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COMMUNITIES IN TRANSITION

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COMMUNITIES IN TRANSITION
THE CIRCUM-AEGEAN AREA DURING THE 5TH AND 4TH MILLENNIA BC

Edited by

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Front cover: Ships carved into a rock from the site of Strophilas on Andros (photograph from the personal archive of C. Televantou); drawing of a rock carving from the main bastion on the wall at the site of Strophilas on Andros representing a procession of ships (drawing by C. Televantou).

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Preface

The volume before you represents a collective effort that brings together scholars from different countries and backgrounds united by a common interest in the transition between the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age in the lands around the Aegean. We chose a title containing the word “communities” because we think that the changes that occurred in the 5th and 4th millennia in south-eastern Europe and western Anatolia changed the way people were organised, how they understood their place in society, and how they interacted with other social entities on a day-to-day basis. The Neolithic community was transformed, at some places incrementally and at others rapidly, into one that was, by the end of this period, more similar to what we would commonly associate with the Bronze Age.

Terminology used to describe this period presented a special topic for consideration. Many different names (e.g. Final Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Eneolithic, Late Neolithic [I]–II, Copper Age) are used by colleagues with different scholarly backgrounds. To some extent, they reflect diverse archaeological evidence from varied geographical regions. During this long heterogeneous period spanning two millennia, developments occurred that led to significant changes in material culture, use of space, adoption of metallurgical practices, establishment of far-reaching interaction and exchange networks, and increased social complexity. The 5th and 4th millennia BC transition, notwithstanding the variability inherent in a section of prehistory this long, is one of inclusions, entanglements, connectivity, and exchange of ideas, raw materials, finished products and, quite possibly, worldviews and belief systems.

Largely, we kept the nomenclature used for regional archaeological cultures to show the variety and differences

related to the period. However, after some deliberation, we settled on using the general term “Later Neolithic Stages” (not to be confused with the Late Neolithic phase) to describe the chronological focus of the conference itself. By using this somewhat neutral term, we wished to both advertise the focus on the fourth and later part of the 5th millennium as crucial for understanding the entire period and the intention to not include the earlier phases of the Late Neolithic or the developed phases of the Early Bronze Age, unless particularly pertinent to the discussion. The title of the volume, we felt, should be even more neutral and inclusive, which is the reason why we settled on the definition of the period in purely chronological terms. Inclusiveness was also high on the list of our priorities when organising the conference; we selected participants based purely on the criterion of scientific contribution.

Most of the papers presented here are multifaceted and complex in that they do not deal with only one topic or narrowly focus on only a single line of reasoning or group of data. Hence, it was difficult to section them off into meaningful chapters based exclusively on their thematic content. After much consideration, we settled on geography as the overarching principle by which to structure this book, as being the least contentious and controversial. Hence, the papers are arranged in a roughly north–south direction (i.e., the Balkans, northern Greece and Thessaly, west, central, and southern Greece, the Aegean Islands, Crete and Cyprus and west Anatolia), preceded by introductory and synthetic contributions that either transcend regional divisions, span more than one region or address general topics related to this period. We, however, provide an overview of the papers according to their topical and thematic character in the introduction to this volume.

Acknowledgements

The list of people who contributed to the success of the conference, which had more than 130 participants, and the succeeding volume of this size and scope is necessarily very long. Unfortunately, we cannot thank everyone individually here but we are truly grateful to them all and we strongly believe that without them this work would not have been possible.

We, of course, first and foremost thank all the participants and contributors to the conference for finding the time in their busy schedules to take part in the event. We wish to particularly thank the Danish Institute at Athens, which provided institutional support and a side venue for the conference and for recognising its scholarly potential. Dr Popi Sarri was irreplaceable as the conference secretary and her tireless and enthusiastic work was essential for holding together the various practicalities of conference organisation.

We thank Dr Maria Vlazaki Andreadaki, the current General Secretary of Culture at the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, who greeted the conference on behalf of the Ministry, and the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey and the Royal Danish Embassy in Athens for organising a reception for all conference participants.

The Acropolis Museum at Athens provided the main conference venue. Our volunteers, namely Paschalis Zafeiriadis, Vasiliki Anevlavi, Athina Gerochristou, Alexandra Koutsoulou, Dimitris Lambropoulos, Georgia Loukopoulou, Eleni Papadopoulou, Irini Paraskevopoulou and Zaneta Tsambi ensured the smooth running of the conference.

An excellent pool of anonymous reviewers, consisting of an international group of scholars established in the field, safeguarded the high scientific standards of the contributions to this volume. Ms Danaï Vlachou was responsible for the visual identity of the conference, a job she performed marvelously, and our proofreader, Ms Freya Evenson, is responsible for the high linguistic quality in papers mostly written by authors whose first language is not English.

Economic support for the conference was provided by The Danish Research Council for the Humanities, INSTAP, the Institute of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies, University of Copenhagen and the Danish Institute at

Athens. We are grateful for their support and understanding. The publication of this book was sponsored by INSTAP, the Danish Institute at Athens, Consul General Gösta Enboms Foundation, and the Department of Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen.

We thank our colleague Christina Televantou for graciously providing the images from her excavation project at Strophilas on Andros to use for the cover of this book.

And finally, the members of the Organising and Scientific Committees provided invaluable advice and served as a pool of reviewers for the paper contributions.

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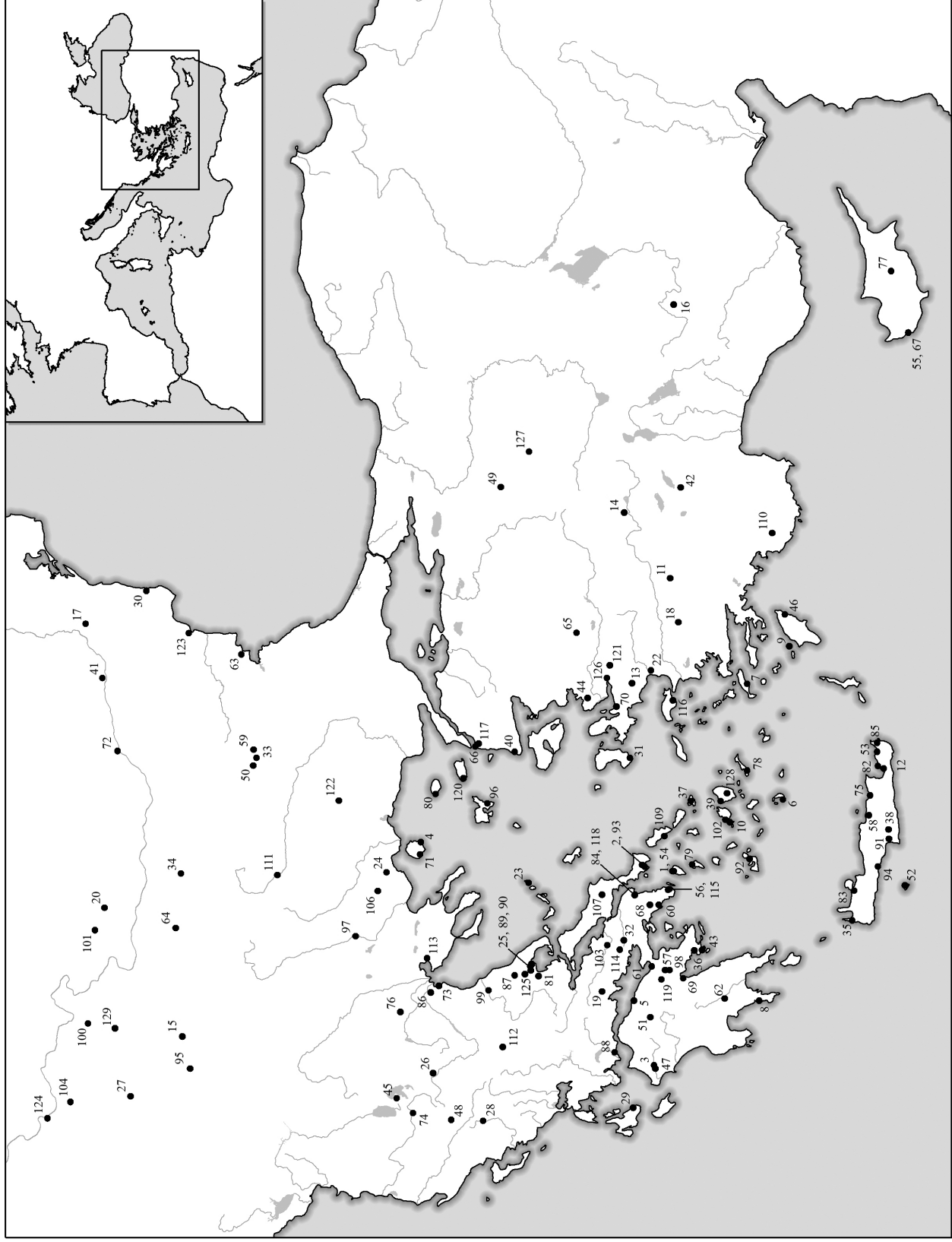
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List of sites



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Part IV

West, Central and South Greece

Demographic transitions from the Earlier Neolithic stages until the first Early Bronze Age settlements in the plains and hill-country of Boeotia, Greece

John Bintliff and Kalliope Sarri¹

Introduction

In this paper, we wish to do two things: firstly, J. Bintliff will present aspects of survey methods important for detecting Neolithic and Bronze Age activity in the landscape, together with the broad trend they reveal across the transition between them. Secondly, K. Sarri will present some of the material we used to construct our diachronic maps.

J. BINTLIFF

The Valley of the Muses and Askra (Fig. 24.1)

This was an early intensive survey, 1982–4,² focused on site discovery, and with only rare collection of diagnostic offsite pottery. Thus, the prehistoric maps (Fig. 24.2) are biased towards prehistoric sherds found during gridding of more obvious Graeco-Roman and Medieval sites.

Nonetheless, after a single findspot on an elevated hillside in the earlier Neolithic period, a clear expansion of settlement occurs across the Final Neolithic–Early Helladic (FN–EH) divide and this proceeds further with the full Early Helladic period (not shown here).

Thespieae town and country (Fig. 24.1)

The city survey was carried out in 1985–6,³ the rural survey between 1989 and 1991.⁴ Although site-focused, a larger sample of offsite pottery was gathered. Nonetheless, all the sites discovered were due to their abundant historic ceramics.

However, when analysing the rural hinterland to the south of ancient Thespieai (the lower right are in the inset in Fig. 24.1), we became convinced by 1999 that small

numbers of prehistoric sherds and lithics found while gridding the historic sites in this district, together with similar scatters found in the offsite transects, were often vestigial small occupation foci, as well as taskscape field activity traces (Fig. 24.3). This led to our controversial FN–EH Hidden Landscape thesis.⁵ The main explosion of small sites and activity in this landscape proved again to be FN–EH.

The urban survey of Thespieae city itself, some 180 hectares, provided another test case to detect pre-urban prehistoric activity since some 15,000 sherds were collected from a large grid (Fig. 24.4).⁶ Earlier Neolithic activity was again highly focused by a small river plain on and around the Thespieae Magoula. In FN–EH times the finer detail now available for this small landscape reveals a dramatic explosion of activity, probably reflecting short-lived small farms, across the later city site, paralleling the trend suggested in the far lower sample of finds from the wider area of countryside to the south just discussed.

However, our analysis of the city survey data gave a severe warning regarding the effect of sample size in landscapes and on sites with dense historic ceramics: the next illustration (Fig. 24.5) correlates the size of the collection from each city grid collection unit (numbers on the left axis, in blue) against the recovery of prehistoric sherds (numbers on the right axis, in red). It turns out that samples of less than 30 sherds have little chance of including prehistoric finds owing to sample error.

Hyettos town and country survey (Fig. 24.6)

Although carried out between 1989–92, the urban and rural survey at Hyettos⁷ benefitted from far higher collection

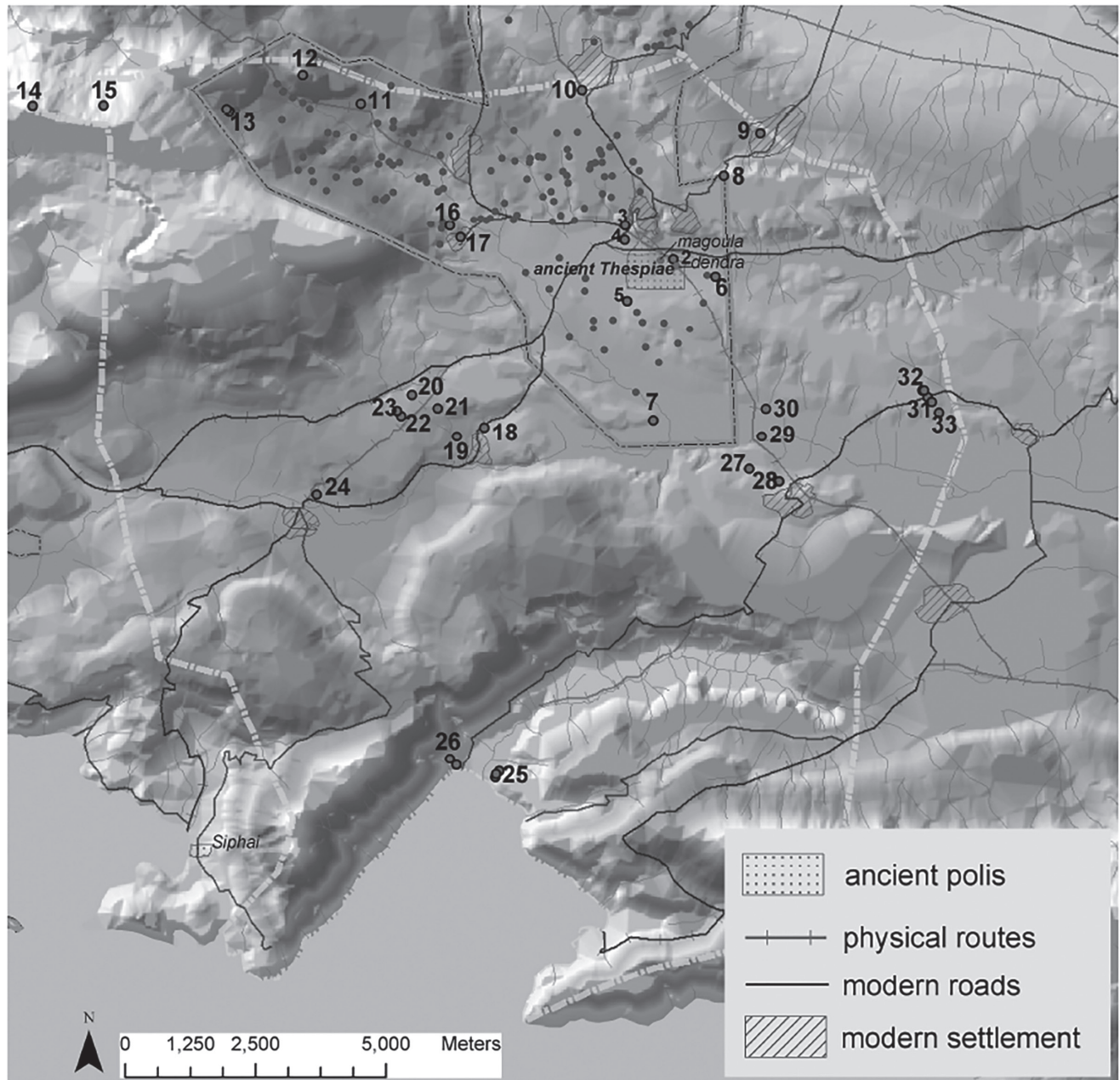


Figure 24.1. Surveyed sites in the Valley of the Muses (inset shape left limb) and the hinterland of ancient Thespias city (right upper and lower parts of the inset shape). From Farinetti 2011, Ch. II.3.9 Fig. 3.

strategies in both the city survey and in its northern hinterland compared to the preceding two case-studies.

Once more however, millions of historic sherds litter the entire landscape and obscure easy recognition of prehistoric sites and other activity foci, and again all the sites recognised by fieldwalkers were dense historic concentrations.

Nonetheless, the large city collection, combined with high collections from the historic sites and from the intervening offsite, could reveal a rich prehistoric landscape (Fig. 24.7) running under the later city, the historic rural sites and across the open land between

them. The earlier Neolithic finds focus on the later acropolis and in the main valley bottomlands, while predictably the FN–EH era sees a wider expansion across the landscape.

Conclusions from the surveys

Survey methods must be hyper-intensive to reveal the complexity of prehistoric activities in rich historic landscapes. The overall Boeotia picture conforms to the Sherratt and Johnson model,⁸ with earlier Neolithic settlement and land

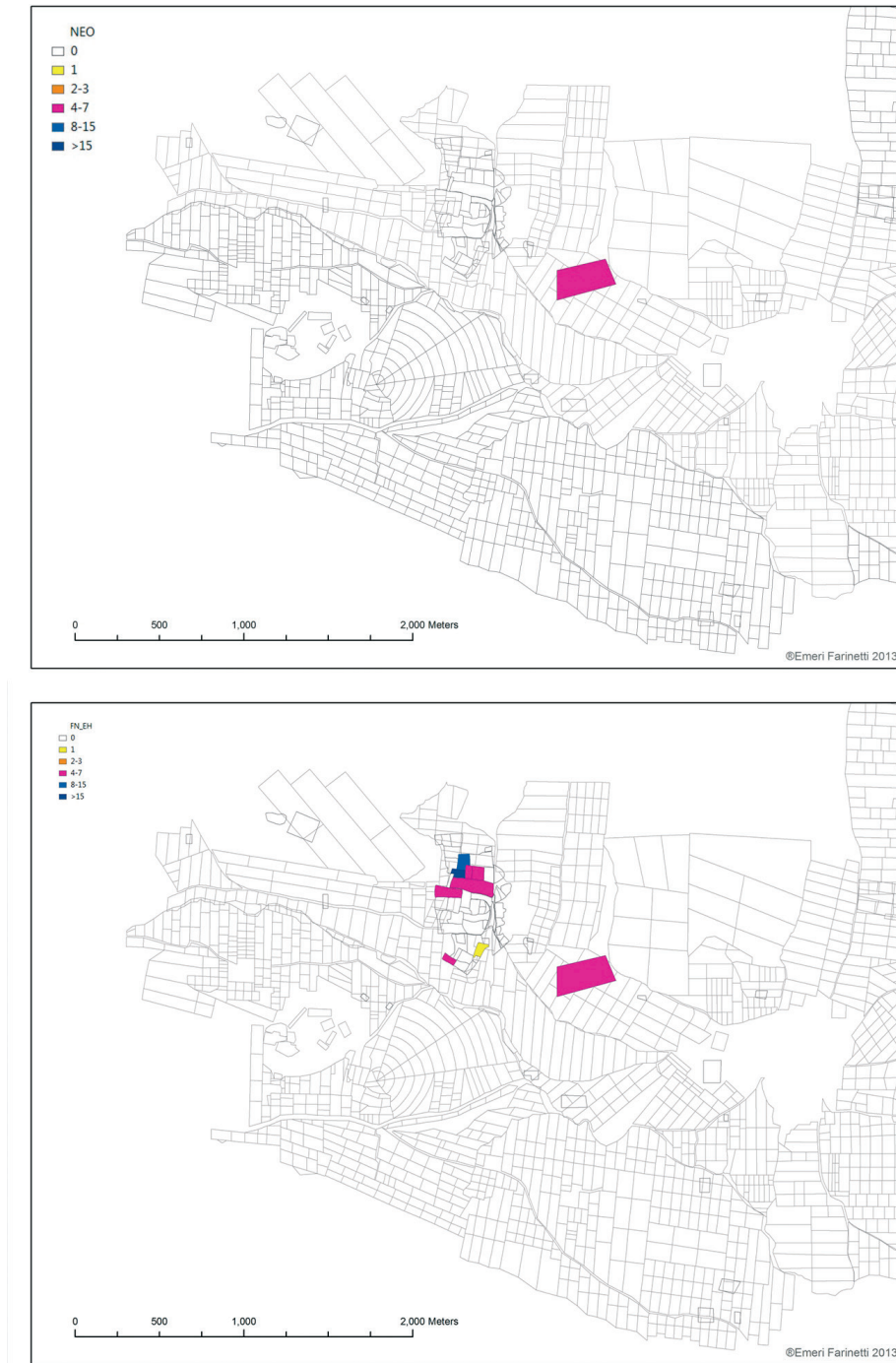


Figure 24.2. Distribution of earlier Neolithic sherds from the Valley of the Muses (upper) and findspots from the Final Neolithic-Early Helladic phase (lower).

use in southern Greece focused on riverine soils suited to intensive hand cultivation, accompanied by much rarer hilltop sites perhaps for ritual or defensive use. In FN-EH times the impact of the ard plough, animal traction and the wider spread of the Secondary Products Revolution gave rise to an explosion of sites across the whole landscape and caused a far more dispersed settlement pattern to develop.⁹

K. SARRI

The pottery evidence

All indications for the existence of FN settlements in the areas of our Boeotian surveys derive exclusively from the ceramic evidence. Apart from this, a limited number

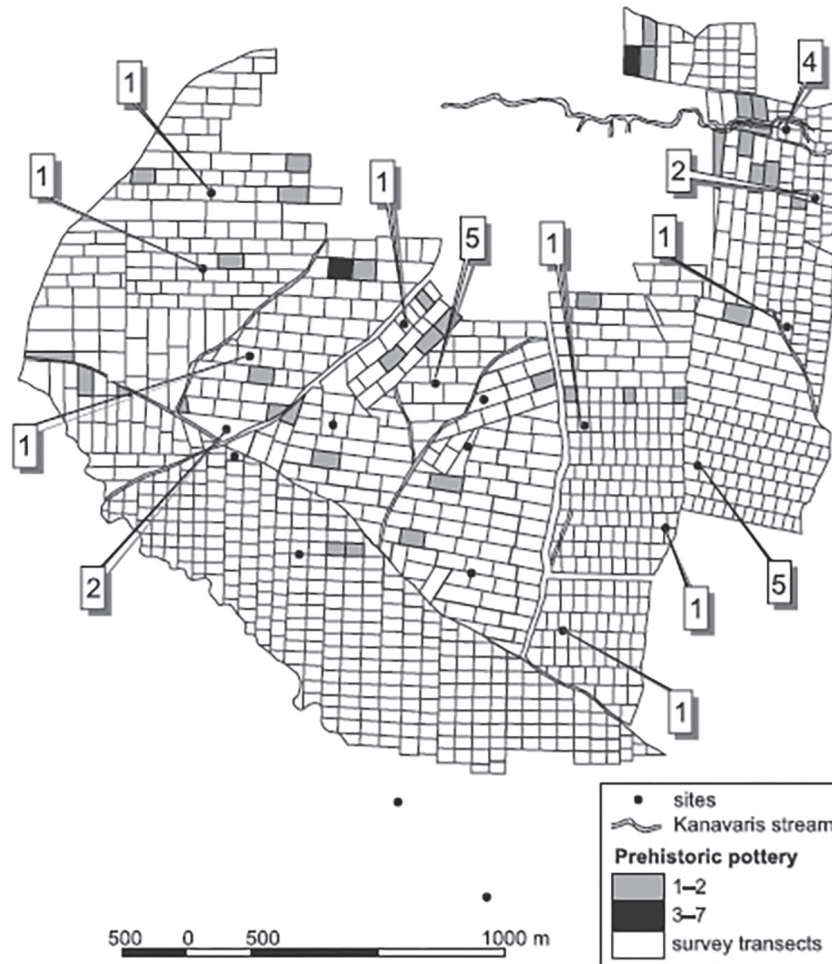


Figure 24.3. Small scatters of prehistoric pottery on historic rural sites (boxes with finds numbers) and in offsite transects (greyscale) in the southern hinterland of Thespieae survey (from Bintliff, Howard and Snodgrass 2007, Fig. 9.1a).

of chipped stone tools have been collected but they don't supply very useful information for dating. The ceramic material discussed in this paper focuses on the period from the final phase of the LN period onwards. It does not include the earlier LN stages characterized by the painted and the black-burnished pottery of the Greek mainland, which is also attested by a smaller group of finds collected at some major prehistoric sites of the survey, namely Thespieae, Hyettos and Ayios Konstantinos, a site in the vicinity of Tanagra.

The Boeotian Final Neolithic has not been adequately studied and there is not enough comparative material available to help us overcome the limitations and dating problems that usually accompany surface finds. Studies of excavated FN pottery come from Thebes and the Sarakenos Cave.¹⁰ The petrographic analysis of the Theban pottery is the first scientific insight into the Later Neolithic pottery production in Boeotia, while the Sarakenos Cave offers rich stratified material useful for chronological observations of our surface finds.¹¹ These comparisons

show that the vast majority of the Neolithic material represented in our survey areas belongs to the later LN and FN stages and comprises mainly coarse, plain, red-slipped and relief decorated wares, and it seems to reach the beginnings of the EH I period.

First evidence from the Tanagra area

The first indications pointing to the FN period appeared in the wider area of Tanagra, particularly at the sites TS 14, TS 17, TS 39 and at the site TS 18 situated on the hill of Ayios Konstantinos in the Asopos valley.¹² In the city of ancient Tanagra only one, but very interesting, pattern-burnished fragment with a discoid knob has been found (Fig. 24.8.6).¹³

At the sites TS 11, TS 13, TS 17 and TS 39 we observed an absence of previous habitation, a fact indicating a range of new installations during the FN period. At sites situated on the banks of tributaries of the Asopos, this is the only

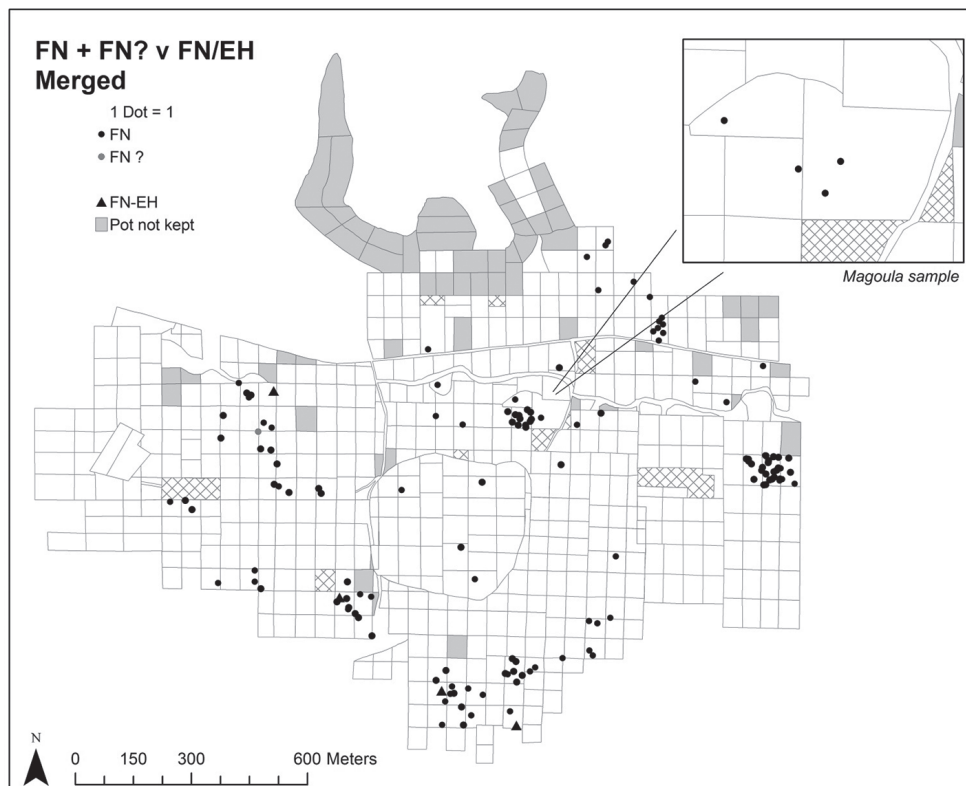
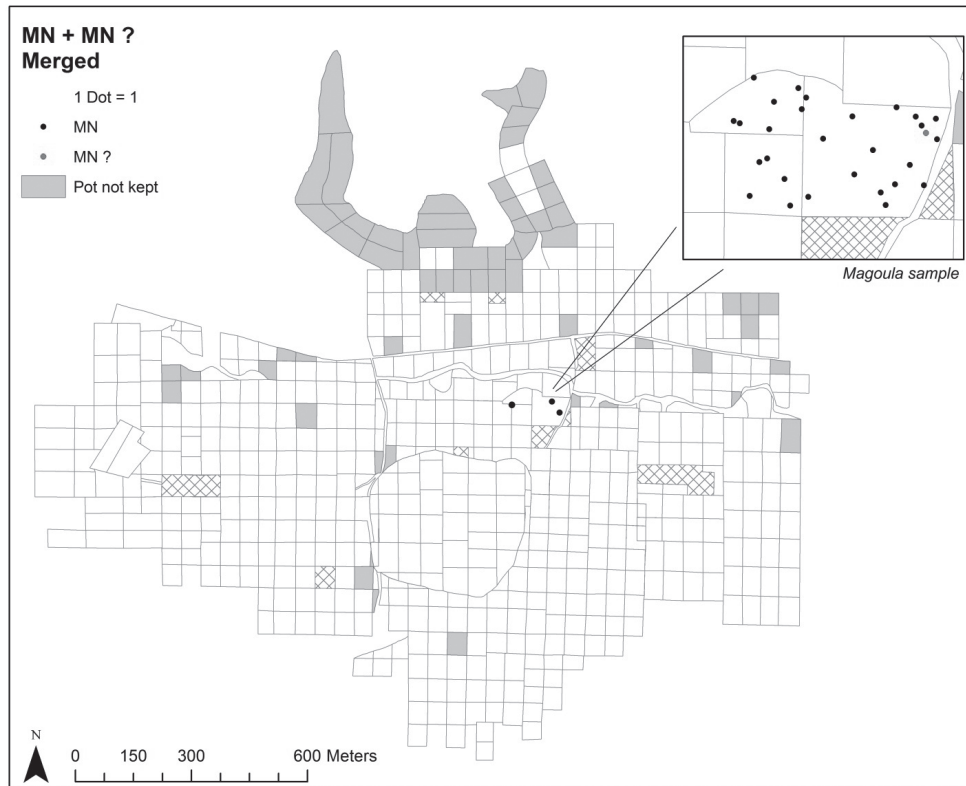


Figure 24.4. Middle Neolithic (upper) and Final Neolithic-Early Helladic sherds from the Thespiee City survey.

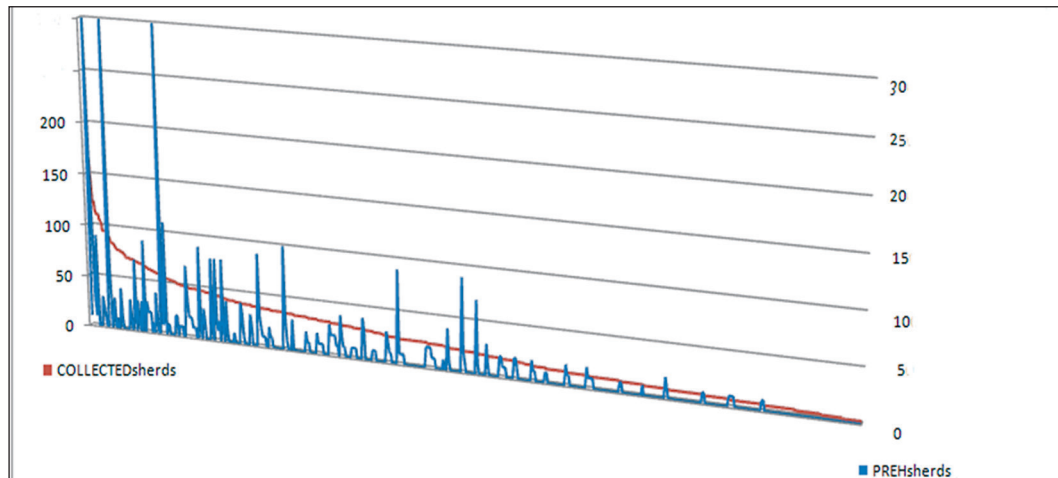


Figure 24.5. Correlation between the total number of sherds collected per grid (left axis numbers and the red line) and the number of prehistoric sherds (right axis numbers and the blue histogram) for the Thespieae city survey.

phase of occupation identified, showing that these were abandoned at the end of the very early phase (EH I) of the EBA period. The site of ancient Tanagra and the hill of Ag. Konstantinos were inhabited also during the earlier Neolithic phases, as a handful of Neolithic sherds show. In the broad investigation area of the Tanagra surveys two types of LN and FN period settlements – sometimes with a short distance between them – have been observed: one situated on the low banks of the Asopos river sometimes cut by it and one on high, naturally fortified places (Fig. 24.9).

Identification and dating

The dating of these finds was puzzling due to the lack of appropriate comparanda from Mainland Greece but also due to the nature of the finds which were – in terms of manufacture, typology and condition – less diagnostic. This pottery group did not fit into any other period; it was solid, numerous and not very dispersed in space but always localized in homogeneous concentrations. It seemed carelessly made, coarse and brittle, fired at moderate temperatures, and with porous and slightly smoothed surfaces often covered with a thin reddish coating. The clay contained much sand, small stone or large lime and white marble inclusions. Some typical FN shapes appeared, such as bowls with inturned or rolled rims (Fig. 24.10.1), vases with thin upright sides, and large storage jars with relief decoration imitating rope, either as horizontal bands below the rim or as curvilinear bands covering large parts of the body. Among the finds there is a peculiar ceramic fragment that may be reconstructed as a handle of a pan-like vessel or a part of a very abstract modelled figurine (Fig. 24.10.5).¹⁴

Final Neolithic finds from the older Boeotian surveys

The FN ceramic groups identified in the area of Tanagra have been subsequently encountered during restudying the material from the earliest surveys in Boeotia.¹⁵ The areas of the Valley of the Muses, the city area of Thespieae and the nearby Magoula, the ancient city of Hyettus and its surrounding area have yielded concentrations of coarse plain and relief decorated wares dated to the Final Neolithic period.

The Thespieae valley

In the Thespieae Magoula, the presence of FN findings is more pronounced than in other areas, with a very important Neolithic site¹⁶ within the ancient city and next to the Kanavaris stream (Fig. 24.4). Whereas in the main area of the Magoula, LN painted, polychrome and black burnished wares are abundant, in the surrounding area the only pottery groups found are the FN coarse wares, scattered with a dispersed pattern over the surrounding low hilly landscape (Fig. 24.3).¹⁷ Among the chronologically distinctive features represented are small vertically pierced lugs (Fig. 24.11.2) and plastic knobs and bands which are placed horizontally or vertically and sometimes decorated with plastic decoration of impressions or incisions (Fig. 24.11.1, 3, 5–6) imitating rope patterns.¹⁸

The Valley of the Muses

Askra is a site with strong activity during a long period of the Bronze Age, and field 39 in particular is the place with the greatest concentration of FN finds (Fig. 24.2 lower, uppermost focus of finds). In a rich but typologically not very distinctive assemblage of FN coarse pottery, a group

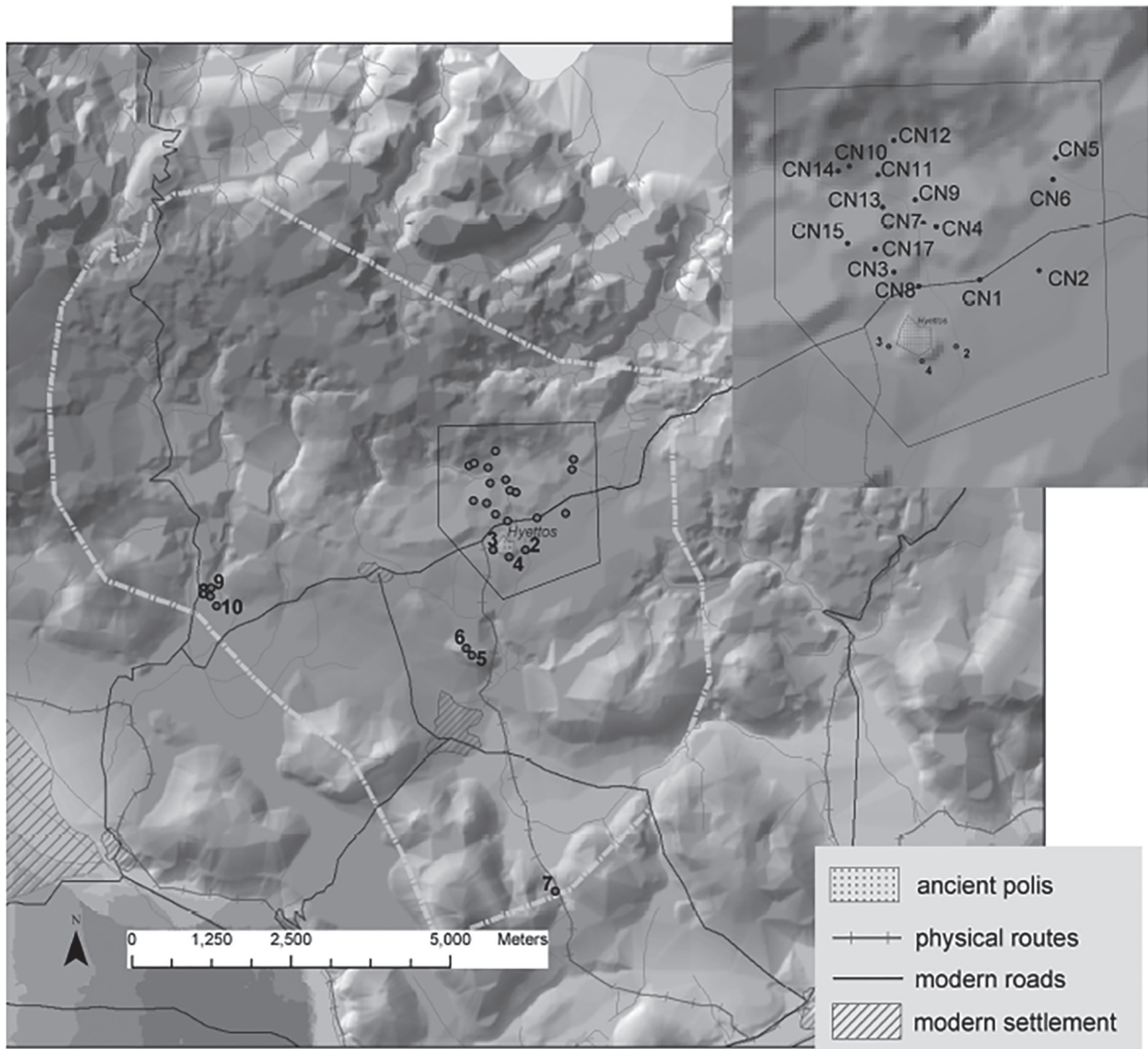


Figure 24.6. Location of the surveyed ancient city of Hyettos and the area of adjacent countryside intensively-surveyed (from Farinetti 2011, ch. II.3.5, fig. 2).

of well dated sherds, some of them with impressed dot decoration placed on the body or on the handles has been identified (Fig. 24.12). This decoration shows links to the material from Kephala on Keos and to the LN Ib phase of Kastria.¹⁹ The most characteristic feature of this assemblage was the traces of vegetal inclusions. Some peculiar shapes have been observed such as a triangular flat handle with decorative incisions on the edges (Fig. 24.13.1).²⁰ The material from Askra shows a gradual transition from the FN to EH I period, since FN coarse fabrics seem to acquire the EH I shapes, such as bowls with inturned or funnel rims. At the site VM 4, which also yielded fairly rich Bronze

Age evidence, there were likewise samples with features dated to the FN (Fig. 24.13.2). Here, as well as at Neochori (Fig. 24.13.3-4), a site at the SW edge of the Valley of the Muses, we localized examples of coarse wares with plastic and incised decorations (Fig. 24.13).

Onchestos

Near the site of the ancient town of Onchestos at the southernmost edge of the Copais plain, where a large amount of surface EH pottery has been collected, many examples of FN ceramics have been found (Fig. 24.14). Typical FN



Figure 24.7. Distribution of earlier Neolithic (upper image) and Final Neolithic-Early Helladic (lower image) sherds from the Hyettos city grid (base of images) and the rural areas to its north. Rural sites are darker grids, offsite transects the underlying quadrat blocks.

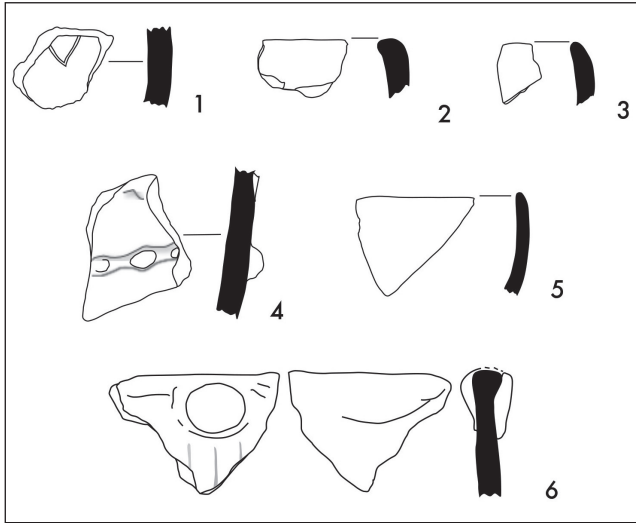


Figure 24.8. Tanagra and TS 39. Scale 1:2.

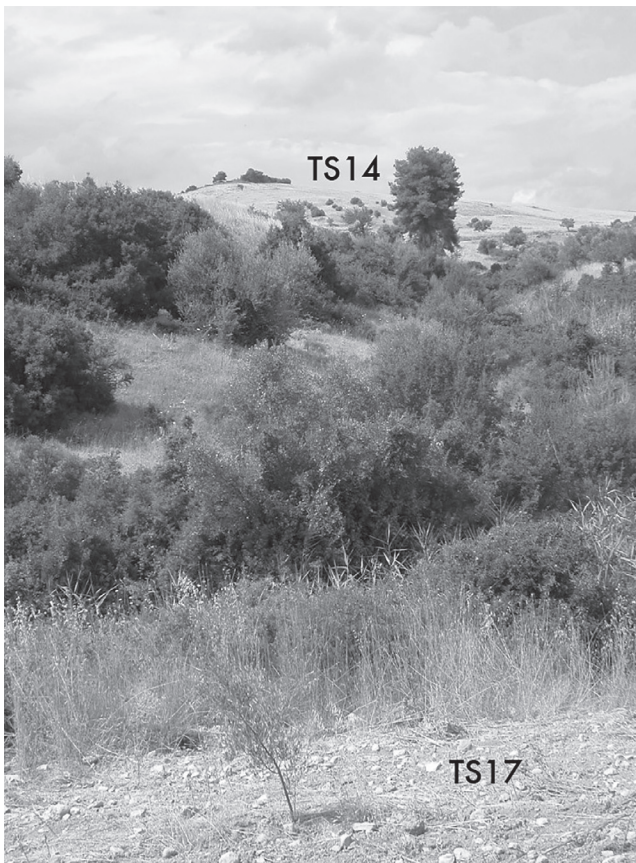


Figure 24.9. Tanagra FN sites TS 17 and TS 14.

examples are the fragments of large open bowls with a series of plastic knobs placed on the rim (Fig. 24.14) providing striking parallels with the distant Petromagoula-Doliana group.²¹ As in the case of Askra, Onchestos showed a smooth transition to EH. This is shown by the abundance of pithoi

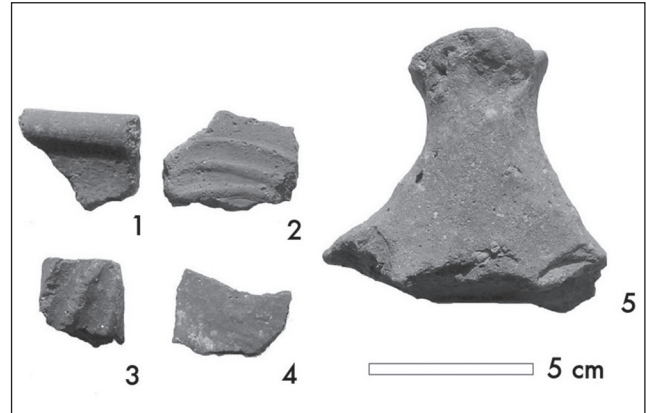


Figure 24.10. Tanagra. Red-slipped fragments from TS39.

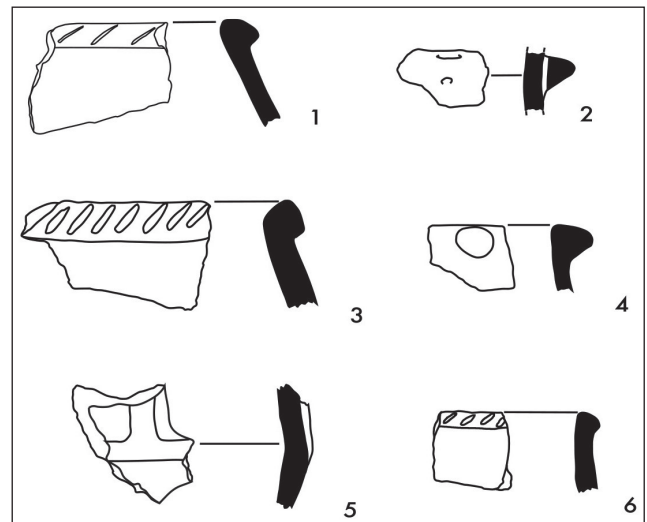


Figure 24.11. Thespiai Magula and area. Coarse FN pottery.

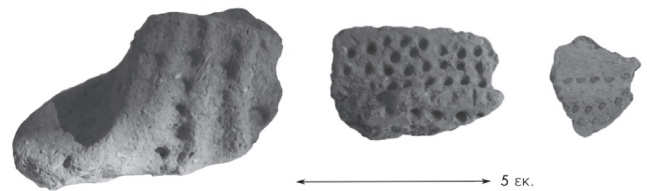


Figure 24.12. Askra. Sherds with stitched decoration.

with rope decoration, bowls with incurved or flaring rims or upright sides now made using the red-slipped or even Urfirnis manufacturing technology.

Hyettos

A very useful observation made during surveying the area of Hyettos was the discovery of a dense concentration of FN ceramics in a restricted area around CN 3, a major historic and prehistoric site (Fig. 24.6).²² FN pottery was

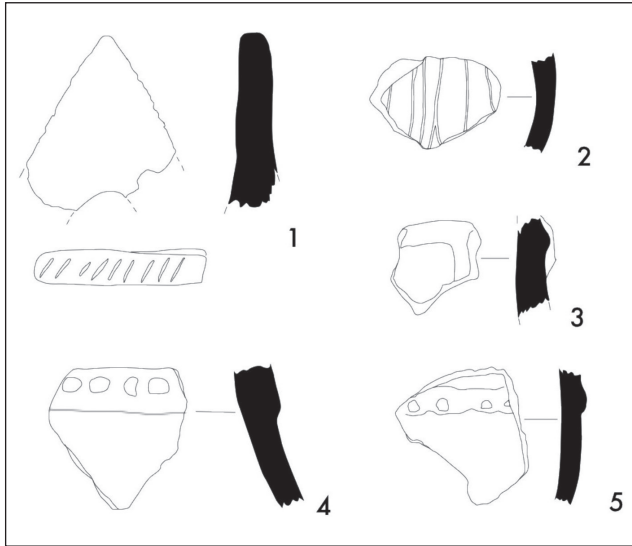


Figure 24.13. Final Neolithic pottery from the Valley of the Muses, Askra and Neochori. Scale 1:2.

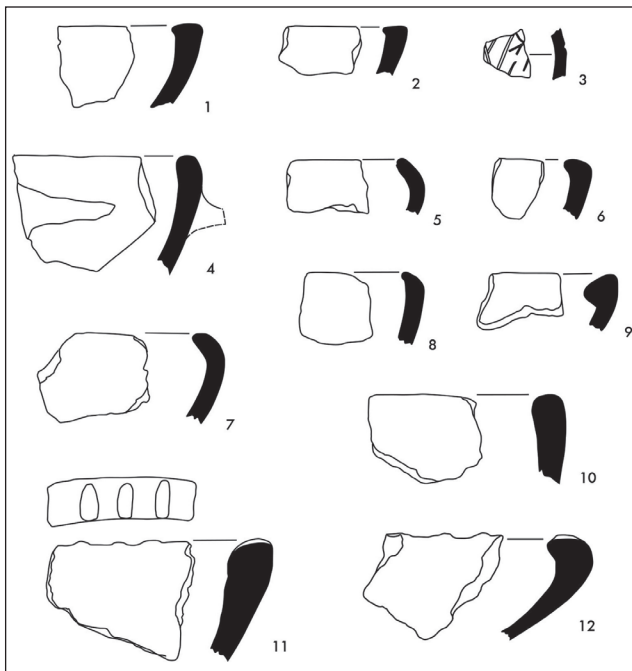


Figure 24.14. Onchestos. Scale 1:2.

found at the main site together with rich remains of all Bronze Age periods but also at nearby sites situated a short distance away, showing an intensive habitation pattern with small satellite settlements of rural character.²³

In the material from Hyettos city several coarse sherds of the same category with vegetal impurities have been identified. Among them is a fragment of a rare tray-shaped vessel with a relief festooning the rim (Fig. 24.15).²⁴ The area of Hyettos is particularly important for comparative

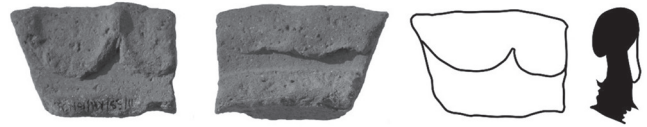


Figure 24.15. Hyettos. Coarse ware with plastic decoration. Scale 1:2.

observations - despite its location in a plain surrounded by low mountains - because it is situated close to Proskynas, a recently excavated and fairly well studied site in Phthiotis which offers good comparanda for the transitional period from the FN to the EH.²⁵ In fact there is also in Proskynas some evidence for a pottery tradition with intentional organic inclusions dated to the EH period.²⁶

Comparisons and external parallels

Comparisons between the FN material from the Boeotian surveys and excavated sites in Boeotia are possible only with the coarse wares from the excavations in Thebes and the Sarakenos Cave. Coarse fabrics are the only pottery group within our survey finds which can be accurately dated to this specific period. The coarse pottery groups from the excavations at Thebes with the plastic and incised rope patterns should be comparable to the survey material. The incised decoration connected with the LN Ib phase at Sarakenos has been identified in only one example from Tanagra and one from Onchestos (Fig. 24.7.1; Fig. 24.14.3).

In sites where the habitation reaches the EH era - such as Onchestos, Hyettos and Haliartos - the transition from the FN seems smooth, since the new EH I shapes of bowls with inturned rims have been formed using the older fabric technology of the coarse red-slipped ware. These observations suggest that in Boeotia there is no clear division between the two periods and that perhaps the EH I period, characterized as the Eutresis phase by D. French and J. Fossey and also in the Bronze Age Gazetteer, could partly belong to the FN period.²⁷

Phases of LN habitation

Resulting from the feature analysis and the external comparisons with stratified material is the recognition of a phase of settlement during the later FN stages, in terms of the Sarakenos sequence, and lasting through the transitional period to EBA. At the sites of Thespieae Magoula and Ayios Konstantinos we have also observed the existence of an earlier LN phase with matt-painted and black burnished pottery, attributed to the LN I and II phases after Alram-Stern.²⁸ In the absence of sufficient material, our classifications are based more on fabric technology than on typological features. What is still

missing in order to create a more detailed chronology are more examples of rolled rim bowls, pattern burnished pottery and incised decoration.

At a number of so-called major prehistoric sites such as Hyettus, Onchestos, Tanagra and Askra, habitation during previous and subsequent periods is attested, while at peripheral sites, such as sites around ancient Tanagra, Hyettus and Thespieae, the settlements are usually single-phased and contain almost exclusively material of the FN phase, which confirms the picture of the rural short-lived settlement character of later and Final Neolithic societies.²⁹

External comparisons

The available material is very comparable to pottery from the first settlement period of Ayios Demetrios in Elis, the Skoteini Cave at Tharounia, the Kastria Cave in Kalavryta and Pangali in Aetolia.³⁰ It is noteworthy that these comparisons are more evident than those with other Boeotian sites. This might mean, first, that the Boeotian FN rural communities, despite their still weak presence and the low quality of pottery production, move in a network of distant contacts, and second that in Boeotia various LN and FN phases are represented, but only certain pottery fabrics – mainly the coarse – are found on intensively surveyed areas. Within this framework, the material discussed here represents the latest phase of the Neolithic culture and it continues into the EH without clear limits so far.

The scarcity and the condition of the finds does not allow a totally clear picture of the chronology and distribution of the FN settlements compared to other prehistoric periods, but it is rather evident that there is an abundance on sites with rich residues of the EH period. The phenomenon leads us to the conclusion that this coarse ware pottery production is very close to the EBA period and perhaps it marks its beginnings. This view is supported by the detection of some common features between these two chronological periods, such as the bowls with incurved rims and the presence of a dark red coating.

Questions and perspectives

The preliminary study of this fragmentary FN material gives us a first idea about the local characteristics, the density and the chronological sequence of Boeotian FN settlements observed in a fairly large geographic area. The focus on the coarse ware groups is due to the lack of other comparative material. This does not mean that this is the only FN pottery class, but that it is the only recognizable at present within non-stratified assemblages. Many of the difficulties we faced to identify and classify the finds are associated with the fact that there are still no detailed descriptions and commonly

accepted terminology for the later Neolithic and Chalcolithic coarse wares and sufficient petrographic studies in Central Greece. A special study of coarse FN fabrics could unfold the features and qualities of this pottery class which is only rarely finer or decorated; but as we have seen in the Boeotian surveys, it can, albeit with a few samples, reveal a whole millennium of Aegean prehistory.

Notes

- 1 We would like to thank for fruitful collaboration and scholarly advice: A. Snodgrass, O. Dickinson, C. Perlès, J. Coleman, Bishop Ieronymos, the Municipality of Thebes, the 9th Ephorate of Antiquities, V. Aravantinos, the Belgian Fund for Scientific Research, the Netherlands Institute at Athens, The Institute for Aegean Prehistory, and students from the Universities of Leiden, Durham, Bergen and Dartmouth College. All distribution maps are made by E. Farinetti.
- 2 Bintliff 1996.
- 3 Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988.
- 4 Bintliff *et al.* 2007.
- 5 Bintliff *et al.* 1999, 2000.
- 6 Bintliff *et al.* forthcoming.
- 7 Bintliff *et al.* 2000.
- 8 Sherratt 1981; Johnson 1996
- 9 Bintliff 2012, chs 3–4.
- 10 See Sampson and Mastrogianopoulou in this volume.
- 11 Sampson 2008.
- 12 Bintliff *et al.* 2004; Bintliff *et al.* 2005; Bintliff *et al.* 2008, 54.
- 13 The statistics from the Tanagra Survey are not discussed here, since they currently are at a stage of reevaluation. For some preliminary results on the prehistoric finds see Farinetti, Sarri and Sbonias 2006.
- 14 Compare this artifact with figurines from Thebes (Tsota 2009) and with a figurine from the Lion's Cave in Attica. Karali *et al.* in the present volume.
- 15 Bintliff 1996.
- 16 For the older Neolithic finds from the Magoula, see Caskey 1951 and Bass 1959.
- 17 Sarri in Bintliff *et al.* forthcoming.
- 18 Compare Fig. 10.2 with Coleman 1977, fig. 28, D and fig. 10. 5 with Ayios Demetrios Phase I, Zachos 2008, pl. 13.B 95 and B 103.
- 19 Coleman 1977, fig. 34, B; Sampson 2008, pl. 56, fig. 60.
- 20 Coleman 1977, fig. 32, A.
- 21 Coleman 2012; Douzougli-Zachos 2002, fig. 8, 1–3.
- 22 More on the prehistoric finds from Hyettos in Sarri 2012.
- 23 Sherratt 1981.
- 24 See a similar flat shape from the 5th period of the Franchthi Cave, Vitelli 1999, fig. 63 d.
- 25 Zachou 2008, Psimogiannou 2009.
- 26 Pentedeka *et al.* 2009, 927.
- 27 French 1972; Hope Simpson-Dickinson 1979; Fossey 1988.
- 28 Alram-Stern in this volume.
- 29 Sherratt 1981.
- 30 Zachos 2008; Sampson 1997; Mavridis and Sorensen 2006.