interpretation, then. But he would comment that talk of 'settlers', sometimes identified as 'refugees', arriving at sites in postpalatial times reflects what he believes to be a totally outdated approach. What are these 'refugees' supposed to be fleeing – the fabled 'Dorian invasion', perhaps? But, even if some original event brought 'Dorians' into Laconia, it is hard to believe that anyone who still believes in this would date it as early as c. 1200 BC. In fact, the notion that any such 'invasion' brought about the collapse of the Mycenaean palace principalities is surely completely outdated, and the reviewer firmly believes that since this 'tradition', like all the Greek traditions of population movement, has taken its shape through a series of developments in the historical period, generally motivated by political considerations of the day, it has no value as a historical source.

It remains to comment that the text contains a number of misprints and other errors, but most are easily spotted. The editor might have taken the trouble to explain to Gallou the difference between "inferred" (meaning deduced) and "implied" (meaning suggested), since the former often seems to be used when the latter is obviously meant, but occasionally which meaning is intended is unclear. Only one serious omission has been noticed: Dickinson 1996, referred to on p. 96, is not cited in the Bibliography; also, on p. 241, a reference to Dickinson 2004 should be read as 2014. In a text heavy with references and reports of data there may be more, but it is most unlikely that any are of great significance. Overall, this is a very useful and revealing survey, and anyone wishing to discuss Mycenaean burial evidence in Laconia would do well to make good use of it and follow its system of cataloguing the cemeteries and individual graves.

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James C. Wright and Mary K. Dabney (with contributions by Phoebe Acheson, Susan F. Allen, Kathleen M. Forster, Paul Halstead, S.M.A. Hoffman, Anna Karabatsoli, Konstantina Kaza-Papageorgiou, Bartłomiej Lis, Rebecca Mersereau, Hans Mommsen, Jeremy B. Rutter, Tatiana Theodoropoulou, and Jonathan E. Tomlinson), *The Mycenaean Settlement on Tsoungiza Hill (Nemea Valley Archaeological Project* III), Vols. I (Context Studies) and II (Specialist Studies). pp. xlii + 1191: 494 ills, 149 tbls. Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2020. ISBN 978-0-87661-924-7, hardcover $150.

This pair of volumes completes the publication of the Bronze Age phases of the prehistoric site of Tsoungiza, close to the site of the sanctuary of Zeus at ancient Nemea, which in historical times hosted one of the major four panhellenic festivals of athletic games (Vol. I of the Project published the Early Bronze Age remains). It is one of a series of prehistoric sites in the upland plains and valleys that are found in the hilly country between the central Argolid and the western Corinthia, watered by three rivers running north to the Corinthian Gulf (as shown on a useful map: p. 4, fig. 1.1). Two of these were the centres of the small independent city states of Phlious and Kleonai in historical times, which bracket the Nemea territory so closely as to make the development of an independent community unlikely, and there seems no doubt that Tsoungiza, though now the best documented of the string of prehistoric sites spread through the region, would have been overshadowed by more important neighbours in Mycenaean times, such as the long known Zygouries to the east, south of ancient Kleonai.[1] But Tsoungiza was close to the Tretos Pass that was part of a natural route between the Argolid and Corinthia, which may well have contributed to what significance it had, and Mycenae itself is reckoned only a three hours' walk away through this pass (p. 5; unfortunately, no map illustrates this relationship, though potential connections between Mycenae and Tsoungiza are much discussed in the Conclusions).

Archaeological interest in the site dates back to explorations by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) in this region from 1892,

[1] Blegen 1928.

which resulted in excavations begun in 1924 at the sanctuary of Zeus by Bert Hodge Hill, director of the ASCSA, and at Tsoungiza by Carl Blegen, the assistant director. But Blegen quickly became more interested in his excavations at Zygouries and handed over Tsoungiza to James Harland, who excavated there in 1926 and 1927. Unfortunately, these excavations were never published in more than preliminary notices, so that not much could be said of the site in Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979.[2] Chapter 6 in Part I finally gives them publication, and, although some material is missing, considerable detail was recorded about several Mycenaean period buildings, notably that named 'the House of the Arrowhead-Maker' by Harland, now Building K, which seems to have incorporated the work-place of a craft worker (or workers) active in the early Mycenaean phases Late Helladic (LH) IIA-B, an unusual find. There was later excavation at Tsoungiza by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1973 (fully reported by Konstantina Kaza-Papageorgiou in Chapter 5), and in 1973–75 and 1979 by members of the University of California at Berkeley Project working at the Sanctuary of Zeus (also reported in Chapter 5). It then became a major part of the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (NVAP), beginning with tests and 'salvage' work in 1981–83 and culminating in three full seasons of excavation conducted by James Wright and Mary Dabney in 1984–86.

The results of all these activities combine to give a quite detailed picture of an interesting if never very large Mycenaean settlement. Such sites have rarely been excavated, and even more rarely published, and Tsoungiza is notable in being, like Zygouries, but unlike the great majority of 'ordinary' settlements investigated in some detail on the Greek mainland (Ayios Stephanos the most recently published[3]), not on or near the coast but far inland. But the differences in the publications of Tsoungiza and Zygouries show how much the standards expected of settlement excavation and publication have changed over the past century. As is made clear in the *Introduction* in Part 1, the NVAP seasons of excavation at Tsoungiza and an accompanying site survey (discussed in detail in Chapter 3) were conducted with very high standards of retrieval and extremely meticulous systems of recording, and the material is set out with comparable care, with very full tables and catalogues of various classes of material and much illustration. The two volumes are of very uneven size. *Part 1: Context Studies*, is 369 pages long, but *Part 2: Specialist Studies* is 822, including *Concordances* and *Index*. The disparity reflects the far greater attention paid to material that would not have attracted so much attention in excavation reports at one time, so that not merely the fine decorated pottery but the plain and coarse wares receive full attention (Chapter 9), and are accompanied by the results of a programme of Neutron Activation Analysis undertaken with four major questions in mind (Chapter 10) and a special study of cooking pots (Chapter 11). There are also detailed studies of the chipped stone and ground stone implements (Chapters 12 and 13), including discussion of the sources of the materials, and studies of the archaeobotanical, marine (all shells, and mostly freshwater species), and faunal remains which make full use of developments in the related sciences (Chapters 15, 16 and 17).

The relatively sparsely represented classes of the traditionally singled out 'small finds' – tools, weapons, figurines and ornaments – are treated briefly, but with some consideration of their use, in Chapter 14. However, it should be noted that a very interesting deposit of the LH IIIA2 early phase, including part of a large clay female figure (a very rare type, unexampled at an ordinary site, the reviewer believes), figurines, animal bones including the remains of at least six cattle, and much pottery, previously published and interpreted as the remains of a ceremonial feast,[4] and not easy to parallel in Mycenaean archaeology, gets only brief mention (mainly pp. 265 and 268). So too do several pottery deposits that have already been published in detail elsewhere, including one each of the LH IIA, LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 phases. While the reviewer can appreciate the need to conserve space, he cannot help feeling that, when Tsoungiza is likely to have flourished most in the LH III phases, something more should have been said about these deposits, at the risk of repetition, to give a more balanced account of the site's history. As it is, readers are given only a short summary of phases of occupation (Chapter 4), and must piece together their own picture of development in the later Mycenaean phases, although a description of all the recent excavations, with detailed information on the finds (but only brief mention of the few on-site burials, almost entirely neonates), is provided in Chapter 5, while Harland's excavations are covered in Chapter 6. Finally, the *Conclusions* in Chapter 7 draw all the information together in an attempt to give a picture of Tsoungiza's history and its potential relationship with its relatively close neighbour Mycenae.

The site, a hillock at the end of a ridge on the west side of the river Nemea valley, of which it has a

[2] P. 67, where it is recorded under A70.
[3] Taylour and Janko 2008.
[4] Dabney, Halstead and Thomas 2004.

commanding view, has a long history of settlement, punctuated by periods of apparent desertion. This began with occupation in Early and Middle Neolithic, followed by a gap until a quite substantial and long-lived Early Bronze Age settlement, which was apparently abandoned late in the Early Helladic III period. The site was not re-settled until late in the Middle Helladic (MH) period, a pattern comparable to what has now been established for Zygouries. This re-settlement began in the phase when the developments that heralded the establishment of the Mycenaean 'culture' are becoming perceptible; at much the same time that Zygouries and Tsoungiza were reoccupied, Ayia Irini south of Phlious was apparently newly founded, while Aidonia and Petri further to the west were already settled in MH.[5]

This increase in settlements might suggest a general movement of population into the region, but it could have been quite small-scale; it is suggested that at Tsoungiza it might originally have involved only a single family or small interrelated group, but that more settlers arrived some time after the original settlement, causing a marked shift in the settlement's focus, and the community clearly grew to include a substantial number of households. Here it should be noted that estimates of the number of buildings in use at different times, as on pp. 360 and 363, relate only to the area of the site that has been investigated, not the whole site, for which no estimate of size is given. This may well have been difficult to measure, especially since settlement seems to have been concentrated on the lower slopes and not the summit of the hillock; but the site has been widely sampled (p. 90, fig. 5.1), and the rather scanty record of LH III building remains in the NVAP excavation areas is enhanced by what was found in the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Service and the University of California at Berkeley Project.

There are interesting comments in the *Conclusions* (pp. 347–348, 357–358) on the source of the new settlers and the circumstances in which they settled, since these topics are not often discussed; but the reviewer feels bound to express extreme scepticism about the notion, expressed more than once, that this could have involved 'pastoralists' deciding to 'settle down'. He feels it is highly questionable that there were communities practising an economy specialising in pastoralism in southern mainland Greece at this stage (or indeed at any). It seems far more likely that the establishment of a new community was the work of people who had considerable familiarity with the basic farming skills needed, which specialised pastoralists would surely lack; any domestic livestock would probably have been tended by members of the farming families. It may well be that the movement involved or at least was begun by the coalescing of an already existing but thinly scattered population into larger settlements; but what circumstances caused this, or any influx of settlers from already established communities elsewhere, are likely to remain a matter for conjecture.

The settlement certainly seems to have prospered in a mild way from the start. Two of the best preserved buildings of the early phases, the West and East Buildings (the latter built to replace the former after a fire, apparently) are substantial structures of several rooms that contain evidence for external contacts, including cooking pots and storage vessels of Aiginetan origin, and items of bronze, lead, and obsidian, all materials that would not have been available locally (even the radiolarite used for much of the chipped stone may have come from a site near Epidauros, p. 92). The evidence from Harland's House of the Arrowhead-Maker, another substantial building in a different area of the site and rather later (there are decorated vases of the LH IIA and IIB phases), provides strong evidence that it was the base of one or more craftworkers who may have been supplying a neighbourhood. The particular speciality of this establishment seems to have been work in obsidian and various forms of chert, for much debitage of these materials was found; but arrowheads and what are termed projectile points were produced, rather than the well-known straight-edged blades and sickle elements that are well represented in other material from the site. Other finds in this house included lead straps that would be used to repair broken pots, a fragment of a stone casting mould for a blade, presumably of bronze, and a piece of bronze wire.

The indications mentioned of substantial external contacts at an early stage are enhanced by the evidence of the pottery, which in the early phases, more or less contemporary with the period of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, includes a notable percentage of clearly imported vessels, not simply Aiginetan cooking pots, but storage vessels, cups and occasionally other decorated shapes of a variety of origins. Aiginetan, Corinthian, Laconian, Euboean, likely Boeotian, and even one or two Cycladic have been identified in the material related to the West and East Buildings (p. 851). It is tempting to connect the presence of this unusual quantity of pottery imports with Tsoungiza's position near the Tretos pass, and to assume that they represent

[5] On Ayia Irini (A71 in Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979: 67–68) see Kaza-Papageorgiou 2015, on Aidonia and Petri Hachtmann 2015: 223–226.

a by-product of the amount of exchange activity that may have been passing along this route to the increasingly flourishing communities of the Argolid, particularly Mycenae. There is good reason to suppose that there was a great expansion of such activity at the beginning of the Mycenaean period, when the leading elements in settlements that were becoming centres in their regions seem to have been establishing contact with each other and emulating innovations, especially those that could show off their new wealth and far-flung connections.

A sequence of deposits, studied by Rutter in Chapter 9 and articles separately published in *Hesperia*, makes it possible to observe local developments in the pottery sequence over this period and track the establishment of the homogeneity that is typical of Mycenaean pottery at a level of detail that is unique on the mainland. Since this development is bound up with the momentous social changes that led to the establishment of the Mycenaean style of society, it can be fairly argued that this justifies the amount of space that the analysis of the pottery of the early Mycenaean phases is allotted. The pottery record shows that the Mycenaean style of decorated pottery became dominant very quickly and the range and quality of the decorated Mycenaean pottery of the later phases makes it seem quite plausible that it came directly from the known production centres near Mycenae rather than the workshops of local potters. This might well seem inevitable, given their relative proximity to Tsoungiza, but how the inhabitants of Tsoungiza acquired an apparently regular supply of this fine pottery remains obscure, although this is only one part of a much greater problem that has rarely been explored, how early communities, in the Aegean and elsewhere, recompensed their potters for regular supplies of pottery in a range of shapes and wares. Rutter argues for a quick establishment of control of the distribution of fine pottery in this region by Mycenae (p. 648), and while the reviewer has reservations about this, the analytical evidence does seem to support the view that the pottery workshops in Mycenae's immediate neighbourhood produced almost all the fine pottery.

It is disappointing that there is no comparable study of the LH III pottery, which underlines the problem that it is difficult to get a clear impression of Tsoungiza when it probably flourished most, in the LH IIIA-IIIB phases. Its economy seems from the study of the archaeobotanical and faunal remains to have been fairly typical of an ordinary agricultural settlement. Barley and lentils were apparently the commonest crops, although wheat and other pulses were also grown, and there may well have been a local specialisation in grape, and thus potentially wine, production – very appropriate to the area of Nemea, still a producer of notable wines – while there is always evidence for olive cultivation, which increases over the Mycenaean period (pp. 1059–1060). The usual domesticated animals were represented, without any striking feature, although there were more goats proportionally to sheep than at Tiryns (where sheep were three times as common as goats), probably because more rough pasture suitable for goats was available; there seems to be no strong evidence for breeding any domesticates for secondary products. Some metal tools and other items were in use (butchery marks on animal bones were mostly made by metal knives, p. 1157), but the majority of tools and implements preserved are of stone, bone and obsidian.

The leading families evidently had the means to hire professionals to plan chamber tombs for their dead (here the reviewer is expressing his own opinion, that this was a professional skill, even if members of the community provided labour to help in constructing the tomb), but it is noteworthy that the burials were provided with few goods apart from pottery and nothing very remarkable, unlike many in the much bigger chamber tomb cemetery of Aidonia. One substantial building has been identified in the area dug by the Greek Archaeological Service (p 143, fig. 5.52), which in one room contained three bronze items and a decorated jar of Cretan origin (p. 152), while a notable find in the south-west part of the site, in an unusually early, because clearly LH IIIB, context that also contained a bronze chisel, was a 'Peschiera dagger', an originally Italian type (pp. 262 – not 362, as stated in the *Index* – and 1026–1027). That Tsoungiza remained a part of local exchange networks in the LH III phases is indicated by the continued occurrence of bronze, lead, and obsidian, Aiginetan cooking pots, and the fine Mycenaean pottery, while a few marine shells that must have come from the shore somewhere, and more 'foreign' items like the Cretan vessel and the Peschiera dagger just mentioned must have originated from the wider networks linking the Aegean and the Mediterranean.

But overall the site has produced little indication that it was a centre of some importance, such as can be identified in the form of major structures or unusual imported pottery at Zygouries,[6] Aidonia,[7]

[6] See Blegen 1928: 30–38 and Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979: 66 (under A67) for the structure known as the Potter's Shop, datable to LH IIIB1, a two-storey multi-roomed building with extremely thick walls and evidence for decoration with patterned frescoes in the upper storey.

[7] Hachtmann 2015: 223–224 reports a wide range of finds in

and Ayia Irini.[8] It is possible that it was more on a level with these and had direct relations with one or more of them, but frankly it seems quite implausible that it should have had direct relations with Mycenae (as suggested particularly on p. 369), a centre on a far greater scale than any of them, which is likely to have dominated a considerable territory both in the north-east Peloponnese and beyond and was arguably the capital of the major Aegean state Ahhiyawa, with which the Anatolian kingdoms, especially the Hittites, clearly had diplomatic relations in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC.[9] It seems more likely to the reviewer that any contacts between Tsoungiza and Mycenae were mediated through a secondary centre, for such centres seemed to have played a significant role in the systems of management of their territories revealed by the Linear B records of the palaces based on Knossos, Pylos, and plausibly Thebes.

The pottery evidence suggests that Tsoungiza may well have survived longer than Zygouries and other settlements in the wider region, but not beyond the first phase of the Postpalatial period, LH IIIC early (p. 88). After this it appears to have been abandoned again as a settlement site, certainly for the remainder of the Bronze Age and probably for the rest of antiquity, although sporadic finds of later pottery have been reported, from Archaic to Classical/Hellenistic and also some medieval (cf. especially p. 418, also p. 320), but nothing identifiably Early Iron Age or Roman. Any continuing farming population in the area was presumably established closer to the sanctuary of Zeus, where there is in fact a wide scatter of Mycenaean pottery, suggesting settlement in the LH III period.

Although the reviewer has made some criticisms, he would like to stress how impressed he is by the amount of effort that has gone into the collection, study and publication of a mass of material. Despite the inevitable gaps that reflect the patchy survival of the material, it gives a far clearer picture than any previous excavation of what might be expected at a Mycenaean period settlement that can fairly be called 'ordinary', although it is geographically close to the greatest centre of the Mycenaean world, and that provides particularly interesting evidence on the early phases that are so often buried under the later Mycenaean remains. Almost every substantial class of material recovered has been studied in great detail, and the results, set out very clearly and usefully summarised, will be very useful for students to learn from and for specialists to consult. The work sets a high standard for the publication of excavated remains from a prehistoric Aegean settlement.

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addition to the extremely rich goods from some chamber tombs, including a potential fortification, though little material is clearly later than LH IIIA.

[8] Kaza-Papageorgiou 2015: 234–237 mentions probably Cretan transport stirrup jars and pictorial kraters among the pottery as signs of a major centre.

[9] Most recently, Dickinson 2019.

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Gioulika-Olga Christakopoulou, *To Die in Style! The Residential Lifestyle of Feasting and Dying in Iron Age Stamna, Greece.* pp. ii + 77, b/w and col ills, maps, tbls. Oxford, Archaeopress 2018. ISBN: 978-1-78491-935-1, paperback £22; ISBN 978-1-78491-936-8, E-book £16.

This short essay presents some of the most interesting information from a major Early Iron