sherds found in the remote hinterland of the Northern Pontic Coast.

### **Satraki Anna**

#### ***Examining the imprint of Early Iron Age Cyprus: regional histories at the dawn of the first millennium BC***

In Cyprus the 1400-year-long era from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1700 BC) to the end of the Cypro-Classical period (310 BC) is sharply distinguished from the preceding stateless and pre-urban Early and Middle Bronze Age as well as from the succeeding colonial Hellenistic period. Therefore, it emerges as a distinct era in the long-term history of the island. However, the diverse nature of the existing material evidence necessitates a different methodological approach for each of the three horizons (namely the Late Bronze Age, the Early Iron Age and the Cypro-Achaic - Cypro-Classical periods). The present paper attempts to offer a synthetic presentation of the material evidence of Early Iron Age Cyprus and to address issues that pertain to the individuality of the island's culture in a Greek Mediterranean-wide context. It supports the well-grounded and already widely accepted notion that the Cypro-Geometric societies operated on much the same way as their Late Bronze Age predecessors within a profoundly altered Mediterranean milieu. However, through the examination of the apparently uniform material culture of the Cypro-Geometric period it will become apparent that regional settlement networks operated in varied ways in their effort to produce economically viable and symbolically meaningful hierarchy patterns.

### **Savelli Sveva**

#### **Travelling potters and pottery from Greece to Southern Italy in the 8th and 7th century BC: a state of question**

From the first half of the 8th BC, interactions between Greeks and indigenous populations of the Western Mediterranean are documented by the exportation of ceramics. In the same time Greek-type pottery began to be

produced in the West by both traveling and resident Greek craftsmen. A discontinuity in this tradition can be associated with the installation of Greek colonies or *apoikiai*. Archaeological investigations conducted in Magna Graecia and Sicily from the 1950's have, in fact, revealed pottery from numerous and various production centers at the *apoikiai* dating to the late 8th and 7th centuries BC. Based on particular case studies this paper will analyze the different dynamics of pottery production revealing the uniqueness and originality of Western Greek material, closely linked to the ceramics of the settlers' motherland but also connected with the local indigenous culture.

### **Trantalidou Katerina**

#### ***Active responses of Early Iron Age Aegean communities to their natural and social environment: the evidence from the animal bone deposits***

The bones do not represent only the vestiges of the material culture and the food remnants found in the archaeological sites. Though the living animal, those single structures are involved in economic, technical, religious events and social human acts. Bone refuse give also the opportunity to observe the collective compartments, the movements and the social arrangements in a given period.

In order to study the human groups behaviour, the methodologies of the sciences of life and the social sciences could be applied. The objective characters of each bio-archaeological assemblage could be based on the examination, the counting of the fragments, the multifactor statistics and the eventual, chemical analysis. The variance analysis could take into account the geographical area, the space, the organisation of architectural constructions, the stratigraphy (reflecting the historical accomplished facts), the collective representations, the written documents and, ultimately, the human demographical data. The morphology of the human group (age, sex, social stratification, political structure etc) cannot always be visible but attitudes and beliefs could be traced.

In this paper, the investigation on human actions affecting their natural and social environment will be concentrated on macrofaunal material dated from the 12th into the end of 7th century BC, a period of some 500 years. Examples will be drawn from the Greek world, although the published data of the bio-archaeological remains are relatively restricted. Some documents such as drawings, paintings or legends (without emphasis on the typology or the various interpretations of each subject) will be used to understand how those societies were recording their own history.

### **Verdan Samuel**

#### ***Means of exchange in 'Euboean' networks: a supra-regional story***

One of Euboea's well-known characteristics in the EIA is its active involvement in exchange networks within the Aegean, as well as in the eastern

and western Mediterranean. The extent to which the island's communities took the initiative themselves or benefited from external impulses is not to be discussed here. This paper rather focuses on specific means of exchange, for which there are some hints in the Euboean sphere: the circulation of gold as a pre-monetary currency and the use of a fixed weight standard, intrinsically linked with the former. Both imply knowledge and contacts with practices very common in the East, but also a good deal of autonomy. Whether these means of exchange were a specificity distinguishing Euboean from other Greek communities, or whether they were more widely shared (yet without having left much evidence) is a question under scrutiny. In any case, their detailed study sheds new light on Euboean trade and society during the Geometric and Early Archaic periods.

### **Villing Alexandra**

#### ***Greece and Egypt - new research on early contact and exchange***

Long considered as largely isolated from the highly interconnected Mediterranean world, Egypt is increasingly becoming recognised as lively arena for cross-cultural interaction already from the second quarter of the first millennium BC. The paper will assess the evidence for interaction between Greeks and Egyptians in the Nile Delta between the 8th and 6th centuries BC, setting it against the wider historical framework of the Greek presence in North Africa and Eastern Mediterranean networks of contact and exchange. Recent archaeological findings and new approaches to material culture and social practices are beginning to change our view of early Greek–Egyptian contact, suggesting areas of sustained close contact and two-way interaction and raising question about the encounter's impact on both Egypt and the wider Greek world. The main case study will be the early Greek-Egyptian port city of Naukratis, currently the subject of a major research project based at the British Museum (<http://www.britishmuseum.org/naukratis>).

### **Vlachou Aphrodite**

#### ***Ritual practices and social organization in Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Peloponnese***

The archaeological survey unveils a dense pattern of settlements and sanctuaries in almost all the regions throughout the Peloponnesian territory. The developments in the sanctuaries are especially impressive, while the changes in the material expression of religious belief were among the most prominent in the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The sites included in the present study show a range of characteristics and common features, concerning the initial phase of cult activity, the location of the sanctuaries, the construction of the early temples, the identity of the honored deity, and the type of the votive offerings. The study of these sites on a regional

basis testifies the strong interaction between them. Moreover it offers valuable evidence for the development of powerful networks among sanctuaries· a characteristic feature of the Peloponnesian ritual activity during the LG and EA periods.

The aim of this paper is to shed light on the organization of the social and religious groups in the area within a local and a wider Peloponnesian perspective, focusing on the archaeological evidence from the cult sites and the habitation contexts when possible. The study of old and new evidence from every area intends to lead to a number of thoughts on the character of the early cult and its impact on the contemporary social and political structures.