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

Age cemetery in the province of Aetolia, in North-West Mainland Greece. Its presentation is rather uneven – the location of the site is not even immediately presented in the opening text, and there is no overall plan of the site – although the content is important enough to make it worth the effort. Over 600 tombs of the earliest Iron Age, the Protogeometric (PG) era (ca. 1050-900 BC), have so far been uncovered in a burial zone some 4km in length along the periphery of Lake Aetolikon, both cremations and inhumations. Several tombs appear to belong to elite 'warrior' males, indicating a ranked society. One in particular is an apsidal tomb with a libation bench inside it, which might symbolise the house of an elite family, familiar from contemporary Lefkandi on Euboea, but also closer at hand, from the two sequent megarons at Thermon, also in Aetolia. Bronze cauldrons and iron spits in these tombs bring associations of feasting linked to elite display, and weaponry adds to the 'presentation' of social status personae in these few exceptional burials. In contrast, most other burials have plentiful pottery gifts, but rare metal, while the status graves have reverse proportions. This elite-association of metal vessels is paralleled at the post-palatial cemetery of Perati in Attica and to a lesser extent in the Lefkandi burials. Throughout the cemetery there is evidence for funerary feasting and cremation pyres, as well as structures above tombs used for subsequent ritual offerings to the deceased. One unresolved problem arises from C14 dates for textiles placed in layers over three high status graves with bronze cauldrons, which indicate a context earlier than the late PG ceramics used in the cemetery, i.e. prior to 1000 BC. Either these are heirlooms, or the chronology of the Aetolian PG requires radical redating.

In any case these discoveries have important implications for our understanding of the Greek Early Iron Age. Firstly, we have clear evidence here that a hierarchical Mycenaean society, elsewhere associated with states and palaces, did not disappear even in peripheral regions of that culture in the Early Iron Age. In more core Mycenaean palace-centred regions, it has generally been argued, following the suggestion of John Chadwick, that the multi-tiered hierarchy of power implied by the Linear B archives was not abolished, but rather downscaled in the post-palatial era, to local chiefdom or ranked social forms. This has long been linked to the use of the term 'basileis' for protohistoric elite males during the Archaic era, a term inherited from a lesser official in the Mycenaean state hierarchy, and suggested to mark the disappearance of the upper levels of political hierarchy but the survival of a lower, district-level power structure. On the other hand, in the absence hitherto of evidence of palaces and their associated state bureaucracies in peripheral zones such as Aetolia, maybe their social systems never emerged out of this chieftain-big man scale, in which case Early Iron Age societies were genuinely inherited with little change from the Late Bronze Age.

Secondly, whilst till recently research into the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age has been almost entirely focussed on Southern Greece and the Islands, the last two decades have seen an encouraging expansion in our knowledge of Northern Mainland Greece. Macedonia has been especially blessed with a deluge of new publications and discoveries, the result of energetic ephors and the vibrant research atmosphere in the University of Thessaloniki. Thrace and North-West Mainland Greece have seen less activity, but this publication and several others (including recent papers in this journal), have begun to open up deep insights into long-term developments in these regions.

One rather unexpected aspect of this published essay is the introduction of a kind of historical narrative as a background to the social analysis of the cemetery, and despite the lack so far of a corresponding settlement. The author assumes that in the chaos following the violent collapse of Mycenaean civilisation, migrations occurred on a major scale (as claimed by later Greek legends), with the Stamna people wandering from elsewhere into this region. It is not clear, apart from some parallels in ceramics eastwards, why this framework is brought in.

A rather clearer introduction to Early Iron Age Aetolia helps us broaden and indeed bring in a critique of this 'historical narrative', and that is a recent article on Aetolia by Søren Dietz (2019). He states that there is a contrast between Central Aetolia around Thermon and the coastland and its hinterland in South-West Aetolia. In the latter region the key sites are Agios Elias and Stamna, and overall there is also clear evidence here for continuity from the Late Bronze Age through to the Archaic era. The lower slopes of the Agios Elias hill have four Mycenaean tholoi and a rich LHIIIB-C chamber tomb, while there is a possible contemporary acropolis settlement on the hill itself. He considers this site to have formed a key centre for the region. Importantly, not far off there is another tholos at Stamna. Subsequently we have the large Protogeometric cemetery of Stamna here under discussion, all in the same small district. For Dietz there is a good case for community and cultural continuity in South-West Aetolia from

LHIII to the first phase of the Early Iron Age, and onwards to its later stage after 900 BC. Rather than seeing Protogeometric Stamna as an exotic creation of external migrants, Dietz considers it to be part of a koine from early PG onwards, linking South-West Aetolia, the Ionian Islands and Achaea. He confidently characterizes Post-Mycenaean Aetolia as a contrast between a dynamic, stratified and outward facing society in the South-West, and less progressive rural inland Central Aetolia centred on the local centre of Thermon.

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Dietz, S. 2019. Calydon in Context: Town and Sanctuary in Aetolia, in E. C. Partida and B. Schmidt-Dounas (eds) *Listening to the Stones: Essays on Architecture and Function in Ancient Greek Sanctuaries in Honour of Richard Alan Tomlinson:* 54-65. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Archaic to Hellenistic

Oliver Hülden, *Das griechische Befestigungswesen der archaïschen Zeit. Entwicklungen – Formen – Funktionen*. Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Sonderschriften Bd. 59. pp. 560, 200 ills. Vienna: Verlag Holzhausen GmbH, 2020. ISBN 978-3-903207-41-7, hardcover €165.

This extensive and lavishly illustrated work is based on the Munich habilitation thesis of the author and is the most comprehensive treatment of the subject to date. The regrettably long-neglected Greek fortifications have received increased attention in recent years and decades. The extensive bibliography (pp. 523-560) lists over 700 titles, two of which are particularly noteworthy because they deal with the same subject: F. Lang, *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland. Struktur und Entwicklung* (Berlin 1996) and R. Frederiksen, *Greek City Walls of the Archaic period* (Oxford 2011). The latter goes back to a dissertation from 2001 and for that reason alone justifies a renewed in-depth study of the Archaic fortifications of the Greek world.

When did the first Greek fortified settlements of the Iron Age come into existence, and where? How is the rise of the Greek polis interconnected with the development of fortifications? And which role did fortifications play in this process? Were fortifications a unique characteristic of poleis? Were early Greek fortifications influenced by Oriental models and if so, to what extent? Or was the development of Greek fortifications stimulated by the Greek colonization of the West during the 9th and 8th centuries BC? Was there something like a 'cultural reflux'?

Answers are not readily at hand and require a broad approach to the topic. The scope of Hülden's investigation, therefore, comprises Crete and the Aegean Islands, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Magna Graecia as well as mainland Greece and the Black Sea region. It is, therefore, evidently the most comprehensive study ever presented on the topic. O. Hülden started his scientific career with a Master thesis on the fortifications of Herakleia at Latmos, which was deemed worthy of being published in a renowned periodical (Hülden, "Pleistarchos und die Befestigungsanlagen von Herakleia am Latmos", *Klio* 82, 2000: 382-408). From further research in Asia Minor together with T. Corsten and thanks to