

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

OLIVER DICKINSON
READER EMERITUS
DURHAM UNIVERSITY, UK.
otpkdickinson@googlemail.com

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 Rather than being a foreign land, prehistory, in the eyes of Chourmouziadis, emerges as a quest for the historical content of prehistory: understanding and interpreting a cultural continuum between History and Prehistory.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

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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 (Darlas, 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.¹ Despite a loss of crops in this ‘journey’ of agriculture to Europe,² 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.³ 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 (Mavroei, 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

¹ E.g. Kotsakis 2001; Efstratiou 2007.

² Colledge et al. 2005.

³ Valamoti 2004; Valamoti 2009; Marinova and Valamoti 2014.

evidence explored by Kotsos have also attracted discussion in other regions of the Balkans.⁴ 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,⁵ or is the time right to begin exploring mobility as a plausible alternative or complementary way of life?⁶ 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,⁷ has recently been explored elsewhere by Chondrogianni-Metoki,⁸ and Stroulia,⁹ 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,¹⁰ 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,¹¹ 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.¹² 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

⁴ Nikolov 2006.

⁵ Cf. Halstead 2000; Pappa et al. 2004.

⁶ Cf. Valamoti 2007.

⁷ Chapman 2000.

⁸ Chondrogianni-Metoki 2009.

⁹ Stroulia 2014.

¹⁰ Cf. Valamoti 2005; Valamoti 2006a; Valamoti 2007.

¹¹ Karathanou and Valamoti 2011; Valamoti et al. 2011.

¹² Halstead 1999.

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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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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

¹³ Cf. Valamoti 2004, 2005.

¹⁴ Cf. Valamoti 2005.

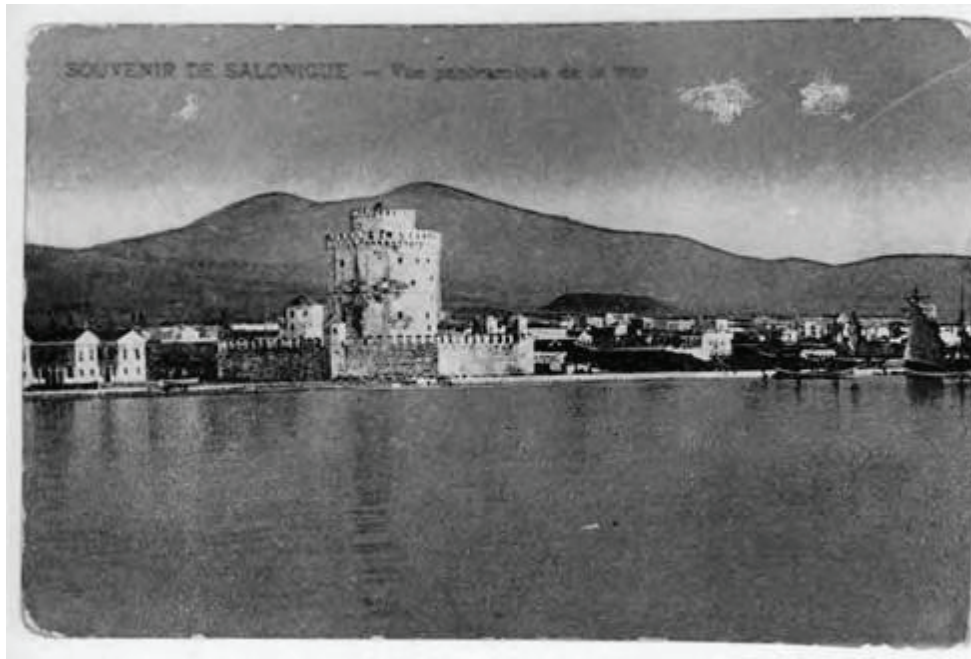


Figure 1. View of the White Tower and part of Eastern Thessaloniki, seen from the sea. In the background, Toumba Thessalonikis can be seen (carte postal, 1904), courtesy of the volume editors, p. 393. (© Thessaloniki History Centre).

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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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

¹⁵ Bogaard *et al.* work in progress.

¹⁶ E.g. Charles *et al.* 1998; Valamoti 2004.

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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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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.

¹⁷ Pappa 2008.

¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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.²¹

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

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

²⁰ Veropoulidou and Pappa 2011.

²¹ Tiverios *et al.* 2013.

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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.²² 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 Papadakou, 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,²³ 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)²⁴ 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

²² E.g. Whittle 1996.

²³ Gosselain 2008.

²⁴ 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,²⁵ 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,²⁶ 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

²⁵ Saridaki *et al.* 2014

²⁶ Pentedeka and Kotsakis 2008; Dimoula *et al.* this volume.

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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.²⁷

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

²⁷ Gosselain 2008.

this very specialised cooking vessel, the *pyraunos*, when combined with archaeobotanical evidence may well point towards changes in culinary ingredients.²⁸ 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,²⁹ 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.³⁰

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.³¹ 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

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

²⁹ E.g. Perlès and Vitelli 1999.

³⁰ Stroulia and Chondrou 2013.

³¹ Cf. Nanoglou 2010.

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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’.³² 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

³² 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,³³ ‘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).³⁴ 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.

The talks delivered during the conference are accessible via <http://www.livemedia.gr/album/704>.

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³³ Fotiadis 2001.

³⁴ Dimoula *et al.* this volume

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SOULTANA MARIA VALAMOTI
UNIVERSITY OF THESSALONIKI
sval@hist.auth.gr

Yiannis Papadatos and Chrysa Sofianou
Livari Skiadi. A Minoan cemetery in southeast Crete. Volume I. Excavation and finds (Prehistory Monographs 50). pp. xxvi+154, 63 tables, 55 b/w figures, 43 colour and b/w plates. 2015. Philadelphia (PA): INSTAP Academic Press. 978-1-931534-81-9 hardcover \$80.00.

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,¹ old excavated assemblages have been (re)studied,² and new burial sites have been discovered.³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶

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.⁷ 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,

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

² Caloi 2011; Flouda 2011; Girella 2011.

³ Schoep *et al.* 2011; Schoep *et al.* 2012; Tsipopoulou 2012; Papadatos and Sofianou 2013.

⁴ Vavouranakis 2007; Murphy 2011; Legarra Herrero 2014.

⁵ Hamilakis 1998; Vavouranakis 2007; Déderix 2015.

⁶ Triantaphyllou 2009; Triantaphyllou 2012; Crevecoeur *et al.* 2015.

⁷ Schlager *et al.* 2001.