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# Journal of Greek Archaeology

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## **JOURNAL OF GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY**

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# Sampler Introduction and Contents

Many thanks for downloading this Open Access Sampler for Volume 1 of the *Journal of Greek Archaeology*. This sampler has been designed to act as an introduction and taster to the scope and style of this new journal. Page numbers below relate to this Open Access sampler and appear in the top outer corner on each page. Layout and page numbering shown at the bottom of each page are the same as the final volume. For citation and referencing purposes please list JGA Volume 1 and not this sampler.

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# Editorial: Volume 1

John Bintliff

Why another new journal? Since my PhD research I have specialised in Landscape Archaeology in the Mediterranean, and over the decades this field has broadened in a totally unpredictable fashion. Originally it was developed to locate places mentioned in Classical texts, then Prehistory was added by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with occasional mention of Medieval sites. With the advent of intensive survey in the late 1970s, field-by-field study of the Mediterranean landscape inescapably recorded pottery scatters of every age up to the Post-Medieval era, although it has been a slow progression for post-Roman sites to be given the same attention as earlier eras. The serious study of deserted Medieval and Early Modern villages and farms could be added to the well-known Roman villas and Classical farmsteads recognised from the start of intensive survey programmes. Then the survival of substantial ruined buildings on post-Roman sites called for their documentation and contextualising into similar buildings still rarely observable in existing communities. Just as ancient texts had been invaluable from the beginning of landscape archaeology, so now Medieval and later sources could be brought in to give depth to ceramics and houses in the countryside.

A parallel development can be observed in the archaeology of towns and museum collections. Ever greater prominence was given in recent decades to the post-Roman buildings and artefacts, offering a bridge too to longer-existing but usually disconnected ethnographic and folklore records and museum collections.

Yet publication in journals and textbooks ran up against a long tradition of compartmentalisation by period and academic institutions. Greek and Roman studies had a plethora of periodicals and works of synthesis, Prehistory was divided into a niche within the Classical field or employed its own set of journals and book series. Medievalists published generally apart, and the Post-Medievalists had little scope for their own research. Individual periodicals have nonetheless increasingly introduced occasional insertions outside their main period interest, for example *Hesperia* and the *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*.

For anyone with the widest interest in the archaeology of the Greek World from the Palaeolithic through to the 21st century, including all the countries outside the Aegean where Greeks and Greek culture took root, there has not been a single journal where key papers, reviews and works of synthesis can appear. Given the expansion of Mediterranean rural and urban archaeology into all the periods of the human past, it is indeed opportune to launch such a periodical. The potential of such a *longue durée* approach to the Aegean Greek past has already been explored in a textbook (Bintliff 2012) and an edited conference volume (Bintliff ed. 2015), but already in this first JGA volume we have been able in the articles, not only to cover all our desired timescale, but also extend our geographical net beyond Greece to include Italy, Anatolia, Cyprus and the Levant. Our reviews have the same time-breadth and cover the entire world of Greek culture—except for the migrant communities of Early Modern Australia and the United States (a gap to be filled in the future).

We have kept our policy of an English-language journal with the exception of one book review; haste in getting Volume 1 out on its promised deadline left this still untranslated.

This volume was aided immensely by the support of our Editorial Board, mostly at Edinburgh University, and the many members of our worldwide distinguished Advisory Board. Vital aid to the Editor came from the Editorial Assistant Fiona Mowat, financed by a grant from the Leventis Foundation. The encouragement and continual hard work by our production-publication team at

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# Sample Paper

**‘Greek colonisation’ and Mediterranean networks:  
patterns of mobility and interaction at Pithekoussai**

Lieve Donnellan

(*Journal of Greek Archaeology* 1 (2016): 109–148)

## **‘Greek colonisation’ and Mediterranean networks: patterns of mobility and interaction at Pithekoussai**

Lieve Donnellan

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### **Colonisation, migration and diaspora: framing Greek mobility in the early Iron Age Mediterranean<sup>1</sup>**

Pithekoussai, present-day Ischia, a small island in the Bay of Naples had completely escaped the attention of Antiquarians and government functionaries—some more, some less diligently excavating the many rich archaeological sites around Naples and the Vesuvius since the 17th century—until native resident and archaeologist Giorgio Buchner uncovered the first tombs, shortly after WW II, and with it, opened a previously neglected chapter in Greek history, that of ‘Euboean colonisation’.<sup>2</sup> Since the discovery of Pithekoussai, scholarly attention for Greek, especially Euboean ‘colonisation’ has skyrocketed, and the Euboeans have been hailed as the first Greek prospectors, pioneers, the openers of the Mediterranean after the Dark Ages and the creators of the pivotal Greek institution of overseas colonisation—an institution which would transform the Greek world thoroughly.<sup>3</sup> The increased attention for the Euboean colonisation movement helped define Greek colonial studies as a separate subject of study, after pioneering work by scholars such as that of Jean Bérard and Tom Dunbabin, who collected literary evidence and confronted it with the, at that time, scarcely known archaeological remains.<sup>4</sup> Pithekoussai, however, has uninterruptedly been at the heart of studies and debates on ancient Greek ‘colonisation’.

Reservations regarding the existence of an ancient Greek ‘colonisation’—in the modern sense of the world—were formulated as soon as the subject surfaced as a more popular scholarly topic. Early critiques were, most notably, expressed by Moses Finley. But it was only from the late 1990s onwards that more substantial criticisms started following one another rapidly.<sup>5</sup> Together with an increased interest in new conceptualisations of Mediterranean mobility and interaction, connectivities and networks, the nature of Greek ‘colonisation’ continued to be revised.<sup>6</sup> The recent ‘colonisation’ debate has produced many interesting contributions and led to the questioning of ontologies and heuristics of Classical archaeological and more general scholarly concepts and approaches to ancient mobility and intercultural interaction. A number of scholars actively seek to restore or save ‘colonisation’ and its ‘traditionalist’ approaches, in the face of those who reject the heuristic value of the term completely, and prefer to use terms such as migration, diaspora or mobility instead.<sup>7</sup> Despite many differences still remaining between various ‘schools’, it is clear, perhaps surprisingly, that there are

<sup>1</sup> My research was made possible by a Dorothea Schlözer Fellowship, awarded by the Georg-August-University in Göttingen. I wish to thank the Göttinger Archaeological Institute for their kind hospitality.

<sup>2</sup> Main publications of the necropolis: Ridgway 1992; Buchner and Ridgway (eds) 1993; Nizzo 2007. References to the ‘chronicle’ of the discoveries can be found throughout these volumes.

<sup>3</sup> *Contribution* 1975; *Gli Eubei* 1978; Lenger 1981; Bats and d’Agostino 1998. See Papadopoulos 1997 for an extensive critique.

<sup>4</sup> Bérard 1941; Dunbabin 1948. See on Dunbabin: de Angelis 1998; Shepherd 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Finley 1976; Papadopoulos 1997; Osborne 1998; Yntema 2000; also in Papadoulos 2011; Osborne 2008, 2016; Yntema 2011, 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Horden and Purcell 2000; Malkin 2005; recently Broodbank 2013.

<sup>7</sup> Most notably various contributions in Tsatsikhladze 2006; Greco 2006; Tsatsikhlade and Hargrave 2011; Lombardo and Frisone 2009, *Alle origine* 2012, the discussion section in *Ancient West & East* 10, Donnellan *et al.* 2016a and 2016b.



also shared concerns, such as a general recognition of the role of native populations, the awareness of the need to contextualise both the phenomena studied and the scholarly concepts and methods to approach them. Moreover, it is commonly recognised now that diversity, rather than convergence, reigned over processes of ancient mobility and settlement, and it seems to all that the most fertile approaches might be the ones that combine a broader and interdisciplinary framework.<sup>8</sup>

At the heart of the Greek colonisation debate lies the acute question as to what the foundations, called *apoikiai* by the ancient Greek writers, ‘colonies’ by the Latin authors, actually were.<sup>9</sup> Scholars such as Irad Malkin have attempted to define a process of Greek colonisation, based mainly on textual references.<sup>10</sup> Founders, called *oikistes*, were either appointed in the mother city, usually in response to a crisis of some sort (famine or political strife or personal crisis resulting in voluntarily exile).<sup>11</sup> Founders of overseas settlements are mentioned as early as Homer, and it is thought that the reference expresses actual contemporary Greek concerns regarding the relocating of settlements.<sup>12</sup> The accompanying settlers were chosen, either by lot from the city’s population, or were invited by the founder from elsewhere, if insufficient numbers could be drawn from the homeland. Herodotos and Thucydides were the first to narrate substantially on foundations and settlers. Importantly, as Herodotos stresses, the founder had to go to Delphi, to seek divine sanction—Apollo’s approval was deemed obligatory for all colonial expeditions. The Spartan Dorieus failed to comply with this custom, and paid for his mistake with his life.<sup>13</sup> Often, as numerous foundation myths expound, the oracle provided the expedition with a clue, such as a distinct landmark, of where a prosperous settlement could be founded.

The figure of the founder played a fundamental role in the establishment of the settlement. According to the image drawn from the ancient texts, the *oikistes* assumed the duty of town planner, main priest and political leader—duties and honours for which he received a cult after his death. Founders’ cults are attested archaeologically, though not in every settlement. Through the founder, the relation with the homeland was assured, and the founder remained at the heart of a foundation’s identity throughout its existence.<sup>14</sup>

To a vast group of scholars, this type of traditional historical foundational narrative still constitutes the basic framework for studying Greek overseas settlement. The focus of research thus lies on the distillation of a true version among often various, even rival narratives, in an attempt to construct a coherent historical sequence of facts. However, as Naoíse MacSweeney recently pointed out, foundation myths were a discourse, played out in different media, with stories sometimes reinforcing each other, sometimes contradicting each other.<sup>15</sup> More recent nuanced comprehensions of ancient foundation myths, however, continue to contribute to our understanding of the construction of ancient notions of home and motherland.<sup>16</sup>

More critical readings of ancient Greek colonisation have elicited the introduction of alternative terms for ‘colonisation’, such as ‘migration’, ‘diaspora’ or more neutrally, ‘mobility’.<sup>17</sup> The use of an alternative concept entails in some cases new epistemological questions, but in other cases, the replacement remains within the existing heuristic framework of colonisation.<sup>18</sup> Regrettably, simply substituting one term through another one, merely because it seems more fashionable, without

<sup>8</sup> Donnellan and Nizzo 2016; de Angelis 2016.

<sup>9</sup> Donnellan and Nizzo 2016.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Malkin 1987, 2009.

<sup>11</sup> On common foundation themes: Dougherty 1993a, 1993b. For a deconstruction of Greek foundation myths see: Hall 2006.

<sup>12</sup> Malkin 1998; Osborne 1998.

<sup>13</sup> Hdt. *Hist.* 5.42–48.

<sup>14</sup> On colonial identities: Calame 2003; Giangiulio 2001, 2010.

<sup>15</sup> MacSweeney 2014. See also Dougherty 1994 on the occasions for the performance of foundation myths.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Malkin 2016.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. Garland 2014; Martinez-Sève 2012; van Dommelen 2012; Osborne 2016.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. rather uncritical treatment of overseas settlement in Garland 2014.

questioning the underlying heuristic values, adds very little to the study of the actual process of mobility and interaction, that scholars came to address as 'colonisation'.

The adoption of alternative concepts such as 'diaspora' or 'migration' have indeed accomplished a broadening of the study of ancient human mobility. Several presuppositions underlying the process, however, still go largely unchallenged. The intrinsic idea of Greek 'colonisation' as a movement in which groups of *Greeks founded new settlements* has hardly ever been questioned.<sup>19</sup> Greeks are still and invariably seen as the instigators of settlement in Southern Italy, Sicily and elsewhere. The traditional scholarly approaches to Greek colonisation-as-foundation, to use Peter van Dommelen's term,<sup>20</sup> are insufficient when it comes to grappling with processes of Mediterranean mobility, interaction and the subsequent social and cultural transformations that were caused by it. A focus on these patterns of human mobility, intercultural interaction and political formation processes is necessary if we are in turn to grasp the process that Cyprian Broodbank has aptly called 'the making of the Middle Sea', in all its detail.<sup>21</sup>

### Disentangling processes of mobility and interaction

The focus of attention of several scholars interested in Greek (and other ancient) colonisations has shifted, since a number of years, to interaction between different cultural groups. Drawing on postcolonial thinking, archaeologists have successfully moved away from the racist, imperialist and one-dimensional notions of Greek colonisers conquering and civilising native wild tribes.<sup>22</sup> The concept of 'hybridity' has hereby often been used as a postcolonial interpretative framework for the description of the dynamic intercultural interactions and exchanges between colonisers and colonised.

Notions of 'colonisers' versus 'colonised', however, even in a revised cultural interactionist scheme, also are at risk of being used as essential categories: colonial identities and relations of economic, social and political inequality between colonists and colonised, between suppressors and suppressed are being produced and reproduced in continuing encounter and interaction. They are not pre-existing categories. Allowing for native agency in the reconstruction of intercultural interaction and exchange is not enough. The production of these differences must be studied as well. Disparate relations and identities arise often along ethnic lines of 'new' and 'old' groups, but the interaction, sometimes, can also transform existing local categories and relations, and amplify them towards a gross exaggeration of previous local dissimilarities.<sup>23</sup>

Pithekoussai is a case in point. Supposedly founded around 775/770 BC by Euboeans (the founders being mentioned by Strabo and Livius)<sup>24</sup> on a previously uninhabited island, the tombs have yielded large quantities, not of Euboean Geometric pottery as one would expect of a Euboean foundation (Euboean pottery is present but is most certainly not dominant), but proto-Corinthian, and in addition many other productions from elsewhere in the Mediterranean (from the Levant, Rhodes, Phoenician 'colonies', the indigenous world, ...).<sup>25</sup> Metalwork (fibulae, jewelry) is virtually exclusively inspired by indigenous forms—if not actual imports from the mainland.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Some notable exceptions are Osborne 1998; Yntema 2000, 2011.

<sup>20</sup> van Dommelen 2012: 399.

<sup>21</sup> Broodbank 2013.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. van Dommelen 1997, 2011, 2012, 2014; Antonaccio 2005, 2013; Malkin 2004; Burgers and Crielaard 2011, 2016.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. the well-studied modern construction of opposite Hutu and Tutsi identities in modern Rwanda. Differences were initially very loosely defined, but next exploited by the Belgian colonial administration, eventually resulting in strictly defined groups and attempts to achieve ethnic purity through genocide. See Vantemsche 2007, esp. 129 (with literature).

<sup>24</sup> Strab. 5, 4, 9, Liv. 8, 22, 6.

<sup>25</sup> Papadopoulos 1997 and Nizzo 2007 produce useful quantifications of painted pottery categories.

<sup>26</sup> Guzzo 2004; Macnamara 2006; Lo Schiavo 2006.

Since the early days of the discovery of the necropolis, the excavators and other scholars have stressed that Pithekoussai was a mixed society of Greeks, natives, and Phoenicians<sup>27</sup> The characterisation of the relations between these different ethnic/cultural groups is, however, significantly and almost invariably predetermined by the colonisation perspective: Greeks are pictured as founders, colonists and initiative-takers, Phoenicians as *epoikoi*, or diasporic residents and traders.<sup>28</sup> The natives are considered as marginal, either as slaves and/or as spouses, but always implying a subordinate position to Greek colonists.<sup>29</sup> The intermarriage hypothesis is considered by most scholars as sufficient to explain the presence of indigenous material at Pithekoussai.<sup>30</sup> Only recently, in a paper by Olivia Kelley, was this position rejected.<sup>31</sup> She suggested that also male tombs could be related to the native world. The connection she saw was not one of marginality, but a materialisation of elite display, through the use of artefacts in a similar way as in Southern Etruria. Kelley is one of the very few scholars who stress the active involvement of the indigenous population in the creation of material culture on the island.

Otherwise, the mixed, hybrid, Pithekoussan population, remains, for most scholars, difficult to capture. Scholars recognised early on, that the first Greek foundations, such as Pithekoussai, were initiated at a time—as was thus conceptualised—that the Greek world had not yet politically matured, i.e. was not yet formed as the archetypical world of the polis.<sup>32</sup> This has led to the widely-shared opinion that Pithekoussai was ‘*un apoikia particolare*’, a ‘special’ foundation.<sup>33</sup> Because of the political embryonal stage, natives could have been part of the local society, as wives of the Greek colonists, or as slaves, and thus an atypical Greek pre-polis colony would have been produced.

Pithekoussai is certainly special for many reasons: the large number of tombs excavated, the excellent publication of many of them, the immense variety of objects coming from the Mediterranean. But Pithekoussai was *not* a special Greek foundation. The Pithekoussan case demonstrates the limited reach of past approaches, and brings to the fore the pressing need for renewed critical scrutiny of the evidence. A new approach needs to take into account processes of mobility and settlement, exchange and interaction, without using predetermined labels of ‘Greeks’, ‘natives’, ‘colonists’, ‘colonised’, ‘slaves’ etc. It needs to look at how cultural interaction and human mobility developed through time, produced social and cultural/ethnic inequalities and led to the cultural reality we know. Fundamental hereby would be to focus on the materiality of interaction.<sup>34</sup>

Since two decades, classical (and other) archaeologists have increasingly become aware that ‘pots do not equal people’ and that material cultures cannot be equated with monolithic, uniform and harmoniously organised groups.<sup>35</sup> The focus of these identity studies long lay in disentangling the construction of ethnic, cultural, religious, regional, gender and other identities, but attention is now increasingly shifting towards the material form of expressions. How the interactions, from which these identities rose, were materialised and what effect intercultural contact and exchange had on the materialities of expression are becoming increasingly compelling questions.<sup>36</sup>

Changing perceptions on connectivity have greatly contributed to reformulating ancient mobilities and interactions. Even though concepts, terminology and theoretical concerns differ, archaeologists are coming to realise that a combined study of local phenomena in terms of consumption/appropriation/

<sup>27</sup> E.g. Buchner 1975; Ridgway 1992, 2000a, 2000b; Guzzo 2011, esp. 73–74; d’Agostino 1999, 2009; Nizzo 2007; Nizzo & ten Kortenaar 2010.

<sup>28</sup> As stressed by Papadopoulos 1997.

<sup>29</sup> But read the very sensible critical remarks to the intermarriage hypothesis in Saltini Semerari 2016.

<sup>30</sup> Coldstream 1993; Shepherd 1999.

<sup>31</sup> Kelley 2012.

<sup>32</sup> d’Agostino and Ridgway (eds) 1994.

<sup>33</sup> d’Agostino 1994. See also Greco 1994.

<sup>34</sup> van Dommelen & Knapp 2010.

<sup>35</sup> Contributors (among many others): Jones 1997; Hall 1997, 2002, 2016; Malkin 2001; Lomas & Shefton 2004.

<sup>36</sup> van Dommelen & Knapp 2010.

use of 'things'/etc. within their broader context of globalisation, migration, diaspora or networks is actually very productive.<sup>37</sup> Such a framework helps to overcome the limits of approaches that focus exclusively on the negotiation of identities on the one hand, or patterns and processes of the exchange of objects on the other. As de Angelis convincingly points out '*such an approach not only underlines how regionalism and globalism are closely linked, but it also takes more account of local conditions and their relationship to regional and global dynamics*'.<sup>38</sup> Comparable concerns have been expressed in recent work by Tamar Hodos. She has focused on localised responses to globalisation, with the understanding that globalisation, unlike previous meta-narratives, '*does not suggest a unified world society or culture, but rather comprises sets of practices or bodies of knowledge that transgress cultural or national ideas and are shared between those interacting at the global level*'.<sup>39</sup> Miguel Versluys sees a conceptual understanding which focuses on things in motion, or the materiality of interaction and a parallel analysis of broader, global trends as the productive archaeological response to the study of Roman colonisation, imperialism and its cultural responses.<sup>40</sup> The concept of connectivity provides Versluys with the alternative to (post)colonial constructs, which, as he rightfully stresses, do not really allow a deconstruction of the Roman versus Natives narrative (whether in an 19th century imperialist and pro-Roman view or in a postcolonial pro-Native resistance perspective). Object diasporas make up the Roman world, and within this framework of connectivity, the negotiation of power, identities and interaction, conducted with objects, should be studied.

### Interaction and networks: modes of analysis

Recognising the major concerns and common denominators of all these recent contributions, the approach adopted in the present paper draws on a quantitative, formal network analysis, to enable the study of many contexts containing—together—some thousands of objects. This quantitative analysis is informed by a broader methodological and interpretative framework, that draws on the complementarity of different time scales in the study of the human past. This explicit simultaneous analysis, at different time scales, is most closely related to an *Annales*-School approach.

Interest in Fernand Braudel, and with it, the *Annales* School, has received an enormous boost with the work of Horden and Purcel, and more recently, of Cyprian Broodbank. But *Annales*-informed approaches in archaeology are, in reality, nothing new. Already in the early 1990's John Bintliff published a book in which the use of different time scales was proposed as a solution to overcome the agency/structure opposition, when the archaeological discipline was splitting into the diverging processualist and postprocessualist schools.<sup>41</sup> Only one year later, a volume edited by Bernard Knapp, similarly explored the possibilities offered by a distinction of time and space in the fashion of Braudel.<sup>42</sup>

Both Bintliff and Knapp pointed out the many advantages in that the interdisciplinary intake and dynamic views of time and space of an *Annales*-informed approach for Mediterranean archaeology. But with the exception of landscape archaeologists, who inevitably focus on broader patterns and time scales, it appears, however, that mainstream archaeology did not pick up Braudelian and *Annaliste* themes, until Horden and Purcell's landmark publication in 2000. Yet, even now, a not insignificant part of mainstream archaeologists claiming to work in the spirit of Braudel, simply uses the now fashionable term 'longue durée' to indicate that they are looking at a phenomenon which lasted more than a couple of years, without in the least addressing the implications of a truly interdisciplinary and multiscale method of analysis the *Annalistes* advocate!

<sup>37</sup> Recently also Kistler *et al.* 2015. See elsewhere in this volume for my review of this book.

<sup>38</sup> de Angelis 2013: 4.

<sup>39</sup> Hodos 2009: 221.

<sup>40</sup> Versluys 2014: 11.

<sup>41</sup> Bintliff 1991. Also Bintliff 2004, 2008, 2012.

<sup>42</sup> Knapp 1992a, b.

Thus, based on these various theoretical premises, it is claimed here that it is possible to study the materiality of interaction through the formation of networks. It is proposed to study the negotiation of objects, practices, the construction of power relations and the reproduction of identities at a micro level, whereas broader patterns, consumption-scapes or object diasporas, are studied at the meso scale. The lack of attention to agency and the way ties were formed, a critical point in many formal network studies is overcome by a multi-scalar analysis.

The last decade has seen a steep rise in the number of archaeological/historical network studies, analysing road networks, settlement intervisibility, exchange networks, identity formation, and much more.<sup>43</sup> Rather surprisingly, to my knowledge, no substantial research has taken up the challenge to analyse funerary datasets. This might be due to the fact that few digitised datasets are available, and obtaining them through a manual digitisation process is very time consuming. The advantages of putting in the effort are, however, enormous.

The network analysis presented in the next section, is used as a statistical method in order to reorganise archaeological data, which have been obtained from excavations. A quantitative method of study allows the inclusion of *all* objects and remains into the analysis, as well as the common remains of daily life and the less exotic or rich contexts. A quantitative analysis, like network analysis, furthermore does not just quantify, as do other methods of quantification, such as histograms, but has the additional advantage that it places data within their context. Patterns are looked at in combination, rather than in isolation. It is this attention to relations that distinguishes network analysis and which, I believe, yields great potential for archaeological research. The importance of studying and understanding artefacts and structures in context has been stressed by archaeologists for decades.

The quantitative network analysis conducted here looks at patterns of connectivity in the large body of data of the Pithekoussan necropolis. Combined with a multiscalar analysis, this method permits us to move away from traditional narratives of ‘Greek foundation’ and instead enables us to focus on the materiality of mobility and interaction. The network analysis concentrates on burials and the cultural relations/connections they express materially. The micro scale analysis focuses on details of tombs, practices surrounding death, the framing and reframing of material culture, and the construction of identities.

A burial, in this analysis, is considered as a coherent set of actions carried out by a group of people, with the purpose of burying a deceased friend or relative.<sup>44</sup> These acts are carried out according to norms and expectations set out by the society(-ies) to which they belong. Whereas burial is invested with important cultic meaning related to perceptions of life and afterlife, the occasion also provides unique opportunities for manipulation, through conspicuous feasting, sacrifice or the disposal of wealth.<sup>45</sup> Even though much of the performance surrounding death escapes our detection, the material remains can often be retrieved, in the form of a manipulation of space—through the construction of a tomb, and other ritual behaviour—such as feasting or sacrifice, the use of special dress, bodily adornment and other tokens, considered to be appropriate for public funerary display. These material remains, pertaining to ritual behaviour surrounding death, are meaningful, and the selection of raw materials, shapes and decoration of the objects and structures that frame and enable the funerary performance, are the result of decisions made within a framework of social interaction and ideology. By extrapolating certain aspects of these choices for analytical means, it is possible—in some cases—to detect repetitive behaviour that could be related to ideology, social categories, institutions etc. Such an analytical focus on origins (in a broad sense) of the materiality of funerary performances

<sup>43</sup> E.g. Malkin 2005, 2011; Knappett 2011; Brughmans 2010, 2012, 2014; Blake 2014; Evans & Felder 2014; Collar *et al.* 2015.

<sup>44</sup> A recent overview on the theory of death and burial can be found in Nizzo 2015.

<sup>45</sup> E.g. as set out by Dietler 1999, 2001.



allows us to shift away from the traditional 'painted fine wares' approach and the a priori assumptions about the cultural context of Pithekoussan funerary rituals as relating to the Greek/Euboean sphere.<sup>46</sup>

## Interaction and transformation at Pithekoussai

### *The micro scale: funerary practice at Pithekoussai*

At Pithekoussai, the attribution of ethnic labels to material culture has led to the reinforcement of a colonial interpretation regarding the origins of the settlement. This interpretation has primarily been based on textual evidence, dating from Roman times, that states that Pithekoussai was settled by Greeks from Euboea. Operating from a culture-historical perspective, scholars have generally considered culture as a well-defined set of practices and objects, that characterised a region at a certain time. Thus, in cases of Greek colonisation, such as at Pithekoussai and elsewhere, they assumed that this set of culture and practices was imported from the motherland—in the case of Pithekoussai therefore, meaning Euboea. Even though the archaeological record does not in the least confirm the existence of a well-defined set of funerary practices at Euboea either, most scholars have (and still do) nevertheless interpreted all the remains on Pithekoussai as being Euboean. This despite the fact that the differences between tombs on Euboea and Pithekoussai are numerous.

One of the main supposed 'markers' of Euboeanness is the introduction of the cremation rite, a rite which was seemingly unknown among the native populations in the 'precolonial' period. Traditionally, the Bay of Naples is seen as a part of the so-called Iron Age *a fossa* culture, or 'culture of the pit tombs', a culture where the dead were inhumed instead of cremated, the latter rite being customary among the Villanovan groups of Southern Etruria and Campania. The introduction of the novel cremation rite at Pithekoussai (and on the opposite shore at the slightly later 'colony' of Cuma) could, therefore, only be connected to the arrival of the Euboean colonists, as mentioned in the sources. Disproportionate attention has been paid in research through the years to the cremation tombs, while the inhumation tombs have mostly remained neglected, for being poorer, and, supposedly, belonging to natives.<sup>47</sup>

The closest parallels for the Pithekoussan inhumation tombs can indeed be found among the native sites in Campania—parallels which scholars have ignored completely because of the prevalent colonial interpretative framework. The parallels lie not in the tombs being poor, but in the construction method. Pithekoussan tombs were simple pits, possibly aligned, fully or partially, by boulders and often, but not always, covered by a small tumulus, also composed of small boulders. Some tombs were marked by a large standing boulder. This way of constructing tombs is markedly different from what is known from Euboea. However, the use of stones and boulders for marking the inner sides of the tomb is a technique dominant in native contexts in Campania, for example at Cuma, or Pontecagnano.<sup>48</sup> The custom of constructing small tumuli is traced by some scholars to Oropos, near Eretria,<sup>49</sup> but the practice actually finds multiple parallels in native contexts, in Cuma and Pontecagnano, contexts which precede or are contemporary with 'Greek colonisation' in Pithekoussai. Ettore Gabrici, the publisher of the necropolis at Cuma, on the mainland opposite the island of Pithekoussai, where, supposedly, soon after Pithekoussai a new Euboean colony was founded, already mentions *explicitly* that some of the pit tombs were not filled with sand, but with an accumulation of stones placed in a pyramid-shaped construction.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, Gabrici argued, as early as 1913, that the natives did not only inhumate their dead, as scholars previously thought, but that changes in the rites were already apparent before the Greeks arrived.<sup>51</sup> Gabrici, however, did not possess the tools to construct

<sup>46</sup> A critical analysis of Euboean funerary practices can be found in Donnellan 2016 (with bibliography).

<sup>47</sup> E.g. Buchner 1982; Nizzo 2007: 31.

<sup>48</sup> See Criscuolo and Pacciarelli 2009 for a nuanced discussion.

<sup>49</sup> Mazarakis Ainian 1998: 2006–7.

<sup>50</sup> Gabrici 1913: 366.

<sup>51</sup> Gabrici 1913: 365.



a refined chronology of the tombs he was publishing, and simply divided them into pre-Hellenic and Hellenic, based on the presence/absence of Greek material. Needless to say, such a division does not allow for the possibility that native tombs are contemporary with, or post-date 'Greek colonisation'. Cultural mixing, as we now know, has been the case in several 'colonies'. Yet, Gabrici sensed that the cultural division he proposed was too rigid and that transformations in the funerary rites from 'pre-Hellenic' to 'Hellenic' had been more gradual.

The introduction of the cremation rite in Campania, although indeed more frequent in Euboea, should not be exclusively related to interaction with Greeks, but fits into a broader regional context of increasing contact with Southern Etruria, where cremation was also practiced; increasing contact with the latter region is amply testified by imports of objects from north to south and from south to north.<sup>52</sup> Recent excavations have, moreover, not only confirmed the use of the cremation rite in Campania outside the Greek 'colonies', but also at Cuma itself. Recent excavations of the Centre Jean Bérard brought a 9th century BCE cremation in an urn to light, thus underlining the plausibility of an enduring Etrurian/Villanova connection.<sup>53</sup> The ashes, probably of a young male individual, had been left in a biconical urn which was deposited in a pit, whose walls were aligned with stones.

Within this broad outline of funerary practices and tomb construction and their native similarities, it is worthwhile to look in more detail at the earliest tombs that have been excavated in Pithekoussai. The original publication of the Pithekoussai necropolis did not present a very refined chronology: the tombs were dated based on ceramics, which allowed for, roughly, 20/25 year sequences. A much more detailed study of the chronology of the necropolis, made by Valentino Nizzo, included the stratigraphical details, recorded by the same Buchner and Ridgway, combined with a typological analysis.<sup>54</sup> The vast majority of the tombs intersect one another, and thus, it was possible, as Nizzo did, to make a very detailed sequence of tombs. This sequence further allowed for a more refined classification of objects, and thus, tombs without clear stratigraphic relations to other tombs, were more easily (in most but not all cases) assigned to a stratigraphic sequence, rather than the broader pottery sequences. Even though a sequence is always an artificial reconstruction and, indeed, it is unclear how much time lay between the different levels (e.g. if the time lapse between level 20 and 21 is as much as between, say, levels 30 and 31), the matrix proposed by Nizzo is the most detailed we have, and probably as good as it can ever get.

No scholar, apart from Nizzo himself, has used this matrix for a more detailed reconstruction of transformation of the funerary rituals and an analysis of the grave goods. The general evolution of mainly Greek and Greek-style painted pottery and the correlation with age, gender and funerary rite make up a large part of the body of Nizzo's study. One of his observations is already that the tombs in the earliest level do not look very Greek.<sup>55</sup> The supraposition of later 'Greek' tombs and the idea that the nuclei of tombs represent family groups (or at least people who felt related) prevented Nizzo from exploring this argument further. In the light of the theoretical and methodological critique formulated earlier in this paper, it is worthwhile to scrutinise the earliest levels of the necropolis in more depth.

The first levels of the necropolis are stratigraphically defined as layers 10, 11 and 12.<sup>56</sup> As much as 23 tombs (see Table 1) have been attributed to these earliest levels, four of which constitute the earliest recognisable contexts of the necropolis (level 10). As can be deduced from Table 1, T 447 and T 611 did not yield any gifts. The construction method of these tombs fits neatly into the pre-existing fashions, traditionally attributed to the indigenous *a fossa* culture from Campania. Both tombs have been attributed to adults, and the individual in T 447 was deposited in a supine position.

<sup>52</sup> E.g. Nizzo & ten Kortenaar 2010.

<sup>53</sup> As already argued by Criscuolo and Pacciarelli 2009 for northern Campania. Some of the Cuma tombs are published preliminarily in Brun & Munzi 2008: 101–112.

<sup>54</sup> Nizzo 2007. See also Nizzo 2016.

<sup>55</sup> Nizzo 2007: 30.

<sup>56</sup> Nizzo 2007.

## 'GREEK COLONISATION' AND MEDITERRANEAN NETWORKS

Level	Tomb nr.	Tomb form	Rite	Content
10	T 447	pit	inhumation	/
10	T 611	pit	inhumation	/
10	T 571 bis	pit	inhumation	ivory pendant
10	T 574 bis	pit	inhumation	bronze hook
				fibula 'a navicella'
11	T 549	pit	inhumation	local oinochoe
				local skyphos
				Lyre player seal (4)
				scarab (2)
11	T 571	pit	inhumation	local oinochoe
				Lyre player seal
11	T 575	enchytrismos	inhumation	bronze ring
				bone pendant
				scarab
11	T 577	pit	inhumation	/
11	T 583	pit	inhumation	fibula 'a sanguisuga'
11	T 588	pit	inhumation	/
11	T 610	pit	inhumation	ceramic tile
				bronze ring
12	T 214	pit/tumulus	cremation	/
12	T 216	pit/tumulus	cremation	local oinochoe
12	T 221	pit/tumulus	cremation	/
12	T 229	pit/tumulus	cremation	iron knife
				kotyle imit. Aetos 666
12	T 240	pit/tumulus	cremation	local skyphos
12	T 420	pit	inhumation	seal
				seal/pendent
12	T 435	pit	inhumation	local oinochoe
				bronze ring
12	T 446	pit	inhumation	/
12	T 574	pit	inhumation	local oinochoe
				Lyre player seal (2)
12	T 576	enchytrismos	inhumation	local amphora
12	T 578	enchytrismos	inhumation	local amphora
12	T 609	pit	inhumation	local oinochoe
				fibula 'a sanguisuga' (2)

**Table 1.** The earliest funerary contexts (levels 10–12) from Pithekoussai

The two other tombs of the lowest level (10), the pit or *a fossa* tombs T 571 and T 574, did not allow for an estimation of the age of the occupant, but the tombs contain gifts: T 571 bis contained an ivory pendant and T 574 bis, a bronze hook and a bronze fibula *a navicella*. The latter are part of a well-known indigenous repertoire, whereas the ivory pendant points to an oriental connection.

In the second level of the necropolis (Nizzo's level 11—see Table 1), the scarcity of the Greek material is again striking. Seven tombs are connected to this phase, of which six are inhumations in a pit and one is an *enchytrismos* (an infant burial in a ceramic vessel); in one of the pit tombs, the body was deposited in a flexed position (T 583). In the *enchytrismos* tomb, an oriental-style amphora with a cylindrical neck (*con collo cilindrico*), of uncertain origins, was used. It was inscribed with an Aramaic graffito and a sign which has been linked, by some scholars, to Levantine perceptions of the afterlife<sup>57</sup> Although the use of the *enchytrismos* rite is usually attributed to Greek colonists, its first attestation in the necropolis is marked by a distinct Levantine connection; in this level of the necropolis, moreover, seals and scarabs were amply present (eight for four tombs). The seals and scarabs are often seen as a distinct marker of the Greek colonists at Pithekoussai, but they do not appear in tombs that are markedly different from the previous level. Scarce locally produced pottery in a Greek geometric style (two *oinochoai* and one *skyphos*) was also found. These vessels might

<sup>57</sup> Boardman 1994; Docter 2000; but see recently Sossau 2015.

issue from the same workshop, which was active also during the next phases.<sup>58</sup> Characteristic for this workshop are the *oinochoai*, decorated in a rather conservative Corinthian geometric style. The vessels were produced in a local clay and clearly indicate that a potter, trained in Corinthian pottery-production-traditions, was resident at the site; in contrast, the bronze objects of the tombs belonging to the 11th level of the necropolis, belong to the indigenous repertoire (*fibulae*, ring).

Only in level 12 of Nizzo's stratigraphical matrix are the first changes in the funerary rites and material composition of the funerary rites visible.<sup>59</sup> Twelve tombs have been securely attributed to this level, of which five are cremations, and six inhumations. Of the five cremations, four tombs have been attributed to adults. Their tombs were 'monumentalised' with a small tumulus. The six inhumations, four pit tombs and two *enchytrismoi*, belonged to children and infants. Their tombs were also marked on the surface, using a large boulder or an accumulation of small stones, like a small tumulus. Among the grave goods one new Greek form appears: a local imitation of a Corinthian Aetos 666 *kotyle*. The consumption of locally produced *oinochoai* points to continuity of the practice attested in the previous levels. Another novelty in this phase is the appearance of the first locally produced amphora-type, the so-called type A, which was modeled on oriental examples (with the addition of a flat bottom). The metal objects from the graves of level 12 (see Table 1) all belong to the local indigenous repertoire.

Looking at the micro-scale, the pattern of consumption of objects in the Pithekoussan tombs of the earliest levels of the necropolis points to a gradual introduction of a very limited and selected range of Greek vessel shapes (*oinochoe* and drinking cups), rather than a quick and massive import of the full repertoire of Greek pottery (drinking cups, cooking and storage devices, vessels for cultic activities etc). The earliest Greek pottery at Pithekoussai, for the largest part, consisted of locally produced pots, decorated in a rather conservative and not particularly attractive Corinthian style. The use of these vessels indicates that new practices were being adopted, or existing ones transformed, and that these required the use of new types of vessels. Even though no residue analysis has been executed, it is probable that this new practice related to the consumption of wine: the *oinochoe* and *skyphos/kotyle* are typically vessels for wine consumption. Even though they could, theoretically, have contained other liquid substances, the almost simultaneous appearance of amphorae rather points to the local consumption, possibly even a local production, of wine.

The use of the Greek vessels, was integrated into a pattern of consumption of a whole range of other artefacts, most notably metal objects, which were produced in a style that knew a long-standing tradition among the native groups of Campania and beyond. The presence of seals and scarabs, in contrast, points to connections with the Levantine world, as does the use of ivory and Levantine amphorae. The production of local amphorae is, moreover, styled on Levantine prototypes.<sup>60</sup>

Tomb types related to these earliest contexts, displaying a similar mix of traditions and evidence of gradual adaptation, rather than sudden innovation relatable to the influx of a large body of foreign settlers. The pit inhumations find their closest parallels in the Early Iron Age *necropoleis* of the native settlements, traditionally attributed to the 'a fossa culture'. The cremation tombs have been traditionally ascribed to Greek colonists, but the local adoption of the cremation rite, more frequent in Etruria and among the Villanovan groups of Campania, is sporadically attested in 'a fossa' Campania from the 9th century BCE onwards. The construction of the Pithekoussan cremation tombs, particularly their tumulus, finds parallels in the so-called pre-Hellenic necropolis of Cuma. The first *enchytrismos* tomb in Pithekoussai—a rite also attributed conventionally to the Greek colonists—is striking in its use of an oriental amphora, including a graffito.

<sup>58</sup> See on this production: Mermati 2012; Donnellan 2016.

<sup>59</sup> Already observed by Nizzo 2007: 29.

<sup>60</sup> Pithekoussan amphorae: Petacco 2003 (with earlier literature).

The funerary rites and the consumption of grave goods appear to convey complex messages of appropriated forms invested with new meanings in a local context of increasing social differentiation. Various new practices were introduced, such as the consumption of wine, cremation rites, the use of exotic objects (seals, scarabs). These new practices allowed for social distinctions that did not exist, or were expressed differently, before. The local production of Greek pottery on Pithekoussai demonstrates that, at least, a potter trained in Corinthian production methods was resident. The Aramaic graffito, albeit disputed, could hint at another individual migratory experience.

Pithekoussai is, in traditional scholarship, unvaryingly depicted as a *Greek* foundation. The occurrence in the first levels, of Greek contacts, exchange and individual Greek migration is beyond doubt, but the evidence, at present, does not support the idea that the majority of the residents were culturally Greek. Ethnic or cultural identity is always difficult to deduce from objects alone, but the significant roots of tomb types, rites and the way grave goods were deployed, in pre-existing indigenous traditions, and in the light of the scarcity of Greek objects, are highly suggestive that there was a pre-existing native settlement on Pithekoussai, which was inappropriately labelled in subsequent research the 'earliest Greek colony in the West'. Gradually, increased interaction and mobility, through time, transformed this settlement into a more cosmopolitan looking one, in which very distinct Greek objects and practices had been integrated. The amount of contexts for the later levels of the necropolis (Nizzo's matrix levels 13–40) requires, however, a slightly different approach to the analysis. Hundreds of tombs and some thousands of objects make up the data set and the tabular form used for the earliest levels would not be productive here when attempting to draw more general conclusions about long-term cultural change. A quantitative analysis, in which the same questions are repeated and answered in an automated form, is required and will be outlined in the next section.

### ***The medium scale: connectivity in the 8th and 7th centuries BC***

In the previous section, it was explained that Pithekoussan burials in the earliest levels match best those practices known from the indigenous world. New practices, integrated gradually, relate to the consumption of wine, funerary ritual, storage and dress and most likely resulted from interaction with people coming from different regions, such as the Levant, the Aegean, Southern Etruria, and others, be it directly or indirectly.

As the amount of evidence increases significantly after the earliest levels of the necropolis, it becomes difficult to grasp the multiplicity of processes going on, in terms of diversity of objects and structures, the links they mediated, practices they embody etc, in order to achieve an interpretation of medium-term processes and changes. It is proposed here to create an abstraction, which aims specifically at addressing the question of 'colonisation'. An abstraction of this kind is achieved by reorganising specific information, drawn from the excavations, with the use of a computer. The image thus drawn is, inevitably, a broad-brush one, in that much information is purposely left out, but systematic, in that it addresses all data in the same way. There is no preselection of tombs, because they are 'rich' or 'poor' (in our perspective), or 'exotic' or 'marginal' (*idem*) etc. Previous research has largely focused on a preselective data basis, rather than attempting to situate certain practices within their context. 'Rich', 'poor', 'local', 'non-local' are not absolute, transcultural, values, but localised and situational judgments, linked to strategies that are effectively (or not) directed towards creating similarities and/or differences that could be manipulated politically. By means of abstracting, for analytical means, patterns of connectivity, it becomes possible to gather additional information regarding mobility and interaction, particularly pertaining to repeated behaviour and assess changes in practices over time.

In research, a clear distinction between quantitative and qualitative analysis, or between the focus on structure versus agency has existed for many years. Some scholars attribute greater, if not the only, value to analysis that uses mathematical language to make abstractions and explain them. Thus, however, they neglect agency. As a result, other scholars reject medium-scale analysis, for its over-

generalising aspects and they focus exclusively on agency. Both views fall short in acknowledging that every perception of reality, scholarly or not, is in the end the result of an abstraction of complex sensory experiences and the thought processes of a scholar, mediated through language. Whether this abstraction regards a broader spatial or temporal pattern or an observation on daily life, the abstracting thought process behind it is the same. The one abstraction has no more value than the other, they are both cogent in their relative scope of grappling different questions. It is important to acknowledge this difference. A scientific discourse should, in my view, therefore consist in specifying one's assumptions that have led to a certain conclusion. Moreover, understanding phenomena is, I believe, advanced, by looking from different, even contrasting angles. Interpretations and conclusions, always subjective and situational, should be drawn by comparing these different angles. An analysis on different levels can achieve this best.

The meso scale analysis here was executed using a network analysis program (Gephi). Network analysis allows us to study connections of different sorts. Even though significant advancements have been made regarding the integration of network analysis into archaeological research, its premises are not widely accepted in the scholarly community.<sup>61</sup> Networks based on more complex questions of social interaction in the past have not yet been sufficiently explored, and more work is needed to fully appreciate the results it can attain and to understand how epistemological concerns might work together with mathematical representations of a certain question.

The analysis here is based on the principle of the affiliation, or two-mode, network.<sup>62</sup> In a two-mode network, two different kinds of nodes/actors are connected to each other. Analysis entails (among other things) looking at which combinations of nodes is more frequent or not. If certain nodes co-occur frequently, their connection might be meaningful and merits consideration. The two-mode network, or affiliation network, was created by connecting actors (tombs) with regions, from where the artefacts in the tombs originated, either as an import, or as an imitation. Locally produced objects were connected to a 'Pithekoussai' node. Hybrid origins of objects were acknowledged through the creation of double categories, e.g. Pithekoussai/Corinth, for vessels that were produced in Pithekoussai, and were not faithful imitations of Corinthian examples, but free adaptations. The full content of tombs was considered: all objects published by the excavators were inserted in a database, from which a spreadsheet was created, which was analysed in Gephi. Typically, a tomb contained vessels, mostly fine ware, but also semi coarse and coarse wares, metalwork, such as *fibulae*, rings, bracelets, spirals, pendants, sometimes faience and glass paste (mostly scarabs), but also small flasks and vessels, or pendants, and stones (mostly seals). Ivory, bone or other materials were rare. A number of tombs did not have any content, and they were, consequently, not considered. Table 2 presents the model for T 145 and T 154, and shows how the links between nodes were shaped. This procedure of drawing lines between tombs and regions was repeated for all tombs of the 8th-7th centuries BCE. Objects that were too fragmentary for a classification were rejected from the analysis. Some objects have no known origins, and for this group a node 'unknown' was created.

By uploading a spreadsheet with information regarding tombs and their connections to regions, the program Gephi draws images, consisting of dots and lines. The program was commanded to adjust the size of the labels relatively, based on the number of ties each node had. This measure, in formal network terms, is called degree. The program does not draw multiple lines between a tomb and a region, in the case there was more than one object with the same origin, but the program counts the lines, and automatically adjusts the label. This procedure allows us to detect visually which connections were most numerous.

The availability of chronological divisions, based on the stratigraphic matrix created by Valentino Nizzo, made it possible to dissect the archaeological record further: a separate network was created

<sup>61</sup> See the discussion in my review of Kistler *et al.* 2015 elsewhere in this volume.

<sup>62</sup> See Donnellan 2016 for more detail.



NODE	(tomb content)	TIE
<b>T 145</b>	<i>aryballos, globular, EPC</i>	<b>Corinth</b>
	<i>aryballos, KW</i>	<b>Rhodos</b>
	<i>aryballos, KW</i>	<b>Rhodos</b>
	<i>aryballos, KW</i>	<b>Rhodos</b>
	<i>aryballos, KW</i>	<b>Rhodos</b>
	<i>aryballos, KW</i>	<b>Rhodos</b>
	<i>aryballos, KW</i>	<b>Rhodos</b>
	<i>aryballos, KW</i>	<b>Rhodos</b>
	<i>aryballos, KW</i>	<b>Rhodos</b>
	<i>aryballos, KW</i>	<b>Rhodos</b>
	<i>fibula, iron, 'arco rivestito'</i>	<b>Pithekoussai/Tyrrhenian indigenous</b>
	<i>lekythos, conical, imit. EPC</i>	<b>Corinth</b>
	<i>lekythos, conical, imit. EPC</i>	<b>Corinth</b>
<b>T154</b>	<i>lekythos, conical, EPC</i>	<b>Corinth</b>
	<i>rosette, faience + pendent</i>	<b>Egypt</b>
	<i>skyphos, Thapsos</i>	<b>Peloponnesos</b>
	<i>bracelet, bronze</i>	<b>Tyrrhenian indigenous</b>
	<i>cup, one-eared</i>	<b>Euboea</b>
	<i>jug</i>	<b>Euboea (?)</b>
	<i>kotyle 'con fila uccelli'</i>	<b>Corinth</b>
	<i>pendant, bronze</i>	<b>Tyrrhenian indigenous</b>
	<i>pendant/chain, bronze</i>	<b>Tyrrhenian indigenous</b>

**Table 2.** Prototype for the construction of nodes and ties adopted in the network analysis

for every layer of the necropolis, starting from layer 13, with the previous layers discussed in the micro scale analysis of the previous section. Not all tombs could be attributed to one layer. They have been included in every layer they could possibly belong to.

The creation of visual representations of the archaeological record in terms of two-mode networks allows for an easy overview of the tombs and the connections they display through their material. A total of 28 images was created (see appendix) of the tombs within the layers of the stratigraphical matrix. Through comparison, some marked differences and similarities can be observed: some layers clearly have more tombs and more connections, whereas others have only a few tombs and few connections; in some layers, there is no significant difference in size of the labels (degree), whereas in others (to start in layer 14), some labels are clearly larger, and therefore more important in the network. More important nodes in the network might have had a potentially special meaning, if they could be related to repeated and purposeful behaviour, in order to evaluate this, it is necessary to look at what the more/most important nodes were throughout our time interval.

The aim of the subsequent analysis is to look at cultural transformations, especially those related to the scholarly discourse of 'Greek colonisation'. Objects have, traditionally been seen as ethnic markers of colonists, and the Greek vessels have come to define the ethnicity of the whole settlement. Labels, in terms of origins of objects, are also employed in the present analysis, which might seem contradictory at first sight. It is indeed fundamental to acknowledge that non-local objects or structures might be integrated fairly quickly in another society, or that they can acquire new meanings in the process of intercultural transfer or appropriation.<sup>63</sup> Analytically, however, it is difficult to achieve an

<sup>63</sup> van Dommelen 1997; Dietler 2010.



individual and detailed analysis of meanings for thousands of artefacts in the Pithekoussan necropolis. Meaning is therefore studied at another analytical level, the micro scale and again, at the end, through a comparison of changes in and between the micro and meso scale. The contextual and comparative chronological analysis on a meso scale, moreover allows us to evaluate attributed meanings through time. Thus, the accepted premise for the meso scale here is that spatial and chronological patterns, especially if repeated, can be related to multiple instances of mobility and interaction, whatever their shape took in daily life.

It can be observed from the networks in appendix 1, that in the first level (level 13), not a single node occupied a more prominent position than another. No connection dominates the many links the tombs have. In layer 14, the situation is different: there are marked dissimilarities between sizes of labels, with some being big and bold and others being small. Big bold labels can be tied to the most frequently attested connection (degree), and the label 'Tyrrhenian indigenous' is, without doubt, the biggest label, and therefore, the most frequently attested connection. Looking at the situation in the subsequent level 15, and next 16 etc. leads to the same conclusion: the most important connection is quite obvious: the Tyrrhenian indigenous one dominates.

This pattern continues in a convincing way, until level 30. The network indicates that now, another region becomes the most important connection: Corinth. The size of the label in level 30 breaks the patterns that could be observed in layers 14–29. This transition attested in level 30 roughly coincides with the chronological transition of Late Geometric to Middle Protocorinthian.<sup>64</sup> All subsequent levels are now different from what was observed in the earlier levels (14–29).

The network of layer 31 puts a new, hybrid category, to the forefront: locally produced vessels, inspired by 'Phoenician' prototypes are the most frequent connection, in level 32, the network has Corinth, once again, as the most important of all connections. The networks of level 33 to 36 appear to have no dominant node; in the networks of levels 37–40, Corinth is, again, the most prominent node.

To evaluate the results of this analysis (reproduced fully in the appendix), it is crucial, in the first instance, to verify if the patterns revealed can be confirmed via other means. One of these means entails the application of other network analysis measures. Several approaches to inspect composition and structure of two-mode networks exist. Since the objective of this paper is not to explore the full analytical possibilities of archaeological networks, but rather to respond to a specific historical question, the examination will be limited to the evaluation of the patterns observed supra.<sup>65</sup>

Analysis (for reasons of space, not fully reproduced here, a selection can be found in appendix 2) revealed that a meaningful measurement was 'betweenness centrality'.<sup>66</sup> Betweenness centrality is an algorithm, calculated by the network program, in which it is calculated how often a node is passed, if two nodes want to contact each other in the most efficient way (called shortest path). The nodes that are crossed most often are considered most important.

The measure of betweenness centrality was conducted for all layers, but only a small selection is reproduced here (appendix 2). The network was drawn and the label automatically adjusted in relative size, based on betweenness centrality. The biggest label indicates which nodes are the most important.

The (selected) images of appendix 2 show that the results confirm the patterns revealed via degree: the most important node of the networks of layers 13–29 was the Tyrrhenian indigenous world.

<sup>64</sup> The transition is dated to level 29 by Nizzo (Nizzo 2007).

<sup>65</sup> Further statistical analysis of the Pithekoussan necropolis is in progress by the author.

<sup>66</sup> On betweenness centrality: Opsahl *et al.* 2010; Collar *et al.* 2015.

However, as was observed previously, real changes seemed to have taken place in layer 30. Instead of Tyrrhenian indigenous being the most prominent node, Corinth came to the forefront, in layer 30 and several of the subsequent levels. Calculating betweenness centrality still shows these new nodes as important, but not as *the* most important connection. The most important node is, still, even with the new measurements, the Tyrrhenian indigenous world.

Through time, as the various networks (cf. appendices 1–2) demonstrate, many links were created through the employment of artefacts in the burial rituals. Some of these connections were persistent through time (e.g. Tyrrhenian indigenous, Corinth, Levantine world), whereas others were short-lived (e.g. Iberia—levels 20–21). Remarkable, as scholars have long noted, is the enormous diversity in connections attested: Pithekoussai was a hub and drew many people to its shores; some of them on a temporary base, others relocating more permanently. Rather than a sudden colonisation or take-over by Greeks, the analysis has shown that human mobility deeply transformed a local settlement. The inhabitants at Pithekoussai, temporary or permanent, employed their network and co-inhabitants' networks to (re)produce a meaningful world-in-transformation.

### Discussion: interaction, transformation and Mediterranean mobilities

The analysis conducted on a micro and meso scale in the previous section aimed at highlighting patterns of interaction, relevant within the framework of human mobility on Pithekoussai. At a micro level, it was observed that tomb constructions, as well as body treatment, found numerous parallels in the indigenous world: pit tombs, small tumuli, inhumation, even the odd cremation, are well-known in Early Iron Age Campania. Similarly, most funerary gifts in the earliest tombs from the necropolis, relate to pre-existing indigenous production and consumption traditions. Contact with the Levantine world resulted in the use of exotic objects, such as ivory and seals, and the introduction of a new tomb type, the *enchytrismos*, for the burial of an infant. Influence from the Aegean was limited to scarce (albeit locally produced) drinking cups and *oinochoai*. Major transformations in the necropolis appear not to have accompanied the introduction of Greek pottery, instead, the adoption of new objects seems to be related to an increased expression of difference, in terms of age and status, in funerary ritual.

At the meso scale, quantitative analysis was used to study the persistence of the connections observed at the micro level. Even though it was recognised that quantitative analysis is to some extent restricted, the possibility to study trends during longer time intervals was considered meaningful. Scholars have long acknowledged that Pithekoussai was well-connected to the rest of the Mediterranean, but a full overview of patterns of connectivity was never presented in a concise way. Moreover, disproportional attention has been paid to the Aegean connections, at the expense of others. The pattern created using a network analysis revealed the importance of such a much neglected connection, with the indigenous world, which was maintained throughout the entire existence of the necropolis.

The discovery of patterns, brought to light with a multiscale analysis, was enabled through studying connections *in context*. Traditional archaeological studies organise artefacts in a finds catalogue, and the aim is to produce typological and chronological seriations, i.e. per artefact type (e.g. various fineware types, semi-coarse ware types, coarse ware types) or structure type (e.g. pit tomb, cist tomb, etc.). Whereas all these methods are, of course, crucial for understanding aspects of chronology, the range of production and imports of objects, these traditional archaeological methods of analysis also entail a number of limitations and problems. Disproportional attention is paid to beautiful, rich or exotic objects, rather than to plain pottery, or other artefacts of common and daily life. For example, the famous Nestor cup from Pithekoussai has received wide scholarly attention for its being an amazing testimony to local wine consumption practices, writing and the reciting of heroic poetry.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>67</sup> E.g. Buchner and Russo 1955; Murray 1994; Ridgway 1997.

The cup, however, was found in a cluster of tombs of people who were, invariably, laid to rest using native dress styles and native jewelry and the tombs were constructed in a native fashion! In order to understand Pithekoussan society, it is not sufficient to look at one—indeed amazing—drinking cup, but one has to consider the cup in its archaeological and broader cultural context.

Past research had already greatly contributed with pointing out the hybrid character of assemblages and the mixed identities of the inhabitants at Pithekoussai. But by looking at how connections, existing ones and new ones, were forged, purposely continued, adapted or rejected, through time, it becomes possible to see how the local society changed as new connections were fashioned. A broader perspective helps us to frame better what we might reconstruct of daily life, indeed, also Tamar Hodos rightfully states that *‘networks do not always explain the why behind cultural developments, but network thinking highlights connections we might not have been aware of otherwise. It is in the conjoining of network thinking with the social processes underpinning globalization that a much richer understanding develops’*.<sup>68</sup>

By looking at recurrent patterns, disrupted patterns or non-repeated patterns in the materiality of mobility and interaction, a contextualised appreciation of the use of material culture and its possible social meanings can be produced. Social categories such as ‘elites’ or ‘social outcasts’ are not essential and stable classes that exist eternally within a given society: they are locally and temporally constructed within existing social, political and economic discourses. Similarly, identities, ethnic, religious, gender or other, are not mechanically attached to certain objects. Identities are being produced continuously within a unique context of social values and references. To evaluate individual identity or social position means to evaluate this individual within their context of reference. The persistence of, and the precedence, of indigenous material culture at Pithekoussai has, hitherto, not been rightly valued, and the fact that the vast majority of the Pithekoussan tombs expressed material connections to the indigenous world should urge us to re-evaluate general cultural classifications of Pithekoussan society.

The multi-scalar analysis, which integrated the study of networks into the study of past human mobilities, allows us further to align the field better with current migration studies. Scholars studying contemporary migration phenomena have pointed out that, apart from the incentives at the individual and household level, other aspects influence and frame the migratory experience. Charles Tilley stressed that *‘the effective units of migration were (and are) neither individuals nor households but sets of people linked by acquaintance, kinship and work experience’*.<sup>69</sup> People may physically move, but connections to home and family often remain, thus offering possibilities for future interaction. In line with this view, Goldin *et al.* state that *‘while wage differences and individual cost/benefit analyses may create conditions for migration, it is the insertion of people into migration networks that explains why some migrate and others do not, and why migration flows endure over time between particular countries (or even particular communities)’*.<sup>70</sup>

One of the main conclusions of this paper is that, based on our current state of evidence, there seems to be little ground to consider Pithekoussai a new Greek foundation, Greek settlement or Greek colony. Pithekoussai attracted many new settlers over time who transformed a native settlement deeply and unrecognisably. It is difficult for archaeologists to grasp individual migratory experiences, apart from perhaps potters and other itinerant craftsmen who left very tangible evidence of their presence. But through networks and transformations, it becomes possible to evaluate mobility and interaction, its duration and impact.

<sup>68</sup> Hodos 2014: 29.

<sup>69</sup> Tilley 1990: 84 (my emphasis).

<sup>70</sup> Goldin *et al.* 2011: 104 (my emphasis).

The earliest Pithekoussan tombs as well as their material are sufficiently grounded in pre-existing indigenous practices to allow us to assume that, even with the small sample at hand, the settlement was an indigenous one that started to attract settlers from elsewhere through time. The continuity of connections with the native world throughout the archaic period, moreover, indicates that, despite many social and cultural changes brought about by continued migration, short-term or permanent, the indigenous world continued to be a major point of reference for the inhabitants of Pithekoussai. Olivia Kelley has aptly pointed out that Etrurian elite discourses informed the construction of Pithekoussan male tombs with artefacts.<sup>71</sup> Generally however, in the necropolis, dress and bodily adornment (at least those in the funerary sphere), food preparation, storage and food consumption persistently built upon native practices. Both daily life and ideology seem deeply grounded within a native cultural landscape.

The other major link that was studied in this paper, already long recognised by scholars and considered to be the main connection of Pithekoussan trade—Corinth—appears to relate to feasting/banqueting (drinking, eating, pouring, perfuming). A very fertile production of imitations and hybrid vessels, mainly based on Corinthian examples, took off very soon after the first imports, and given the very high quality and faithful imitations of the originals, it is likely that a (or a number of) potter(s) who had received their training in an Aegean context, can be considered migrant workers, on a permanent or more temporary basis. Future research will need to establish the scale and duration of the output of different workshops, to assess further the transformations that were brought about economically and socially. The impact, however, of this connection through imitations cannot be overestimated: it reinforced the connectivity established by the original tie, it was multiplied by local means. The enormous impact of new vessels and probably food/drinks could lead to the hypothesis that the Greek pottery caused a deep transformation in local feasting practices, more specifically what Michael Dietler called the change from patron-role feasts to diacritical feasts.<sup>72</sup> A diacritical feast, as Dietler states, '*involves the use of differentiated cuisine and styles of consumption as a diacritical symbolic device to naturalise and reify concepts of ranked differences in the status of social orders or classes*'.<sup>73</sup> The Greek pottery present at Pithekoussai seems to relate to distinct forms of consumption, specifically of wine, perhaps also of food, in ways that were previously unknown among the indigenous populations. Consumption of Greek style pottery, and with it the practice of drinking wine, perfuming the body and behaving in certain ways thus would have provided a means for the Pithekoussans to create and maintain social distinctions among themselves. Similar fashions of diacritical feasting, known as the 'symposium' developed also in Greece.<sup>74</sup> Through the Corinthian connectivity, people at Pithekoussai were able to participate in a network of practices that, alongside other similar networks, such as the one highlighted by Olivia Kelley, enabled them to create social distinctions.

Euboean pottery shapes at Pithekoussai relate to feasting/banqueting (drinking, eating, mixing, pouring, cooking). An additional observation concerns the variety of Euboean(-ising)<sup>75</sup> shapes: it is much greater than the Corinthian ones. Forms for eating, drinking, pouring, and storage, are all present. Yet, not all Euboean(-ising) shapes found their way into the local hybridised repertoire. It can be wondered if these, as well as other objects from other regions, were simply failed attempts to introduce new shapes, or if, at least in part, they were brought by migrants from their old home to be used in their new one. All kraters known appear to be Euboean. Erich Kistler *et al.* speak of a process of Mediterranean 'kraterisation', i.e. the spread of shared values and practices regarding what an appropriate reception of guests should look like.<sup>76</sup> The adoption of the practice of consuming

<sup>71</sup> Kelley 2012.

<sup>72</sup> Dietler 1999: 2001.

<sup>73</sup> Dietler 2001: 85.

<sup>74</sup> Wecowski 2014.

<sup>75</sup> Objects classified as Euboean could in reality have come from a broader area. Our limited and unsystematic knowledge of the very flourishing contacts between the northern Aegean and coastal areas of Asia Minor likely distort our view of Euboea.

<sup>76</sup> Kistler *et al.* 2015.

and mixing wine, and with it the maintenance of guest friendships might, at least partially, have been shaped by interaction with people from Euboea or Euboean imitations (and its adjacent regions) and Corinth. Familiarity with these practices of mixing, but also of pouring and drinking wine presupposes more than superficial and cursory contact with accidental passengers. Durable relations between peers, called *xenia*, must have existed.<sup>77</sup> These weaker ties might have provided other people with the prospect of relocating permanently with the logistics needed to cross the sea and settle elsewhere. Thus, new ties were created, resulting eventually in a network of overlapping ties of mobility and interaction.

Differing from Greek pottery are the patterns exhibited by ‘Levantine’ (including the broader Phoenician sphere and colonial) connections: objects relate mainly to transport/storage, food consumption, bodily adornment, perfuming, and cult/magic. Most notably, Levantine prototypes, very early on, brought about a local, not very standardised production of amphorae. This innovation is likely to have impacted society as deeply as the transformation of Aegean food and drink consumption practices. The economic impact in terms of production, storage and distribution of—probably—wine may have been part of the base of an intensifying processes of social stratification, whereby diacritical feasting, using appropriate vessels for the consumption of food and drinks, became a further exponent of this trend.

Sociologists have pointed out that pioneer-migrants create networks with the homeland, and by posing as a successful example of migration, thus facilitate the departure of others. It is likely that the successful settlement of potters, and other pioneers, perhaps moving themselves along weaker ties of *xenia*, stimulated others to start a new life at Pithekoussai, and elsewhere. The favourable reception of Levantine and Greek (among others) practices and objects among indigenous groups in Italy, in turn, stimulated the production at the other end of the network. In Corinth, for example, a flourishing export industry of perfume production was established. Producers of seals and scarabs, probably from Rhodes, found customers in Pithekoussai. The creation and maintenance of ties had effects on the whole network. Thus, not only did people move more easily and were encouraged to follow the example of the pioneer-migrants, but societies were transforming and found themselves also in a better position to embrace more newcomers.

## Conclusion

For many decades, scholars have attempted to define and redefine Greek ‘colonisation’. Despite critical voices, the larger part of the scholarly community has, until recently, perceived of ancient Greek mobility in terms of a colonisation, with the civilisatory and expansionist undertones the term usually entails. With some scholars still adhering to the term, albeit recognising the inherent differences between ancient and modern colonisation, others have moved towards a conceptualisation in different terms, e.g. diaspora, migration, to stress the unorganised and voluntary departure of people (less so in the case of diaspora, but Greek diaspora is not considered a traumatic event as is the Jewish diaspora). However, every concept limits its analytical power through its unifying of the underlying processes. In order to look at these underlying processes of mobility and interaction, rather than to find a single label that would appropriately describe the entangled complexities of ancient mobilities, it was proposed here to look at networks from a multi-scalar perspective.

It was further observed that, despite a shift in terminology, the basic notion that Greeks moved overseas to found settlements *ex novo*, has hardly been questioned. Pithekoussai, reputedly the earliest Greek ‘colony’ or ‘foundation’, in the Bay of Naples, is a case in point. Written sources referring to an appointed founder, a foundation oracle or a foundation myth are absent. Only scarce Roman references refer to an Euboean settlement. The early date of the supposed foundation (based

<sup>77</sup> Recently on gift giving: Satlow (ed.) 2014.



on the presence of the earliest Greek pottery) had brought scholars in the past to a reconstruction of a scenario in which Pithekoussai was settled before the Euboean mother city (-ies) was actually formed as a political community, a polis. Together (perhaps because of) this loose political organisation, it was supposed that natives stayed among Greeks in the settlement, even though most scholars consider them to have occupied a subordinate position in society. It is claimed here that these views pose many problems on an interpretative level and even fail to address the nature of the archaeological evidence correctly.

In order to disentangle the complex patterns of mobility and interaction, it was proposed to use the notion of networks as an analytical concept. Networking was used in a Braudelian/*Annaliste* scheme, constructed as a multi-scalar analysis. A multi-scalar analysis of the archaeological evidence of the necropolis was made possible because of the exceptional stratigraphic observations, made at the time of the excavation, and the minute reconstruction of the stratigraphy as a matrix more recently.<sup>78</sup>

On a micro scale, individual contexts were analysed in terms of spatial and ritual composition. Special attention was paid to the origins of burial traditions, for their erroneous attribution to Greek colonisers' long-standing practices. It was observed that tomb constructions, as well as content, found, in most cases, parallels among other indigenous groups in the Tyrrhenian world. Innovations, Greek and Levantine, were clearly being introduced, but they appear to have been integrated gradually—rather than overtaking suddenly—the existing funerary practices.

On a meso scale, a statistical technique was introduced, in order to analyse the large dataset which comprises the Pithekoussan necropolis. Contexts were analysed as a two-mode network, in terms of origin of their content, with the goal of mapping which place different origins occupied within the whole of the necropolis. The analysis pointed out that the indigenous world was a major connector throughout the existence of the (archaic) necropolis. This connection had remained, until present, grossly undervalued, at the expense of the Greek connections.

Next, it was attempted to integrate the micro and meso scale analysis in a new narrative of migration, interaction and transformation. Continuities and transformations in the material record were seen as networks, which constituted more durable links that affected societies at both ends of the connection. Most notably, continuities in material culture in terms of links with the Tyrrhenian indigenous world indicate that people at Pithekoussai continued to maintain meaningful links with other native groups in Campania and beyond. This part of Italy remained a point of reference in terms of dress and bodily adornment (at least funerary dress), food storage, preparation, consumption, as well as funerary rites.

Deep transformations, with significant economic, social and political consequences, were caused by the interaction, through temporary or more permanent settlement, with people from the Aegean and Levant. From the Aegean, distinct styles of consuming wine were introduced, whereas the Levantine connection mainly caused a transformation in the economy, in terms of production, storage, circulation of goods, especially wine. These innovations had important consequences as they enabled social distinctions, that had not existed before, to be expressed in funerary ritual. The effect of these transformations was, moreover double, in that other migrants more easily followed in the footsteps of earlier pioneer-migrants, and that the receiving society was sufficiently transformed to integrate more newcomers.

Material connectivity, as critics may argue, says indeed little about ethnic identity of settlers and/or natives.<sup>79</sup> However, ethnic identity is always difficult to assess: a newly arrived migrant may refer to him/herself in terms of a homeland, whereas the same person may consider him/herself a native after several years of residence in the new home! Poorer migrants might have never fully participated in

<sup>78</sup> Buchner and Ridgway 1993; Nizzo 2007.

<sup>79</sup> See recently on the topic: Hall 2016.



public life at home, and hence, never had a real sense of collective ethnic identity. Second or third generation migrants will have generated a completely different idea of a homeland they might have never set eyes on themselves than a first generation who grew up in the homeland. The construction of migrant identities is as much related to the production of an idea of a home, both by individuals, as well as by a society collectively. As there are no explicit and contemporary references to founders or an identity as an *apoikia*, a home-away-from-home, it is indeed not sure if archaic Pithekoussai collectively, even though heavily engaged in interaction with Aegean culture, and the home of many Aegean settlers, ever regarded itself explicitly as Greek before the later archaic or early Classical Period.

Studying Pithekoussai from a broad multi-scalar perspective in an *Annales*-informed approach, combining an analysis of connectivity with one of daily life, allows us to move away from traditional colonisation and foundation narratives. The approach permits the overcoming of the pitfalls of postcolonial studies, which although acknowledging native agency and negotiation of material culture, often still operate from a number of fixed categories and oppositions, such as colonist/colonised, or hybridity. Focusing on interaction in terms of networks is considered to be a more productive framework for analysis. The intersecting and overlapping of mobilities and interactions, of connectivity, settlement, resettlement and transformation is difficult to capture in a single concept, as scholars have previously attempted to do. However, focussing on processes rather than labels could eventually enable a truly comparative and interdisciplinary framework that would allow for the formulation of transcultural concepts about human mobilities and interaction.

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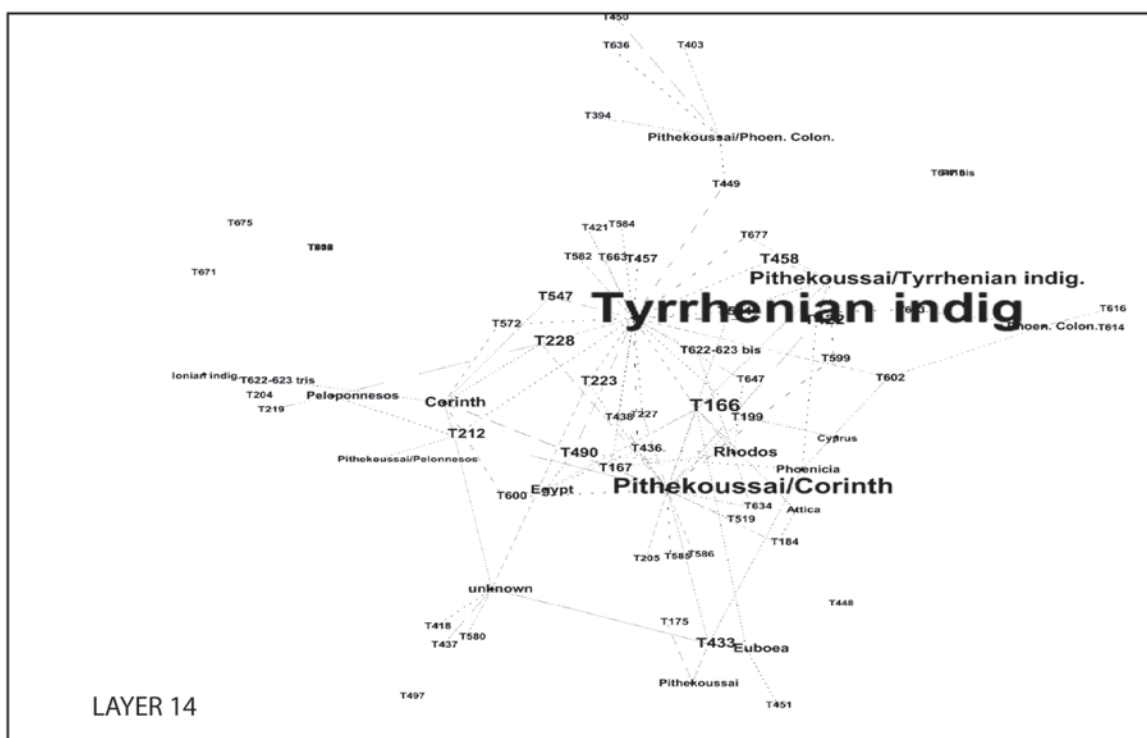
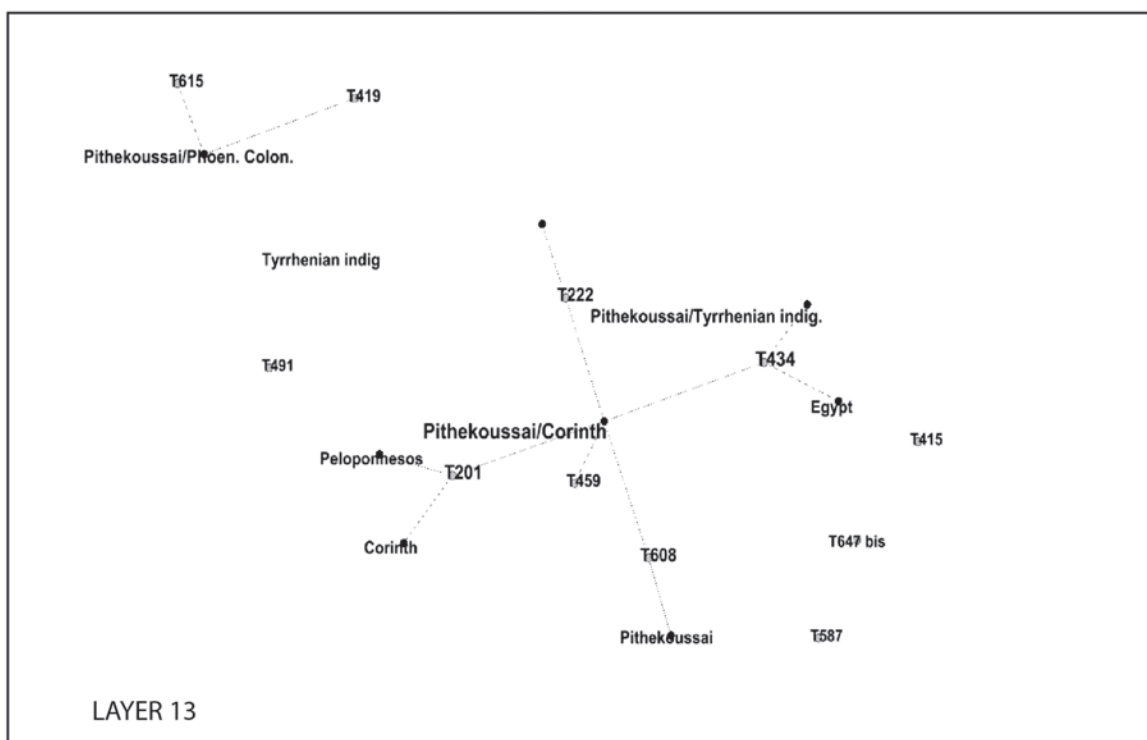


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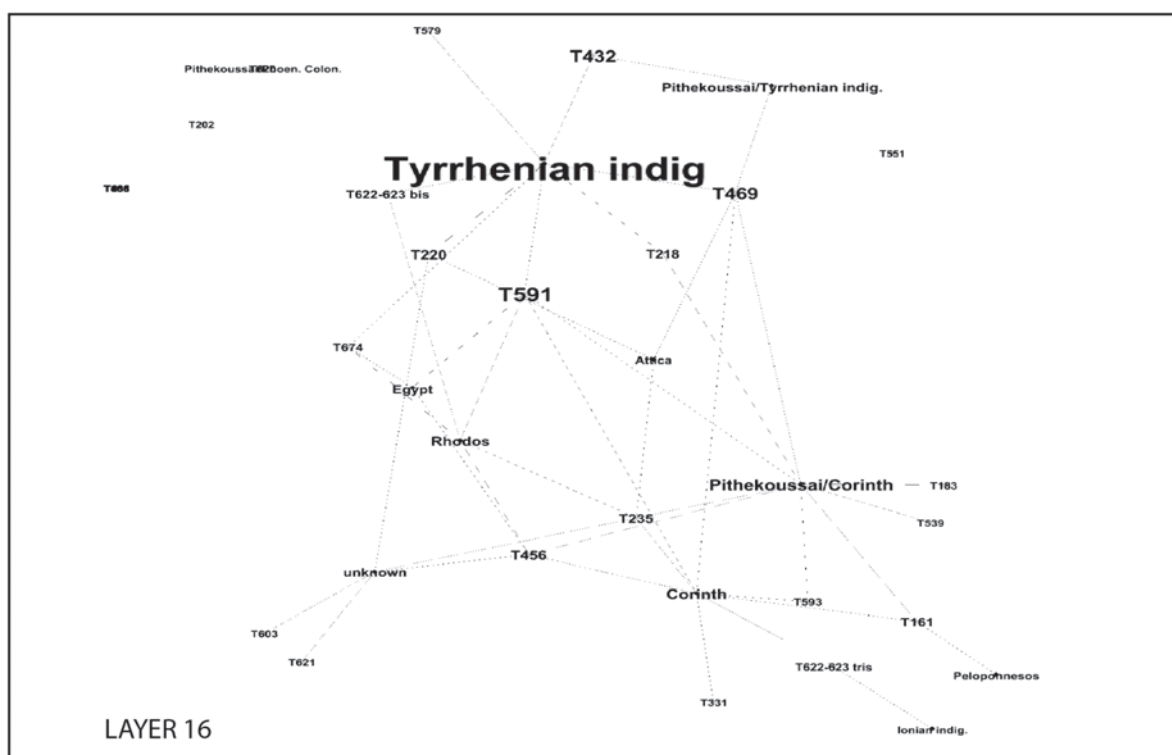
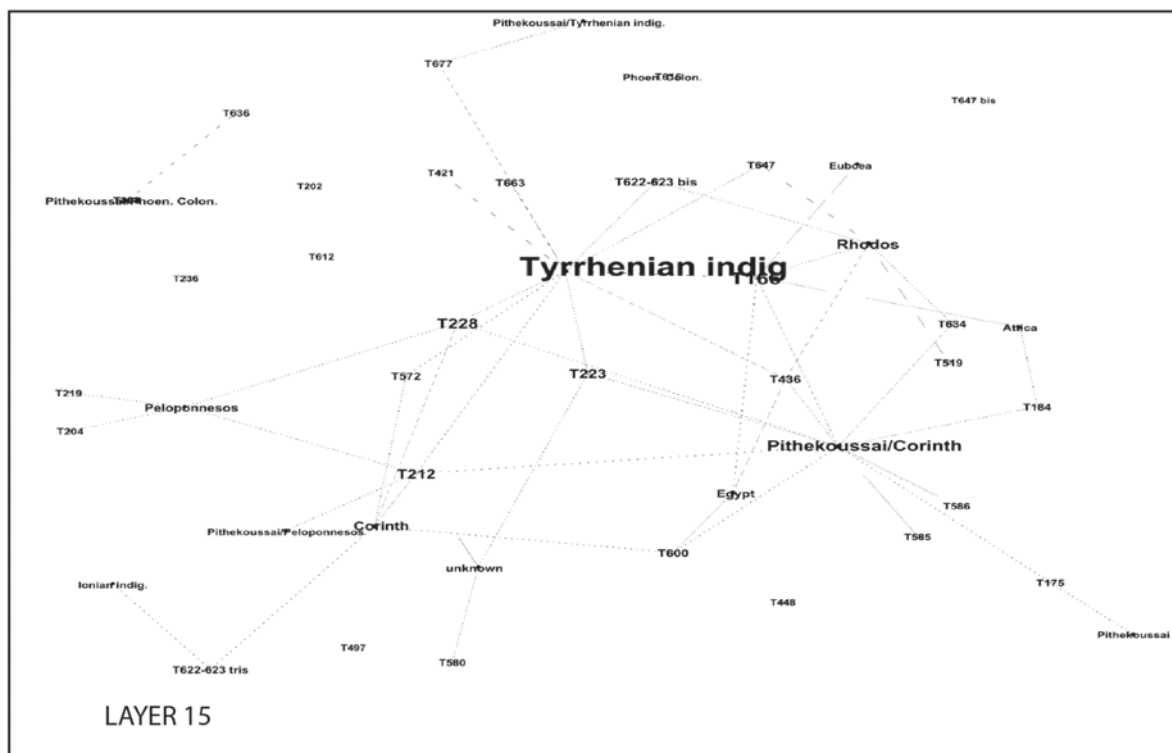
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# 'GREEK COLONISATION' AND MEDITERRANEAN NETWORKS

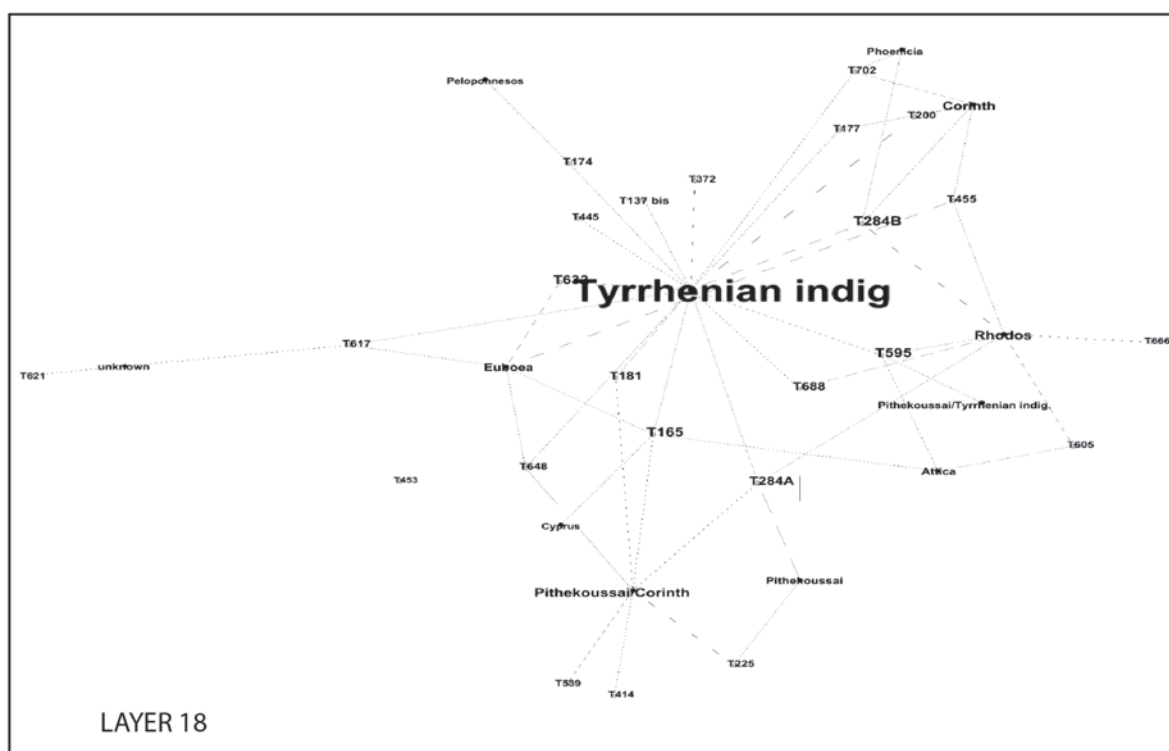
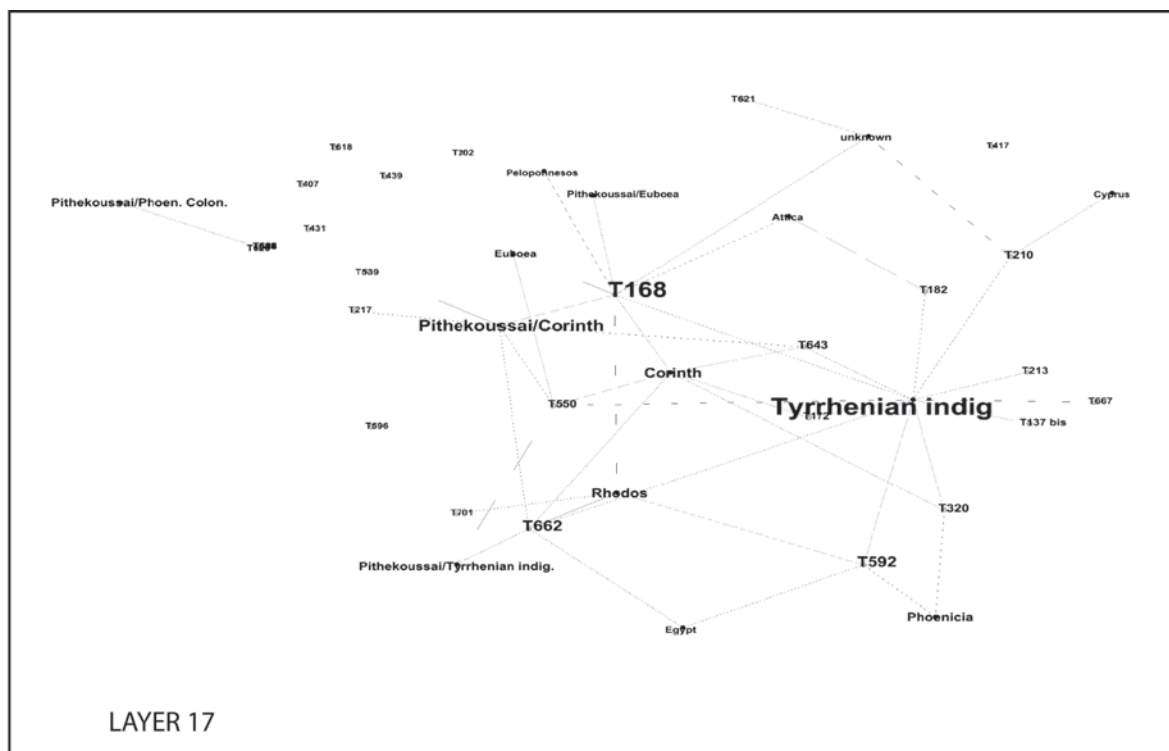
**Appendix 1.** To-mode networks of material connectivity at Pithekoussai (organised per stratigraphical layer). The label size is based on *degree*.





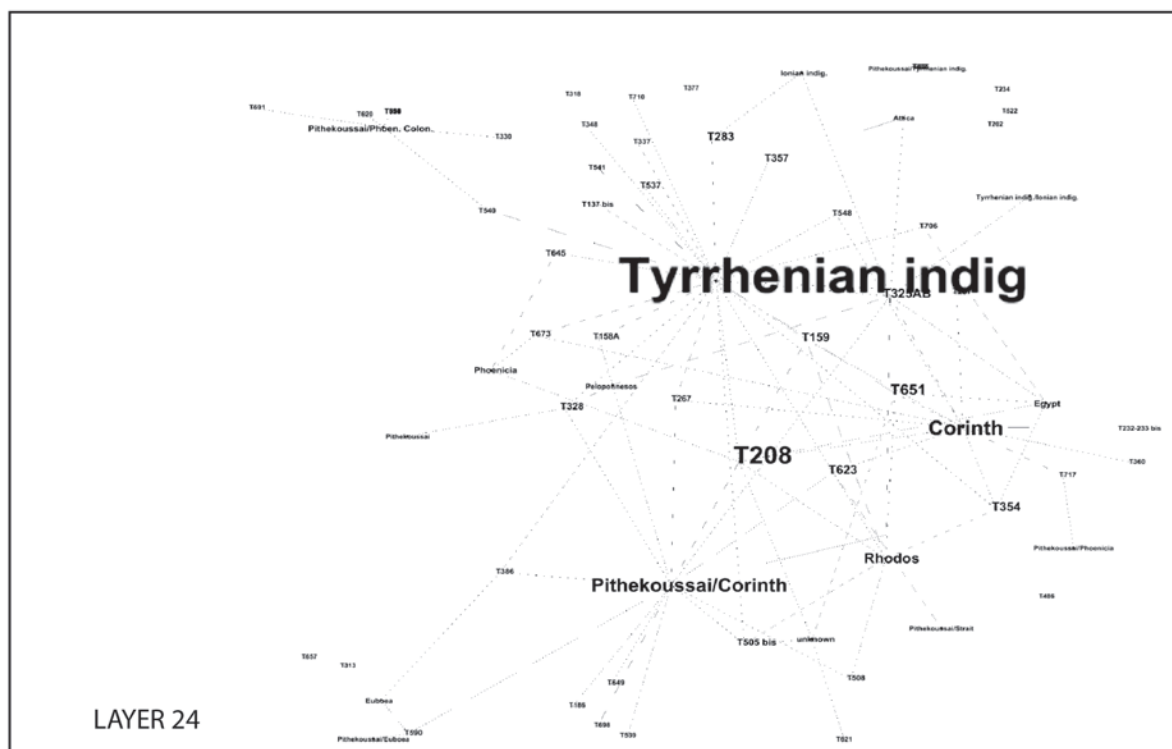
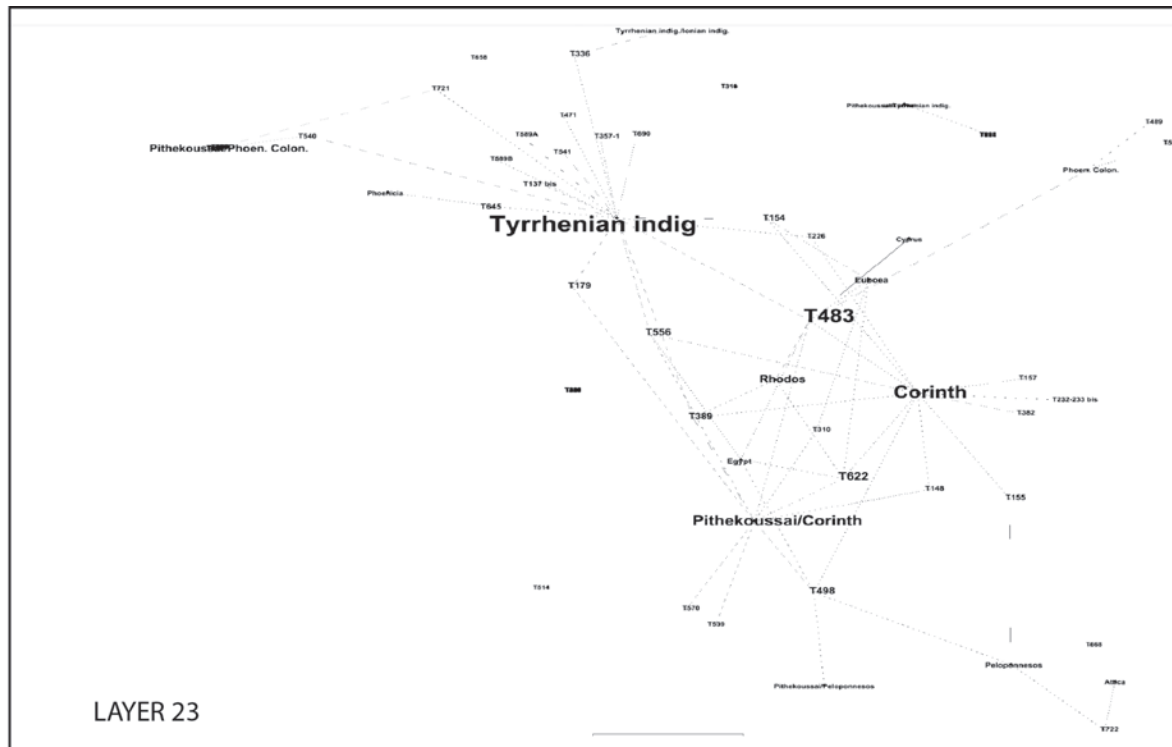


# 'GREEK COLONISATION' AND MEDITERRANEAN NETWORKS







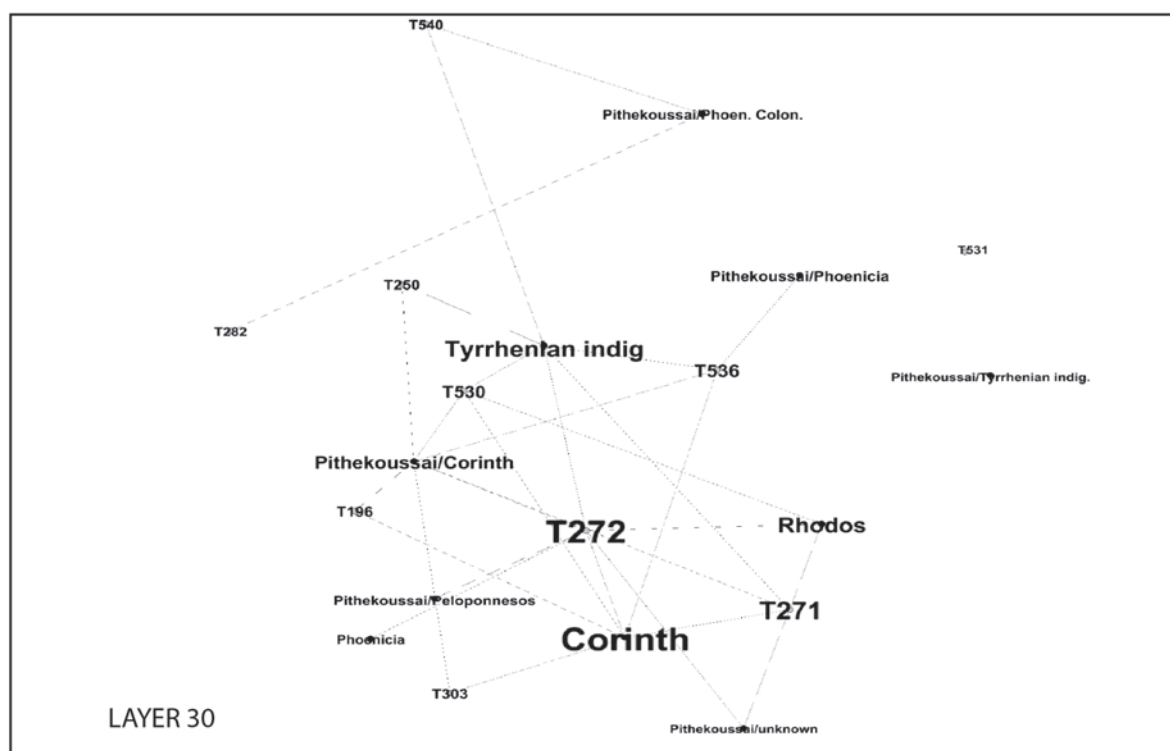
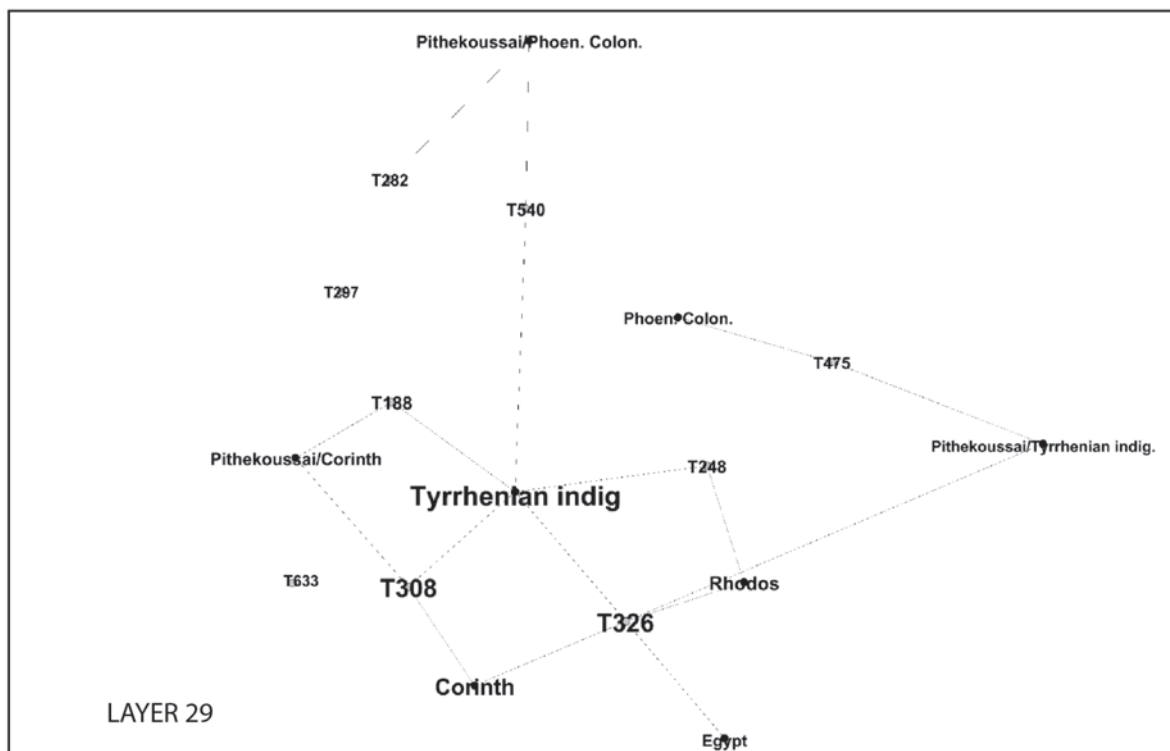


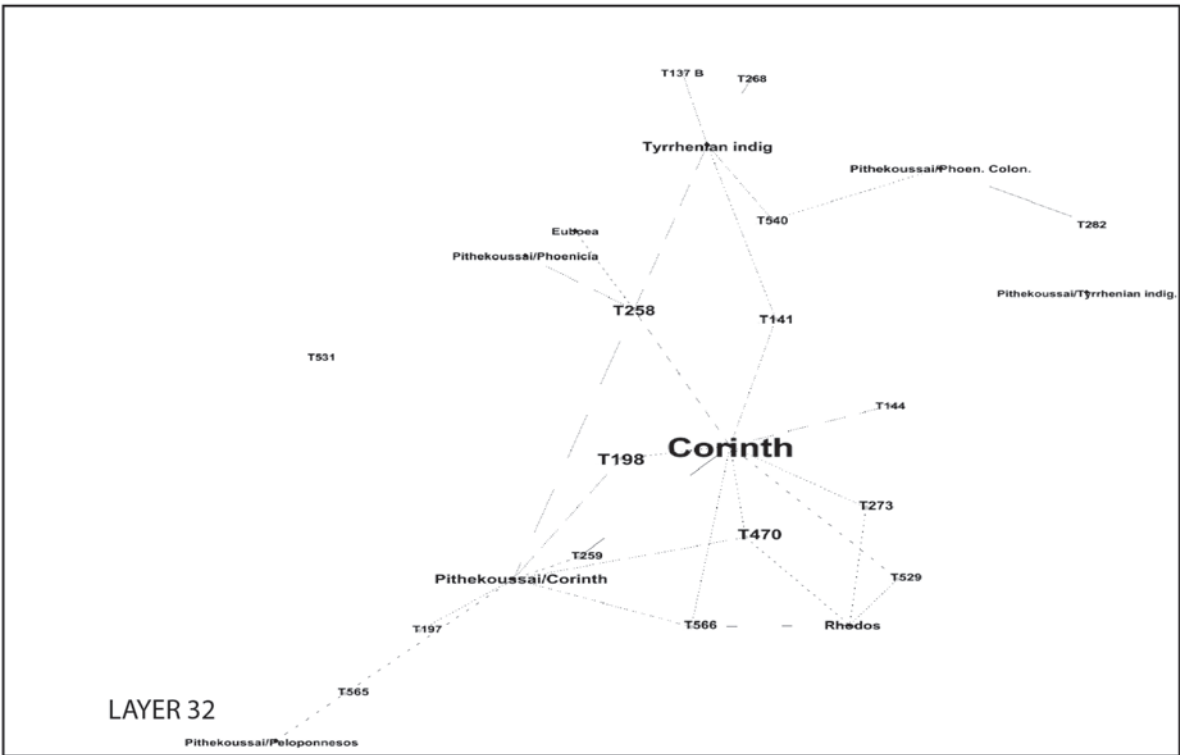
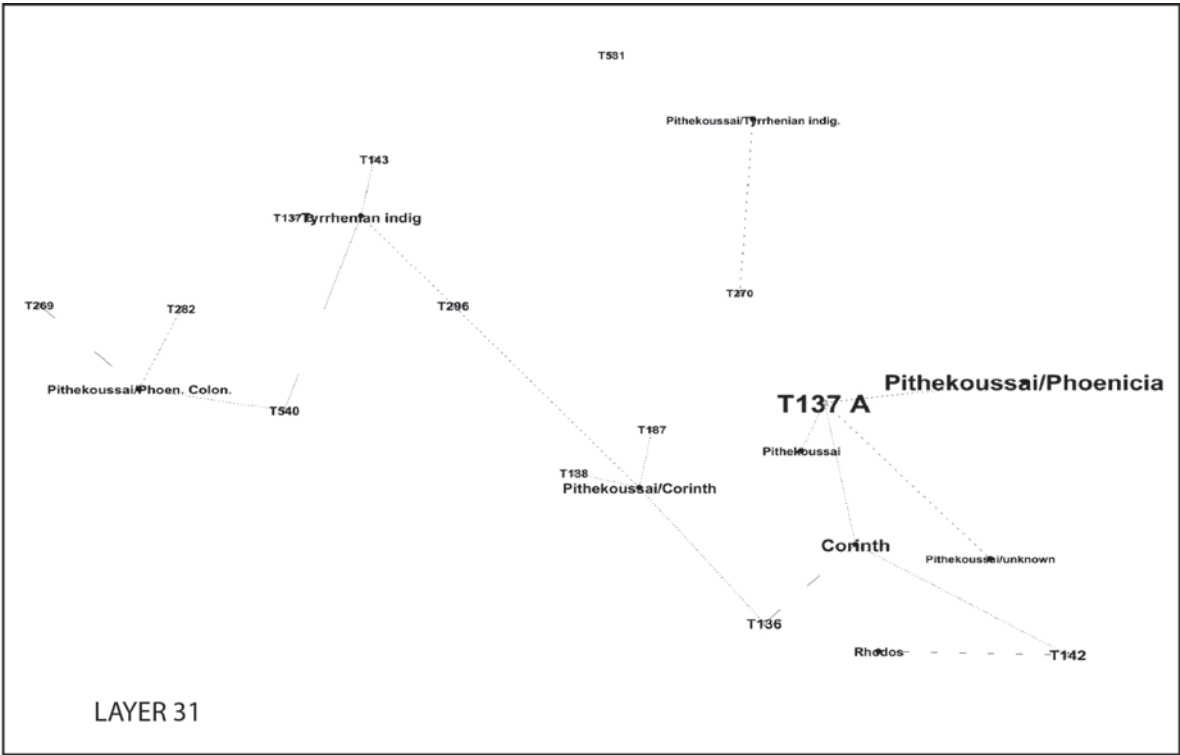




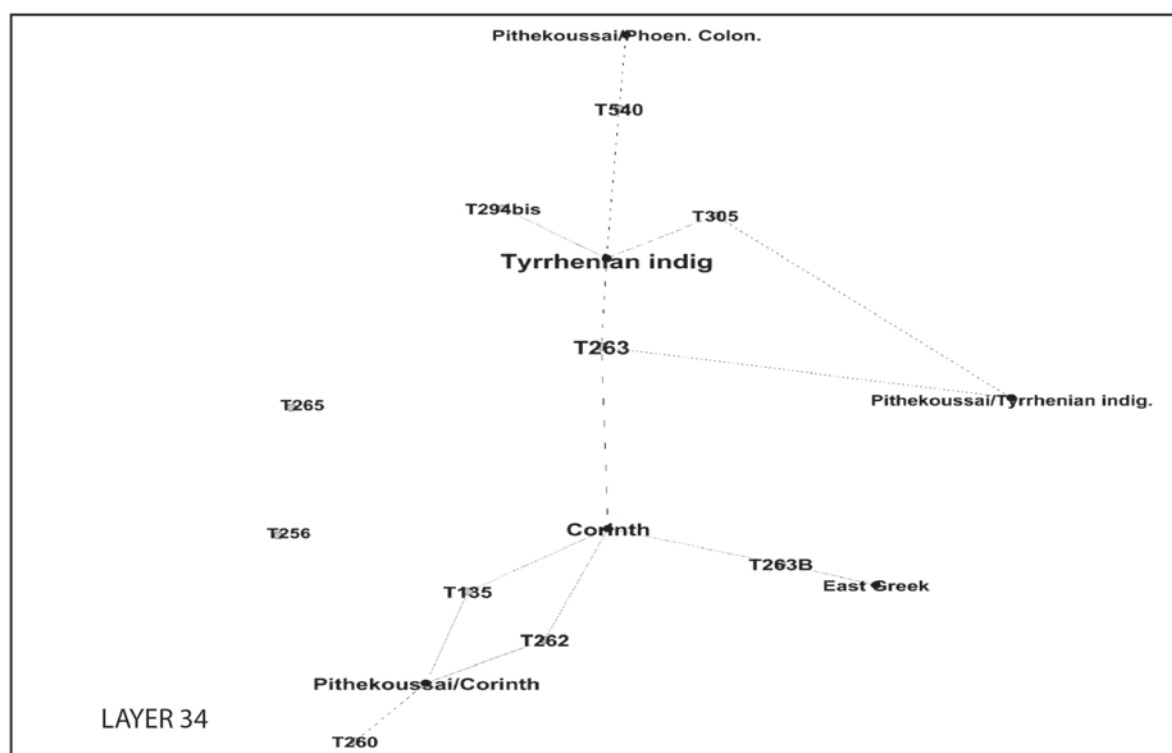
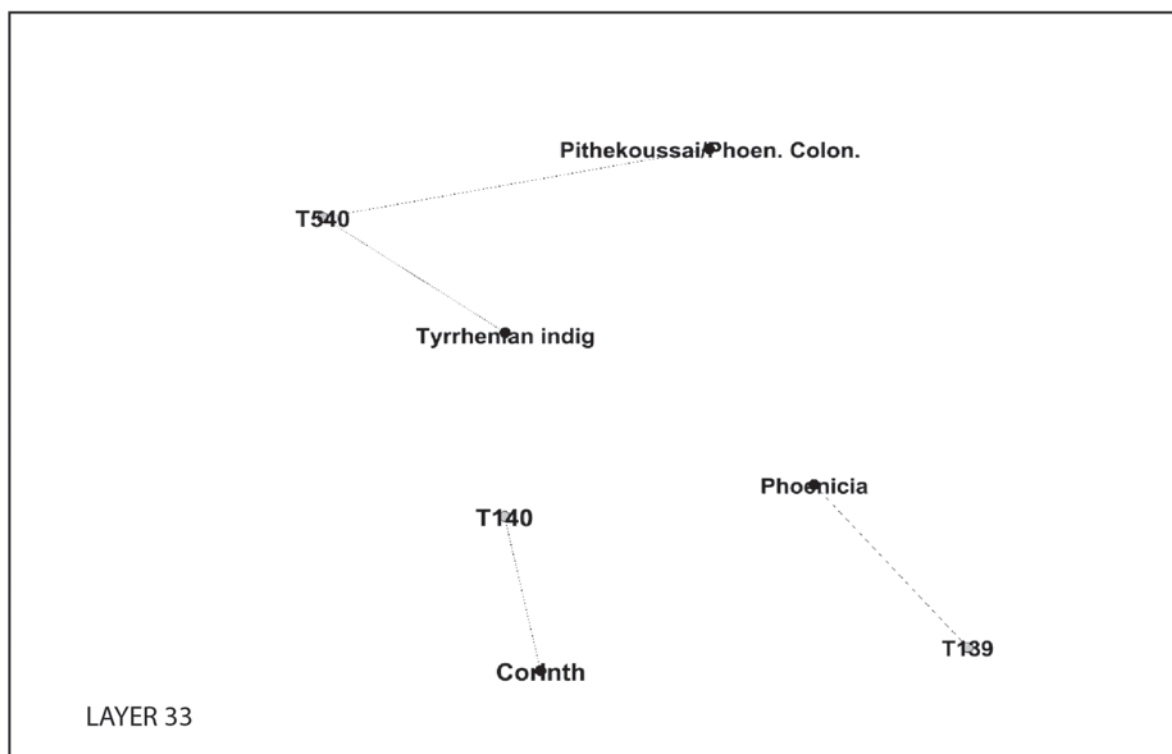


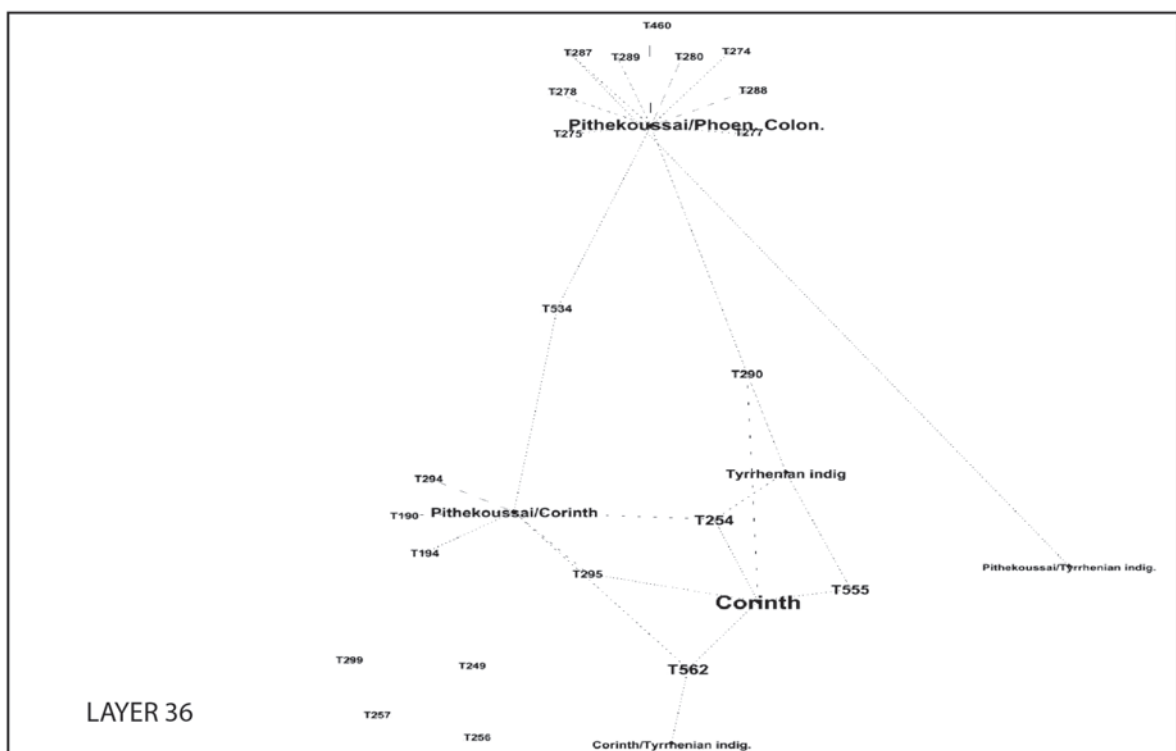
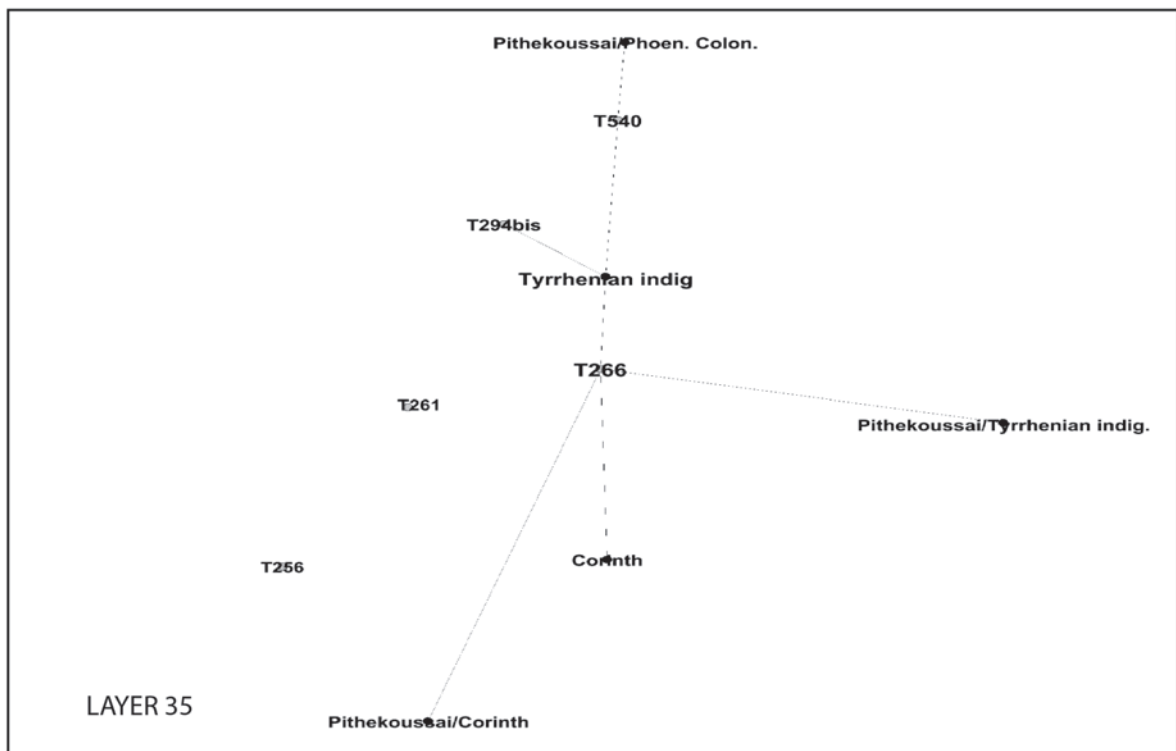
'GREEK COLONISATION' AND MEDITERRANEAN NETWORKS



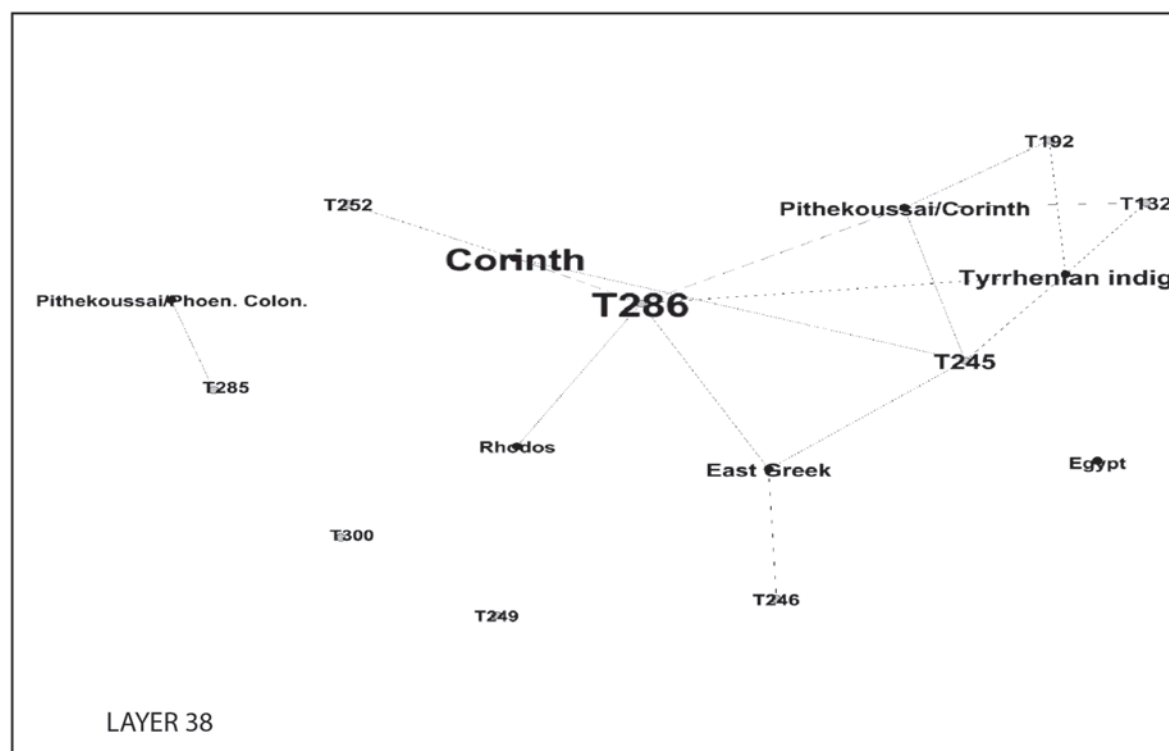
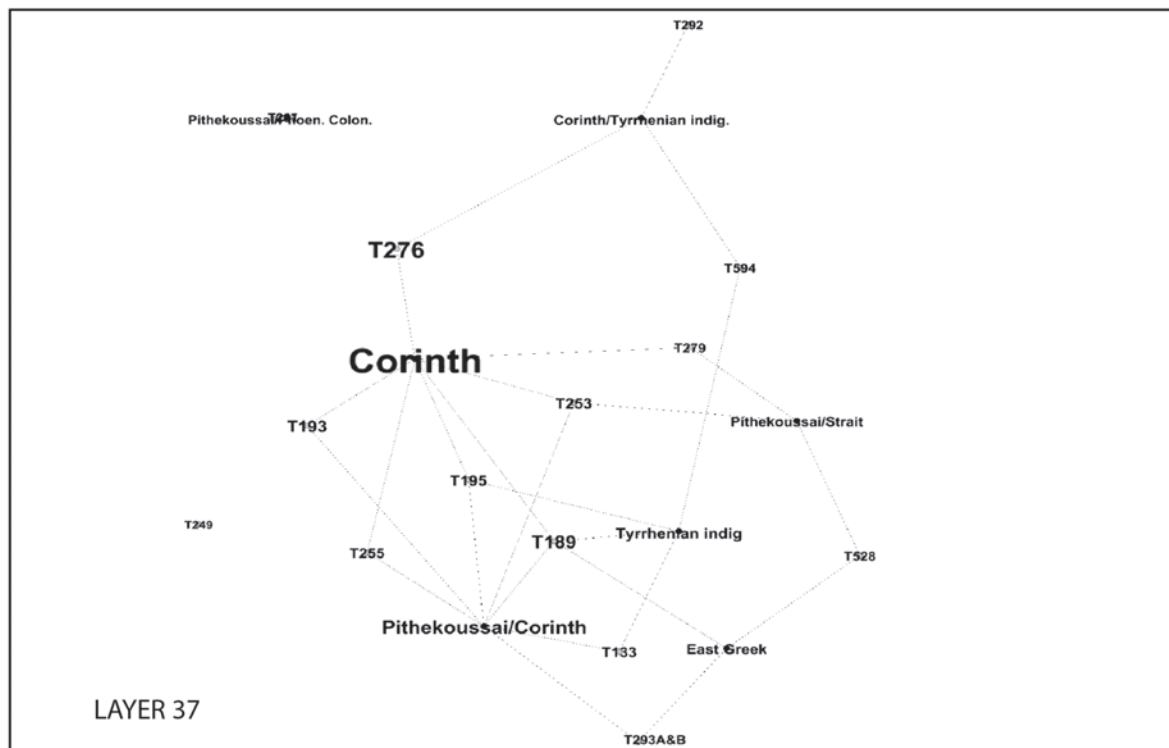


## 'GREEK COLONISATION' AND MEDITERRANEAN NETWORKS

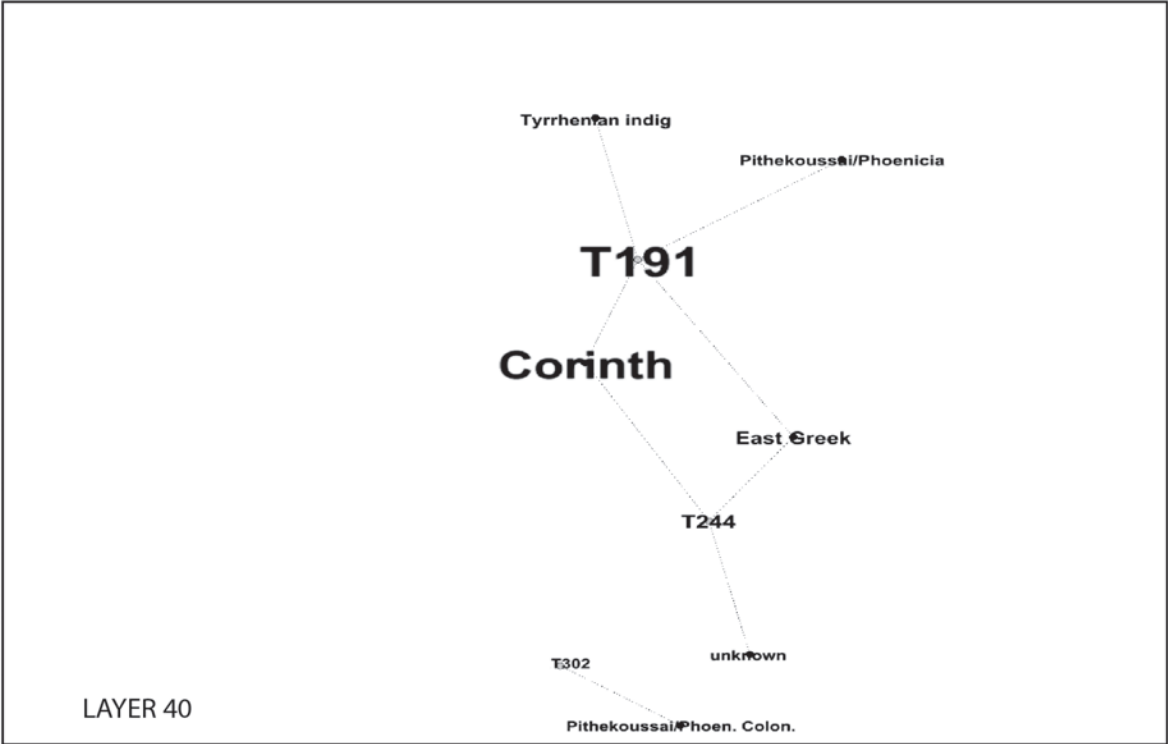
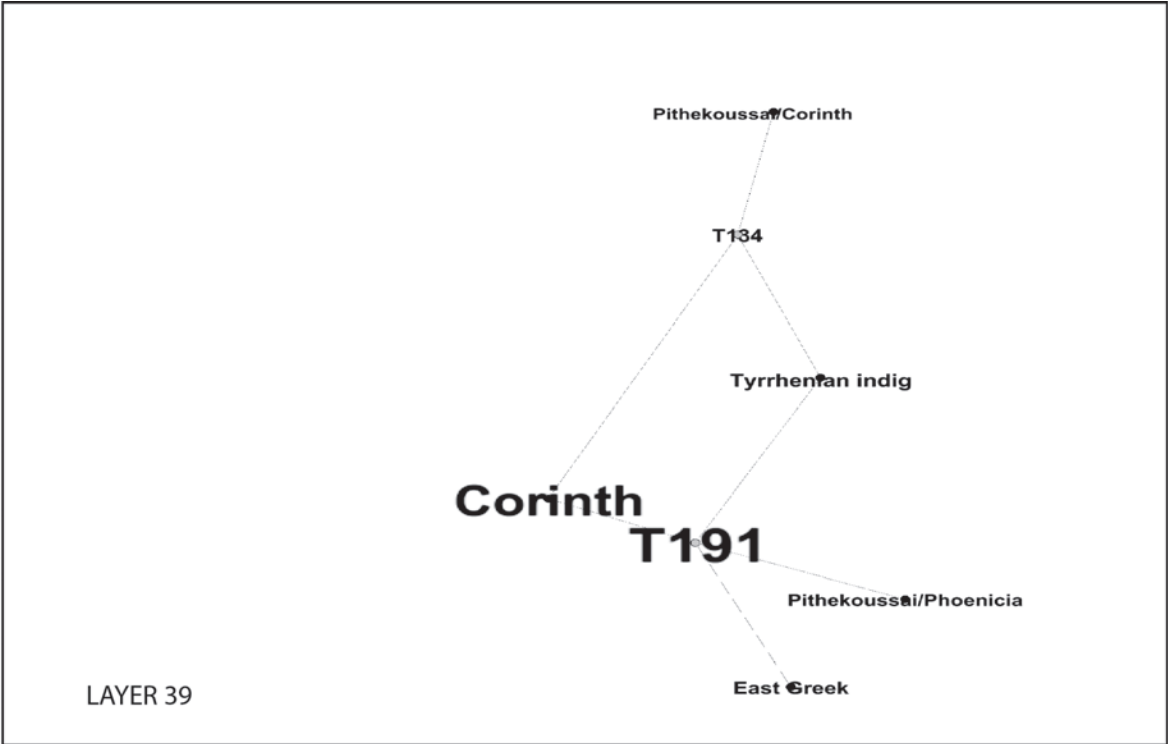


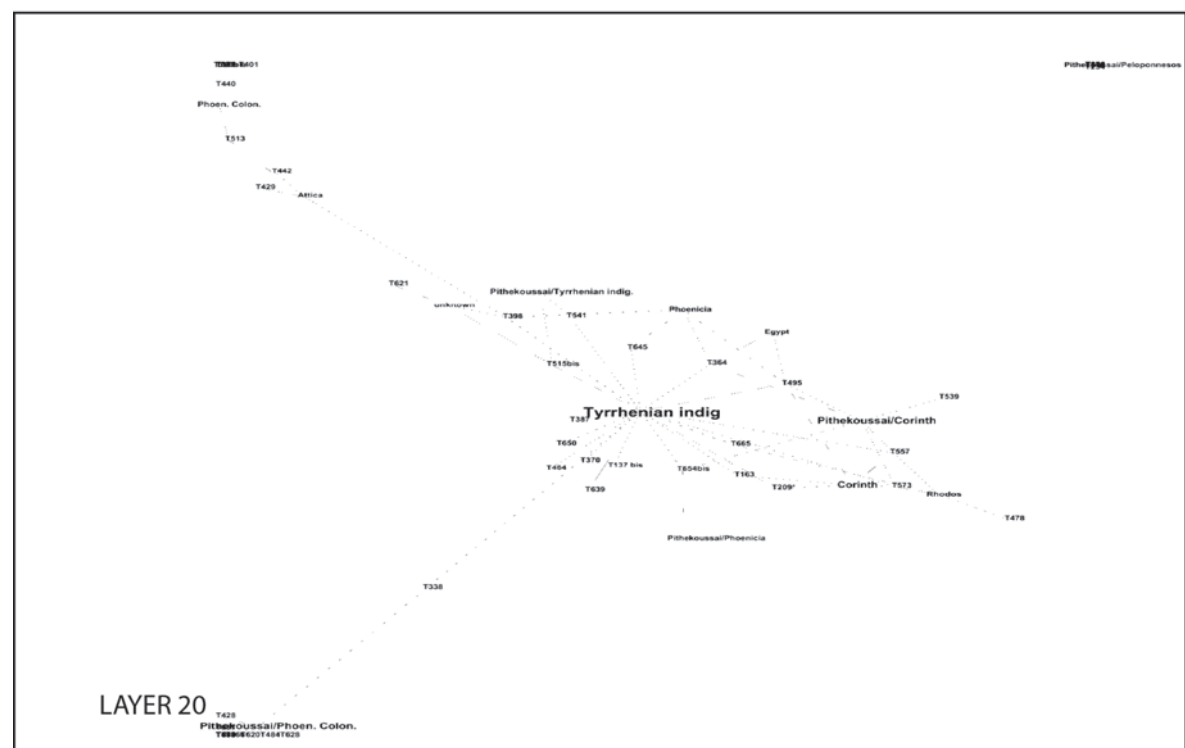


'GREEK COLONISATION' AND MEDITERRANEAN NETWORKS











# Sample Review

**Evangelia Stefani, Nikos Merousis and Anastasia  
Dimoula. *A century of research in prehistoric Macedonia  
1912-2012***

Soultana Maria Valamoti

(*Journal of Greek Archaeology* 1 (2016): 406–420)

range of topics considered offers quite a wide choice of examples where this could be beneficial.

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**Evangelia Stefani, Nikos Merousis and Anastasia Dimoula. *A century of research in prehistoric Macedonia 1912-2012*, (International conference proceedings, Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, 22-24 November 2012). pp. 718. 2014. Thessaloniki: Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki Publications. ISBN 978-960-9621-14-4 €40.**

This volume is the fruitful outcome of an international conference dedicated to a century of prehistoric research in Macedonia. The conference was held within a wider framework of commemorations on the occasion of the centenary since the liberation of Thessaloniki from the Ottoman rule. The conference was organised by the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, its director Polyxeni Adam-Veleni and a large team of the Museum's archaeologists as well as Archaeology Professors from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. The volume, edited by Evangelia Stefani, Nikos Merousis and Anastasia Dimoula, presents a rich overview of prehistoric investigations conducted within the geographical area corresponding to the region of Macedonia in northern Greece. It comprises in total sixty papers written mostly in Greek (12 amongst them are written in English), with English abstracts, occasionally of substantial extent.

The book opens with the keynote speech by the late Professor Chourmouziadis (pp. 23–37) to whom the volume is dedicated. With his provocative, *avant garde* at times heretic thoughts and approaches, Chourmouziadis inspired generations of students of Greek prehistory, researchers, and museum curators. By always challenging established ways of seeing into the archaeological record he sowed many seeds that sprouted and bloomed. His paper in this volume challenges the stereotypic image of prehistory as a period of 'needy' humans striving to survive, an image that we often see firmly established in the minds of our undergraduate archaeology students. Rather than being a foreign land, prehistory, in the eyes of Chourmouziadis, emerges as a quest for the historical content of prehistory: understanding and interpreting a cultural continuum between History and Prehistory.

The volume is organised in seven parts. It starts with a section entitled 'The history of prehistoric research in Macedonia: historical and critical approaches' (pp. 31–122) comprising reviews of the history of prehistoric research in Macedonia. The next section, 'Reviews' (pp. 125–178) consists of papers providing overviews of the current state of the art and future perspectives of prehistoric research in Macedonia organised in chronological terms and covering the Palaeolithic, the Neolithic and the Iron Age. More site- or case-specific or research question-oriented studies constitute the remaining four sections, 'Chronology-Sites and Eras' (pp. 181–312), 'Space and its Meanings' (pp. 315–398) 'Paleoenvironment, Archaeobotany, Zooarchaeology, Physical Anthropology' (pp. 401–488), 'From objects to ideas: Technologies-Artefacts-Communications' (pp. 491–670), and 'Museology-Social Archaeology' (pp. 673–706).

The first section of the volume consists of eight papers which provide an overview of the history of research as regards prehistoric explorations, starting from the pioneering excavations and surveys conducted in the 19th and early 20th centuries, often within the context of the 1st and 2nd World Wars (K. Rhomiopoulou, pp. 31–36), including the contribution of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (A. Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou, pp. 37–43), the British School in Athens (K. Wardle, pp. 45–56 and M. Pappa, pp. 101–112) and the French School in Athens (R. Treuil, pp. 57–65). The particular circumstances of the first collection of archaeological finds destined to form the 'nucleus of a local Macedonian museum, instead of being transferred to Athens or any other museum' (p. 93) but ending up at the British Museum are unfolded in the paper by Kanatselou and Shapland (pp. 91–100). Kourtessi-Philippakis views the history of research in the region through a specific artefact category, that of stone tools (pp. 113–122). Excavations at sites such as Nea Nikomedeia, Servia, Sitagroi, Assiros and Dikili Tash became landmarks of prehistoric archaeology in Macedonia and continue to serve as major points of reference for recent, ongoing work in unexplored regions. The overview on prehistoric research on the island of Thassos (S. Papadopoulos and N. Nerantzis, pp. 67–90) provides a multifaceted approach to prehistoric research on this island, covering not only the history of research but also recent investigations as well as the diffusion of prehistoric research to the wider public. Meanwhile, excavations at Dispilio, Vergina, Mandalo, Toumba Thessalonikis, Archondiko, Paliambela and Makri, led by Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Professors, opened up new pathways of research in the area. It is through this fruitful collaboration between the Ministry of Culture, the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and the Foreign

Schools in Greece that a wealth of new explorations and results have emerged, as can be gauged in this volume, clearly visible in the numerous contributions of this exceptional publication. The following section 'Reviews' (pp. 125–178) provides useful overviews of the Neolithic, the Palaeolithic, the Bronze and Iron Ages (by Efstratiou, pp. 125–132, Kotsakis, pp. 133–140, Andreou, pp. 141–152, and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, pp. 153–178, respectively) giving comprehensive presentations of the state of the art and opening up questions awaiting future investigation. Many of the subsequent contributions in the volume offer original new information and analytical tools for understanding prehistoric communities and their trajectories through time in Macedonia.

The next section (pp. 181–312) is titled 'Chronology, Sites and Eras'. It contains a series of contributions spanning the Palaeolithic through to the Iron Age and covering issues on phasing and dates, either in the form of overviews of recently acquired and older data (e.g. the paper by Maniatis, pp. 205–222) or of overviews concerning the phasing and dates of key sites such as Promachon/Topolnica (Koukouli et al, pp. 251–260), Archondiko (Papanthimou and Papadopolou, pp. 271–280, Isaakidou, pp. 281–289), Olynthos (Jung and Horejs, pp. 299–302) and Kastanas (Gimatidis, pp. 303–312). Other papers in this section address the state of the art as regards periods little explored until now, for example the Palaeolithic (Galanidou and Efstratiou, pp. 181–194) or emblematic sites such as Petralona Cave with the early hominid skull associated with it (Daras, pp. 195–204). New perspectives and pathways for future research in the Palaeolithic of Macedonia are underlined in the light of recently conducted investigations which reveal Neanderthal activity in the valleys of Macedonia as well as upland areas previously considered uninhabited by early humans of the area. Unpublished dates from Early Neolithic sites, integrated with recently published ones, offer a new understanding of the complexity involved in the movements of the first farmers and/or their crops and domestic animals across the Aegean and through southeastern Europe (Maniatis, pp. 205–222). This evidence may be pointing to different groups of people moving to southeastern Europe and/or networks bringing new crops, animals and ideas, confirming earlier discussions on complex processes involved in the introduction of agriculture in the Aegean.<sup>1</sup> Despite a loss of crops in this 'journey' of agriculture to Europe,<sup>2</sup> the plant assemblages are also revealing different components of the so called 'neolithic crop package', different packages that may be reflected in later regional preferences in cereals

consumed.<sup>3</sup> On a more theoretical level, the article of Kontopoulou, Rathossi, Aidona, Fanjat, Tema and Efthimiadis, assesses the potential, similarities and future perspectives in applying archaeomagnetism as a dating method of fired clay production based on selected case studies from Macedonia (pp. 223–231).

In addition, this section also offers newly acquired data that highlight the importance of areas little explored or known until recently in relation to prehistoric life in the region: Kozani and Grevena (Karamitrou-Mentessidi, pp. 233–250). The integration of various lines of evidence offers instructive insights as regards spatial organisation during the Early and Middle Bronze Age, in the syntheses attempted on Archondiko and Agios Athanasios, within the context of previously published sites such as Kastanas and Sitagroi (Mavroeidi, pp. 261–270, Aslanis, pp. 291–298). The evidence from Bronze Age Macedonia during the 3rd millennium reveals a variability, little suspected previously, in terms of choices in spatial organisation among different nearly contemporary settlements. The volume's contributions in this section clearly show that the picture that emerges through recent intensive archaeological research in prehistoric Macedonia is exhibiting a rich variability of which the underlying factors remain obscure, but offering an exciting challenge for future explorations and syntheses.

The section that follows is entitled 'Space and its Meanings' (pp. 315–398) and offers a unique insight into recently explored regions of Macedonia, by survey and/or excavation. Several contributions in this section provide precious overviews and lists of sites throughout the later prehistory of the region, spanning the Neolithic through to the Iron Age. Chatzitoulous et al (pp. 373–380) express their thoughts on enclosures in the Neolithic on the basis of two such examples from the lake dwelling of Dispilio at Kastoria. The work of Stavros Kotsos (pp. 315–322) offers a useful synthesis of settlement patterns and use of space during the 6th millennium BC in a wide area of central Macedonia (western Thessaloniki and the Langadas basin), providing in a compact, clear way a long needed overview of research in this region, combining survey and excavation data. Interesting issues raised that require further investigation include a) the function of pits widely encountered at neolithic sites in the region and b) 'mobility' and settlement relocation within the Neolithic landscape during the Middle/Late Neolithic in the study area. Do all large pits correspond to houses and how can we distinguish a storage pit from a clay extraction pit or from a special function/ritual pit? These questions arising from the

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Kotsakis 2001; Efstratiou 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Colledge et al. 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Valamoti 2004; Valamoti 2009; Marinova and Valamoti 2014.



evidence explored by Kotsos have also attracted discussion in other regions of the Balkans.<sup>4</sup> Are we justified to envisage all neolithic settlements in the region as corresponding to year-round, sedentary villages of farmers that keep small-sized herds that can be supported by the agricultural sector,<sup>5</sup> or is the time right to begin exploring mobility as a plausible alternative or complementary way of life?<sup>6</sup> Equally revealing of settlement pattern trends and intra-settlement formation processes are the articles by Areti Chondrogianni-Metoki (pp. 337–348) and Stratouli et al (pp. 349–358). Chondrogianni-Metoki offers an overview of habitation density over time in the middle Aliakmon Valley as well as of intra-site habitation patterns based on a selection of sites. Her focus is the neolithic house, its definition and variations, aspects that she addresses with a fresh insight based on recent excavation work in the region. Stratouli and the Avgi research team together with the contribution of the archaeozoologist Vassiliki Tzevelekidi (pp. 349–358) explore a recently emerging field of discussion in the prehistory of Macedonia, that of structured deposition. Structured deposition put forward by Chapman for the Balkans,<sup>7</sup> has recently been explored elsewhere by Chondrogianni-Metoki,<sup>8</sup> and Stroulia,<sup>9</sup> on the basis of exceptional contexts excavated at the site of Kremasti Koilada. The recent work at Avgi reveals a variability in the content of pits, some pits being characterised by a variety of artefacts, others by a more narrow or specialised content, for example some pits contain only building material, others only pottery and some food remains while another stands out due to the wealth of disused ground stone tools. The authors attempt to disentangle the various paths followed by the materials deposited in the pits, offering an alternative insight into what is traditionally dealt with as ‘rubbish’, and by highlighting the symbolic dimensions of placing objects in a pit. The definition of ‘rubbish’ within the context of neolithic communities of Macedonia has been only partially raised on the basis of plant remains,<sup>10</sup> which, by virtue of their composition are easier to hastily and superficially classify as ‘rubbish’, yet, as the pit with a broken pot and rich in *Lathyrus sativus* (approximately 4 kilos of charred grain), from Kremasti Koilada,<sup>11</sup> clearly shows, grain (product) and chaff (refuse) can equally end in a pit and neither context nor composition suffice to elucidate the processes, the gestures and the words that accompanied the buried objects.

The data presented in this section, organised on a regional or site specific level, reveal complex processes underlying human choice in selecting habitation space and structuring it on the material and symbolic level. The interplay between collective or authority-driven decisions and daily practice is examined through their imprint in the archaeological record. Many contributions scrutinize the remains of the day and/or of special events, attempting to decipher the palimpsest of ancestral memory, daily practice, of the unfolding of inhabited space through time. Regions of western Macedonia, recently investigated mainly through the destructive (in the long run) agent of rescue excavations preceding modern development, mainly in the electric energy sector (e.g. Kleitos and Kitrini Limni), offer unique snapshots of the complexity in human choices and the ways these may be reflected in the archaeological record. The article by Ziota (pp. 323–336) offers a synthetic presentation of various lines of evidence from the recently excavated site of Kleitos such as architecture, site formation processes, environment and economy. Kleitos emerges as a flat-extended site in the process of gradually developing into a tell through the passage of time, from the Late to the Final Neolithic, with the early phases of Kleitos 1 characterised by open spaces and large, possibly shared hearths, while later Kleitos 2, adjacent and briefly contemporary to the older habitation space, continues life on the site, apparently becoming confined to a more restricted location, and acquiring some of the features usually related to tells, namely the accumulation of habitation on the same spot through time (the vertical development of archaeological/habitational deposits). The insight offered by Ziota on Kleitos is very instructive and challenges our stereotypical classifications of sites as either tells of flat/extended sites.

These classifications are criticised by Kalogiropoulou (pp. 359–372), in her attempt, for the first time, to systematically explore the spatial associations of cuisines in neolithic Macedonia and their social connotations. The need to address this subject has been calling since Halstead’s model which associates temporal shifts in the location of kitchens to changes in food sharing practices and hospitality; Halstead sees a gradual ‘isolation of the household’ through the passage of time, in a somehow inevitable process during which the prehistoric inhabitants of Greece becoming indeed ‘neighbours from hell’ as time went by, and the Early-Late Neolithic period gave way into the Final Neolithic.<sup>12</sup> At last Kalogiropoulou offers us solid data to address this suggestion and it seems that the evidence she has gathered from the tells does indeed verify Halstead’s model: tells

<sup>4</sup> Nikolov 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Halstead 2000; Pappa *et al.* 2004.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Valamoti 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Chapman 2000.

<sup>8</sup> Chondrogianni-Metoki 2009.

<sup>9</sup> Stroulia 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Valamoti 2005; Valamoti 2006a; Valamoti 2007.

<sup>11</sup> Karathanou and Valamoti 2011; Valamoti *et al.* 2011.

<sup>12</sup> Halstead 1999.

have the kitchens inside houses in the Late/Final Neolithic. Nevertheless, the evidence presented in this section from flat/extended sites like Kleitos and Avgi (Ziota, pp. 323–336, and Stratouli et al, pp. 349–358, respectively) suggest that the model is probably not, or not always, correct: the hearths were located both inside and outside the ‘house’: offering food for thought and alerting us against making generalisations prior to careful contextual considerations. It has previously been suggested that tells, containing houses with hearths inside them, might be more prone to fire destructions generating destruction layers rich in organic remains.<sup>13</sup> The recent excavations offer an opportunity to further explore this line of evidence and obtain a better understanding of site formation processes and the resulting palimpsest of structures, artefacts and their spatial associations. Kalogiropoulou allows a fresh insight into culinary practice and its relationship to space through cooking facilities, yet, she does not escape the very rigid classifications into tells and flat/extended settlements that she rightfully criticizes early in her paper, with her approach failing to take a more nuanced stand point in classifying sites. Her database of sites includes some that could be classified as either tells or flat/extended sites, depending on the criterion used. Thus a site such as Arkadikos is classified as a tell, because of the thickness of deposits, despite its large extent.<sup>14</sup> It is on rare occasions, at sites such as Kleitos and Avgi, where careful excavation over a very large area allows an exploration of associations between architectural features and artefactual evidence, supporting the attempt to determine the relationship between spatial and social organisation. Leaving aside issues of classification categories, the most significant contribution of both Ziota and Kalogiropoulou’s articles is the critical point of view which opens up new pathways for exploring the social dynamics of settlement pattern in the Neolithic of northern Greece. It is clear that in the near future, more detailed analyses on the site level (e.g. site formation processes, use of space, economy, object lifecycles and their elusive makers and users) together with more synthetic approaches, will enhance our understanding of neolithic communities not only in northern Greece but the whole of southeastern Europe where similar habitation patterns have been unearthed over the years.

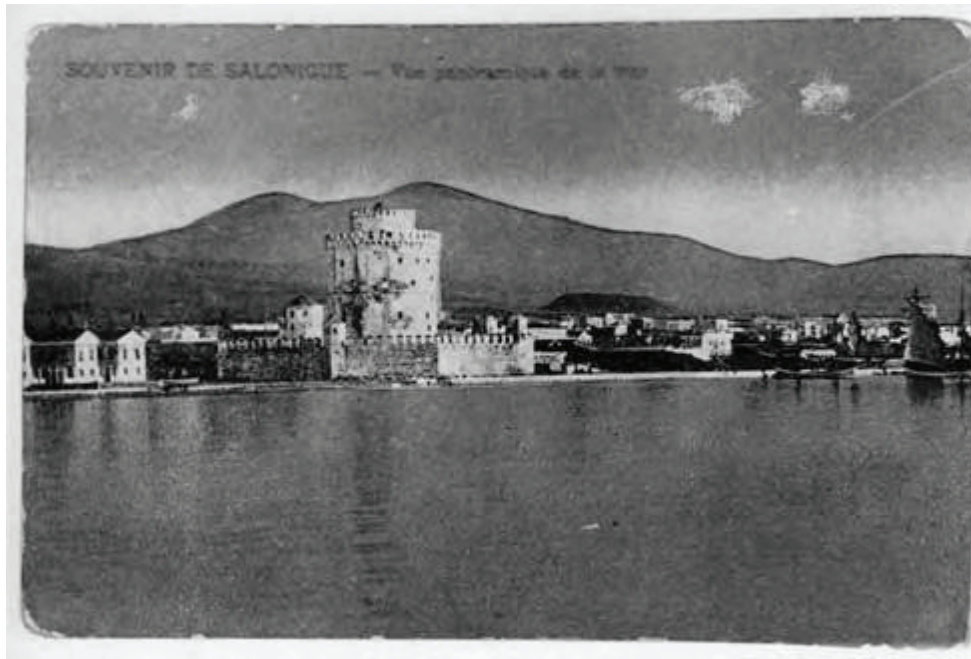
Turning to the Bronze Age, this section addresses the issue of Late Bronze Age tells in Macedonia, their formation processes and symbolism both for those inhabiting them and those approaching them as outsiders. Stefani (pp. 381–398) discusses the ‘monumentality’ of such settlement types in the

Late Bronze Age Macedonian landscape based on a number of sites from Central Macedonia and focusing on the recently excavated site of Angelochori. This monumentality is linked by the author with an emerging ideology of power and a hierarchical organisation assumed for the Late Bronze Age not only in Macedonia but the wider Aegean region. As labour mobilisation for the construction of impressive structures is not limited to the Late Bronze Age, as is demonstrated in the neolithic ditches of some settlements or their enclosure walls, the work of Stefani shows that the interplay of power relations, labour mobilisation and settlement images in the landscape is a quite complex one, operating on different levels and changing over the course of time. The image of Toumba Thessalonikis in the barren foreground of the modern early 20th century wider landscape of the city, epitomises her closing argument that architectural forms in the landscape acquire different meanings in different cultural contexts (Figure 1).

‘Palaeoenvironment-Archaeobotany-Zooarchaeology-Physical Anthropology’ is the collective title for the eight papers that follow (pp. 401–488), addressing various aspects of the relationship of human societies with their natural environment in Prehistoric Macedonia as well as the DNA of the people themselves that formed these societies. Natural and anthropogenic environments are unfolded in the papers by Kouli (palynological analysis, pp. 401–408) and Ntinou (anthracological analysis, pp. 409–417) in an attempt to distinguish between natural causes (precipitation, temperature, erosion) and changes induced by human activity such as forest clearance related to fields and pasture land. Kouli briefly reviews the palynological record of 23 pollen cores in northern Greece and concludes that it is time for an integration of environmental and cultural parameters as a means to evaluate the level of contribution of natural factors and/or human agency in the shaping and change of prehistoric vegetation in the Macedonian landscape over time. From the wide catchments represented by pollen analysis, the anthracological evidence discussed by Ntinou captures those pockets of vegetation that were of specific interest for prehistoric people inhabiting the region of Macedonia in northern Greece. This research, based on evidence from 12 sites in northern Greece, reveals a rich mosaic of tree canopy by close examination of charcoal from a wide range of sites spanning the Neolithic through to the Bronze Age. Proximity to the sea and elevation, combined with specific choices for wood types, determined by natural properties of the plants and/or cultural preferences seem to shape the anthracological record of prehistoric Macedonia. Based on variability occurring in species composition in the

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Valamoti 2004, 2005.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Valamoti 2005.



**Figure 1.** View of the White Tower and part of Eastern Thessaloniki, seen from the sea. In the background, Toumba Thessalonikis can be seen (carte postal, 1904), courtesy of the volume editors, p. 393. (© Thessaloniki History Centre).

anthracological record from Dispilio, Ntinou raises the possibility of differential access to parts of the land by different households, families or lineages within the same community. Differential access to the landscape among the members of the same village, prescribed by property rights on land surrounding the settlement, may potentially be reflected in spatial differentiation in the distribution of arboreal species (represented by charcoal) within the settlement. Another interesting observation in Ntinou's article concerns patterns in the exploitation of riparian and lakeshore vegetation: during the course of time, this type of arboreal vegetation is under-represented in the anthracological record, a trend interpreted as an indication that this land was probably dedicated to cultivation rather than woodland management. This is a very interesting point indeed as it may reveal a preferential location of fields near the edges of rivers, streams and lakes. Recent isotopic analysis from northern Greece largely seems to confirm such a practice for some of the fields cultivated in prehistoric Macedonia.<sup>15</sup> I am less sure, however, that wood was the only or main source of fuel in the hearths that burnt daily, as Ntinou suggests. Dung is an alternative, a preferred one in some cultural contexts, while various lines of evidence seem to suggest that it was, too, a source of fuel in prehistoric Macedonia.<sup>16</sup> The pattern that emerges from both numerous pollen and

charcoal records presented in this article confirms previous observations for a gradual recession in forest canopy to the advantage of open landscapes with low vegetation deriving from human activity. Leaving the woods behind, fields and pastures would have filled the areas near the settlements or even within them. A closer look at the fields and pastures of neolithic settlements is provided by the archaeobotanical data of plant macro-remains other than charcoal (Valamoti, pp. 419–424), which reveal small-scale cultivation and a variety in grazing patterns, while low human impact in aquatic habitats in the vicinity of many sites is suggested by the frequent occurrence of nutlets of *Cladium mariscus*. The same analysis reveals culinary choices and changes through time in terms of the plant ingredients, while snapshots into culinary preparations like grape juice/wine and bulgur/*trachanas* or split pulses are presented in a brief overview of the plant ingredients of prehistoric cuisine in Macedonia.

Other bioarchaeological remains discussed in this section comprise zooarchaeological evidence from two neolithic sites in Western Macedonia and one in Eastern Macedonia. The work of Tzevelekidi, Halstead and Isaakidou (pp. 425–436) provides novel insights into carcass processing, consumption and deposition in two sites, Makriyalos and Toumba Kremastis Koiladas. In both sites the excavated areas consist primarily of negative features such as pits and ditches, rendering the two sites more reliably

<sup>15</sup> Bogaard *et al.* work in progress.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Charles *et al.* 1998; Valamoti 2004.

comparable. This is even clearer with regard to the application of similar analytical protocols in the zooarchaeological analysis. Species differentiation within and among the sites is highlighted and while between the sites of Makriyalos and Kremasti Koiladas this could be an artefact of differential location, regarding surrounding habitats and subsistence practices, within Makriyalos, variability in species representation, among the different features of the site, calls for alternative explanations. The article provides a clear and comprehensive presentation of animal husbandry practices and animal consumption as well of depositional patterns related to the manipulation of carcasses, their consumption and discard. Grazing practices and penning for the different animals of the site are addressed through isotopic and dental use-wear analyses while the type of animal exploitation is inferred from age and sex composition, bone pathologies and evidence from pottery residue analysis. This tightly integrated and contextual approach of the zooarchaeological assemblages offer a much needed but rarely occurring discussion of this line of evidence in Macedonian prehistory. Leaving aside differential preservation of different body parts that the authors carefully discuss, the variability resulting from human selection of carcass processing offers interesting insights of manipulation of animals from butchery to deposition of the 'remains' of their use/consumption. Thus the cooking of animals in large parcels is inferred by the limited frequency of butchery marks combined with a low representation of smaller parcels discarded/buried in the pits. Various lines of evidence analysed by the authors offer a convincing interpretation of structured deposition occurring in the pits of Toumba Kremastis Koiladas. The data provide the basis for a discussion of the significance of meat in commensal politics in prehistoric Greece and offer hints for a competitive element in meat contribution and consumption in the context of special events. Contextual and spatial variability in the distribution of animal bones (species, body parts, attrition etc.), at both sites, shows interesting, more or less consistent, patterning, related to a variability of practices for carcass manipulation and deposition, a patterning not always straightforward in its interpretation. The bone evidence reveals that pits interpreted as 'domestic' at Makriyalos can be classified as containing the remains of larger than household meat consumption events. The detailed analysis and careful interpretation of the results, justifies the reservation expressed by the authors in the interpretation of pits from Makriyalos as either 'houses' and 'domestic' units (including rubbish and cooking pits) on the one hand, and contexts of 'collective' consumption on the other.<sup>17</sup> These terms may be confusing and restraining. In the

long run they risk becoming labels repeatedly and light heartedly applied to features that may appear similar but that could have been profoundly different in their biographies and entanglement with daily lives and special moments of the prehistoric communities that produced them.

Promachon-Topolnica, another neolithic site that has yielded potential evidence for special contexts of animal consumption, cattle in particular, is discussed in terms of the zooarchaeological assemblage (Kazantzis, pp. 437–451). The preliminary nature of the data presented in this article poses certain limitations on interpretation that the author acknowledges from the beginning. Moreover, the rare context of *bucrania* found in a timber-framed house in Phase I forms a separate, ongoing study, rendering an integrated approach of the assemblage premature. Kazantzis proceeds to a detailed and thoughtful examination of the available archaeozoological data of Macedonia, identifying patterns as regards the domestic vs wild animal representation in the region, as well as preferences in different species. In the light of new data, it is interesting to note the variability in the representation of wild fauna in the assemblages. This confirms earlier suggestions that local environmental conditions as well as cultural beliefs might have contributed to this pattern.<sup>18</sup> As regards Promachon-Topolnica itself, the questions raised are very interesting, in particular the relationship between body part representation in the different areas of the settlement. Yet, some issues remain obscure, for example the negative association between high numbers of cattle teeth and low representation of cattle heads. I find it rather difficult to envisage the processes, cultural or taphonomic, that might have led to a high presence of cattle teeth in relation to post-cranial body parts, and at the same time an under-representation of cattle heads. Interesting though it might be, a hypothetical scenario whereby heads are disposed of in areas other than those where the corresponding teeth are found, is difficult to explain. Given the particular context of Phase I, where the numerous *bucrania* were found, it is indeed very likely that cattle heads may have served a symbolic function. Kazantzis suggests that cattle heads might have been left outside the settlement—though the high teeth percentages would still need to be explained. However, an alternative to the disposal of the heads outside the settlements, and in the light of the special context where the *bucrania* were found in an earlier phase of the site, it might be equally plausible that the missing cattle heads might have simply been deposited in another part of the site, where a second or third *bucrania* pit/house might have existed.

<sup>17</sup> Pappa 2008.

<sup>18</sup> Valamoti 2006b: 420, for a review of the literature.



Moving from the forests, pastures and cultivated land, the fishbones from a large number of sites shift our interest to aquatic environments. Theodoropoulou (pp. 453–464) offers us an overview of fishing practices in northern Greek Prehistory, focusing largely on Macedonia where 23 of the 28 sites, she considers in this paper, are located. The article keeps to its promise providing us with a panorama of fishing practices throughout the Neolithic and the Bronze Age in the north Aegean and its hinterland. Theodoropoulou's work shows that fishing freshwater resources was common practice at at Neolithic inland settlements while coastal sites fished on a more limited scale, contrasting the subsequent Bronze Age period whose occupants seem to fish more intensively in the sea. These, among other patterns discussed in the paper offer novel, interesting insights, of a little known prehistoric activity, often considered as marginal or non-existent. Before, however, embarking on this fascinating exploration of patterns in this category of zooarchaeological data, it is imperative to clarify issues of material retrieval: fishbones are not routinely collected from excavations at Greek prehistoric sites and often, when they are, they consist of bones visible to the naked eye. The figures that feature in this article, unfortunately lacking any legends, are silent in this respect as they offer no insight into sampling intensity, differences in data retrieval etc. (e.g. dry sieving versus flotation). Thus one may wonder whether the limited representation of fishing at sea at coastal Neolithic sites may be an artefact of lack of flotation techniques being applied at the sites investigated or a more limited sample number by comparison to Neolithic and Bronze Age inland sites, or coastal Bronze Age sites. Sites like Toumba (Thessalonikis) and Archondiko, heavily and systematically sampled by flotation, may be skewing the data set, introducing retrieval biases. This panorama generated from the hard, pioneering work of Theodoropoulou will be further illuminated when taphonomic factors, including sampling and retrieval, are taken into consideration.

The work of Veropoulidou (pp. 465–475) that follows, explores aspects of food and material cultures of prehistoric people inhabiting the region, reflected in the molluscan record from 16 sites, mostly around the Thermaic Gulf (nicely illustrated in the map provided in the article). Similar retrieval protocols having been applied to all sites guarantees comparability of the data-sets as emphasized by the author, yet no information on variability in the intensity of sampling, or consideration of the material derived from heavy residues is provided in the article (a column in Table 1, showing the number of samples per site and a column indicating mesh size used for retrieval would have probably solved this), factors that may also affect the patterns extracted from the data sets.

Likewise comparisons between the north Aegean and other areas in terms of molluscan exploitation may be flawed by differential sampling and retrieval in the majority of sites further south.<sup>19</sup> Leaving these methodological issues aside, Veropoulidou offers us an exemplary, in depth discussion of her very large data set, starting from an examination of species variability in relation to characteristics of aquatic habitats, surrounding marginally inland and coastal sites. The palaeoenvironmental evidence is compatible with the malacological evidence, showing greater variability in coastal and eutrophic environments of shifting salinity levels. Specific preferences in certain species harvested as food may point to strategic management of these resources, in particular *Cerastoderma glaucum*, which highlights a strong preference through time of a particular food resource. During the Bronze Age *Hexaplex trunculus* (purple dye) was collected pointing to small scale purple dye preparation at sites such as Toumba Thessalonikis and Agios Mamas. Among the deep sea sea-shells, *Spondylus gaederopus* and *Glycymeris sp.* were those used *par excellence* for jewelry making, although these two may have been fished in deep waters as Veropoulidou has demonstrated elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> An interesting observation emerges as regards the exploitation of fresh water molluscs in the sites under consideration: these, unlike fish from these habitats, are only occasionally exploited, perhaps a culinary choice of these particular communities. Does the consumption of molluscs indeed drop towards the end of the Bronze Age and during the Iron Age, together with communal harvesting expeditions as the author suggests, indicating an alleged 'isolation of the household' during later prehistory? The data are probably misleading if one considers the numerous sea-shells, probably the remains of food, found in an Iron Age pit at Karabournaki.<sup>21</sup>

Last, but not least in this section is the work of Papageorgopoulou (pp. 477–488) who offers a clear, concise overview of ancient DNA applications, constraints and future perspectives. Fascinating applications concern recent advances as regards our understanding of modern human ancestry and their relationship to Neanderthals as well as the discovery of a variability previously not suspected in the species of *Homo* inhabiting the eastern fringes of Europe during the transition to the Upper Palaeolithic. Subsequently insights as regards the relationship between local hunter-gatherers of Europe and the first farmers are offered in a comprehensive way. The ancient DNA information brought together by Papageorgopoulou largely confirms the picture inferred from artefactual

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the recent work by Mylona at Papadiokambos where systematic flotation was applied, Brogan *et al.* 2013.

<sup>20</sup> Veropoulidou and Pappa 2011.

<sup>21</sup> Tiverios *et al.* 2013.

evidence that reveals (in regions further north than Greece) complex encounters between hunter-gatherer communities and an advancing agricultural population, gradually adapting together with their crops to colder climates and different landscapes.<sup>22</sup> These issues blend nicely with first aid instructions for dealing with archaeological material that will be subjected to DNA analysis, thus raising awareness of the manifold dangers and the extra care that is imperative for reliable results.

The next section takes us from the wider settlement and regional/environmental scale to more focused approaches of the artefacts and their ideological connotations. Pottery turns out to be the dominant analytical tool in the majority of the articles in the section titled 'From Objects to Ideas: Technologies-Artefacts-Communication' (pp. 491–670). Dimoula, Pentedeka and Filis (pp. 491–503) offer a fresh consideration of the pottery from past and recent excavation work at the neolithic site of Lete, formerly known as Aivatli when the British troops settled to fortify the area in the early 20th century, thus unearthing prehistoric habitation remains. The significance of Lete lies largely in the fact that it is one of the few Early Neolithic sites known from northern Greece, although these have admittedly multiplied over the last few years. The pottery from Lete, a flat extended site with ditches and pits, is characterized by a horizontal shift of habitation, in clusters identifiable as separate not only due to their differential location within the settlement but also due to different dates. It belongs, as the authors underline, to a wider settlement pattern characteristic of Neolithic Macedonia. Macroscopic and microscopic, including petrographic, analyses as well as provenance and technological aspects of the pottery from Lete were conducted. The analyses confirm the widely observed limited decoration of Early Neolithic pottery. The authors offer detailed information on the technological characteristics of the pots, clay source locations, processing of clay, building techniques and firing conditions, concluding that a single potting tradition covered the needs of the community for pots throughout the Early/Middle Neolithic habitation of the site. The presence of a wide variety of types of pots (cooking and storage pots, as well as serving and consumption vessels) is interpreted by the authors as an indication that the pits correspond to households. It seems, however, that their assertion is contradicted by their later observation that the pits represent single episodes, not different phases of habitation, with sherds from the upper layers joining sherds from the bottom layers. Could this 'discard'/deposition/sealing of a wide range of pots correspond to the remains of

activities involving their use and subsequent 'sealing' within a pit, dug out to contain the remains of an event marking a special occasion? Considering the finds in their wider regional context, the shapes from Lete place this community within a wider network of neolithic communities of the central/north Aegean and its hinterland (Thessaly and Macedonia), as well as the coasts of Western Anatolia and Eastern Thrace (Izmir, Sea of Marmara) and the Danube along the Iron Gates.

Urem-Kotsou together with her collaborators Anna Papaioannou, Trisevgeni Papadaku, Niki Saridaki and Zoe Intze (pp. 505–517), a lively group of neolithic pottery researchers based mainly at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, provide a synthesis of pottery evidence and stylistic boundaries in Early and Middle Neolithic Macedonia. This is on-going research, therefore the evidence presented is preliminary and at times qualitative in nature. The authors, resort to recent ethnographic research e.g. by Gosselain,<sup>23</sup> alerting the reader to the multiple levels at which technologies and style operate and the dangers in inferring identity on the basis of stylistic similarity. Despite this, their analysis does not seem to escape the stereotypes linking ceramic technologies and style with levels of interaction, local and regional. Nevertheless, interesting patterns emerge showing which broad stylistic zones distinguish parts of Macedonia as closer to a Balkan tradition and others as being close to a Thessalian pottery tradition. A greater variability both in decoration styles as well as technological decisions is observed for the 'southern zone', one however cannot infer whether this is an artefact of differences in the number of sites studied for pottery within each zone. An interesting insight into neolithic pottery in this study is the observation that potters attempt the same aesthetic result in different ways. In contrast to the conclusions of the previous article, here Vitelli's observation (that the first pots were probably not used for cooking or storage)<sup>24</sup> seems to be confirmed, though no arguments for this are presented in the article, except for the small size of the vessels. The authors use the zones they have defined on the basis of EN pottery to interpret pottery distributions in later periods, undermining in a way their introductory reservations on using style to define 'ethnic or other social boundaries'. It is not very clear why the predominance at Apsalos-Grammi of bitumen painted pots is interpreted as an indicator of a site with 'local' character. Does a wider variety in pottery styles suffice to indicate a site more open to interaction as is suggested for Paliambela? The same element, bitumen decoration, is later taken to indicate a network of exchanges and communicating

<sup>22</sup> E.g. Whittle 1996.

<sup>23</sup> Gosselain 2008.

<sup>24</sup> Vitelli 1995.





**Figure 2.** ‘Black on red’ pot from Kryoneri, decorative patterns on both sides of the pot. Courtesy of the volume editors, p. 531.

of ideas: If Apsalos is indeed a centre of bitumen production as the authors imply, distributing this pottery across the study area,<sup>25</sup> how can its ‘local’ character be justified, especially if one considers the wide distribution of this decoration further north in the Balkans? The forthcoming and much awaited quantitative and more integrated data from this study will certainly enhance our understanding of Neolithic interactions in the study area and beyond.

Eastern Macedonia features in the two articles that follow. Paraskevi Yiouni (pp. 519–526) provides an exemplary petrographic analysis of Late Neolithic pottery sherds from Dikili Tash and Limenaria. Local clay is used at Limenaria which, combined with other elements results in four categories of ‘recipes’. Dikili Tash, on the other hand, emerges as more varied, with seven recipes being recognised in the examined sherds. A feature shared at both sites is the longevity of the use of specific recipes, spanning the Neolithic through to the Early Bronze Age. Despite some variability in the recipes, the vast majority of pots are made of one that prevails. No major differentiation was recognised in the recipes used for different groups of pots, what seems to vary is the grade of the admixtures rather than the recipe itself. Variability is recognised within certain categories of fine, decorated pottery, e.g. black on red, underlining multiple levels of complexity as regards access to these pots or to the raw materials required for their fabrication. Another interesting observation put forward by Yiouni concerns the use of different

recipes for the fabrication of pots of the same ceramic category. This is a recurrent observation for the Neolithic of Greece as a whole,<sup>26</sup> calling for caution against superficial groupings of pottery on the basis of external morphology alone. Temporal changes in variability are detected at Dikili Tash, with the later phases of the Neolithic demonstrating less variability, a more uniform, ‘traditional’ character, perhaps an attempt for solidarity in a changing environment, as the authors suggest.

The ‘black on red’ pottery from Dikili Tash, Kryoneri and other sites in Eastern Macedonia is further examined by Malamidou (pp. 527–536) in a careful consideration and discussion of a fine pottery that seems to have been strongly involved in networks of communication on an intra- and inter-site level in this region and beyond. What was the relationship between this pottery style and the expression of identities among the neolithic communities that produced and consumed these pots (Figure 2)? Malamidou addresses this question starting from their potential uses: the wide range of shapes and sizes suggest that they could have been used for storage, of liquids or solids. Their elaborate decoration might suggest their visibility during storage. This decoration seems to be also associated with vessels for serving, displaying and consumption of food and drink, in daily or special occasions. Malamidou convincingly argues that at least some were not put frequently into use, emphasizing perhaps their association with special occasions. ‘Black on red’ pottery seems to have a

<sup>25</sup> Saridaki *et al.* 2014

<sup>26</sup> Pentedeka and Kotsakis 2008; Dimoula *et al.* this volume.

long life, the outcome perhaps of the durability of the fabric, the limited occasions these objects were in use and the attempts to repair and re-use.

From Eastern Macedonia the work of Sophronidou and Dimitriadis (pp. 537–548) takes us to the west and the lake-shore settlement of Dispilio. The authors examine the pottery from the two earlier phases of Middle Neolithic habitation at the site, roughly between 5800–5400 BC, through a combination of macroscopic observations and petrographic analyses. Small vessels are considered suitable as individual serving bowls while big storage vessels seem to be absent. Decoration is mainly incised/barbotine and less commonly painted. A larger variety of shapes and sizes, an increase in size and the appearance of storage vessels and new shapes are characteristic of the later phase. Painted decoration now prevails together with a combination of decorative techniques. Local clay sources are used throughout the phases and this leads the authors to suggest that the observed changes in pottery (e.g. size and decoration) are not related to raw material availability but to changes in ceramic technology, increase in storage needs and underlying socioeconomic processes. Focusing on the decorated pottery from Dispilio, in particular the ‘black on white’ and ‘brown/red on yellow’, Evangelia Voulgari (pp. 549–560) attempts to decipher the narratives captured in the decorative patterns of these pots. She emphasizes the problems posed in analysis by stereotypical perceptions imposed by the archaeologist performing the ceramic study and interpretation and explains how her close involvement with her material during her PhD dissertation enabled her to look into the vessels with a fresh view and alternative perspective. Voulgari identifies two arenas of expression through pottery decoration (colour and pattern): one whereby a large variety is observed (‘white on black’) and another far more rigid and stylized (‘brown/red on yellow’). Exploring the subtle connotations of pottery decoration at Dispilio, Voulgari observes that the potter(s) involved in the production of the pots do not aim to be individualistic, via the pots they make, but to distinguish the pots from one another (and one could add the people using/possessing them). This is an interesting point indeed that can be further explored by taking into consideration the ethnographic observations of Gosselain.<sup>27</sup>

Archondiko features again in the volume, in this section with the pottery from the later phases of the Early Bronze Age, placing these finds in the wider regional context of Macedonia. Deliopoulos, Papadias and Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou (pp. 561–573) examine a wide range of technological

characteristics of the pottery from Archondiko and conclude that pottery technology during the later phases of the Early Bronze Age depended on the shape and use of each vessel in a highly prescribed, almost predictable way. By contrast, differences were observed in structural details (e.g. transition from body to neck). Throughout the habitation phases, the same technological characteristics were recognised, underlining continuity in ceramic traditions at Archondiko during the end of the 3rd millennium BC and the beginning of the 2nd. The authors seem to suggest that ceramic production was carried out by specialised potters producing pots for the whole settlement of Archondiko. The evidence from Archondiko is in agreement with evidence from the wider region of Central and Eastern Macedonia characterised by limited decoration and adherence to tradition rather than change. The contact networks evidenced in other parts of Macedonia during this period, do not seem to be reflected in ceramic traditions in the area. Some centuries later, Toumba Thessalonikis on the other side of the Thermaic Gulf, demonstrates limited evidence for social differentiation among the extended families/units that occupied the Late Bronze Age complexes excavated on the top part of the site. In a careful consideration of various elements of pottery, ranging from shape and decoration to petrographic analysis, Vliora, Kyriatzi and Andreou (pp. 575–584) attempt to explore possible social inequalities within this end of 2nd millennium BC community. Despite the high visibility of Toumba Thessalonikis which might have placed the settlement in a central position among local communities, within the settlement itself, the only ceramic evidence for potential differentiation comes from a slightly uneven distribution of certain categories of decorated vessels as well as differences in access to wheel-made pottery and to greater variability of ceramic fabrics. These differences render building B distinct from building A in subtle but probably crucial manifestations of social distinction.

Placing Macedonia in a wider regional context, Tobias Krapf (pp. 585–597) brings to the discussion of Late Bronze Age contact networks and identities, sites in the plain of Korce. Krapf focuses primarily on two types of vessels, *pyraunoi* and *kantharoi*, identifying connections of Albania with Macedonia as well as with the wider region of southeastern Europe. Cooking (*pyraunoi*) and consumption of liquids (*kantharoi*), possibly alcoholic drinks, represent major arenas for social reproduction. Thus one could argue that the introduction and distribution of these vessels in different parts of the study area may reveal contacts and shared culinary traditions and identities between communities inhabiting southeastern Europe. Indeed the timing of the introduction and the distribution of

<sup>27</sup> Gosselain 2008.

this very specialised cooking vessel, the *pyraunos*, when combined with archaeobotanical evidence may well point towards changes in culinary ingredients.<sup>28</sup> Culinary changes may prove illuminating as regards factors underlying cultural changes in this region.

Chipped stone and ground stone industries of Macedonia form the basis of the 3 articles that follow in the same section. Kakavakis (pp. 599–606) attempts a synthesis of chipped stone industries of Macedonia and despite the problematic nature of a large body of the evidence he considers, namely paucity of fully published data, he does an excellent job in reading through raw material provenance and the distribution of finished artefacts as well as the remains of their preparation processes. Specific choices and access to raw materials are revealed and discussed alongside contact networks. The notion of itinerant craftsmen, suggested by Perlès,<sup>29</sup> seems to be repeatedly encountered in the region studied by Kakavakis. The prominence of quartz as a raw material for stone tools in Macedonia provides Palli (pp. 607–614) the opportunity to discuss a little investigated raw material used throughout prehistory in Macedonia, from the Palaeolithic up to the Bronze Age. Problems related to the archaeological recognition, recording and study of tools made of quartz are clearly presented and perspectives for future research discussed. Lychna and Hadou (pp. 615–624) opt for a more restricted regional scale, focusing on the Langadas basin and two surface assemblages from the site of Iliotopos located at the eastern part of the Langadas basin. Their work highlights the use of local raw materials and the practical aspects of ground stone tools which appear to have been used to the level of ‘exhaustion’ at the site. Their work offers food for thought as regards stone tool depositional processes as part of their biographies. In another context, in western Macedonia, rather than using tools to exhaustion, the reverse can be observed, as there tools appear to have been deliberately terminated in terms of their use and function, being deposited in what is characterised by the authors as structured deposition.<sup>30</sup>

This section continues with articles on figurines, addressing problems of context and use. Three marble anthropomorphic figurines from the site of Polyplatanos in Emathia offer Nikos Merousis (pp. 625–638) the opportunity to discuss contact networks and ideologies among communities inhabiting Macedonia and Thessaly during the last phases of the Neolithic. He carefully examines structural elements of the ‘acrolith’ type of figurines, and through a

detailed consideration of the materials used (or potentially used) as well of the details in manufacture, he offers a nuanced approach to the multifaceted aspects involved in the fabrication and circulation of these objects. Merousis concludes that these marble figurines had special value as prestige items, closely involved in networks connecting different regions of Macedonia with other parts of mainland Greece. Figurines representing what we interpret as human body representations, form the basis of Stratos Nanoglou’s paper (pp. 639–644) titled ‘the representation of humans in neolithic Macedonia’. The title seems to imply that anthropomorphic figurines correspond to humans as a ‘matter of fact’ interpretation, unlike the author’s earlier critical approaches to other aspects of figurine interpretation, e.g. that of gender.<sup>31</sup> Nanoglou’s approach falls within a long established tradition of a contextualised way of approaching figurines as sets of objects, both during their use and deposition, yet contextual associations have been avoided in his paper opting for the bigger, regional picture. His overview of the evidence reveals interesting regional patterns connecting different parts of Macedonia with Thessaly on the one hand (Western Macedonia) and other regions of the Balkans on the other (Eastern Macedonia). His observations on Western Macedonia seem to confirm those of Merousis in the paper that follows, opening up further paths for exploring contact networks of the Neolithic. An interesting point emphasized in the paper is the observation of an uneven distribution of figurines among the different Neolithic settlements of Macedonia. Nanoglou sees significance in this uneven distribution, especially in the context of his general observation that ‘there were not that many figurines around in any given community’. Future thorough investigations of contextual information, depositional processes and recovery biases will obviously shed more light into the role of figurines in neolithic narratives about society. Whether the changes in depositional practices observed by Nanoglou during the course of the Neolithic do indeed reflect the emergence of a concern about the past, as he suggests, and are not an artefact of differential site-biographies remains to be seen. The available record is still lacking comparability especially as the more durable forms of figurines available for study by archaeologists may mask alternative human body representations involved in this process: figurines made of wood or other perishable materials.

Nikolaidou and Ifantidis (pp. 645–659) offer a fascinating, comprehensive overview of the use of *Spondylus* in the Aegean, starting from a thorough presentation of the history of research and of the various paradigms applied to the interpretation

<sup>28</sup> Cf. a hypothetical association of the introduction of millet and *pyraunoi*, Valamoti 2013.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. Perlès and Vitelli 1999.

<sup>30</sup> Stroulia and Chondrou 2013.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Nanoglou 2010.



**Figure 3.** Various *Spondylus* artefacts from Neolithic Aegean sites. Courtesy of the volume editors, p. 647.

of finds made of this special sea mollusc and its highly appreciated shell by neolithic communities of Europe (Figure 3). The impressive geographic distribution of *Spondylus* shell artefacts throughout Europe is clearly depicted in figure 2 on page 648, which allows the reader to broadly draft out neolithic networks connecting the Aegean to other areas of Europe. The authors dive into the world of neolithic *Spondylus* objects starting from the deep sea habitats where it once lived and moving to its manufacture and circulation, attempting to understand the entanglement of nature and culture in this process of making and consuming *Spondylus* shell artefacts. *Spondylus* shell is seen as a 'precious sea treasure' by the authors as it is almost exclusively used for jewelry. Moreover, this jewelry, when encountered at places further away from the sea that yielded *Spondylus*, occurs in special contexts, mainly cemeteries. The circulation of *Spondylus* across Europe is however not a unidirectional one and the networks emerge far more complex than the points on a map may reveal. The authors clearly point out that different regional preferences in size and type of *Spondylus* objects are observed and occasionally, those preferred in northern regions slip down south, in unique and special contexts as is the case of Theopetra Cave in Thessaly. Nikolaidou and Ifantidis are careful not to proceed to interpreting these 'odd' finds, yet one may wonder whether these could be gifts exchanged or heirlooms accompanying someone brought to Thessaly from as far as Central Europe, or offerings by a 'pilgrim' visiting Theopetra, a site that due to its millennia of habitation might have acquired attributes of a 'special place'.<sup>32</sup> Legends and stories, news and an opportunity to celebrate might have been closely linked to the arrival of *Spondylus* artefacts and their bearers at a settlement, as the authors point out. A regional contrast between contexts of consumption in the Aegean and further north is underlined, the former being associated

with habitation or feasting contexts, rather than the funerary ones associated with the latter. Just before becoming part of the archaeological record, did the fragmentation of *Spondylus* shell objects signify an intentional act of ending their lifecycle or a desperate effort to prolong their lifetime? Nikolaidou and Ifantidis conclude that, irrespective of our *lacunae* in reconstructing biographies of *Spondylus* from the sea to the archaeological context of deposition, *Spondylus* objects emerge as a shared cultural element, across Europe, creating a sense of 'ritual *communitas*' reaching out beyond the Neolithic into Early Bronze Age traditions. This section closes with the article by Chryssa Tsangouli (pp. 661–670), who transports us to the wind-blown musical sounds of prehistoric Macedonia as evidenced through old and recent finds of bone flutes from the region. Tsangouli offers a detailed presentation of the Dispilio flute finds, placing them in the wider global context of prehistoric bone flutes, while also interpreting the Dispilio finds as descendants of a Palaeolithic European musical tradition.

Before the endnote (pp. 707–711) where Kostas Kotsakis offers an overview of the changing trajectories in prehistoric archaeologies in Macedonia over time, a short section is dedicated to 'Museology/Social Archaeology'. Dimitris Grammenos (pp. 673–676) discusses the role of Archaeological Museums in communicating prehistoric finds to the public, observing the recent trends in more extrovert approaches (e.g. through educational programs). Taking the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki as a case study, Grammenos sets the agenda as regards visible, underlying or non-existent associations of Theoretical Archaeology with New Museology. His standpoint is that through a dialectic integration of the two, more interesting exhibitions could be generated for the non-specialist public, thus making up for the static presentation of objects by moving to a more active involvement of the visitor. Anastasia Chourmouziadi (pp. 677–683) is grateful

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Dilcock 2001.



that ‘our wreaths bear thorns’, in her fascinating, subversive approach of the way neolithic artefacts are presented in Museums. To what extent indeed do the impressive golden wreaths exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, haunt and overshadow any attempt to bring prehistory to the Museological foreground? Chourmouziadi selects neolithic figurines as an equally impressive Museum exhibit alternative to the powerful wreaths in order to unfold her iconoclastic, fresh thoughts on how our own fixations and inhibitions prescribe the ways the Neolithic is presented to the public. Instead of nearly hiding a neolithic figurine in the background of a shelf, Chourmouziadi invites an alternative approach that brings it to the foreground, providing the opportunity to discuss the many faces of the female in prehistory. Rather than avoiding the discussion, the challenge is to reconsider the ‘Mythical iconography’ of prehistoric societies of Macedonia, to offer alternative ways of presenting those figurines, in their actual context, showing a birth-giving figurine in front of an image of a woman giving birth, or another together with an image of the Virgin, and another representing a phallus next to a modern vibrator. Chourmouziadi convincingly argues that the multitude of interpretations of prehistoric figurines rather than being erased in their museological approach, needs to be highlighted. The key to unlocking the essence of prehistory is precisely its ambiguous and elusive nature, thus, she argues, it is this multitude of interpretations that need to be highlighted in exhibiting prehistoric finds, and figurines provide an excellent case.

In the subsequent paper by Kosmas Touloumis (pp. 685–693) archaeologists are reminded of their position in the course of archaeological discourses as he carefully considers the various paradigms to which archaeologists working in prehistoric Macedonia succumbed as agents in generating the ‘discourses’ of their times. Touloumis provides an overview of a changing process of approaches by prehistorians working in Macedonia, starting from the ‘archaeologists-soldiers’ as he calls them, to ‘archaeologists-philologists’ who searched solid material evidence to back up the written sources, to those that subsequently sought to demonstrate that Archaeology is Science, as well as those who took a theoretical stand point within the wider framework of Processual and Post-Processual Archaeology.

The section ends with a tribute to Marija Gimbutas, a fascinating presentation of her personality and role in the Prehistoric Archaeology of the Balkans. Dimitra Kokkinidou and Marianna Nikolaidou (pp. 695–706), in very sensitive and touching words allow us to understand what it meant to be woman working in the 60s and 70s. Moving from the figurines themselves to

the scholar who put the spotlight on them, attracting thus general public interest through her books, Maria Gimbutas emerges as a female archaeologist who, in a male dominated world of Archaeology, became an emblematic figure for feminist studies in Archaeology. The authors review the influence of Gimbutas in archaeology. Their critical study allows insights of the personal and wider socio-historical milieu that shaped the personality and influenced the trajectory of this emblematic female archaeologist.

‘Prehistoric archaeology in Macedonia grew in the military trenches of the Great War’ quoting M. Fotiadis,<sup>33</sup> ‘but a century later prehistoric research in the area has covered much ground’... ‘has matured in the trenches of research programmes and rescue excavations, as well as in the storage rooms of laboratories, through the efforts of the people who are interested in the distant past of this area’ (p. 500).<sup>34</sup> I would like to hope that this review of the sixty articles of a unique volume epitomising prehistoric investigations, analyses and syntheses in prehistoric Macedonia, has provided in an accurate way the quintessence of a conference and its resulting volume, demonstrating the progress of prehistoric research in this part of Europe.

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**Yiannis Papadatos and Chrysa Sofianou**  
**Livari Skiadi. A Minoan cemetery in**  
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The early 21st century is an exciting period for Minoan funerary studies. Over the last 15 years, a series

of tombs and cemeteries that had been unearthed decades earlier have been extensively published,<sup>1</sup> old excavated assemblages have been (re)studied,<sup>2</sup> and new burial sites have been discovered.<sup>3</sup> This profusion of fresh data has triggered a renewed interest in Minoan, and especially Prepalatial, mortuary practices. Fed by the theoretical, methodological, and scientific developments that took place in the archaeology of death from the 1980s onwards, recent studies offer novel perspectives on this enriched dataset.<sup>4</sup> In this way, tomb types and grave goods are no longer seen as passive reflections of the status of the deceased; quite the contrary, it is now well acknowledged that funerary practices played an active role in the negotiation of social identities and relationships among the living. Themes such as landscape, memory, feasting, and performance have also gained importance in the literature on Minoan burial practices.<sup>5</sup> Even more important, field methods have evolved, and recent projects testify to a growing investment in the study of long-neglected human skeletal remains, thus providing unprecedented information on the deceased (e.g., sex, age, and health status) and the different steps involved in their funerary treatment.<sup>6</sup>

Livari Skiadi is one of these recently and meticulously excavated cemeteries for which the archaeological community has been longing. The small coastal plain of Livari is located in southeastern Crete, ca. 5 kilometers to the east of Goudouras, opposite the islet of Kouphonisi. The cemetery was established on a low rocky promontory, only 50 meters from the shore. The existence of a burial site organized around a tholos tomb of the type well known in Prepalatial south-central Crete was first noted by N. Schlager, who also recorded three prehistoric settlements on the hills surrounding the plain of Livari.<sup>7</sup> The cemetery suffered from erosion but it had as yet escaped the attention of looters. After suspicious visitors were spotted at the site and the owner of the land made unauthorized constructions, the 24th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities decided to carry out rescue excavations (p. 4). The task was performed under the direction of Chrysa Sofianou with the collaboration of Yiannis Papadatos. Between 2008 and 2010, three excavation campaigns revealed a circular tomb and a burial rock shelter, both Prepalatial in date, a Neopalatial house tomb,

<sup>1</sup> Panagiotopoulos 2002; Alexiou and Warren 2004; Papadatos 2005; Vasilakis and Branigan 2010; Betancourt 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Caloi 2011; Flouda 2011; Girella 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Schoep *et al.* 2011; Schoep *et al.* 2012; Tsipopoulou 2012; Papadatos and Sofianou 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Vavouranakis 2007; Murphy 2011; Legarra Herrero 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Hamilakis 1998; Vavouranakis 2007; Déderix 2015.

<sup>6</sup> Triantaphyllou 2009; Triantaphyllou 2012; Crevecoeur *et al.* 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Schlager *et al.* 2001.

# Sample Review

**Gerald Brisch (ed). *The Dodecanese: further travels among the insular Greeks. Selected writings of J. Theodore and Mabel V.A. Bent, 1885-1888***

Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory

(*Journal of Greek Archaeology* 1 (2016): 466–470)

## Postmedieval to Modern

**Gerald Brisch (ed). *The Dodecanese: further travels among the insular Greeks. Selected writings of J. Theodore and Mabel V.A. Bent, 1885-1888. (3rd Guides) 2015. Oxford: Archaeopress. pp. xiv+194, illustrated throughout in b/w. ISBN 978-1-78491-096-9 paperback £15.00.***

Brisch's edition of a collection of selective travel writings of J. Theodore and Mabel V.A. Bent during their tour of the Dodecanese (1885–1888), is an interesting introduction to the couple's rather eccentric and bemusing view of this part of the eastern Mediterranean. While the short preface by Marc Dubin and the introduction to the volume by Gerald Brisch provide the necessary background to the uninitiated reader of the importance of this genre of travelogues of the late 19th century, they are limited in their offering of a clear motive or logic behind the selection of the specific writings presented in this book. In other words, it is unclear as to how this selection of mostly already published articles came to be, and for what audience it is intended. While the editor refrains from interfering with the original writings by providing only a limited number of footnotes, the near absence of a detailed commentary makes it at times a tedious and rather repetitive read, providing hardly a historical or cultural context for the ordinary reader. At the same time, from an academic perspective, although the writings themselves present interesting glimpses of island life during this period, their research potential is tainted by the Bents' own biases and preconceptions about the cultures they encountered. Thus, there is very little information that can be of significant use to present-day archaeologists regarding the archaeological 'explorations' of the Bents. And while some of their most detailed 'ethnographic' descriptions, if true observances at all (as rightly pointed out by the editor on several occasions) do offer some fascinating insights on local culture, many of them are certainly not as unique to these islands as the Bents like to present them. In fact, in some instances, one wonders how they could have missed observing similar occurrences in other parts of the Greek world that they had visited! Despite these shortcomings, and along with some proof-reading issues, and the excruciatingly annoying type-setting of the present book (small print and hardly any margins provided), the strength of the present volume is certainly its ability to inform us on 19th-century Anglo-centric views of this corner of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, I would like to focus my attention on these aspects of the book.

The book is divided into three main parts, of which the largest is the first section (pp. 1–104), which contains a selection of J.T. Bents' published writings on the islands now referred to as the Dodecanese. The second part (pp. 105–173) consists of Mabel's (Theodore's wife and travel partner) notebooks from the same travel period, which she called her *Chronicles*, and were never published. The third part of the book (pp. 174–187) are so-called *sidetracks*, which are mostly additions or asides to published articles, selected and presented by the editor in the present book.

Because Theodore's writings were based on re-worked notes (as well as his wife's notebooks and his own memory) and turned into lecture presentations and published at a later date, they appear as refined pieces of writing, aimed at an exclusively scholarly/literary audience (the bibliography includes *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Athenaeum*, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *Macmillan's Magazine*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, *The National Review*, *The Classical Review*, etc.). In this regard, they follow closely the prototype of travel genre common during this period, including writings associated with the Grand Tour. What makes J.T. Bent's writings stand out from the rest is that he introduces his audience to less travelled destinations—in this case the islands of the Aegean under Ottoman rule,—focusing less on their monuments and history, and more on the people encountered and their local culture and idiosyncrasies. What seems to have interested the Bents the most in these cultures, was highlighting the 'other', the curious, the different, and the 'primitive', while at the same time searching for perceived connections with an ancient 'Hellenic' past. In his own words: '...A remote island such as Karpathos is, affords the best possible study of Hellenism as it exists to-day, and the remotest village of this remote island is Elympos, lost away amongst precipitous mountains, a village of shepherds who speak a dialect which even their nearest neighbours can hardly understand, and which contains old classical words and idioms which have disappeared from amongst other Greek-speaking communities...' (p. 51). In fact, Theodore's essay on the Karthapiote dialect (pp. 56–59; 181–182), and the extract from his article on 'Parallels to Homeric Life Existing in Greece To-day' (pp. 176–180) clearly show his interest in the linguistic connections between the local idioms encountered in his travels and the Homeric epics. His descriptions of the local islanders, their customs and general way of life, often also make reference to classical texts such as when describing the sandals of the Karpathiote shepherds and '...a plough such as Homer would have seen if he had not been blind' (p. 48). But whilst the Bents seem quite set in identifying direct connections and continuity from an ancient Greek past, they

surprisingly fail to acknowledge, or even allude to, any possible 'oriental' connections or influences. Interestingly, with the exception of multicultural Rhodes, the islands on the Bents' itinerary (referred to as the 'Turkish Islands' since they were still under the control of the Ottoman Empire) were inhabited only by ethnic Greeks. Thus, the Bents regarded these islands as having developed in a vacuum, without any external influences, for thousands of years, a view that reflected a general tendency among certain contemporary European and British intellectuals, who wished to identify uninterrupted continuities with a classical past. The Bents were obviously no exception to this trend. For example, when discussing the covering of women's faces in Karpathos, and just in case there were any doubts, Theodore makes a point of saying: 'This, I'm inclined to believe, is not a Turkish, but an ancient Greek custom, for an island like Karpathos, which has only been two hundred years under Turkish rule, and on which a Turkish woman has doubtless never stepped, it is not likely that the fashion has been borrowed from them.' (p. 48). The only time we are given any glimpses as to the interaction between different cultural groups is in the article on Rhodes, where the standard stereotypical description of the various ethnic groups is presented: 'The Turk of Rhodes, curiously enough, is a more energetic individual than the Greek. Many of them are fishermen, and possess light sailing vessels for this purpose. Others are blacksmiths, tanners, painters and joiners. ...The Greek is an idle vagabond for the most part, whose great ambition is to become proprietor of a sweet shop...They pass their days in complete inactivity in the midst of tobacco fumes....As for the Greek women, they never seem to have anything to do; they sit on their doorsteps and gossip from morning to night. They are a degraded lot;...' (p. 3). '...The Spanish Jews are not a pleasant element in Rhodian society. With the usual astuteness of their race they have managed to secure for themselves the best quarter of the walled town, and they are as far as possible removed from the Greeks, for there is always enmity between Greek and Jew...' (p. 6).

Despite the perception of wishful connections with the epoch of Homer and Hesiod, the Bents often presented the Greek islanders in a condescending and derogatory manner. Terms such as 'primitive' and 'uncivilised' abound, and a focus on the exaggerated superstitious and ignorant nature of the locals dominates the description of their customs and rituals relating to birth, marriage and death. Thus, it is very difficult for the modern reader to like the Bents, especially when they insist on playing up their superiority and 'know-better' attitude, as in providing medical advice and remedies to the ignorant islanders who frequently visit them for cures to ailments that

they themselves admit to have no idea about. Mabel writes: 'We have also had patients. The schoolmaster, who is 'doing nicely', brought us a bottle of very welcome ink—a suitable fee—and the news that a woman with a pain wished to be cured...and so a young woman was led in by her husband. I really was inwardly convulsed with laughter at the very home-questions T had the courage gravely to ask her; ... Well! We did our best but we must always confine our prescriptions to available remedies, such as the herbs we see on the mountainside.'

An interesting example of their feeling of superiority is presented by Mabel in her curiosity to meet fellow-Englishman William Paton's Kalymnian wife: 'Mrs. Paton is a fine big girl who might pass for 20 but some say 14. She had a pretty new dress, quite out of keeping with the place.....She was very quiet and much more ladylike than her sister, a coarse rough girl with a dirty snuff-coloured handkerchief on her head...We could see some dirty little brethren in the general living room. It is very sad to see such relations for an English gentleman.' (p. 159). No wonder then that the class-conscious Bents found the absence of a class hierarchy amongst the Greeks an interesting phenomenon to comment about: '...Though they have a king, surely never were more true republicans than the Greeks. There appears to be perfect equality among them and a complete mingling of classes, neither dirt, poverty nor want of education seems to make a difference... Phaedros, our dragoman, whose wife is quite a common woman, glad of a very old dress of mine, was treated quite as an equal. Mr. Philemon, who is the Greek Consul of Rhodes, and who is quite a gentleman and whose wife is a quite a lady and very well dressed, has a most ragged and dirty old father-in-law, Dr. Klados, and no one would take Mrs. Klados for a lady' (p. 135). And while the Bents lacked any compassion or empathy for the Greeks, on whom they were obviously intruding (such as when Theodore tried to sketch portraits of the islanders or Mabel took photographs of them), it is amusing that *they* were the ones who felt intruded upon by the locals: 'How superior is our treatment of the wild beasts in the zoological gardens! Each one has a bedroom that he can go into when he is tired of being stared at. Yesterday morning as I wished to button on my long gaiters, I retired to the end of the room and sat down with my back turned to the multitude, but as there was a little room between me and the wall, that soon became crowded. Once M said, 'What do you want here?' and a woman said 'Only it amuses my baby to see the woman write and the woman sew'" (p. 125).

Meanwhile, British imperial arrogance is reflected at its best in the Bents' collecting enterprise of local textiles, pottery, antiques, and family heirlooms,



even though the Greeks often put-up a hard bargain, and at least on one occasion, didn't produce the goods they were paid for. Mabel describes this interesting purchase: 'There is a Turkish village and we persuaded a man for about a shilling to remove his wooden lock from his door for us' (p. 169). However, it is the Bents' collecting of antiquities and their archaeological explorations that certainly raise an eyebrow amongst modern archaeologists. In fact, as noted by Brisch, the main purpose of their visit to the islands 'was to excavate and remove items of archaeological and ethnographic interest—often for sale back in Britain' (n. 31, p. 22). This is certainly not an unusual endeavour by explorers and travellers of the period, but as self-proclaimed archaeologists, the Bents make the likes of Heinrich Schliemann appear almost 'professional' and ethically a little more responsible in comparison. With the exception of notable finds, such as the Neolithic limestone figure from Karpathos now in the British Museum, it is difficult to determine from the writings in this present volume as to the fate of the many discoveries mentioned by the Bents through their clandestine excavations. In the article on Telos, aside from the tomb explorations, Theodore also provides descriptions of the Byzantine fortifications and houses on the island, as well as inscriptions that he encountered (p. 23–24). The excavations on Karpathos are better documented, and the extract in this volume is from Theodore's article published in 1885 in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Mabel provides some more 'personal' details in her second Chronicle (pp. 115–116). The Bents' obvious disdain at anything Byzantine, a common sentiment amongst antiquarians of this time, is clearly shown here: 'After that I went to the workmen; who had discovered the pavement of a Byzantine church. We turn up our noses at anything "tes Vizantines epoques", so T took them elsewhere' (p. 132). In other passages we get further insights of what was perceived to be valuable to the Bents and what was not: 'We opened 7 graves. ...We found nothing very fine to reward us — some very coarse plates, one containing the bone of a sepia, some little 2-handled cups, a jug, very coarse, and 3 immense pithoi...We were very disappointed and decided that this had been a poor place' (p. 116). Amusing is Mabel's account of her instructions to the Greek workmen on pitching a tent at Vourgounda: 'They could not understand the wooden runners and wanted to tie the ropes in knots and were amazed at the *mechani* when shown. I was tired enough in my tongue and limbs when after hoisting the Union Jack, I sat down to survey the tent and really the ropes all dancing have a very funny effect.' (p. 132). The Union Jack, which must have been quite a sight for the locals, is also mentioned in Mabel's entry for Easter Sunday, April 5th 1885: 'We hung out the Union Jack in honour of the day' (p.

135). At the same time, and to their credit, the Bents don't hesitate to be critical of English commercialism and its negative impact on the traditional lifeways of the 'old world' under their Crown's reign, in comparison with how similar lifeways have fared under Ottoman rule. The following is quite telling of their sentiment in this regard: 'As it is, Astypalaea is one of the most quaint old-world spots to be found in Greek or Turkish waters. Quaint costumes and still quainter customs still reign supreme, as they always will, under the banner of the Crescent; it is the Union Jack which scatters these things to the winds; great though our love is for antiquity, we English have dealt more harshly than any other people with the fashions of the old world. If England had bought Astypalaea neither custom or costume would now remain, for the inhabitants still remember how the British sailors gave fabulous prices for their dresses and laughed at their customs.' (p. 94). If only they shared the same sentiments with regards to their removal of antiquities!

Regardless of their questionable 'archaeological' methods (after all, modern archaeology as a discipline sprang out of 19th-century antiquarianism), the Bents' industrious antiquarian activities, focusing mostly on the excavation of ancient graves, must have paid off: Mabel counted 26 packages on the boat leaving Karpathos (p. 150), although it is not made clear if these all contained antiquities. Nevertheless, the Bents were anxious to not have their luggage checked by either Turkish or Greek authorities: 'The Turks have a disagreeable habit of examining outgoing luggage and we fear that the sight of so much together, and all we *hope* for from Saria, may excite them...then keeping them in the new boat in Syra harbour till we can get them on board a Liverpool steamer, for fear the Greeks should wish to have a look' (p. 144). And the Bents certainly had reason to take such precautions, given they were breaking the law.

The Ottoman Antiquities Law of 1874 was passed in an attempt to regulate the increased interest by foreigners in the looting of archaeological material throughout the Ottoman Empire. The subsequent 1884 Law, drafted in large part by Osman Hamdi Bey, the director of the Imperial Museum, was much stricter, requiring the application for permission to excavate, and for all finds to be transferred to the Imperial Museum in Constantinople. Enforcement of this law was almost impossible, especially in remote parts of the empire, where there were not enough officials to oversee and monitor the regulations or where corruption of local officials went mostly undetected. This was the climate the Bents found themselves in during their travels to the Dodecanese. While they were able to secure a permit to dig on Telos (after

bribing the local official with money and gifts, p. 115), their Karpathos excavations were unauthorised and clandestine. Mabel is quite unapologetic in her account of Theodore trying to secure a permit by bribing the local Turkish official (*kaimakam*), and we get a strong sense of her feeling of entitlement on the grounds of being English when she says: 'M went for the permission to the Kaimakam who lives next door and the Kaimakam refused to give it so T went and offered him money; he had presents, but this, to everyone's surprise he refused and told T he would prevent his digging or even visiting the ruins—T told him he was an Anglos and therefore could not be prevented travelling where he would, etc.' (p. 157). In any case, the excavations on Karpathos did take place, amidst as much secrecy as possible, concentrating on keeping the smaller finds that the Bents could easily conceal. Mabel notes: 'The big jars, as T said, we should have liked to keep...but not only would they have been expensive to bring home, if they had not been captured on the way, but would have caused a great fuss in Karpathos, where we did not mean to speak of excavations for a week' (p. 116). Elsewhere she says: 'We have been warned not to go to Rhodes as there is a Pasha there who is well aware of our digging in Karpathos and angry that the packing cases were not opened...' She also laments: '...Truly the balmy days of excavators are over.' (p. 159). Of course, this did not stop the Bents from engaging in even more clandestine expeditions. Theodore's most interesting article in the *Cornhill Magazine* (of which an extract is presented in this book) reacts to the restrictions placed on him and his wife (referred to as Mr. and Mrs. F.S.A.—Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries) to excavate, which lead to them defying the authorities and carrying on anyway, sarcastically calling themselves 'pirates' (p. 68). Mabel also plays up this idea when she states: 'Theodore at once took to visiting ships to put into practice our plan of chartering a ship and becoming pirates and taking workmen to 'ravage the coasts of Asia Minor.' Everyone says it's better to dig first and let them say Kismet after, than to ask leave of the Turks and have them spying there" (p. 163). Thus, they embarked on a cruise along the Turkish coast, exploring such sites as Myra and the nearby islet of Kakova (p. 167-169). Ironically for the Bents, on their arrival in Kakova, they found that the site had already been exhausted by Austrian excavators a few years earlier: "We went in the other direction, westwards, down a strait and landed at a mass of ruins (Kakova) where the Austrians spent 2 years, 4 years ago, with 2 ships taking anything they liked, lucky Austrians!, and they painted their flag very large on the rocks ." (p. 169). Eventually, when further negotiations with Hamdi Bey failed to allow them to return to excavate on the island of Thasos, the Bents moved on, and away from the Greek/Turkish

coast (n. 60, p. 163). Aside from antiquities, the Bents' observations of local customs and traditions provide fascinating anthropological insights. Their commentary on matrilineal inheritance as observed on the islands is a significant contribution to understanding the social structures at play. Although still strictly a patriarchal society, the importance placed on the first-born children (whether male or female) is quite interesting. The fact that the husband of a first-born daughter is basically provided for by his wife (the husband moves in to a house provided to her as dowry) is an interesting phenomenon. Also noteworthy is the description of the gender-based differences in the dialects of Astypalaia, where men speak a different idiom to women (p. 96). Something that is not commented upon by the Bents is the obvious dominance of the nuclear family as the basis of the household. Their other observations of marriage, birth, and death customs are not much different from those observed by others in various parts of the Greek world.

The need of the Bents' to compare some phenomena, such as the custom of the shooting of an effigy of Judas Iscariote on Easter Monday, to the story of Guy Fawkes is quite interesting (p.35). In fact, on many occasions, the Bents, especially Theodore, refer to local names in their English translation, such as 'Peace' for Rignoula, 'Mrs. Lettuce' for Maroula (which in fact is a misinterpretation of a diminutive for Maria), or their English equivalent (Catherine, Peter, George, John, etc.). A fascinating read is also Theodore's attempt to explain St. John's revelations in light of a 'scientific' explanation, i.e. a possible eyewitness account of a volcanic eruption on the island of Santorini, in his article 'What St. John Saw on Patmos' (p. 86-94). This is a good example of 19th century rationalist thinking and scientific enquiry.

A positive account was given by the Bents on the topic of education as they observed it on the island of Nisyros. In fact, one of the *sidetracks* in this book focuses entirely on this issue, where praise is given to the progressive monastery of the Holy Virgin of the Cave and its Archimandrite Cyril (who was also the island's banker and printed cardboard notes used as a means of exchange) for the establishment of a school for boys and girls (pp. 182). In comparing education in Greece with that in remote places of the Ottoman Empire like Nisyros, this is what they have to say: 'In Greece proper, the work of the monasteries is practically over, since the Government has taken upon itself the sole superintendence of education, and is alone responsible for the improvement of the people. What monasteries once were, and what good they have done, can now only be realised in Turkey; ...it is a question open to much doubt, as to whether the Greeks have benefited by the transfer of



education from the priests, who have acted for ages as their protectors from annihilation and barbarism, to the Government schools; in Turkey, as we have seen, they provide for the better education of the clergy, and, if this can be effected, the priesthood will continue as the natural instructors of their flocks' (p. 182).

Did the Bents actually enjoy themselves on their travels? If they did, they certainly did not make a point of it in their writings. With the exception of their accounts on Patmos (p. 74–86; 152–156) and especially Astypalaia (p. 94–104; 160–163), which they both seem to be very fond of, the rest of their journey is full of complaints; the food, lodging, people, etc. Travelling within the islands on mule or donkey-back, especially in Karpathos, was very hard on Mabel. And navigating the unpredictable waters of the Aegean in what must have been not so comfortable sailing ships, was quite trying. The very fact that they embarked on such a journey is of itself quite admirable! The modern reader of Theodore's and Mabel's travels in the Dodecanese is surely to find something of interest to him or her. One needs to acknowledge that many of the personal biases and prejudices reflected through the Bents' writings are part of a broader socio-historical context; their feelings certainly would have not been considered unusual at that time. Their sentiments as reflected in this collection of writings surely rested well with their intended audience, and thus their candid accounts provide quite an informative, as well as entertaining, vestige of the 19th-century British imperial mindset and its approaches to the antiquities and local people they encountered.

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## Multiperiod

**Pablo Aparicio Resco. *Entre Aidós Y Peitho. La iconografía del gesto del velo en la Antigua Grecia*. pp. 179, illus. 2015. Madrid: JAS Arquelogía Editorial. ISBN 978-8-494-21104-1 €15.**

The subject of Pablo Resco's neat and useful study is the artistic development and cultural meaning of the 'veil-gesture' in Greek art. The 'veil-gesture', as I named it back in 2003 in my monograph *Aphrodite's Tortoise: the veiled woman of ancient Greece* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales), is one of the most frequently encountered motifs in Greek art. In fact, there are so many examples that a close study of the motif was well beyond the limits of my work at that time. Resco, drawing closely on *Aphrodite's Tortoise*, has taken the opportunity to expand the investigation of the repertoire of the motif.

To give a brief overview of my original findings: the veil-gesture is usually (but not exclusively) performed by women. The motif is first properly encountered in the early seventh century BCE; and from there on in it becomes a standard part of the artistic repertoire well into the Roman era. Moreover, the motif can be found throughout the Greek world from Sparta to Asia Minor, and from the Aegean islands to North Africa; in fact, Spartan examples are some of the earliest available which suggests that not only was the veil a facet of archaic Lakonian society, but also that the artistic motif may have had its origins in Spartan (or at least Peloponnesian) tradition. The motif always incorporates the gesture whereby a woman raises part of her veil with one arm which she apparently extends in front of her so that the veil forms a large and distinctive flap of cloth which frames her face, although sometimes the gesture is reduced to a mere delicate touching of the veil, particularly in later classical examples. It is clear that painters and sculptors relished the opportunity that the gesture gave them to experiment with the depiction of the hands and fingers and the range of effects that could be created by the veil falling in a variety of folds around the face, head, and shoulders. Furthermore, there are frequent variations on a theme and the veil-gesture is found in many images where the veil is not worn on the head, but instead it can be performed with another article of clothing such as the sleeve of a *chitōn*, a section of the *kolpos* of a *chitōn* or *peplos*, the back or front folds of a *himation* or *pharos* when worn off the head or else it might be performed with an indistinct and ambiguous item of dress—perhaps a veil, a sleeve, an overhang



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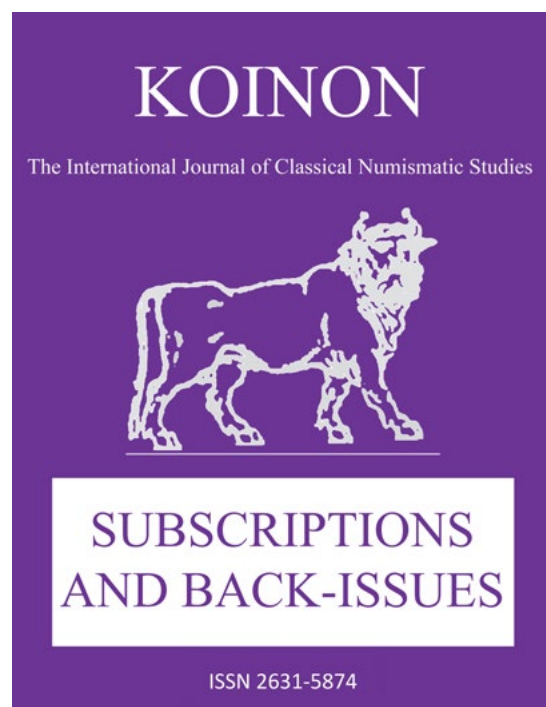
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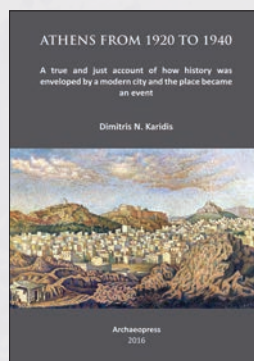




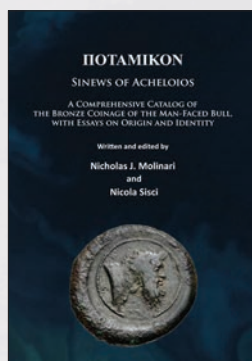
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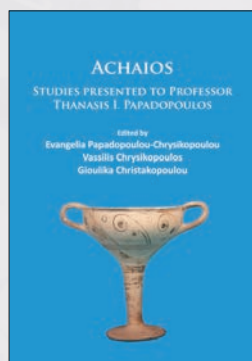
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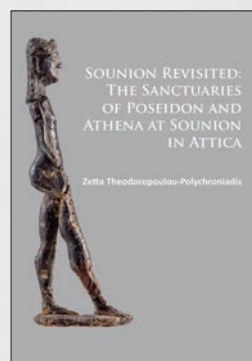
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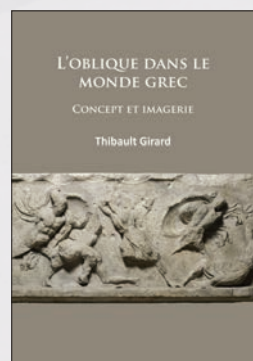
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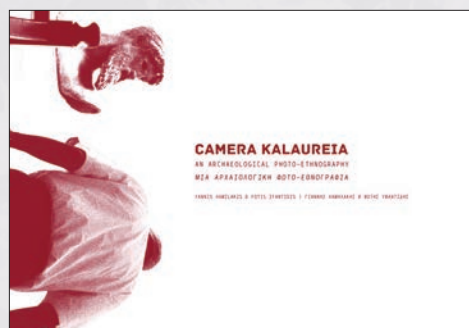
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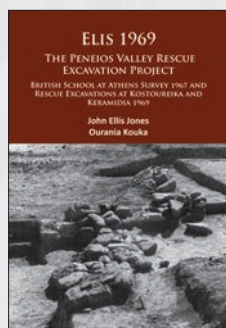
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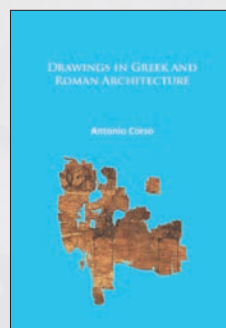
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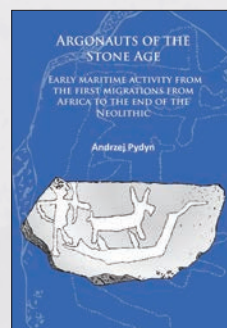
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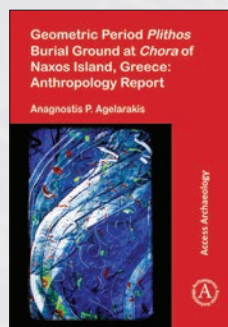
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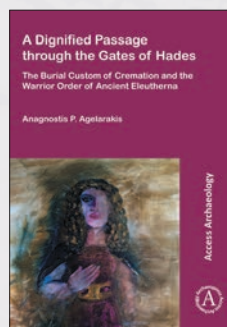
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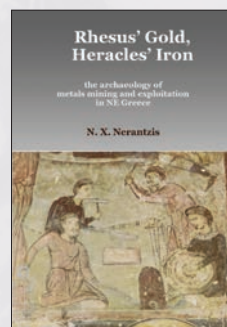
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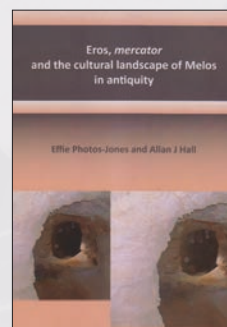
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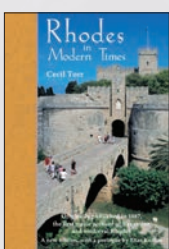
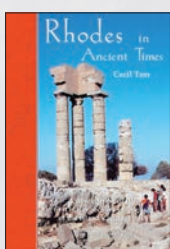
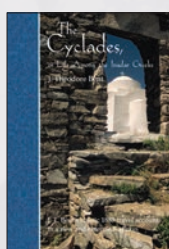


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