

The North-Eastern Aegean
1050-600 BC

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Abstract

This thesis aims to construct a historical narrative for the region of the north-eastern Aegean (NEA) during the Early Iron Age (1050-700 BCE) and the early Archaic period (7th century BCE) based primarily on archaeological evidence. Its goals are to investigate the most distinctive material culture elements for the studied period; to explore themes of continuity and connectivity between regions; to trace large- and smaller-scale population movements; to discuss how early communities perceived themselves and each other; and to investigate the social structure and organisation of these communities.

Evidence from settlement sites, funerary contexts, and sanctuaries are presented in the first three chapters in that order. Following that, the final chapter presents the primary, overarching conclusions of the thesis, in four sub-chapters.

Firstly, it is argued that the NEA was characterised by relative cultural continuity from the Late Bronze Age to well within the Archaic period: when new elements were introduced, they were, generally, integrated into earlier paradigms.

Secondly, evidence is provided for an increase in connectivity and maritime traffic peaks during the late 8th century BCE; shortly afterwards, new population groups from the central and southern Aegean arrived in the NEA, and seem to have cohabited relatively peacefully with earlier populations.

Thirdly, it is posited that there is little evidence for overarching NEA regional identities before the 6th century BCE: communities appear to have developed local identities,

through association with specific sites and through references to the communal past in cult practice and funerary contexts.

Finally, it is argued that social elites were markedly active in NEA communities of studied period: there is considerable evidence for socially exclusive groups, primarily in funerary and ritual contexts.

The thesis concludes with a short chapter containing the author's closing remarks.

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Introduction

*‘περί τῶν πρώτων γενομένων παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἡγεμόνων
οὐδεὶς παραδέδοται λόγος.’*

(Diod. Sic. 5.47)

The Hellespont region and its surrounding landscape have featured prominently in archaeological research, ever since the 19th-century Calvert / Schliemann excavations brought to light the citadel of Hisarlik in the Troad. During the late 19th and throughout the 20th century, from the Troad to the Chalcidike peninsula and on the northern Aegean islands, several Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic sites were brought to light, thoroughly explored, and subsequently published by British, Austrian, French, Italian, American, Turkish, and Greek researchers and excavation teams.

However, the Early Iron Age (ca. 1100-700 BCE) and the early Archaic period (7th century BCE) are underrepresented in general scholarship up to this point. This is in direct contrast to the rest of the Aegean, where recent work has focused on the so-called ‘Dark Ages’ and considerably shifted our impressions of the period.

In the North-Eastern Aegean, individual site publications tend to focus on the richer late Archaic and subsequent contexts, which present a more complete image of their respective periods. Furthermore, as new sites in the region were surveyed, excavated, and studied, the researchers’ focus lay primarily in presenting the newly recovered material,

rather than embarking on any overarching study of the region and its development. What has also contributed to the lack of such a study is that fieldwork in different sites took place under the auspices of various institutions, often over several decades (in some cases, it is ongoing even today); and that findings have been published in a variety of languages, often incompletely and to standards of different periods. As an example, publications of excavations in the island of Thasos have been primarily in French since the early 20th century. However, in neighbouring Samothrace, finds from the sanctuary of the Great Gods alone have been published in German, English, and Greek.

Another criticism that could be levelled at earlier scholarship is the overreliance on historical sources and the tendency to invoke archaeological evidence in support of them, instead of seeking to interpret the material evidence in its own context. This practice is fallacious, as it potentially propagates constructed narratives of the 6th and later centuries BCE, which would not necessarily have reflected the reality of earlier periods. For example, considerable discussion has taken place regarding the early presence of Phoenicians on the Macedonian coastline and Thasos, primarily based on Herodotus' account of the history of the region.¹ However, the material evidence in support of this narrative is minimal (see below).

Addressing the above problems is the primary goal of this thesis. Specifically, I aim to present a review of all known archaeological evidence from the area, thus allowing a relatively in-depth discussion of its significance. This would also help set the groundwork

¹ Hdt. 2.44 and 6.47.

for future studies of the region, being an intuitive step forward from more recent, focused, typological studies of finds, and adopting a more holistic approach compared to them.

I will also seek to explore the types of narratives (if any) that can be reliably constructed based primarily on this corpus of material (rather than starting with historical or literary sources of subsequent periods) and compose such narratives to the best of my ability. In this, I aim to present only conclusions for which material evidence exists and identify the questionable factoids so prevalent in previous scholarship.

My research questions and goals will be discussed in more detail below; for now, it is imperative to define the geographical limits and review the landscape features of the studied region. It is also necessary to clarify the timeframe of this study and address the manner and method in which the studied material will be presented and discussed.

Geographical Background

The ‘North-Eastern Aegean’ (henceforth NEA) is, for the purposes of this study, an arbitrarily defined region. In itself, it is not clearly isolated from neighbouring territories, does not correspond to a single culture group, and contains several sub-regions (e.g. a number of large islands), which could, by themselves, serve as objects of individual study. Instead of a self-contained unit, it is primarily a zone of interactions and interplay, and the exploration of these elements is a core focus of this thesis. Therefore, for our purposes, and to better organise the extent of our dataset, it is only viable to define the limits of the NEA based on geographical features and landmarks. In order to introduce the reader to the region (and in this chapter alone) I will be referencing [Figure 1] where the major geographical features of

the NEA have been emphasised; the features have been numbered, and their numbers will be quoted below in brackets.

The north-eastern limit for the studied region can be easily set at the Dardanelles Strait and the Hellespont [14 / 23]. Note that while sites of the Hellespont will be included in this study, sites from the Sea of Marmara, further to the north-east, will not; the Hellespont itself will serve as the cutoff point.

To the northwest, along the Thracian / Macedonian coastline, the mouth of the Strymon River, its river plain to the North, and the eastern slopes of Mt Kerdyllion will serve as the regional limit [1]; to the southeast, the Caicus River (modern Bakırçay), opposite Lesbos, will serve a similar function [29]. These three points (Strymon, Hellespont, Caicus) define a massive rectangular area, measuring more than 50,000 square kilometres. This area includes the major islands of Thasos, Samothrace, Imbros (Gökçeada), Tenedos (Bozcaada), Lemnos, and Lesbos, along with the smaller islands of Agios Eustratios (near Lemnos) and many coastal islets. The NEA thus defined includes mainland and island regions, and presents considerable variety in geographical features.

Specifically, the coastal regions of eastern Macedonia and Thrace are characterised by expansive arable river plains, extending towards the north. The Strymon river plain marks the westernmost limit of our studied region, following the foothills of Mt Kerdyllion and stretching almost 100 km to the north-west [1]. To the immediate east of the mouth of the Strymon, Mts Pangaeon [2] and Symbolon [3] dominate the coastline; they are flanked by narrow coastal plains [4-5] to their south, and form a small valley between them [6]. To their north, the Aggites River, the largest tributary of Strymon curves towards the east, forming a

secondary inland river plain of considerable size [7]. This is followed by a massive spur of the Rhodope mountain range, which reaches south to the coastline and the Gulf of Kavala [8]. To its east, extend the vast alluvial Thracian river plains; the most important rivers here being Nestos, Kossynthos, and Filiouris (or Lissos), with their several tributaries and many smaller streams [9]. The entirety of these river plains is framed to the north by the Rhodope mountains [10] which, on the eastern end of the plains, extend in a large hook-like spur towards the sea [11] and curve to follow the coastline back towards the west, forming a ‘pocket’ plain of considerable size. A narrow coastal plain extends further to the east [12], where it joins the delta of the Evros River and the large crescent of the river towards the north-west [13], behind the Rhodope mountains; beyond that, the coastline turns back towards the south-west, forming the hilly peninsula of the Chersonese [14].

The islands of Thasos [15], Samothrace [16], and Imbros [17] lie near the Macedonian / Thracian coastline, and share some similarities in landscape geomorphology. They are all relatively mountainous, with a central massif sloping down towards the coastline; all arable territories lie near the coast, usually in the shape of several small coastal plains formed by seasonal or more permanent streams. Imbros is by far the most rugged of the islands, with very few such coastal plains. Samothrace presents a smoother transition, with the Saos massif dominating the centre and eastern parts of the island and the arable land extending mostly along its south-western coast. Thasos presents a more varied landscape, with small coastal plains mostly dotting the western and southern shores; the island hinterland, on the other hand, is divided into several large valleys, most of which run in a south-western to north-eastern direction, and provide relatively easy access routes to the island interior.

The islands of Tenedos [18] and Lemnos [19] present us with a significantly different landscape. Both islands are relatively flat, with no central massif and considerable stretches of arable land. Tenedos consists almost entirely of arable territory, with only a small number of low hills, mostly concentrated in its north-eastern end. Similarly, the western part of Lemnos is quite hilly and rugged, but smoothly transitions into extensive plains near the large Gulf of Moudros and the eastern end of the island.

Lesbos [20] differs significantly from the other major islands. The irregular shape of the island, with the two major gulfs of Kalloni and Gera being the most important features of its central / southern part, means that there is no single central massif to speak of. However, the island hinterland is very rugged and mountainous throughout, with most of the arable land located in relatively small plains along the coastline. This is particularly evident in the western part of the island, which is volcanic in origin, quite arid and unsuitable for agriculture. Navigating the interior of the island is only possible thanks to a network of small valleys and passes.

What remains to be discussed is the north-western coastline of Asia Minor: this study includes the entirety of the Troad and the northernmost part of the Aeolis region. This area is dominated by the Mt Ida (modern Kazdağı) massif [21], which peaks to the immediate north of the Adramyttian Gulf and extends to cover the entirety of the Troad hinterland. Several rivers flow from the Ida mountain range to the western coast of the Troad and the Hellespont: the most important of these rivers is the Scamander, which traverses the entirety of the Troad, ending near the western mouth of the Hellespont. Its course forms what is known as the ‘vale of Troy’, and its mouth forms the large alluvial plain of Hisarlik [22]. Smaller rivers (including, from north to south, the Practius, Rhodius, and Simois) also flow

to the Hellespont, and form smaller coastal plains and river valleys penetrating into the mountainous hinterland [23]. Further to the south, the Satniois River forms a narrow inland river plain [24], parallel to the northern coastline of the Adramyttian Gulf, and flows into the Aegean, on the west coast of the Troad.

The Euenus River (modern Freneli / Havran) marks the southern end of the Ida massif, and forms the large, arable Adramyttian plain [25]. The Adramyttian Gulf, to the west, is defined by the southern coastline of the Troad, the island of Lesbos, and the coastline of northern Aeolis further to the south; the Methymna- and Mytilene Straits form an enclosed, protected sea between the mainland and Lesbos. Further to the south, the Mt Pindasos (modern Madra) massif dominates the Asia Minor coastline opposite Mytilene [26]. Narrow plains extend along the coast [27] until Mt Merdivenli, in what is the modern Çandarlı Gulf [28]. There, the Caicus River forms its own river plain [29], framed by Mt Pindasos to the north and Mt Sardine (modern Yunt) to the south. This is the largest Anatolian arable plain included in this study, and marks the southernmost limit of the NEA, as defined for our purposes.

Historical Timeframe²

It must be acknowledged that establishing a precise, accurate, and overarching period dating system for the entirety of our research area is impossible. The chronological limits for such periods are conventionally defined by the presence, absence, and development of specific factors.³ These factors can vary considerably, from (most commonly) material

² All dates henceforth are BCE unless indicated otherwise.

³ Pare's distinction of archaeological phases and periods is worthy of mention at this point. The scholar defines archaeological 'phases' as small-scale variations in material culture, used 'for the relative and absolute dating of archaeological finds and their contexts', while archaeological 'periods' 'designate fundamental historical structuration; the transition from one period to the next is characterised by transformation in all

culture elements in stratigraphical contexts (e.g. pottery types, metalworking techniques etc.) to types of societal organisation (e.g. the appearance of the polis paradigm), depending on the intent and goals of the scholar.⁴ Attempts are often made to correlate dating limits with important (and absolutely datable) historical events, but this is not always possible, especially in prehistoric archaeology. The above points result in two notable problems for the general scholar and for this study in particular.

Firstly, the absolute dating of the chronological limits of a historical period is entirely dependent upon our capability to date the appearance, development, and decline of the various elements that are selected as characteristic of the period. As I will demonstrate in the following chapters, this is problematic for many sub-regions of the NEA, especially with regards to the Late Bronze Age (LBA) to EIA transition; for instance, at many sites (especially in the eastern Macedonian and Thracian area) the observed continuity in material culture makes dating and differentiating LBA and EIA finds difficult.

Secondly, the presence of period-characteristic elements in a site does not necessarily entail their presence in neighbouring sites. Even when such elements are widely distributed, there is no guarantee that they will be introduced during the same timeframe: for instance, the introduction of Archaic imported pottery to the north-eastern Aegean sites did not occur during the same period in all sub-regions. This makes the use of any historical period term potentially fallacious, when focusing on a wider geographical region, as this study does. It is erroneous to generally refer to e.g. the ‘Archaic period in the north-eastern Aegean’ as a

aspects of life’ (Pare 2008, 69). See also the scholar’s overview of the various definitions of the term ‘epoch’, ranging from the simple ‘span of time between two distinct events’ to the Marxist ‘structural and processional approach’ (Pare 2008, 72-73).

⁴ See Kotsonas 2016, 241.

historical period characterised by specific, common elements: Archaic elements (ranging from e.g specific pottery types to political organisation systems) are introduced at different points in time in various sites.

However, if we may borrow a phrase from Connah's critique of the 'epochial' three-age system, historical and archaeological 'phases' are artificial constructs, retained 'to provide a useful set of labels for past periods'.⁵ For this thesis, it is necessary to establish a chronological frame of reference with the rest of the Aegean world, to facilitate the integration of our studied region with its contemporary Aegean context. Such a frame of reference would also help in the structural organisation of the study and the presentation of my main arguments in a concise and intuitive manner. What must be underlined is that establishing and employing such a constructed timeframe will mean that, at the level of the NEA in its entirety, these 'periods' will only serve as purely chronological labels. Discussing e.g. the 'Early Iron Age' in the NEA will not necessarily imply any common widespread elements throughout the geographical frame of the study during the period.

Given the above, two elements must be factored in when deciding on the absolute dates and limits of the timeframe of my thesis. Firstly, it is imperative that NEA stratigraphy be taken into account if / where dating information is available. Establishing at least one dating reference point within the region on which to base the subsequent study is a necessity. Secondly, the dating systems currently in use for the rest of the Aegean also need to be factored in as part of the basic framework: this is necessary to allow for the integration of the

⁵ Connah 2010, 63. See also Pare 2008 for an overview of approaches on the matter of historical / archaeological periods and the evolution of their definition and purpose; Kotsonas 2016 for a similar overview of the periodisation systems employed for the first half of the 1st millennium BCE in the Aegean.

NEA in its wider Aegean context, and to keep any comparative discussion organised and relevant.

The term ‘Early Iron Age’ has been used in previous scholarship to refer to the time period following (and partly overlapping with) the Sub-Mycenean phase (ca. 1100-1050 BCE) and gradually leading to the so-called ‘Greek Renaissance’ in the 8th/7th centuries BCE.⁶ The EIA has also been described as the ‘Greek Dark Ages’ in the past, a term which modern research tends to reject as new material and information becomes available.⁷ Several dating systems have been proposed for the period, mostly based on site- or region-specific material culture elements. One of the most complete of those (and one used most commonly as a point of reference for other systems) is that of Attica / Athens. There the EIA begins at around 1050 BCE with the Protogeometric phase, and extends through the Early (ca. 900-850), Middle (ca. 850-760) and Late Geometric (ca. 760-720) periods.⁸

If one applies this dating system to the NEA, it is possible to find common points of reference. Recent excavations at Troy have resulted in probably the most detailed chronological sequence available among the early sites of the north-eastern Aegean. It is possible to outline the transition from the final phases of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1180 BCE), to the earliest, clearly post-Bronze Age (Protogeometric) contexts (ca. 1070/1040 BCE onwards) and to provide a relatively secure date for this transition.⁹ In other sub-regions and sites of the NEA, the transition from LBA to EIA is not as clearly evident in the archaeological record. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, I will set the high

⁶ See e.g. Snodgrass 1983; Dickinson 2006; Bintliff 2012; Papadopoulos 2015; see also Kotsonas 2016 (particularly 240-241) for a review of the history of terminology employed for the period in question.

⁷ See Snodgrass 1971; 2006; Desborough 1972; Lemos 2002; Coldstream 2003.

⁸ See Schweitzer 1969; Desborough 1972; Coldstream 1968; 2003.

⁹ See Aslan & Günata 2014, 83-88.

chronological limit of the EIA in the north-eastern Aegean to the mid-11th century BCE, corresponding with the earliest Protogeometric layers of Troy.

Selecting a date for the end of the EIA presents more of a problem. If, as above, we base our model on the Attic timeline, this end date should be placed near the end of the 8th century (ca. 720 BCE). However, the NEA stratigraphy does not perfectly correlate to the Attic model with regards to the end of the EIA. In Troy, for instance, the archaeological evidence argues for relative continuity until ca. 650 BCE; and the same may have been the case for the eastern Macedonian / Thracian regions. However, from ca. 700 BCE onwards, new forms of pottery make their appearance at many sites of the NEA (e.g. G2-3 Ware, orientalisering pottery, Ionian wares). At first glance, their wide distribution argues for overarching changes in material culture. Therefore, for this study, I will compromise, by taking into account the local shift in material culture, and by selecting the end of the 8th century as the endpoint of the Early Iron Age in the NEA. This also corresponds loosely to the beginning of the Archaic period in the central and southern Aegean.

A final problem that needs to be addressed is defining the closing date of the study. The transition from the 7th to the 6th century heralds a considerable mushrooming of archaeological evidence recovered from the NEA, not unlike that observed in the central and southern Aegean. It is also important to note that the period from the 6th century onwards has received considerably more attention in previous scholarship than earlier periods. I specify ‘historical’ because while almost no literary and epigraphical sources from the 7th century NEA are available to us, such sources become increasingly common in the 6th century. As one of the main goals of this study is to explore what conclusions may be drawn for the NEA

in the absence of such evidence, I will choose to place the final cut-off point for my thesis at the end of the 7th century.

In conclusion, I will employ a two-period system for the structural organisation and presentation of this thesis. The first of the two periods will be the ‘Early Iron Age’, extending from the mid-11th century to the end of the 8th century; the second, which I will refer to as the ‘early Archaic period’ will cover the entirety of the 7th century.

Research Questions and Approach

My primary overarching goals for this thesis are to explore the archaeological evidence available for the NEA from the 11th to the 7th centuries BCE, to consider it in its entirety, and to attempt to determine how this material can be best employed to trace the development of the various sub-regions in their wider context (i.e. to piece together a historical narrative of sorts). I aim to distance myself from historical sources of subsequent periods and to avoid extrapolating from them; I also seek to identify any factoids that are accepted as truths in historical accounts and in earlier scholarship, but remain unconfirmed (or have been refuted outright by) the archaeological record.

Therefore, my first research priority was to determine what archaeological (and, if applicable, contemporary historical) evidence is available for the NEA region during the EIA and the 7th century BCE. It was also necessary to consider how this material could be organised and studied in the best and most efficient way; and how to structure the rather extensive corpus of evidence that I would be using as the basis for my narrative in the context of this study.

This stage involved most of the fact-finding in this thesis, and has resulted in my site catalogue (Appendix 1). Therein, I have included information from past publications, yearly institutional fieldwork reports, grey (i.e. unpublished) literature from institutional archives (where given permission to access them) and my own personal observations (where they differ notably from earlier records). I have made it a point to personally visit all sites included in this study; where that was impossible, I have indicated so in the catalogue.

The catalogue is organised on a regional basis (from the north-west to the south-east), followed by a site-by-site basis in alphabetical order; finds from individual sites have been categorised based on the nature of their context. Domestic, settlement contexts are the first major category; funerary contexts and cemeteries the second; and cult, sanctuary contexts the third. This three-axis categorisation serves to facilitate my subsequent commentary on this material. It also greatly helps in drawing comparisons between sites of the NEA and their contemporary parallels from neighbouring regions (e.g. the central and southern Aegean) in an intuitive and well-structured manner.

After assembling the above dataset to my satisfaction, it was necessary to explore whether material from different archaeological contexts could be integrated into a coherent whole. The implied questions here were: how do the individual datasets from each sub-region of the NEA compare to each other? Is there enough material to draw links between various sub-regions (and trace their development over the extended timeframe of the study), or is our overall corpus of evidence fragmentary? Are there notable research gaps? If so, what causes them, and how might they be addressed (if at all)? How might they affect any conclusions we draw?

Upon examination of the evidence, it quickly becomes clear that no simple overarching answer can be provided. The finds recovered from neighbouring regions are often sufficient to support a detailed comparative study; to trace the distribution of material culture elements over geographical boundaries; and to draw parallels and identify differences between sub-regions. The three-axis approach adopted provides considerable help in this, as comparisons between contexts of similar types can be more easily drawn. However, this approach also serves to highlight research gaps in the region, attributable to a variety of reasons including lack of fieldwork, overreliance on brief, non-scientific surface surveys in the past, and considerable delays in the publication of finds from several excavated NEA sites. Nevertheless, while this presented me with considerable problems in integrating specific ‘dark’ sites and, in some cases, entire sub-regions into my analysis, the overall information available to the modern scholar proves to be more than sufficient to render the term ‘Dark Age’ unjustified for the NEA.

What remains necessary is to touch upon the nature of the narrative that I aim to reconstruct based on this material. My focus lies with four central research questions. Firstly, how well does the archaeological material reflect developments in material culture in the EIA? What insight can the distribution and typology of material culture elements (pottery styles, architectural techniques etc.) provide regarding connectivity and interactions between different regions within the timeframe of this study? Secondly, can population movements be traced in the archaeological record, and with how much certainty? What information can one glean regarding their nature and scale? Thirdly, how did communities of the studied periods perceive themselves and each other? What evidence do we possess for the forming of early communal identities, and what factors contributed to this development? Finally, how

were EIA and early Archaic communities structured and organised in the NEA? What indications of social status (i.e. the presence and function of elites) and societal organisation is it possible to identify, and how do these elements change through time?

In order to answer these questions to the best of my ability, I will structure my thesis as follows. Firstly, in three major chapters I will discuss the respective main categories of my dataset (i.e. domestic / settlement contexts, funerary / cemetery contexts, and cult / sanctuary contexts), and I will establish what conclusions I can reach from the separate study of each such category. My approach, priorities, and methodology will necessarily vary for each of them, as the different contexts and types of evidence dictate. Therefore, the reader will find a detailed introduction elaborating on my methods at the beginning of each of those chapters. Following that, I will attempt an overarching, holistic synthesis of my main conclusions in a final chapter. Based on my observations at that point, I will first discuss the nature of the narratives that can be conceivably reconstructed with the available evidence, and address my research questions again, not at the level of a specific category of archaeological contexts but for the entirety of the NEA.

A Matter of Terminology: Colonisation and ‘Apoikism’

As this thesis will focus heavily on matters of population movement (especially during the 7th century) and self-identification of population groups, it becomes necessary to clarify a matter concerning the terminology that I will be employing – specifically with regards to Greek colonisation of the NEA.

The term ‘colony’ (and, by extension, ‘colonist’ and ‘colonisation’) is problematic when used by modern scholars in the context of the ancient Greek world. The modern term

‘colony’ (etymologically derived from the Roman ‘colonia’) when applied to a phenomenon/process dating to the first half of the first millennium BCE is evidently anachronistic, especially given the post-colonial experiences of our modern society and the analogies one could carelessly draw when using the term.¹⁰ Furthermore, the available historical evidence regarding the aforementioned phenomenon largely consists of post-Archaic sources, but it is often given precedence over archaeological evidence.¹¹

It has been shown that the traditional Greek colonisation model, being a product of post-colonial experiences and post-Archaic perceptions on the subject, is fundamentally flawed, no less so because of its generalizing character. Wilson summarised the following elements as the main ‘ideologies’ of a Greek colony:

- the presence of an oikistes leader;
- backing by an oracle (usually Delphi);
- the support of a mother-city (metropolis) which was culturally linked to the colony;
- the violent expulsion of the indigenous populations at the point of landing.¹²

¹⁰ Post-colonial thought is now widely acknowledged as a major influence on traditional approaches to the subject of Greek colonisation. See Shepherd 2005 for a review of such past approaches. In the geographical and chronological context of this study, post-colonial thought has particularly affected our views of the colonisation of Thrace and the Asia Minor coastline. In the words of Owen: ‘The Greek colonisation of Thrace has long been studied with the analogy of modern imperialism in mind. The model of violent conquest and asymmetrical power relationships is strong, despite archaeological evidence which shows mixed Archaic levels in many colonies’ (Owen 2005, 18).

¹¹ Owen 2005, 6-7.

¹² See Wilson 2006.

However, these elements are by no means universally encountered, and it is likely that, in many cases, they were introduced considerably later than the earliest colonisation phases.¹³

The introduction of the above elements should probably be linked to the concept of developing ethnicity:¹⁴ when present, they served as centripetal factors for the eventual forming and strengthening of the shared feeling of belonging that lies at the centre of the concept of an ethnic community. In some cases, they may also have served political purposes by highlighting a real or imagined ‘ethnic’ connection to another ethnic group or polis. What is important to note, however, is that they should by no means be considered elements *sine qua non* in the context of Greek colonisation. In reality, the actual colonisation of a site appears to have been less an event than a continuing process.¹⁵ In fact, it has been argued that the distinction between the organised Archaic ‘colonisation’ and the disorganised EIA ‘migrations’ is an artificial, modern one, and that Greeks did not distinguish between the two.¹⁶

Therefore, any definition of the term ‘colony’ in which specific types of new settlements are excluded (e.g. ‘emporia’ trade stations / settlements) can become artificially

¹³ Wilson 2006, 25 and 44-51.

¹⁴ See Morgan 2003, 10-11 and below, p. 217 onwards.

¹⁵ Osborne 1998, 267-268; Bradley 2006, xiii. This new approach severely reduces the importance of each factor that has been suggested as the major incentive for colonisation: if the colonisation of a site is a continuing process instead of an event, it is reasonable to argue that the colonists’ purpose in relocating varied over time, as conditions changed. Several such reasons have been put forward in the past, including seeking out natural resources and arable land; securing trade routes and raw materials; fortifying the grip of the mother-polis on a nearby region; relieving socio-political pressure in the mother-polis; and even reacting to climatic events. See Wilson 2006, 34 with previous bibliography; also note Cawkwell’s focus on climatic changes (Cawkwell 1992, 292-303). See Domínguez 2011, 202-204 for a re-examination of the above factors.

¹⁶ Owen 2005, 7-8; Wilson 2006, 30.

restrictive¹⁷. In all cases a new community is formed, and it often evolves into a ‘true’ polis.¹⁸ As argued by Osborne and Wilson, the original Greek term ‘apoikia’ (ἀποικία) was a non-technical term, and Greeks rarely (if ever) drew distinctions between population movements, whatever their reasons and purposes¹⁹.

This presents us with an all-encompassing term, which avoids both the fallacy of attempting to impose a generalising colonisation model and the artificial restriction of excluding specific colony types from the definition of the term. Given the above, the terms ‘apoikism’, ‘apoikia’, and ‘apoikist’ will be used in this study instead of ‘colonisation’, ‘colony’, and ‘colonist’, respectively. ‘Apoikism’ will refer to the process of Greek population groups of the central and southern Aegean installing themselves at sites in the NEA. Any settlement founded by such settlers (henceforth ‘apoikists’) will be referred to as an ‘apoikia’.

It must be noted that the term ‘apoikia’ is sometimes used in other studies to define ‘a community created by another community in its own image but on foreign soil’.²⁰ As a result, the term is linked to the concept of the polis, and encumbered with similar nuances as

¹⁷ Bradley 2006, xii.

¹⁸ Hansen (2006, particularly 32-34) has shown that most early settlements, even when originally founded as emporia, either evolved into or were integrated into poleis (autonomous or dependent). The scholar suggests that emporia should be thought of as part of a polis, not as a separate entity. The only occurrence of such an independent emporion during the Archaic and Classical periods seems to be Pistiros, a 5th-century trading station established in inland Thrace (Hansen 2006, 20-23).

¹⁹ Osborne 1998, 252; Wilson 2006, 30. It is noteworthy that terms such as emporion came into use during the Classical period; there is no evidence that early Greeks employed different terms for ‘true’ apoikiai and trading stations (Hansen 2006, 23-30). It is still possible that they differentiated between the two; it is worth mentioning the scholarly discussion regarding 8th-century Al Mina and its potential significance as a ‘Port of Trade’ (see Luke 2003 particularly 1-22 with previous bibliography).

²⁰ Wilson 1997, 205.

the traditional definition of the Greek colony. As shown above, such an approach does not coincide with the original usage of the term.

Settlements and Domestic Contexts

‘τῶν μὲν Ἐννέα Ὀδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ἃς εἶχον Ἡδωνοί’

(Thuc. 1.100)

Introduction

Since the 1960s, the still-evolving fields of ‘settlement-’ and ‘landscape archaeology’ have approached the relevant archaeological evidence in novel and interdisciplinary ways, and have contributed new perspectives and theoretical models for the study and interpretation of the archaeological record.²¹

Settlement archaeology mainly approaches archaeological evidence through a metaphorical wide-angle lens. It adopts a perspective that is as holistic as possible, and seeks to study a site within its wider geographical context: in relation both to landscape features²² and other nearby settlements. As an intuitive extension of this approach, the focus of settlement archaeology studies can be narrowed down. Thus the usage and arrangement of space within a single settlement site can be studied. Finally (and by further narrowing down

²¹ See the terminology-defining article by Trigger (1967) for the earliest settlement pattern studies in the 1950s-60s. See also Willey 1953 for the first, methodology-establishing settlement archaeology surveys and Fish & Kowalewski 1990 for the importance of a complete dataset in settlement archaeology studies. For settlement archaeology in the Aegean, see e.g. McDonald & Rapp 1972 for the earliest Messenia surveys and Renfrew 1972 for the Cyclades. For more recent work, see the publications of the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project in *Hesperia*, (from Davis *et al.* 1997 onwards). See also Sherratt 1996 for a critical review of settlement- versus landscape archaeology.

²² ‘Landscape archaeology’ is difficult to define, and has been used as an all-encompassing term in previous bibliography; see Hu (2012) for a discussion on earlier definitions of the term and on how the advent of GIS technology has affected the archaeologists’ perception of the geographical landscape.

the study focus) it becomes possible to address matters such as the use of domestic space and the activities that were undertaken in it.²³

This requires that the dataset that is available for study has as few research gaps as possible (e.g. incomplete excavations and/or surveys, different surveying methodologies). Provided that is the case, settlement archaeology can be expected to provide insight into a variety of matters. These include, but are not limited to: aspects of societal organisation (e.g. the presence of elites or the functionality of space in a social context); everyday subsistence activities and how they were linked to the surrounding landscape; the size of a community and its development through time; the everyday challenges population groups would have faced; the material culture that characterises a community (including influences from and towards other population groups); and the nature and extent of a population group's interactions with its neighbours.²⁴

Domestic contexts are notably different from ritual and funerary contexts in that they are primarily the result of everyday activity. The arrangement of settlement and domestic space and the typology of domestic material culture may carry symbolic significance; they may be intended to communicate social and cultural norms, gender roles etc.²⁵ However, domestic contexts are also created by the everyday actions of a settlement's inhabitants. In contrast, sanctuary contexts are primarily the result of structured ritual activity with (by definition) inherent symbolic meaning; the same is the case for funerary contexts (which are,

²³ See Trigger 1967, 151-152 and, more significantly, Parsons 1972, 137-146 for a discussion of how these focal points may be best approached.

²⁴ Trigger 1967, 151-152; Parsons 1972, 137-146; Hu 2012, 83-86. Specifically for the early Aegean, see e.g. Nevett 2007, on domestic contexts and how they can serve as sources for information on social and familial structure; Mazarakis Ainian 2007 (particularly 166-168) for spatial organisation with regards to subsistence activities and social structure.

²⁵ See e.g. Fusaro 1982, 13-15; Morris 1999, 306-311; 2000, 113-155.

typically, sealed away and unaffected by everyday activity). This means that evidence from settlement and domestic contexts can be employed as an everyday cultural ‘baseline’, against which all other assemblages can be compared and interpreted: the study of such evidence can illuminate the wider social and ideological context necessary for the study of cult and funerary finds.²⁶

Settlement- and landscape archaeology yields more promising results when focusing on the development and evolution of the studied elements over an extended time period (i.e. what may be described as a *longue durée* approach).²⁷ Furthermore, the quality of any final conclusions is directly affected by the quality of the available dataset and by the geographical extent of the studied region; studying a single site and extrapolating from that can often be fallacious. This thesis, which encompasses both an extensive geographical area and chronological period, lends itself very well to such an approach.

Initial Observations and Approach

This study will selectively adopt approaches common to landscape- and settlement archaeology to better suit the (admittedly fragmentary) dataset. The available evidence will be approached on three levels, loosely corresponding to the *region* (and the relation of single sites to the landscape and to their neighbours), the *site* (and how space is utilised in the context of a single settlement) and, for want of a better term, the *household* (and how domestic contexts in a settlement can cast light on matters regarding everyday life, social roles, and identities).

²⁶ See also below, pp. 122-125.

²⁷ Parsons 1972, 132-135.

Specifically, attention will be given to the following matters, to the extent that the dataset permits.

- Regional topography: Where were settlements located in relation to the landscape and other settlements? Based on what topographical criteria were settlement sites chosen? How were they linked to each other?
- Settlement size and habitation phases: What conclusions may be drawn regarding population size? When were settlements founded? How did population change through time, and what contributed to this change?
- Settlement layout, space organisation, and functionality: How (if at all) was settlement space organised? How does this interior layout change through time, and how does that reflect changes in societal structure and organisation? To what extent can the functionality of the discovered remains (if any) be ascertained? What information does that impart regarding social life in the settlements in question?
- Subsistence activities: How did the local population sustain itself? Are there indications of agriculture and/or pastoralism? Have workshops of any kind been discovered? Can any settlements be identified as having been founded to allow access to natural resources (e.g. metal mining) or to facilitate trade?
- Domestic contexts: What are the finds typical of the domestic contexts in a settlement? What are the architectural norms? Are new elements introduced at any point in time, and (if so) can the circumstances of the change be identified?

In comparison to funerary and sanctuary contexts, the publications and reports referencing EIA and early Archaic domestic contexts are, unfortunately, limited in scope. In general, past fieldwork in the NEA has focused on site-specific topographic surveys and surface scatter collections. This yields a sample of surface finds (usually primarily pottery), and can help in determining the date, size and predominant material culture characteristics of the settlement in question, but can never be as informative as a systematic excavation. Settlement archaeology is mostly dependent on the regional survey as a data provider; however, surveys in the NEA have been organised by different institutions (from local Ephorates of Antiquities to Foreign Archaeological Schools), and there is great variation in their methodologies, goals, and depth of published results.

Those sites that have been excavated present the scholar with an additional set of problems. Many of the sites in question occupy large hilltops and flat tell-like hills,²⁸ or lie under modern settlements. As a result, local stratigraphy is often disturbed by agriculture and/or recent on-site construction works.²⁹ Furthermore, settlements extended over an area of considerable size – larger than that occupied by a sanctuary or a cemetery. The excavation of a settlement in its entirety is a costly, time- and effort-consuming project. Instead, test trenches and partial, rescue excavations of domestic contexts have been the norm so far.

Finally, finds from settlement contexts in the NEA have rarely been prioritised over sanctuaries and cemeteries for publication. Sanctuaries and cemeteries can be approached as distinct temporal and spatial units with clearly determined (and considerably more

²⁸ I will employ this term to refer to hills that bear outward similarities to tells but have not been excavated in depth, and might, therefore, have been natural to some extent.

²⁹ See the Profitis Ilias hill (Poulios 1997), ancient Eion (Koukouli 1987, 423-424), and the Akontisma fortifications (Nikolaidou & Patera 2005, 25).

manageable) limits than those of a settlement with a moderate or long lifetime. Occasionally, even if a settlement is excavated, publication of the finds may never take place (e.g. Pyrrha).³⁰ In such cases, only excavation reports and grey literature may assist the interested scholar, but such sources are not always available for study.

In conclusion, it is imperative to take into account how accurately the available (partial) information is likely to represent the unknown whole. Therefore, for each site this study will include information on the types of fieldwork investigations (e.g. surface survey, excavation) that have taken place. For excavated sites, this thesis will also mention the extent of the excavated area(s) in comparison to the estimated original size of the settlement.

Overview

The number of settlement sites that have yielded material dating to the EIA and early Archaic periods in the NEA is comparatively low, if one considers the more numerous 6th-century assemblages. However, in total, more than 60 settlement sites are known. Specifically (Catalogue / Appendix 1 index number in brackets; see also [Figure 2]):

In Macedonia, in the Strymon river valley, evidence for early settlements has been discovered near Triada (EIA and 7th-century) [14],³¹ ancient Gazoros (EIA) [7],³² and on Hill 133 near Amphipolis (EIA and 7th-century) [1].³³ In the Mt Symbolon / Paggaion environs, early material has been discovered at Eion (EIA and 7th-century) [4], Pithari, near Galepsos

³⁰ See Schiering 1989 (i), 339-346; Note that K. Rouggou, superintendant of the 20th Ephorate of Antiquities, has informed me that new systematic excavations are planned to take place in Pyrrha (pers. comm., 4 June 2014).

³¹ Tolia-Christakou 2008, 496-497.

³² Valla 1997 (i), 846; Valla 1997 (ii), 559, fig. 1.

³³ Lazaridis 1965, 444; Malamidou 2006, 186.

(EIA) [6],³⁴ at the Profitis Ilias [13]³⁵ and Megali Arika hilltops (EIA) [8],³⁶ near Eleutheroupolis (EIA) [5],³⁷ and at Oisyme (EIA and 7th-century) [11].³⁸ Further to the east, on the Nestos river plain, EIA material has been found near Platania (EIA) [12]³⁹ and Dialekto (EIA) [2].⁴⁰ In addition to the above settlement contexts, the 7th-century layers in the sanctuary of the Parthenos in Neapolis [10]⁴¹ and the 7th-century cemetery near Gazoros⁴² indicate that those sites were inhabited at the time, but no domestic assemblages have been discovered.

In Thasos, EIA settlement remains have been discovered on the Kastri acropolis [18],⁴³ the nearby Ai-Lias and Popinas Mandra hills [20],⁴⁴ and the fortified hill of Palaiokastros, near modern Maries [19].⁴⁵ EIA and later pottery has been found in the Drakotrypa cave, near modern Panagia [16].⁴⁶ The 7th century is primarily represented on the island by early stratigraphy and finds from the polis and acropolis of Thasos [22],⁴⁷ but there is also evidence for an early Archaic stratum at Skala Sotiros [21]⁴⁸. Finally, one could

³⁴ Malama & Milkaki 2008, 396-398.

³⁵ Poulios 1997, 569-570.

³⁶ Poulios 1984, 271-272.

³⁷ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 332.

³⁸ Giouri & Koukouli 1987, 374-375; Koukouli 1988, 427; 1989, 376; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papanikolaou 1990, 492-493.

³⁹ Peristeri 1990 (i), 470; 1990 (ii), 377-379.

⁴⁰ Poulios 1987, 445.

⁴¹ See Bakalakis 1938 (ii); Lazaridis 1961/2; 1965; Koukouli 1967.

⁴² See Poulios 1995; Valla 1997 (ii); 1998; 2001-2004; 2005; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2006.

⁴³ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1976, 294-299; 1977, 249; 1980, 422.

⁴⁴ Papadopoulos & Bechti 2003, 65-66; 2001-2004, 629.

⁴⁵ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1978, 292-293.

⁴⁶ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1973, 447-448.

⁴⁷ EFA 1961/2, 248-250; Bernard 1964, 87-142; EFA 1968, 362; Bonias 1994, 590; Gimatzidis 2002, 74-77; Ilieva 2009, 111-112.

⁴⁸ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1982 (ii), 324-325; 1988, 423.

tentatively argue for early Archaic activity in the Agios Ioannis bay, although the dating of the material in question is problematic [15].⁴⁹

In Thrace, fortified settlement remains have been discovered near Leukopetra (EIA) [27]⁵⁰ and Linos (EIA) [28],⁵¹ on the Assar Tepe hill near Ergane (EIA) [24],⁵² on the Ai-Giorgis hill near Petrota (EIA) [32],⁵³ and on the hill of the same name near Maroneia (EIA and possibly 7th-century) [29].⁵⁴ EIA stratigraphy has also been discovered in the Makri settlement tell [30]⁵⁵. Securely dated 7th-century material is found only in Abdera [23].⁵⁶

In Samothrace, an EIA fortified acropolis has been discovered on Vrychos hill [40].⁵⁷ Nearby, on the Augerinos [35]⁵⁸ and Agianemi [33]⁵⁹ hills, smaller enclosures and surface pottery (including EIA material) have been surveyed. Traces of EIA/7th-century settlements were discovered at Mantroudia (near Mandal' Panagia) and further north, at Misovouni [37].⁶⁰ Very few remains of questionable but probably similar date were found near the Pachia Ammos beach to the south [36],⁶¹ and a considerable amount of surface pottery (EIA and later) was discovered in Sourvalies, near modern Therma [38].⁶² Finally, some 7th-century finds come from the Ai-Giorgis hill near Palaioiopolis [34]; they have been interpreted

⁴⁹ Papadopoulos 1998 (i), 58-63.

⁵⁰ Eustratiou 2001-2004, 754.

⁵¹ Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni 1991, 477.

⁵² Bakalakis 1958, 104; Tsibidis-Pentazos 1971, 90-93; Tsibidis-Pentazos 1972, 86-90.

⁵³ Tsibidis-Pentazos 1971, 93-94.

⁵⁴ Tsibidis-Pentazos 1971, 97-101; Tsibidis-Pentazos 1972, 90-93.

⁵⁵ Kallintzi 1990, 617; 1992 (ii), 495; Eustratiou 1993, 399.

⁵⁶ Skarlatidou 1989, 569-570; 1992, 689-690; Kallintzi 2000 (ii), 893.

⁵⁷ Matsas 2004, 238-242.

⁵⁸ Matsas 2004, 242.

⁵⁹ Matsas 2004, 242.

⁶⁰ Matsas 2004, 231-232.

⁶¹ Matsas 2004, 231-232.

⁶² Matsas 2004, 234.

as belonging to a sanctuary, but argue for an early phase of the nearby 6th-century polis settlement.⁶³

On Lesbos, EIA material of possibly domestic use has been discovered in the settlements of Antissa [47],⁶⁴ Methymna [52],⁶⁵ Mytilene [53],⁶⁶ and Pyrrha [54].⁶⁷ Seventh-century finds have been recovered from the above sites, but also from Eresos [51];⁶⁸ and a great number of tentatively dated small installations and enclosure walls of uncertain function have been discovered in the western region of the island, between Eresos, Antissa, and Methymna [56].⁶⁹

On Lemnos, EIA settlement remains have been discovered at Hephaestia [42]⁷⁰ and Myrina [45] (although the date of the latter is very tentative).⁷¹ Seventh-century domestic contexts were discovered at both of the above sites, but also at Mikro Kastelli [44]⁷² and on the small island of Koukonisi [43].⁷³

Finally, in Asia Minor, EIA settlement contexts can be identified with certainty at Madytos (Eceabat) [65]⁷⁴ and Troy [72].⁷⁵ Surveys of tells and coastline embankment-like

⁶³ Karadima 1995, 490.

⁶⁴ Chatzi 1973, 519. Also see Spencer 1995 (iii), 35.

⁶⁵ Tsaravopoulos 1987, 481; Archontidou-Argyri 1988, 463-464; Archontidou 1991, 368; Dellaporta 1998, 779; Acheilara 2001-2004, 5; Dellaporta 2001-2004, 554. Also see Spencer 1995 (iii), 45.

⁶⁶ Charitonidis 1961/2, 261-262; Chatzi 1971, 449; Archontidou-Argyri 1988, 454-457; Archontidou 1992, 526. Also see Spencer 1995 (iii), 9.

⁶⁷ Schiering 1989 (i), 339-346. Also see Spencer 1995 (iii), 21-22.

⁶⁸ Charitonidis 1960, 237-238; 1964, 397-398; Archontidou 1993, 420. Also see Spencer 1995 (iii), 29-30.

⁶⁹ Spencer 1995 (i), 85-135; 1995 (iii), 56-58.

⁷⁰ Della Seta 1930/1, 500; Di Vita 1977, 345; Ficuciello 2008, 63-64; Mercuri 2008, 35-38.

⁷¹ Archontidou 1989, 406; 1990, 398; Archontidou-Argyri 1994 (ii); Acheilara 2000, 938.

⁷² Archontidou-Argyri 1986; 1994 (ii), 51, 53-54.

⁷³ Bouliotis 1994, 23; Archontidou-Argyri 1994 (ii), 53.

⁷⁴ Sazci 2013, 34-37; 2014, 325 2015, 543.

⁷⁵ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 291-296; Korfmann 2000, 30-32; Korfmann 2001, 26-27; Aslan 2002, 83-86; Aslan 2009, 37-40; Aslan & Günata 2014, 86-96.

hills in the Troad and northern Aeolis have also allowed the tentative identification of EIA material at Hamaxitus [61],⁷⁶ Larisa [64],⁷⁷ Kalanuro Tepe [63],⁷⁸ Kizçiftligi [71],⁷⁹ on the hill of Hatipler Kalesi [62],⁸⁰ and at Pinarbasi [59].⁸¹ Seventh-century material has been recovered from most of the above sites and also from Elaious [60],⁸² Sigeion [69],⁸³ Rhoiteion [70],⁸⁴ and Antandros [57],⁸⁵ with the presence of settlements also being inferred by the discovery of contemporary cemeteries at Neandria [66]⁸⁶ and Assos [58].⁸⁷

No EIA domestic contexts have had dedicated publications, but quite detailed periodical reports of excavation finds are available for sites such as Amphipolis (Hill 133), Pithari, Kastri, Linos, and Eceabat. Most EIA sites are only known through surveys and surface pottery collection. This is particularly the case with sites from Thrace (Leukopetra, Petrota, Maroneia, Makri), Samothrace (all EIA sites), and Asia Minor (see above). The

⁷⁶ Cook 1973, 231-232.

⁷⁷ Calvert 1861, 253-255; Cook 1973, 218-219; See also the TAY Project entry on the site: ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=9899&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=9899&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web) ; Last accessed 10 February 2017).

⁷⁸ See the TAY Project entry on the site: ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=8896&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=8896&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web) ; Last accessed 10 February 2017).

⁷⁹ Beksac 1999, 115-116. See also the TAY Project entry on the site: ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=8954&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=8954&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web) ; Last accessed 10 February 2017).

⁸⁰ Pirson 2012, 241. See also the TAY Project entry on the site: ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=11620&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=11620&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web) ; Last accessed 10 February 2017).

⁸¹ See the TAY Project entry on the site: ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=10636&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=10636&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web) ; Last accessed 10 February 2017).

⁸² Waiblinger 1978, 843-857; see also Loukoupoulou 2004 (ii), 906.

⁸³ Schäfer 2011, 239-260.

⁸⁴ Cook 1973, 79-83. See also the TAY Project entry on the site: ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=10059&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=10059&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web) ; Last accessed 10 February 2017).

⁸⁵ Polat & Polat 2005, 93; Polat *et al.* 2009, 3-4.

⁸⁶ Koldewey 1891, 14-18; Bayne 2000, 230-234.

⁸⁷ Clarke *et al.* 1902, 221-293 (particularly 293, fig. 1-4) for the first, early 20th-century excavations in the cemetery; Utili 1999 in general for the main publication and particularly catalogue entries CXk3/Fst1=GR10 (356), DXf/6/ Fst35=GR50 (357), and DXg/6/Fst39=GR56 (357); also Stupperich 1990; 1992; 1993; 1996; 2006 for early and post-publication excavation reports.

detailed findings of Blegen *et al.* from Troy have been published in their entirety.⁸⁸ This is not yet the case for the more recent finds from the Cincinnati / Tübingen excavations, although their publication is ongoing, and the excavation reports are highly detailed.

Seventh-century settlements are somewhat better presented. Thasos has yielded 7th-century material from the so-called ‘Bernard’s Trench’, published in the late 60s,⁸⁹ and recent excavation reports from the ancient asty area serve to cast more light on the period. Detailed reports (but not publications) also exist for Hephaestia.⁹⁰ Excavation reports are the sole source of information about many of the remaining 7th-century sites, including major settlements like Oisyme, Abdera, and the other poleis / settlements of Lemnos and Lesbos. On the other hand, surveys and surface material collections provide what little information we have for most of the 7th-century sites from Macedonia, the Ai-Lias and Palaiokastros hills from Thasos, and most of the early Archaic sites of the Troad.

Interpretation and Discussion

The Region: Topography and Site Selection

The study of settlement sites in their geographical context (and in relation to other occupied sites of their period) can serve as a primary starting point in determining the major factors and priorities that contributed to site selection (e.g. defensibility, access to traffic networks, availability of specific resources). Admittedly, adopting a deterministic stance presents its own dangers, especially if one’s conclusions are based, as in our case, on partial

⁸⁸ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 245-302 for the EIA contexts.

⁸⁹ Bernard 1964, 77-146.

⁹⁰ Della Seta 1930/1, 500; Di Vita 1977, 345; Ficuciello 2008, 63-64; Mercuri 2008, 35-38.

evidence. Nevertheless, changes and interregional differentiation in site selection and topography can still provide identifiable patterns and valuable insight.

EIA and 7th-century sites in the Strymon (Hill 133, Gazoros, Triada), the Aggites (Eleutheroupolis, Platania), and the Nestos river plains (Dialekto)⁹¹ are all located on the foothills of the surrounding mountain ranges [Figure 3, Figure 4]. They all occupy naturally defensible positions, but also overlook considerable areas of arable land at the edges of the river plains (i.e. they do not focus on defensibility to the exclusion of everything else and they are by no means inaccessible). The same is the case for Eion, east of the Strymon mouth and most LBA / EIA settlements discovered in modern Thrace (Leukopetra, Linos, Assar Tepe, Maroneia) [Figure 6].⁹² It is tempting to reach the conclusion that the inhabitants prioritised sites that were easy to defend and that controlled an area sufficient to provide the settlement with sustenance and resources.

This is where a deterministic approach presents its dangers, and where the holistic nature of the dataset of this study proves to be an asset. Defensibility may not necessarily have been a prime concern throughout the studied region. Admittedly, no settlements have been brought to light on the central areas of the river plains – but does absence of evidence equal evidence of absence in this case, or is it due only to the extensive cultivation, flooding (and similar destructive processes) these areas have undergone? The cemeteries found in the

⁹¹ See Appendix 1, [1], [2], [5], [7], [12], [14].

⁹² See Appendix 1, [4], [24], [27], [28], [29].

modern riverbeds of Kossynthos and Filiouris⁹³ argue for still undiscovered settlements nearby and for a denser and more varied settlement pattern than that preserved for us today.

The settlements along the Macedonian (Neapolis, Oisyme, Pithari, Profitis Ilias) and Thracian (Makri) coastline are also of high interest [Figure 4].⁹⁴ They too are located on low hills and fortifiable sites, but most of them do not overlook extensive arable areas. Instead, they are placed so as to have general oversight over sea approaches and coastal routes (e.g. Profitis Ilias, Makri) or, in the specific case of Neapolis and Oisyme, the entirety of the Kavala Gulf and the northern coastline of Thasos. Other settlements (e.g. Petrota)⁹⁵ seem to be placed in such a way as to control and /or facilitate the use of specific routes through the landscape. In the case of Petrota, the hill is located midway through a mountain pass that connects the coastal zone of modern western Thrace to the river plains further inland.

If we compare the site selection and topography of Macedonian and Thracian settlements to those of Thasos and Samothrace, it is possible to see how similar considerations (defensibility, sustenance, networking, and traffic control) might have been prioritised in these islands. Kastri –possibly the largest and certainly the best-explored EIA settlement of Thasos– is remarkably defensible and difficult to approach from the south (although, notably, the excavations did not focus on the crown of the hill, and the presence of any early fortifications remains unconfirmed), and controls one of the most accessible routes from the south of the island towards the interior [Figure 5, Figure 29].⁹⁶

⁹³ See Kallintzi 1998 (ii); Kallintzi 2001-2004 (iii); and Triandafyllos & Kallintzi 1998 for the Kossynthos cemetery; Triandafyllos 1973-74 for the Filiouris cemetery. It is also worth noting that we can find examples of EIA and early Archaic river-plain settlements in western Macedonia (e.g. Kastanas).

⁹⁴ See Appendix 1, [6], [10], [11], [13], [30].

⁹⁵ See Appendix 1, [32].

⁹⁶ See Appendix 1, [18].

On the other hand, Kastri lies some distance away from the fertile plains of southern Thasos and from the coastline. Should this be interpreted as an indication of limited agricultural focus for Kastri? Certainly, to some degree, especially if one takes into account the installations in Ai-Lias, Popinas Mandra, and Koukoudies. These sites are all visible from Kastri and within an hour's walk from it: they are likely to have been satellite installations to the main settlement. Such installations would provide important benefits to Kastri: they would considerably add to the effective viewshed of the settlement, and they would also help extend the territory under its control. It is notable, however, that very little of this territory appears to have been arable land. Subsistence activities in Kastri, therefore, may have also focused on pastoralism or securing seafood through control of traffic routes.⁹⁷

The nearby, small 7th- and 6th-century site at Agios Ioannis provides a good example of a more isolated site, with no extensive area under its control and no apparent concern for defensibility [Figure 27]. The earliest datable activity at Agios Ioannis seems to have taken place ca. 50-100 years after the decline of Kastri,⁹⁸ but, upon examination of the southeastern Thasian coastline, one can easily identify similar bays and small seasonal stream valleys that might have hosted comparable EIA installations, linked to the Kastri sphere of influence.

The settlement in Palaiokastro presents an example of alternative prioritisation [Figure 30].⁹⁹ It lies on a defensible hill, at the edge of the Limenaria arable plain and near

⁹⁷ Agriculture was definitely a part of the subsistence activities in EIA Kastri, as evidenced by the grindstone and (to a lesser extent) the large storage pithoi uncovered in the apsidal buildings. However, it is interesting to note that the same context also yielded a considerable amount of sea-shells, which could only have been procured through contact with the coastal areas (see Appendix 1, p. 722).

⁹⁸ See Appendix 1, [15].

⁹⁹ See Appendix 1, [19].

the foothills of a south-western spur of Mt Hypsarion. The Limenaria plain, while not comparable to the vast Strymon and Nestos river plains, is one of the largest agricultural regions of Thasos. Therefore, the site selection of Palaiokastros brings to mind the settlements of the Macedonian and Thracian river plains, with a clear focus on defensibility and agricultural subsistence. In addition to the above, Palaiokastros also lies at the mouth of the Maries valley, one of the best routes for access to the hinterland of the island.

Attempting an interpretation of the site selection for the settlements of Thasos proper and Skala Sotiros is considerably more problematic. Skala Sotiros lies at the southern end of the large Prinos plain, but attempting to draw links with the settlements of the Macedonian and Thracian river plains is, in my opinion, fallacious: despite the proximity of several fortifiable hills within 1 km of the settlement remains, the settlement was founded directly on the coast.¹⁰⁰ No concessions to defensibility are evident; instead, the settlement appears to have been placed in such a location as to allow oversight and ease of maritime traffic in the Kavala Gulf.

Thasos itself is founded at the north-east coast of the island, around the easily defensible acropolis hill [Figure 32, Figure 115]. Pottery and sculptures from the acropolis sanctuaries indicate that the hill was occupied from at least the mid 7th century onwards.¹⁰¹ The settlement is perfectly placed to minimise sailing distance to the opposite coastline and to the delta of the Nestos River, while also dominating the eastern mouth of the Neapolis / Kavala Gulf. Furthermore, the settlement extends over the edges of a small coastal alluvial plain, fed by seasonal streams from the surrounding hills. This is not one of the largest plains

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix 1, [21].

¹⁰¹ See Appendix 1, [22].

of the island, but it is sufficient to support a growing settlement, and it is also enclosed and protected by steep hills towards the south.

If the Thasians had wished to prioritise agriculture, the Panagia plain, located ca. 7 km (more than two hours' walk) to the south-east of Thasos would have served as a considerably more suitable alternative. Instead, it is reasonable to conclude that Thasos was founded with defensibility and maritime traffic control in mind. Furthermore, its oversight of the opposite Macedonian coastline might indicate the intention of its inhabitants to extend their sphere of influence to the mainland.

On Samothrace, settlements are distributed along the northern side of the island (Sourvalies, Ai-Giorgis / Samothrace) and along what Matsas rightly identified as a 'crescent' along the western / south-western slopes and spurs of Mt Saos (Vrychos, Augerinos, Agianemi, Mantroudia, Krimniotissa) [Figure 7]. The inhabitants of Sourvalies and Ai-Giorgis appear to have prioritised proximity to the sea, extensive overview of maritime traffic and, to a lesser degree, defensibility (more in the case of Samothrace than Sourvalies).¹⁰² It is also worth noting that these two sites are located at the tips of two northern spurs of Mt Saos: these spurs form the relatively small coastal plain of Ano/Kato Kariotes and Therma, which may have provided subsistence to the settlements in question. The northern part of the Kamariotissa plain (near modern Potamia) may also have been included in the territory / chora of Samothrace.

The settlements of the south-western crescent, on the other hand, are -with the exception of Krimniotissa- located at a considerably higher altitude, further up the slopes of

¹⁰² See Appendix 1, [34] and [38].

Mt Saos. They are all either fortified or located in highly defensible locations, and parallels could be drawn with EIA refuge settlements of the central and southern Aegean islands.¹⁰³ However, it must be noted that these settlements had not, necessarily, abandoned the rather extensive arable lowlands around modern Kamariotissa in favour of defensibility. The plains can be reached with less than an hour's walk from Vrychos, Mantroudia, and the Augerinos / Agianemi enclosures. In fact, GIS viewshed- and least-cost path analysis suggests that these settlements were perfectly placed to control the western plains of Samothrace, while also being located along the shortest routes from the south to the north of the island [Figure 7, Figure 43-Figure 44].

On the islands of Lesbos and Lemnos, all major settlements (EIA and early Archaic) are located on coastal hills, near arable territories [Figure 8, Figure 9].¹⁰⁴ Two possible exceptions to this are Mytilene on the eastern coast of Lesbos and Myrina on the western coast of Lemnos. Both sites are located on fortifiable coastal hills, but arable land nearby is limited and segmented over multiple small valleys and coastal areas (e.g. the coastal plains to the north and south of Mytilene, and the hilly ground to the east of Myrina).¹⁰⁵ Very little evidence for early fortifications is preserved in those major sites (later poleis), but the site topography clearly indicates a preference for locations that provide some extent of defensibility, while remaining open to sea traffic. Natural harbours are preferred (e.g. Mytilene, Antissa, Hephaestia etc.), but are not a prerequisite (e.g. Eresos).

¹⁰³ See Appendix 1, [35], [36], [37], and [40]. Crete provides the best parallels for refuge settlements, dating to the end of the LBA and the beginning of the EIA; see e.g. Nowicki 2011, 438-443. However, it must be underlined that the Samothrace settlements are neither as distant from the sea nor as isolated / hidden as their Cretan predecessors and contemporaries. Instead, there is a clear attempt to secure inter-visibility and connectivity between the sites.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix 1, [47] – [45].

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix 1, [53] and [45].

Of some interest are the enclosures / fortifications / installations found in the western part of Lesbos, outside the immediate vicinity of major settlements. They are fascinating in their uniqueness as rural installations in the NEA; their function is by no means clear. Surface scatter from the sites is insufficient to provide a safe date for them, but Spencer's study of the lesbien masonry techniques used in their construction indicates that most were constructed in the 7th and 6th centuries.¹⁰⁶ Spencer has also shown that these structures were, as a rule, too small to support a permanent garrison, and as such, their interpretation as military outposts is problematic.¹⁰⁷ It might be that they served as semi-fortified homesteads or holdings of elites, but in some cases the topography of the installations seems to argue against this. The following points should be noted.

A significant number of enclosures lie near the coast: these are located so as to maximise their field of view. This is particularly the case with those located on the northern coast, in the territories of Methymna and Antissa. Seaside hills and capes are preferred over all other locations, and even those enclosures which are not located near the sea are placed on the hill- and mountain tops in the interior that overlook as much of the northern coast, the Methymna Strait, and the opposite Asia Minor coastline as possible. The installations built along the western coast of the Kalloni Gulf seem to have been placed with similar considerations in mind, i.e. maximizing the area visible from the installation, especially sea approaches and coastal areas. In particular, the site of Xirokastrini [Figure 191], near the north-western coast of the Kalloni Gulf, stands apart from other Lesbien enclosures because of its sheer size (in contrast to other installations, it is more than large enough to support a

¹⁰⁶ Spencer 1995 (iii), 53-64.

¹⁰⁷ Spencer 1993, 173; also, see Appendix 1, [56].

permanent garrison), its defensibility, and its impressive oversight of the entirety of the Kalloni Gulf, the Arisbe arable plain, and every major route from the central area of Lesbos towards the south-west.¹⁰⁸

In contrast, the site selection for installations found in the hinterland area between Antissa and Eresos seems to argue for different prioritisation. Much less effort is expended to secure a wide field of view. In some cases, enclosures are tucked into the slopes of a valley, with limited visibility; it would, theoretically, have been possible to more than double the area they overlooked by placing them less than a few hundred metres away, at a higher altitude. What prompted this site selection remains unclear, but one could argue for an attempt to secure control of the pathways through the hinterland of western Lesbos.¹⁰⁹

The Asia Minor coast presents a relatively unified picture with regards to site topography: all but a few settlements were located near the coastline, in arguably defensible locations [Figure 10-Figure 12]. The coast of the Troad and the Chersonese, in particular, provide several embankment-like hills located directly on the sea-shore, which have proven to be highly preferred locations for 7th-century settlements. Earlier installations are very rare; sadly, the map of Asia Minor appears to be almost empty during the EIA. This is almost certainly due to research gaps – in my opinion, mostly the lack of excavation works and the overreliance (at present) on brief surface surveys.¹¹⁰

Proximity to arable plains is a *condicio sine qua non* for all but very few of the aforementioned settlements. The Scamander / Hisarlik plain (and its neighbouring river

¹⁰⁸ Spencer 1995 (iii), 27.

¹⁰⁹ Spencer 1993, 161-174.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix 1, [408]-[431]

valleys and smaller plains) are prime candidates for this, as are the Edremit and Caicus plains further to the south; most of the listed settlements lie on or at the edges of those plains. However, connectivity via sea lanes also appears to have been a prime concern: it is telling that 14 out of 18 listed Asia Minor sites lie directly on the coast. In some cases, Antandros being a prime example, it appears that this connectivity was preferred to securing arable territory: the Antandros chora is dominated by low hills near the coast and mountains further to the north, which compare unfavorably to e.g. the river plains north of Assos. On the other hand, its extensive viewshed, its proximity to Lesbos, and its control over the Adramyttian Gulf might hint that its inhabitants aimed to control maritime traffic and trade in the area.

Some commentary regarding the obvious exceptions to the above rules is required. The most (apparently) striking exception is Neandria, located in the hinterland of the Troad, on the granite mountain range of Çigri Dağ [Figure 68].¹¹¹ At first glance, this is a site that places defensibility above everything else, yet a closer look shows differently. Firstly, least-cost path analysis indicates that the arable plains to the west of the mountain west and the Scamander river valley to the east are located ca. an hour's to 90 minutes' easy walk from the settlement – they are well within reasonable / expected distance for the chora of a settlement. Furthermore, while not lying directly on the shortest or easiest paths that link the north of the Troad to Aeolis, the site is perfectly placed to overlook both the coastal plains and the inland Scamander valley, thus providing a bridge of sorts from the coastal to the hinterland zones. Neandria does appear, in fact, to be situated so as to secure a satisfactory

¹¹¹ See Appendix 1, [66].

level in all aspects of the defensibility / subsistence resources / access to traffic networks trifecta.

Another two sites that differ considerably from the common coastal settlement paradigm are the Çevrim Tepe and Hatipler Kalesi fortified hilltops [Figure 61, Figure 64]. These are both inland, relatively small, and still unexplored sites; it is unclear whether they corresponded to only small, rural fortified installations, e.g. of a military nature, or whether they served the role of acropolis-like central fortifications for more extensive (and still undiscovered) settlements. In any case, both sites lie close to (less than one hour's walk from) and overlook large arable plains (the Scamander and Caicus river plains, respectively). More importantly, they are placed to control major traffic lanes. Çevrim Tepe is strategically placed in the mouth of the Araplar strait, and controls all traffic linking the Scamander river plain and mouth to the Scamander river valley in the hinterland. Hatipler Kalesi, in contrast, lies directly on the path that connects all coastal sites north of the Caicus River to southern Aeolis and Ionia.¹¹²

In conclusion, we note minor variations along four major basic settlement types. These types are characteristic of different regions and time periods (see below).

1. Inland settlements in the borders of river plain areas, situated around or on the foothills of mountain ranges (e.g. Hill 133, Gazoros). These settlements are typical of EIA eastern Macedonia and Thrace.¹¹³

¹¹² See Appendix 1, [59] and [62].

¹¹³ It is difficult to find contemporary topographical parallels for this type of settlement, partly because the large river plains of the region have few comparable parallels in the south. In the central and southern Aegean, they may best be compared to acropoleis hills of larger settlements in the Peloponnese and/or central Greece. In the context of the northern Aegean and the southern Balkans, parallels might best be sought in the

2. Defensible inland settlements, located some distance away (ca. an hour's walk) from arable territory (e.g. Kastri). These settlements are primarily encountered in EIA Thasos and Samothrace.¹¹⁴
3. Settlements on coastal hills / tells near arable plains (e.g. Galepsos / Pithari, Eresos, Sigeion). These settlements are quite common throughout the studied period in many sub-regions.¹¹⁵
4. Coastal settlements with limited access to arable territory (e.g. Mytilene, Antandros). These settlements are mostly found in early Archaic mainland regions (eastern Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor).¹¹⁶

Connectivity and strategic placement of sites to control traffic (maritime or land-based) vary considerably between settlements of the same type.

Type 1 settlements are the commonest known type in EIA and early 7th-century eastern Macedonia and Thrace (e.g. Hill 133, Gazoros, Linos, Assar Tepe etc.), while also being encountered (to a considerably lesser degree) in EIA Thasos (Palaiokastros) and in Asia Minor (Troy, Çevrim Tepe).

On the other hand, in the coastal areas of Macedonia and Thrace, Type 3 settlements are the commonest type. They are considerably fewer than Type 1 settlements, and during

EIA peak sanctuaries of the Rhodope mountain range and the Evros / Maritsa river plain in modern Bulgaria (see Bozhinova 2012, 56, 60).

¹¹⁴ As mentioned above (see n. 103), refuge settlements from the southern Aegean (e.g. Crete) are the best near-contemporary parallels for those sites, with the Thracian settlements in inland Rhodope being likewise comparable. From a topographical perspective, some parallels can also be drawn with Geometric / Archaic inland settlements in the Cyclades (e.g. Xombourgo) (see Kourou 2004, 430-436).

¹¹⁵ A relatively common settlement type, both in northern Greece (e.g. Mende, Thermi, Methoni etc.) and in the central Aegean (e.g. Lefkandi, Emporio on Chios).

¹¹⁶ Note that, in this case, 'limited' is relative to the above categories 1-3, and refers to sites where access to the nearest arable plains is blocked by hilly / mountainous terrain. This does not mean that agricultural land was unavailable, but simply that access to it was comparatively difficult.

the early phases of the EIA they seem to be concentrated primarily on the Thracian coast (e.g. Makri, Maroneia). Further to the west, the first indications of human occupation at EIA sites on the eastern Macedonian coast (specifically the Kavala Gulf, e.g. Neapolis, Oisyme) appear to date to the 8th and early 7th centuries BCE. This corresponds to contemporary developments in the Chalcidike, the Thermaic Gulf, and Pieria.

The early 7th century also appears to be the period in which the Type 2 Kastri acropolis in Thasos falls into decline. It is possible that the south-western crescent (Type 2) settlements in Samothrace were also abandoned at this point, but unfortunately their lifespan has not been adequately explored. It is telling, however, that this is the phase in which Type 3 settlements make their appearance in the islands of Thasos and Samothrace: the Early Bronze Age settlement at Skala Sotiros is once again occupied, the earliest layers of human occupation are visible in the polis of Thasos proper, and the early material from the Agios Georgios acropolis near the northern coastline of Samothrace appears to date to this phase as well. In conclusion, it seems that along the northern coastline and the two northern islands (Thasos, Samothrace), a shift towards coastal settlements took place during the transition from the 8th to the 7th century.

The causes of this change in site selection criteria are impossible to identify with certainty. However, the simultaneous increase in activity near coastal zones and the wide distribution of late 8th- and early 7th-century pottery types (e.g. G2-3 Ware) along these coastal sites seem to indicate that the populations of the northern sub-regions gradually joined a widening network of maritime contacts linking them to the rest of the NEA. Interestingly, the founding of these new settlements was not initiated by newly arrived apoikoi, as it apparently took place several decades before the appearance of imported pottery

from the southern Aegean. The initiative for this observed increase in connectivity appears to have lain firmly with the pre-apoikism populations.

The inhabitants of Lemnos and Lesbos may have taken steps towards developing such maritime networks before the 7th century. There is, admittedly, little evidence from the EIA for both islands, but 8th-century contexts from Hephaestia and even earlier (10th- and 9th-century) contexts from the Antissa and Mytilene apsidal sanctuaries indicate that the above sites were inhabited a considerable time before the 8th- to 7th-century transition. Perhaps unsurprisingly for island populations, the inhabitants of EIA Lemnos and Lesbos seem to have selected their settlement sites with a preference for maritime networking and control, rather than settling the potentially more defensible interior of the islands.¹¹⁷ This tendency finds a direct continuation in the many 7th-century settlements (eventually poleis) that are located (with the sole exception of Arisbe) on coastal hills (Type 3 and 4 settlements). It also critically indicates that whatever factors caused the populations of e.g. Samothrace to establish Type 2 defensible settlements during the EIA did not affect EIA Lesbos and Lemnos.

Finally, it is, unfortunately, impossible to trace any kind of EIA – early Archaic transition regarding the settlements of the north-western Asia Minor coastline. Research gaps prevent us from assembling a meaningful map of EIA installations, from determining criteria for site selection, and from studying changes or continuity on those matters: there are simply insufficient known EIA settlements to support any discussion of the topic. Notably, however, the vast majority of the new settlements which appear to be founded during the late 8th and

¹¹⁷ For Lesbos in particular and maritime / overland networks to the Asia Minor hinterland see Spencer 1995 (i).

7th centuries are Type 3 and Type 4 settlements. It is clear that the inhabitants prioritised access to maritime traffic and it might be valid to theorise that the post 8th-century settlements in the Troad and northern Aeolis were founded on the coastline because of a lack of territory control over the far hinterland. However, whether these settlements were truly products of new site selection criteria and whether the Asia Minor coastline was integrated in the wider postulated network of maritime connections during the early 7th century is unclear. The uniformity in material culture between Lesbos, Lemnos and Asia Minor in earlier periods (e.g. the wide distribution of EIA Aeolian Grey Ware in all of the above areas) argues for considerable interactions between the islands and the mainland before the 7th century, and might be an indication of continuity in site selection criteria. Systematic excavation of surveyed Asia Minor sites, with the purpose of uncovering potential EIA layers and examining EIA settlement topography, would help shed light on the matter.

The Site: Settlement Extent and Layout

Ideally, if one is to draw any safe conclusions from the general spatial organisation of a settlement (e.g. centralised habitation vs. *kata komas* dispersion) and from its internal layout, these aspects of the settlement need to have been explored thoroughly. A detailed topographical study of the settlement environs provides valuable information, but the internal layout of a site can only become truly evident if that site is excavated to a sufficient extent.

Such detailed information sources are generally unavailable for the early NEA; nevertheless, alternative options do exist. Surface surveys can provide significant insight into habitation density and the original extent of an occupied site. When studied in conjunction with major architectural remains (like fortifications, roads, and other large structures), this

evidence can help illuminate the degree of nucleation of a settlement and reveal much about the settlement social structure.

Before continuing, a short note on terminology: an element common in many of the studied sites is a hilltop, around (or on) which the settlement was located.¹¹⁸ Henceforth, the term *acropolis* will be employed (generically and with no implication of polis-like social organisation) to refer to these hills.

As seen above, some variety in settlement topography can be discerned between EIA eastern Macedonian, Thracian, Thasian, and Samothracian sites. *Acropolis* in these sub-regions rise to a considerable height over the surrounding landscape and their slopes fall off relatively sharply as a rule; but they vary considerably in size. Based on the total hill crown area (or based on the enclosed area, where fortifications exist), we can divide these *acropolis* into two major categories: those that measure under or around ca. 10-15,000 m² (e.g. Kastri, Petrota, Vrychos, Augerinos: primarily Type 2 settlements) [Figure 29, Figure 42, Figure 44] and those that measure above or around ca 50,000 m² (e.g. Hill 133, Maroneia, Gazoros: primarily Type 1 settlements).¹¹⁹

Some suggestions for reconstructing the extent of specific settlements have been put forward in previous research. The most characteristic example is that of Hill 133 which in the past has been interpreted as the core of an extensive decentralised *kata komas* settlement

¹¹⁸ Some settlements do not possess a clear *acropolis* hill. These sites include Makri in Thrace, Skala Sotiros in Thasos, Sourvalies in Samothrace, Koukonisi in Lemnos, and Trikopi Çiftlik and Pitane in Asia Minor. All of the above settlements are located on near-flat ground, in coastal areas. See Appendix 1, [21], [30], [38], [43], [68], and [71].

¹¹⁹ As a point of comparison, the Xeropolis tell in Lefkandi measures upwards of 54,000 m²; the Zagora fortified area in Andros measures a comparable 55-56,000 m², and the settlement and *acropolis* of Emporion in Chios measure 75,000-100,000 m².

cluster [Figure 13].¹²⁰ However, this theory is solely based on the discovery of 6th-century burials scattered throughout the surrounding landscape and on historical sources of considerably later periods. No actual settlement remains have been found to support this interpretation.

In fact, it is worth noting that where surface material has been recovered in the mainland Macedonian / Thracian sub-regions, it has been always concentrated around the acropolis of the settlement or across an area of comparable size. This is typical of various sites throughout the region, and cannot simply be attributed to the deposition of the surface finds. Triada provides an excellent example of a site known only through surface surveys: the surface scatter covers an area of more than 60,000 m², comparable to that of the largest acropolis category [Figure 26]. A more interesting example is found in Dialekto, where the surface finds cover an extensive, 200,000 m² area, but are mostly concentrated in a smaller, 40,000 m² zone [Figure 14]. This, in my opinion, is quite significant: Triada and Dialekto do not possess an acropolis, and yet they present us with evidence of a core settlement area. This argues in favour of EIA settlements in eastern Macedonia and Thrace being considerably more nucleated and organised around a core area than might be suggested by the aforementioned *kata komas* model.

An additional argument in favour of the above is provided by the LBA / EIA hilltop enclosures found in Thrace (e.g. Assar Tepe, Maroneia) [Figure 34, Figure 39, Figure 131, Figure 140]. They are built in rough drystone, founded directly onto the bedrock, and are quite thick. Despite the fact that their superstructure has mostly collapsed, they are still an

¹²⁰ Malamidou 2006, 186-188.

impressive sight, and their course can be traced with no difficulty [Figure 132]. Their construction represents the investment of significant, co-ordinated and concentrated effort towards the establishment of a major permanent installation. It is also worth noting that they commonly include relatively large buildings, built with the same loose rock masonry.¹²¹ In the past, Baralis has suggested that the largest of these acropolis (such as, indeed, Assar Tepe and Maroneia) were, in fact, seats of authority in a complex hierarchical social system, and served both as strongholds and dwellings of the elite in the river plains. Smaller enclosures in the mountainous Rhodope hinterland might have only served as seasonal and/or pastoral installations.¹²²

Thasos and Samothrace present us with a different picture. Indeed, most known EIA settlements on those islands belong to the smaller acropolis category (<15,000 m²), and (perhaps more significantly) are found in relatively close proximity to each other. The Kastri cluster in Thasos (Kastri, Popinas Mandra, Ai-Lias, Koukoudia) [Figure 29] and the southwestern crescent in Samothrace (Vrychos, Augerinos, Agianemi, Mandroudia) are both examples of relatively small settlement site groups [Figure 43-Figure 44]. This argues for a more decentralised, *kata komas* system of settlement groups –with some sites (like Kastri and Vrychos) perhaps serving as core locations.

Interestingly, the EIA acropoleis of Samothrace are quite similar to their Thracian analogues in regards to construction techniques, with two major differences. On the one hand, the fortification of Vrychos demonstrates considerably more attention to its masonry construction than all Thracian parallels: the wall has two faces of (roughly) worked stones,

¹²¹ See below, p. 68.

¹²² Baralis 2008, 102-105.

filled with smaller stones and rubble.¹²³ This might mean that Vrychos had served as a main core site in the south-western crescent cluster. On the other hand, however, no large buildings have been discovered in the interior of the Samothracian enclosures. This (and their smaller size) makes it unlikely that they served the exact same function as their Thracian parallels.

As was established above, considerable changes in settlement topography in the northern sub-regions occurred during the 7th century, with the introduction of coastal Type 3 and Type 4 settlements. However, one can observe remarkable continuity in settlement size and space utilisation. Large hills (usually with a crown of 30-50,000 m²) continue to serve as cores of settlements, which extend over the hillsides. The entirety of the sites can measure up to ca. 200,000 m² or more, as in previous periods. Neapolis is an excellent example of such a site: the settlement covered the entirety of the modern ‘Old Town’ and was clustered around the acropolis / castle hill [Figure 22]. The cape on which the settlement lies measures an almost exact 200,000 m².¹²⁴

In Thrace, Abdera provides us with a notable outlier. The 7th-century settlement appears not to have possessed an acropolis. The low, coastal hill to the south of the 7th-century fortification wall has yielded only small quantities of unstratified 7th-century pottery and no early architectural elements. Furthermore, it was, apparently, excluded from the settlement fortifications. These fortifications represent an enormous undertaking, with no parallel in the contemporary NEA. The base was constructed with rough stones, laid directly onto the bedrock, while the upper part of the wall would have been built with mudbrick. By comparison, the preserved foundation is half as thick (4-4.5 m) as the total width of the

¹²³ See Appendix 1, [40].

¹²⁴ Once again, we may only extrapolate from later periods. It is worth noting that the Classical city wall encloses the cape in its near entirety; see Lazaridis 1971, fig. 69.

second phase of the fortification wall of Old Smyrna¹²⁵ and built without apparent bonding material (possibly to facilitate drainage). The length of the walls is astonishing: it is possible to estimate the extent of the enclosed area at over 800,000 m² [Figure 33]. This clearly goes beyond the fortifying of a citadel space, and suggests that the settlement was fortified in its entirety. The enclosed area is, notably, considerably more extensive than our previous estimates of Macedonian and Thracian EIA and early Archaic settlement sizes. Does this mean that the settlement was respectively larger in population size than the regional average? Such an interpretation would certainly justify the effort invested in the creation of this enclosure. However, it is also possible that the enclosure wall served a secondary function, that of an escarpment against the frequent flooding of the marshland on which Abdera was built [Figure 123, Figure 124].¹²⁶ Therefore, its extent and course may have been dictated less by the size of the settlement and more by the geomorphology of the area: it is worth noting that the northern stretch of the wall lies along a low earthen ridge that could have served as a suitable natural foundation.

Very little 7th-century evidence is available for Samothrace, but the settlement of Thasos itself provides another excellent example of the Macedonian / Kavala Gulf settlement layout model. Seventh-century pottery, sculpture, and architectural remains found on the twin-peaked acropolis and its slopes demonstrate that at least part of the settlement occupied the eastern part of the subsequent Classical polis. Excavators have identified parts of a 6th-century fortification wall near the 7th-century sanctuary of the Artemision and tentatively traced its course from the acropolis to the harbour. Once again, the area enclosed roughly

¹²⁵ Nicholls 1958/9, 41, 123-124.

¹²⁶ For the geomorphology of the area, see Syrides & Psilovikos 2004, 356-359; for the health problems this may have caused the Abderites see Skarlatidou 1986, 105-106; Agelarakis 2004, 335-336.

equals 200,000 m², including the sanctuaries of Athena and Apollo on the acropolis, the Artemision near the fortification wall and the subsequent agora site [Figure 32, Figure 115].¹²⁷ This does not necessarily mean that the 7th-century settlement solely occupied this area, but it does correlate with our previous observations about settlements on the mainland opposite. All other 7th-century settlement sites on the island (e.g. Skala Sotiros, Agios Ioannis) appear to have covered a considerably smaller area, and are likely to have been peripheral komae.

Having established the above for the northern sub-regions, it is time to focus on the islands of Lemnos and Lesbos. Evidence for EIA settlements is very limited on both islands, but the sites of Pyrrha and Mytilene are of considerable interest, and their topography might provide some tentative insight into how settlement space was organised. Pyrrha was located on a large (but relatively low) coastal hill, with a total surface area of ca. 200,000 m² and a smaller acropolis rise [Figure 57], while Mytilene occupied a coastal islet (now joined to the island of Lesbos) of similarly extensive size (more than 300,000 m²) [Figure 56]. Both geographical features are notably distinct from their surrounding landscape, and are comparable in surface area to the largest EIA surface scatters of the Macedonian / Thracian river plains. We may, therefore, conjecture that the majority of the EIA Mytilene and Pyrrha settlements were laid out on the island and hill respectively; this is further reinforced by the rescue excavations that have taken place at both sites. Very limited pre-7th century contexts have been unearthed beyond the limits of those geographic features.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Blondé *et al.* 1999, 56-57

¹²⁸ Spencer (1995 (i), 277-281) argues that the PG settlement of Mytilene extended beyond the Euripos strait, which used to separate the acropolis islet from the rest of Lesbos: he lists as supporting evidence the Lemnaios-plot apsidal building (clearly identified as a sanctuary) and an unpublished PG burial, both found just to the west of the strait in question. However, upon closer examination, none of those contexts is sufficient

What information we have for 7th-century Lemnos and Lesbos reinforces the conclusions drawn from the limited EIA contexts; there is little differentiation from 8th-century and earlier sites. Myrina on Lemnos and Methymna, Antissa, and Eresos on Lesbos appear to have occupied an area of the (by now) usual ca. 200,000 m² extent. However, two settlement sites may have been considerably more extensive.

Firstly, in Mytilene, domestic contexts dating back to the early Archaic period have been discovered on the western side of the Euripos strait that used to separate the small coastal island of Mytilene from Lesbos.¹²⁹ This indicates that by the 7th century at least, the settlement had expanded to both sides of the strait.

Secondly, it has been shown that the settlement of Hephaestia definitely occupied the western side of its peninsula, near the isthmus connecting it to the rest of Lemnos.¹³⁰ This would also have secured the rest of the peninsula for the settlement, giving a total surface area of more than 600,000 m². However, in contrast to Abdera, where the enclosure wall provides a clear indication of the limits of the settlement, there is no clear evidence to show that Hephaestia was extensive enough to cover the entirety of the available peninsular area [Figure 45].¹³¹

to serve as evidence for the settlement extending beyond the Euripos strait. Sanctuaries and burials might have been placed beyond the limits of the settlement; in fact, the presence of the PG burial makes it more likely that the area in question lay beyond the settlement itself.

¹²⁹ See Appendix 1, [53].

¹³⁰ Ficuciello 2013, 114-116 and 160-163, with previous bibliography.

¹³¹ Traces of a fortification wall have been discovered in the north-eastern and western part of the peninsula, but their date is uncertain; in all likelihood, they belong to the Hellenistic period. The 600,000 m² estimate for the settlement given above is based on the limits established by this wall (Ficuciello 2013, 99-100 with previous bibliography). The peninsular area beyond the north-eastern fortification contains several quarries, which were employed for the construction of the houses and fortification of the polis (Camporeale *et al.* 2008, 197-205).

Finally, with regards to 7th-century Asia Minor sites, we face considerable problems in determining the extent of the identified settlements, especially since their exact date (7th- or 6th-century) is often uncertain. The Asia Minor coastline has yielded only two notable EIA fortifications (Çevrim Tepe, Hatipler Kalesi) [Figure 61, Figure 64].¹³² They are both built in drystone, and bring to mind some of the smaller Thracian parallels. On the other hand, large embankment-like hills and settlement tells (of which some of the most characteristic are found in the Sigeion ridge and along the coastlines of the Hellespont) are very extensive, ranging from the ca. 140,000 m² of Sigeion itself to ca. 450,000 m² of Rhoeteion [Figure 71, Figure 72]. While these hills often rise a considerable height above sea-level (with their falloff towards the sea being quite steep due to coastal erosion), their slopes towards the inland are very gentle. The term ‘acropolis’ is difficult to justify for these sites, as no separate citadel area is evident. Maydos is a notable outlier, with a relatively small size (at ca. 18,000 m²) and relatively steep slopes [Figure 67].

Unfortunately, all these tells incorporate layers that correspond to the late Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and, in some cases, the Roman periods; their total surface area is not necessarily representative of their 7th-century extent. Pitane (where no settlement tell is evident) presents us with a similar problem, and brings to mind Hephaestia: while the long peninsula occupied by the settlement is quite extensive (measuring over 400,000 m²), there are no means to determine how much of it was occupied during the 7th century [Figure 70].

Nevertheless, the two sites of Assos and Antandros on the southern Troad coastline are of particular interest. Their layout is quite reminiscent of island (particularly Lesbian)

¹³² It is worth recalling that the date proposed for Çevrim Tepe is tentative at best (see Appendix 1, [59]). Removing it from consideration only emphasises the lack of EIA architectural remains from the Troad and northern Aeolis.

settlements. Unlike the contemporary tell settlements of the northern Troad and the northern Aeolis, they possess a distinct coastal acropolis comparable in size to island parallels, as well as an estimated total settlement area of 200-300,000 m² [Figure 59, Figure 60].¹³³ This cannot be coincidental when one takes into account their location, directly opposite the northern coast of Lesbos: it is more than likely that the inhabitants of Lesbos contributed significantly in the founding of these settlements, and applied their own paradigms to the Lesbian peraea.

In conclusion, while determining the internal layout of NEA settlements will require further systematic excavations, it is still possible to put forward some evidence-supported conjectures regarding settlement space organisation, settlement size, and the extent and nature of settlement nucleation in various sub-regions.

As an overall observation, it is interesting to note the differentiation between the small 10-15,000 m² sites and the larger, ca. 50,000 m² acropoleis. The latter almost always serve as the centres of more extensive settlements, the presence of which can either be confirmed through excavation or inferred from surface finds. These settlements consistently cover a surface area of ca. 200,000 m², which appears to be the typical size for EIA and early Archaic settlements in eastern Macedonia and Thrace (e.g. Dialekto), early Archaic Thasos (e.g. 7th-century Thasos itself), and finally, EIA and early Archaic Lesbos and Lemnos (e.g. Mytilene, Myrina). Acropolis / fortified hills that cover a considerably less extensive surface area are primarily found in EIA Thasos and Samothrace (e.g. Karphi, Vrychos), with a

¹³³ Our settlement size estimate in this case is mostly based on the topography of the settlement cemeteries, which we assume were located directly outside the settlement limits as is the case with most contemporary sites in the region. See Polat & Polat 2005, 93-98; Polat 2013, 191-192 for Antandros; Utili 1999 for the Assos cemetery publication. Habitation contexts at the foot of the acropolis have only been (incompletely) explored in Antandros (see Appendix 1, [57].).

significantly smaller presence in Thrace (e.g. Petrota) and the Troad (e.g. Çevrim Tepe, Hatipler Kaleşi).

It is my belief that the larger settlement sites correspond to a more nucleated structure of core settlements, while the less extensive acropolis represent a more decentralised model of (possibly semi-permanent), komae-like settlements. The latter system (of multiple decentralised population centres) is almost exclusive to EIA Thasos and Samothrace, and it appears to decline in favour of core settlements during the 7th century: most of the minor sites in question appear to have been abandoned during the early Archaic period.

On the other hand, the eastern Macedonian and Thracian regions provide several examples of major core settlements from as early as the EIA. This argues for extensive and permanent early population centres, comparable to the late 8th- / early 7th-century settlements founded near the coastline and on Thasos. This is of particularly high significance, as it indicates that the Greek poleis / apoikiai (established from the 7th century) did not introduce the concept of nucleated sites in the northern regions; in fact, newly arrived apoikoi may have settled on pre-existing major settlement locations (e.g. Thasos, Kavala, Oisyme).¹³⁴

Interestingly, Lemnos and Lesbos also seem provide evidence for primarily core sites from as early as the EIA. Centralised settlements, directly comparable to northern parallels, appear to have been the norm on both islands. It is also important to note that these settlements seem to have grown steadily in size: Mytilene, for instance, seems to have expanded beyond the Euripos strait during the early 7th century. These population centres proved to be a very successful model in the islands, arguably developing into early poleis

¹³⁴ Note that the degree of urbanisation of these early core settlements is debatable. Morgan (2003, 47-69) employs the term 'Big Sites' for similar instances in central / southern mainland Greece.

from as soon as the beginning of the 7th century. Even more importantly, Assos and Antandros appear to have closely followed the island paradigm, with distinct citadel hills and a comparable surface area to 7th-century Lesbian settlement sites.

The other Troad settlement hills are mostly comparable to major settlements from other sub-regions in surface area. Notably, however, they possess no central acropolis: something which sharply differentiates them from their NEA contemporaries. Unfortunately, the limited exploration of early contexts in the region does not allow us to draw any safe conclusions regarding the actual spatial arrangement, layout or true extent of these settlements. Further exploration of the Sigeion ridge and the western Troad coastline should, hopefully, shed light on these matters.

The 'Household': Architecture and Domestic Space

The general lack of excavation data and of detailed publications presents us with a limited and diffuse dataset of houses and domestic structures datable to the period of this study. Nevertheless, those buildings that have been brought to light provide considerable insight into architectural norms and, to a more limited degree, the arrangement of domestic space.

Within the Thracian acropoleis discussed above, remains of relatively large buildings are preserved. These buildings are elongated apsidal and rectangular structures, with multiple transverse walls and internal rooms. Although none have been systematically excavated, their complicated floor plan is still evident today. They are usually partly integrated into the fortification wall circuits, while smaller round or rectangular structures are distributed within the enclosed area. They can be loosely dated to the end of the LBA and the early years of the EIA based on the handmade pottery recovered from their interiors, but their function remains

unclear. They may have been communal areas or large storage facilities, but the most likely interpretation (as put forward by Baralis)¹³⁵ is that they served as dwellings and seats of power for the local elite [Figure 131, Figure 140].

The Samothracian acropoleis have yielded no parallels for these large buildings. Vrychos, Agianemi, and the small settlement of Mandroudia / Misovouni have produced small circular and rectangular buildings which are comparable to the smaller structures in the Thracian acropolis.¹³⁶ These buildings have not been excavated, with the exception of Vrychos (where only partially-preserved foundations came to light),¹³⁷ so there is very little to hint towards their actual function. They appear to have been simple, single-room dwellings, or storage facilities; the potential elite structures of the mainland are conspicuous in their absence.

The information available on domestic architecture for EIA Thasos brings to mind the Thracian sites discussed above. There are clear similarities between the EIA stone structures of Ai-Lias and Popinas Mandra and the small storage buildings in the Thracian and Samothracian acropoleis. Perhaps more significantly, on the Kastri acropolis, two large EIA apsidal post-hole buildings were brought to light. One of them was a domicile and/or dedicated to the preparation of food,¹³⁸ with several rooms defined by internal transverse walls; the other has, unfortunately, not been explored to the same degree. Storage facilities containing large pithoi were excavated nearby. It is tempting to link these large apsidal houses to the similarly large buildings of the Thracian acropolis; however, it must be noted

¹³⁵ Baralis 2008, 102-105; see also above, p. 60.

¹³⁶ See Appendix 1, [24], [29], [33], [35], [37], [40].

¹³⁷ Matsas 2004, 242.

¹³⁸ See Appendix 1, [18], p. 314.

that their construction techniques differ considerably, as the Kastri buildings lack the stone foundations of the contemporary Thracian structures. If one overlooks the considerable length of time (up to a century) that separates the two sites, it would also be tempting to compare these two buildings to the EIA finds from Oropos. There, ‘it has already become clear that each building compound consists of a main residential (?) (apsidal) building, serving also for formal symposia and housing certain cult activities, a second ‘twin’ building serving basically household and/or artisans’ activities, and a number of auxiliary buildings’.¹³⁹

The settlement of Thasos has also yielded partial remains of apsidal buildings, in the Bernard Trench area. These are 8th-century structures (i.e. of considerably later date than the Kastri examples) with a stone foundation. Unfortunately, their internal stratigraphy provides no hint of their function, although they are succeeded by layers which exhibit evidence of metallurgical activity.¹⁴⁰

The sites of the Thasian peraea have yielded no EIA domestic architecture, but Oisyme provides us with valuable insight into EIA building techniques. In an 8th-century destruction layer on the settlement acropolis, near the subsequent sanctuary, burnt remains of a clay coating were discovered. They bear traces of straw and wicker fibres, and the excavators have interpreted them as roof remains.¹⁴¹ It is equally likely that they had formed part of wattle-and-daub walls. This would easily match with the evidence for post-hole buildings from other contemporary sites, including Kastri.

¹³⁹ Mazarakis Ainian 2007, 158.

¹⁴⁰ See Appendix 1, [22], p. 322.

¹⁴¹ Giouri & Koukouli 1969, 374; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papanikolaou 1990, 492.

Further to the east, in the Chersonese, Maydos provides another example of an EIA apsidal building. Its foundation is built with small loose stones, and its upper walls had in all likelihood been mudbrick. Its interior is divided with transverse walls, and it contains a single hearth, with some evidence for food preparation. Several post-holes were discovered in its immediate surroundings, but it is not clear whether they should be attributed to a second building.¹⁴²

On the islands of Lemnos and Lesbos, very little EIA secular / domestic architecture has been preserved. On Lemnos, the most important example of such architecture is, without a doubt, the Hephaestia late 8th- / early 7th-century elite house, near the New Sanctuary; it was quite large, with multiple rooms, an internal courtyard, and a hearth. Even more importantly, it was a rectangular structure, something that sharply differentiates it from most of the previously mentioned examples. The functional division of its internal space argues for an elite residence; the subsequent repurposing of the house for use as what appears to be a votive storage / deposit building with internal benches for the nearby sanctuary by no means conflicts with this interpretation [Figure 164].¹⁴³

On Lesbos, Antissa has yielded a small apsidal building, constructed in lesbian masonry, and probably contemporary to the EIA / early Archaic putative ‘sanctuary’ excavated by Lamb. It clearly served as a metallurgical workshop, as indicated by the large amounts of iron slag that were recovered from its interior. It is very interesting to note the similarity between what must have been secular architecture and what has been put forward as an early sanctuary at the same site. This further accentuates the problem in identifying

¹⁴² See Appendix 1, [65].

¹⁴³ Appendix 1, [42], p. 862.

early sanctuaries which forms such an important part of general studies of EIA cult architecture.¹⁴⁴ The Antissa metallurgical workshop provides a possibly significant parallel for Hephaestia, where traces of such activity are also encountered in the vicinity of the elite dwelling and the New Sanctuary area; and also for Thasos, where the Bernard Trench finds argue for metalworking near the Artemision (see above).

Finally, on the Asia Minor coast, EIA domestic contexts have only been explored at Troy. They date to the 9th-8th centuries, and are located in sector D9, where a food preparation area came to light, characterised by numerous hearths, small plaster circular structures (possibly meant for the sun-drying of food), and a built oven.¹⁴⁵ The site has yielded no domestic contexts whatsoever past the mid 7th century.

Having established the above for the EIA, it is possible to proceed to the 7th century. Here, domestic architecture is remarkably (and surprisingly) limited, compared to the earlier periods. For instance, the eastern Macedonian and Thracian coastline has yielded no residential remains. On the other hand, the few such contexts found in other sub-regions argue for gradual changes.

For instance, in Thasos, partially preserved 7th-century apsidal walls, with a rough stone foundation, are still found near the 8th-century contexts; earlier construction techniques may still have been in use during the early years of the Greek settlement. However, polygonal masonry is introduced within the 7th century, following similar developments in the rest of the Aegean world, and new building designs also make their appearance. A late 7th-century rectangular house, built in polygonal masonry with a main room, a courtyard, and an interior

¹⁴⁴ See e.g. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 270-298.

¹⁴⁵ See Appendix 1, [72].

hearth, has been found to the north of the Artemision, under a later housing district.¹⁴⁶ The appearance of rectangular domiciles in sites where apsidal buildings had been the norm can be interpreted as an indication of early urbanisation.¹⁴⁷ However, it must be noted that this building still consists of a single room and might represent a transitional design.

Lesbian masonry is (unsurprisingly) the commonest preserved building technique in Lesbos from at least the 7th century onwards and, arguably, even before that in its possible early forms.¹⁴⁸ At Methymna, lesbian masonry is encountered both in strong terrace walls near the Dapia area and in the construction of the three 7th-century storage (?) buildings near the entrance to the modern settlement.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, lesbian masonry (and its simpler and/or earlier variation, the ‘fish-bone’ style) is by far the commonest masonry style employed in the construction of the rural Archaic enclosures and the small, single-roomed structures they often contain [Figure 190, Figure 191].¹⁵⁰ Unfortunately, no domestic contexts beyond fragmentary walls exist from the period. The same is the case with Lemnos, where the only 7th-century potentially domestic contexts consist of partially preserved Archaic walls, built with rough stones, near the southern harbour and the Tsas hill in Myrina.¹⁵¹

Finally, the Troad once again yields minimal architectural remains. The Archaic metallurgy furnace found at Sigeion is not joined by any domestic contexts, and its exact

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix 1, [22].

¹⁴⁷ Mazarakis Ainian 2001, 150-157 with previous bibliography.

¹⁴⁸ Spencer 1995 (iii), 53-56.

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix 1, [52].

¹⁵⁰ See, e.g. Koutlougouni and Megalos Lakkos (Spencer 1995 (iii), 37, 39-40).

¹⁵¹ See Appendix 1, [45].

date is uncertain.¹⁵² At Antandros, early bench houses are reported, but no further information has yet been made public regarding their exact date or construction.¹⁵³

In closing, it is clear that much of the evidence available from the NEA brings to mind contemporary parallels from other Aegean regions. Apsidal and oval buildings are commonly encountered at NEA sites: either simple post-hole structures (such as the one found at Kastri) or more permanent buildings, with a stone foundation and/or stone walls (such as the one found at Maydos). Such buildings are equally common in the rest of the Aegean during the EIA, with secular parallels mostly found in mainland areas including the Peloponnese (e.g. Nichoria, Asine), the Euboean Gulf (e.g. Oropos, Eretria), and the Asia Minor coast (e.g. Old Smyrna).¹⁵⁴ In the NEA, they are found in both mainland (e.g. Maydos) and island sites (e.g. Kastri, Antissa).

Many alternative reconstructions have been suggested for the superstructure of apsidal buildings in the central and southern Aegean; unfortunately, EIA buildings in the NEA are so poorly preserved (or published) that it is impossible to discuss potential reconstructions of their superstructure.¹⁵⁵ Based on the available information, NEA examples do not particularly stand out from their southern contemporaries – there appear to be no construction techniques that are exclusive to the region. The apsidal building of e.g. Maydos would not seem out of place in Asine, Nichoria or Oropos.

¹⁵² See Appendix 1, [69].

¹⁵³ See Appendix 1, [57].

¹⁵⁴ See Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 43-113 with previous bibliography.

¹⁵⁵ See Fägerstrom 1988, 99-103, 106-110. One possible exception is Oisyme, which provides us with no early foundations but, instead, has yielded burnt fragments of either wattle-and-daub walls or clay-coated roofing.

The function of these buildings further reinforces this observation. They served as dwellings, as spaces for food preparation and consumption, as workshops, and in some cases as storage areas. Apsidal buildings in the central and southern Aegean served the same functions.¹⁵⁶ What is present in other regions but conspicuously absent in the NEA is information on peribolos walls, terraces, and similar means used in antiquity to define building clusters and organise settlement space. For instance, household complexes in enclosed spaces are a typical occurrence in Oropos, Euboea, Pithekoussai, and other Aegean sites.¹⁵⁷ This permits the study of the function of the building cluster as a whole. In the NEA, there are only two cases where multiple buildings could be tentatively linked to each other. The first case is the Kastri acropolis with its post-hole buildings. The second is Antissa, where a metallurgical workshop borders the apsidal sanctuary area. In both cases, the impression that we can form brings to mind Oropos, where domestic, cult, and workshop activities are hosted in buildings sharing the same enclosed space.¹⁵⁸

Of considerable importance are the large buildings found in the eastern Macedonian / Thracian acropoleis. While there is no evidence for masonry techniques beyond drywall construction with rough, relatively small stones, we may still conclude that the large, multi-roomed structures indicate the presence of a local elite; particularly when compared to the smaller, simpler, rectangular or circular structures that are also present in many of the northern sites.

Tentative parallels for those buildings may be identified in so-called ‘peak settlements’ or ‘peak sanctuaries’ in the Balkan regions north of the Rhodope mountain

¹⁵⁶ Mazarakis Ainian 2007, 158-160.

¹⁵⁷ Mazarakis Ainian 2007, 161-163.

¹⁵⁸ See above, p. 70.

range.¹⁵⁹ However, to my knowledge, none of the LBA / EIA acropoleis included in this study have yielded evidence that might indicate cult activity on-site.¹⁶⁰

Conclusions

In closing, the study of secular (settlement / domestic) NEA contexts may contribute to our historical narrative in the following ways.

Regarding eastern Macedonia and Thrace, it is relatively safe to conclude that large, centralised settlements, with a distinct acropolis and an active social elite, were typical from as early as the LBA-EIA transition. This is evidenced by the extent of the surveyed and excavated sites and by what little information we have regarding the layout of sites such as Assar Tepe. Site defensibility, securing agricultural land, and placement near important traffic routes appear to have been premium concerns, in that order of priority, with many of the discovered settlements placed along the edges of the agricultural plains, or near important river and mountain passes.

It is likely that settlements were also founded on the river plains themselves, possibly in a bid to secure more land for agriculture or winter pastures. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know with certainty to what extent the river plains themselves were settled and to safely reconstruct the relevant settlement patterns, because no actual EIA or 7th-century settlement sites have been discovered in these areas. The only evidence for human presence in the river

¹⁵⁹ Whether the sites in question were, indeed, sanctuaries is still debatable. See Bozhinova 2012 (particularly p. 56).

¹⁶⁰ See below, p. 122 onwards for my methodology on sanctuary identification.

plains proper comes from funerary contexts which were not linked to any discernible settlement.¹⁶¹

Settlement patterns on the nearby islands of Thasos and Samothrace are quite similar to each other. Both islands seem to adopt a less centralised model than that observed on the eastern Macedonian and Thracian mainland. Surface scatters and settlement sites seem to be smaller than mainland acropoleis, and there are no direct comparanda for seats of elite power (such as the larger buildings at Thracian sites), with the possible exception of the post-hole buildings at Kastri. Furthermore, Thasos and Samothrace do not provide their inhabitants with the extensive agricultural plains of the mainland; the site selection for EIA settlements seems to argue for a subsistence model based more on pastoralism in the island hinterland regions. It is possible that these island settlements served as refuge points to some extent, as attested by their defensibility, their distance from the sea, and (in the case of the Samothracian sites) their enclosures / fortifications. It is worth noting that there are very few examples of EIA coastal population centres on Thasos and Samothrace (e.g. Sourvalies);¹⁶² this argues for at least a partial withdrawal from the coastal areas during this phase. Nevertheless, there is archaeo-zoological evidence (e.g. from Kastri in Thasos) that fishing remained an important subsistence activity for the inland settlements. It is possible that maintaining a minimal presence near the sea facilitated the founding of new coastal settlements during the 8th-to-7th century transition, and contributed to the development of early Archaic maritime networks in the region.

¹⁶¹ See below, p. [92].

¹⁶² It is worth remembering that Sourvalies is a topographically isolated case, and does not belong to the typical south-western 'crescent' of EIA settlement sites in Samothrace. See Appendix 1, [38].

During the EIA, the islands of Lemnos and Lesbos and (even more so) the Troad are comparably dark, with current research providing only minimal material evidence for settlement contexts. However, what information we do have does not seem to fit into the same model as the northern islands. Firstly, there is evidence for island settlements directly on the coast (although, admittedly, in fortifiable locations) from at least the mid-late EIA onwards (e.g. Mytilene, Hephaestia, Pyrrha). The only (tentatively dated) EIA fortified inland settlements are the Çevrim Tepe and Hatipler Kaleşi hills, in the Troad and northern Aeolis respectively. This indicates that maritime networking and traffic were more pronounced in the eastern sub-regions (Lemnos, Lesbos, and Asia Minor) than in contemporary Thasos and Samothrace. Secondly, these early settlements were founded in natural formations (capes, large coastal hills) with extensive surface areas. It is reasonable to infer (although, admittedly, hard evidence on EIA settlement size and layout is lacking) that there was a need to reserve this area and that EIA settlements were large and nucleated, reminiscent of the eastern Macedonian and Thracian major sites rather than the small acropolis on Thasos and Samothrace.

The 8th-to-7th century transition heralds considerable changes, including the increase of maritime activity in both northern (eastern Macedonia, Thasos, Thrace, Samothrace) and eastern (Lemnos, Lesbos, Asia Minor) regions.

New, large settlements were founded near the coast (e.g. in Thasos and the Kavala Gulf), while earlier inland installations such as Kastri and Vrychos were abandoned. Notably, these developments took place before the appearance of the first southern / central Aegean wares in the stratigraphic sequences of the sites in question: the shift may have been influenced and encouraged by early probing of the area by future apoikoi, but it took place

before the founding of the Greek apoikiai. The initiative to found these new settlements does not lie with some newly-arrived population group; it is, in fact, the earlier inhabitants themselves who respond to changing circumstances. There seems to be no need for the small refuge sites of earlier periods, and the coastal areas appear to offer significant advantages in connectivity, subsistence, and political organisation over the hinterland. Specifically, settlements grow and nucleate; the available (admittedly fragmentary) evidence is insufficient to determine the exact process which took place, but by the 6th century, the process of urbanisation and nucleation is complete, and the first poleis of the NEA are comparable in population size and area controlled to those of the central and southern Aegean.

Unfortunately, very little domestic architecture is preserved for the 7th century. One notable exception is the late 8th- / early 7th-century elite house in Hephaestia. This multi-roomed building is of particularly high significance, as it reinforces the conclusions we can draw from funerary evidence regarding the existence of a local social elite and its close link to the New Sanctuary cult.¹⁶³

The second quarter / mid 7th century heralds the appearance of the first major settlements which could be linked to population movements and the first evidence for apoikism. The earliest Parian colony levels in Thasos and its peraea date to this period, as does the fortification wall in Abdera. The finds from Thasos are of considerable interest as they provide us with examples of both apsidal and early rectangular houses. Further

¹⁶³ See Della Seta 1927/9, 713; 1930/1, 500; Messineo 1988/9, 379-425; Beschi 1992/3, 271-273; 2005 (i), 95-220; 2005 (ii), 821-822 and 837-844; Ficuciello 2008, 63-68 for the local cult.

fieldwork in Thasos might significantly improve our knowledge of settlement spatial arrangement, domestic architecture, and the urbanisation process in NEA sites.

During the same period (early-mid 7th century) the earliest embankment-like, coastal settlements make their appearance in the Chersonese, the Troad, and northern Aeolis. Some of these sites might have been occupied during the LBA, but there is little to no evidence for continuity throughout the EIA. The current evidence suggests that the above sub-regions become more closely linked to the rest of the NEA by taking advantage of the expanding maritime trading networks of the time.

These networks could, arguably, have been more important for the economy and subsistence of a settlement than agriculture or pastoralism, especially given the rise of Type 4 coastal settlements (with limited arable chora) during the early Archaic period throughout the NEA.¹⁶⁴ Sadly, the available evidence is insufficient to confidently address matters of everyday subsistence activities during the 7th century.

¹⁶⁴ The widely distributed trading amphorae characteristic of the period show that these networks extended throughout the NEA and as far west as the Thermaic Gulf and Thessaly; see below, p. 198.

Cemeteries and Funerary Practices

*‘ὕμᾱς δ’ ἰόντας τοῖσιν ἐν τείχει χρεῶν
Πριάμῳ τε καὶ γέρουσι σημῆναι νεκροὺς
θάπτειν κελεύθου λεωφόρου πρὸς ἐκτροπᾶς.’*

(Eur. *Rhes.* 879-881)

Introduction

Funerary practices do not exist in a vacuum. They are inherently reflective of the socio-political and religious ideologies of their time, and evolve as organically as any other expression of a community’s identity. In the words of Parker-Pearson: ‘That the dead do not bury themselves [...] is the starting point for consideration of the social context in which an individual’s death was celebrated and commemorated’.¹⁶⁵

Funerary assemblages can, therefore, provide valuable insight into matters of social structure and local identities, on everyday life in a community, and on the relationship between a population group, its history, and the geographical landscape in which it existed. What conclusions may be drawn is primarily dictated by the available material: they may involve matters of societal organisation (social strata, presence of elites, family structure); social symbolism and roles (age and/or sex-based differentiation, social roles as reflected in funerary customs); the size of local communities during different time periods; the length of

¹⁶⁵ Parker-Pearson 1993, 203. Also, Whitley 2003, 33: ‘Burials are not to be regarded as random samples of the material items current at the time of deposition. They represent the products of human choice, mediated by and responsive to the needs of the culture and society.’

time specific population groups were active in a region; and the challenges (war, disease, famine etc.) that the communities faced. It is also possible to trace contacts with neighbouring or more distant regions; interactions between population groups and trade; and even differentiation in the material and symbolic value of objects, in the context of different communities and different time periods.

However, it is fallacious to study singular funerary contexts in a single temporal ‘snapshot’. It has been convincingly argued that, in such cases, ‘it is impossible to derive universal rules [...] that govern the relationship between societies and their self-representation in death’, due to the difference between the ideological structure of past societies and that of the modern observer.¹⁶⁶ This difference can distort the interpretation of the archaeological evidence and of its original symbolic / social significance (if any), and lead to circular argumentation.¹⁶⁷

The solution to this problem is the study of funerary assemblages not as standalone units in time (individual graves or specific practices) but as evolving wholes (cemeteries).¹⁶⁸ This *longue durée* approach, promoted, among others, by Bloch¹⁶⁹ and Whitley,¹⁷⁰ can, in my opinion, be reinforced by a similar approach towards the geographical context of the material. Comparison of contemporary practices between neighbouring regions can, potentially, be as informative as the study of their evolution in a single site. This dissertation,

¹⁶⁶ Whitley 2003, 32.

¹⁶⁷ See Ucko 1969 for the dangers in such an approach; see also Morris 1987, 36-43 and Parker-Pearson 1993, 203-205.

¹⁶⁸ The term ‘cemetery’ will be used conventionally in this study to refer to any collective funerary assemblages, including large horizontal cemeteries, grave cluster cemeteries, megalithic burial structures etc. No particular organisation of space or number of graves is implied.

¹⁶⁹ See Bloch 1981.

¹⁷⁰ Whitley 2003, 195.

which encompasses an extensive geographical area and chronological period, is particularly suitable for such a *grande angle* approach.

Much like contexts linked to cult and religion, funerary contexts are shaped through ritual action, and represent a decision (conscious or not) of their contemporary survivors to emphasise particular elements of the deceased's identity 'according to their own needs and interests'.¹⁷¹ The artificial nature of funerary contexts makes their examination in comparison to contemporary everyday / domestic contexts necessary if one is to gain any insight into 'how identities were realised rather than [...] what they were'.¹⁷² For this purpose, relevant, non-funerary material will be referenced where available; see also the discussion of domestic contexts above and of material culture in general, below.¹⁷³

Initial Observations and Approach

Renfrew has compiled a short hierarchical list of valid information sources for the study of cult behaviour,¹⁷⁴ which Morris adapted for his study of funerary remains.¹⁷⁵ Unfortunately, two of the most important listed sources (records of funerary practices and eschatological themes) are available in other regions of the Aegean (e.g. the extensive funerary iconography found in LG Attic pottery) but not in the EIA and early Archaic NEA.

Therefore, the only reliable information sources available to us are the funerary contexts and assemblages themselves. In this chapter, we will focus specifically on the following aspects of funerary contexts and on their evolution through time.

¹⁷¹ Morris 1987, 38-42; Whitley 2003, 33.

¹⁷² Whitley 2003, 34.

¹⁷³ See above, p. 68 onwards; and below, p. 191 onwards.

¹⁷⁴ Renfrew 1985, 12.

¹⁷⁵ Morris 1987, 36.

- Cemetery topography: Where are cemeteries located in respect to the regional geographical context (e.g. hilltops, slopes, plains, waterways, the sea) and in respect to the settlements they were linked to (e.g. distance from settlements and position relative to them; visibility and access)?¹⁷⁶
- Cemetery size and dating: How extensive were cemeteries (in the sense of number of graves)?
- Cemetery layout: How are graves distributed within the cemetery (e.g. even distribution vs grave clusters; groupings based on sex / gender, social status or other criteria)?¹⁷⁷
- Funerary practices: Which types of graves (e.g. enchytrismoi, cist graves, *in situ* cremations, cremation burials) are encountered in each cemetery and in what frequency? Is there any observable differentiation based on sex / gender, age or other criteria?
- Typology of grave offerings: What grave goods are encountered in funerary assemblages, and how can they be interpreted? Is there any differentiation based on sex / gender or age? How do such finds differ (if at all) from domestic contexts of nearby settlements? Can offerings (or the lack thereof) be identified as having symbolic importance of any kind, are they chosen for their material value or are other factors involved?

¹⁷⁶ For a detailed approach regarding cemetery topography in relation to settlements, see Parker-Pearson 1993, 206 and 211-213; this study follows Parker-Pearson's example to a significant extent, but will also incorporate visibility (viewshed) analysis of the relevant sites.

¹⁷⁷ Parker-Pearson 1993, 206-207 and 214-216.

A careful excavation and a detailed subsequent publication of the assemblages discovered are necessary for their study to take place. In that respect, our knowledge of the NEA region is found wanting. Firstly, several sub-regions of the NEA have been (and are still) extensively cultivated, thus damaging or destroying graves near the surface. This is primarily the case on the arable plains of Macedonia and Thrace.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, ancient cemeteries often extend under multiple modern fields, housing and farm plots, which cannot always be appropriated for the purposes of excavation. Therefore, cemeteries have often been excavated partially, or through a series of rescue excavations over several years. Such is, characteristically, the case in Abdera.¹⁷⁹ Finally, not all of the recovered material has been made available for study. Some cemeteries had been excavated before the 1940s, with no subsequent detailed publication and no follow-up excavations. Thankfully, some of these sites have been revisited over the last 20 years (e.g. Assos).¹⁸⁰ Unfortunately, others still remain unpublished; information regarding them can only be drawn from early reports or grey literature, which are often unavailable for study (e.g. Antissa,¹⁸¹ Pyrrha).¹⁸²

In summation, any information available regarding specific cemeteries might be fragmentary and/or unrepresentative of their original state, with conclusions based on such information being tentative or erroneous. Therefore, it is imperative to factor in how

¹⁷⁸ See e.g. the Archaic cemeteries of Gazoros (Poulios 1995; Valla 1997 (ii); 1998; 2001-2004; 2005) and Abdera (Triandafyllos 1973-74; Kranioti 1984; Kallintzi 1991; 1992 (i); 1993; 1997; 1998 (i); 2000 (i); 2000 (ii); 2001-2004 (i); 2001-2004 (ii)).

¹⁷⁹ See above, n. 178.

¹⁸⁰ Compare Clarke *et al.* 1902 to Stupperich 1996; Reiblich 1996; Bishop 1996; Utili 1999; Stupperich 2006.

¹⁸¹ Lamb 1930/1, Lamb 1931/2; see also Spencer 1995 (ii) (particularly 45-48, where the problems with the original Antissa reports / publications are discussed).

¹⁸² See Koldewey 1890, 27-29 for the earliest surveys; Schiering 1989 (i) for a review of the Boehlau excavation and its unpublished finds; and Acheilara 1986 for the only published burial from the Achladeri cemetery. K. Rouggou, current superintendant of the 20th Ephorate of Antiquities, has informed me that new systematic excavations are planned to take place in Pyrrha in the future (pers. comm., 4 June 2014).

representative a part of the (lost, undiscovered or unpublished) whole the available information is. I will, therefore, when possible, include information on the extent of the completed excavation in respect to the estimated original / total extent of the cemetery and the quality of the information source (e.g. detailed, dedicated publication, departmental archives, survey records etc.).

Overview

Relatively few cemetery sites of the NEA can be dated with safety to the Early Iron Age and the early Archaic period, especially when compared to the large number of subsequent, 6th century cemeteries. Information on the sites in question can be found in Appendix 1. Before moving to a more detailed commentary on the finds, a few observations on the quality of the available sources and information are in order (Catalogue number in brackets).

Regarding EIA cemetery sites, only the Kastri cemeteries have been published [18].¹⁸³ Detailed reports exist regarding Kastas [1],¹⁸⁴ Drama [3],¹⁸⁵ Kossynthos [26],¹⁸⁶ Mesembria-Zone [31],¹⁸⁷ and Tenedos [46].¹⁸⁸

Comparatively little is known about the remaining EIA cemeteries listed. In some cases, this is because of very limited excavation works (e.g. the Popinas Mandra and Ai-Lias hills on Thasos [20]¹⁸⁹ and the megalithic graves of Samothrace [40]).¹⁹⁰ In other cases,

¹⁸³ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992.

¹⁸⁴ Lazaridis 1973; 1974; 1975; 1976; 1977; 1981; 1982.

¹⁸⁵ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979.

¹⁸⁶ Kallintzi 1998 (ii); Triandafyllos & Kallintzi 1998; Kallintzi 2001-2004 (iii).

¹⁸⁷ Vavritsas 1966, 70; 1967, 93-94; 1970, 72-74; Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi 2001, 24.

¹⁸⁸ Arslan & Sevinç 2003.

¹⁸⁹ Papadopoulos & Bechti 2001-2004; Papadopoulos & Bechti 2003.

¹⁹⁰ Matsas 2004, 232 and 234-236.

reports of (usually rescue) excavations provide minimal details (e.g. Antissa¹⁹¹ and Pyrrha¹⁹² [47-54], Troy¹⁹³ [72]).

For 7th-century cemeteries, detailed publications are more common. Recent works and re-examinations of older finds have considerably improved the image we have of Archaic Hephaestia [42]¹⁹⁴ and Assos [58].¹⁹⁵ In addition, a great volume of material has been brought to light in Abdera, and has been presented through multiple yearly reports [23].¹⁹⁶ Unfortunately, information overlap and differences in the provided depth of detail in these reports makes it difficult to form a clear image of the cemeteries, despite the recently published general overviews of the excavations.¹⁹⁷

Considerably fewer data are available for the ongoing excavations in Antandros [57].¹⁹⁸ Information regarding the necropoleis of Gazoros [7],¹⁹⁹ Oisyme [11],²⁰⁰ and the Filiouris riverbed burials, near Mikro Doukato [25]²⁰¹ is also scarce, due to the brevity of the excavation works. Even less is known of the Pitane cemetery [68],²⁰² not even its precise

¹⁹¹ Lamb 1930/1; Lamb 1931/2.

¹⁹² Koldewey 1890, 28; Schiering 1989 (i); Acheilara 1986.

¹⁹³ Basedow 2009, 135; Aslan 2002, 86.

¹⁹⁴ See Mustili 1932-33 for the original publication; Ficuciello 2013, 102-110 and 121-132 for a recent re-examination of the finds.

¹⁹⁵ See Clarke *et al.* 1902, 221-293 (particularly 293, fig. 1-4) for the first, early 20th-century excavations in the cemetery; Uti 1999 in general for the main publication and particularly catalogue entries CXk3/Fst1=GR10 (356), DXf/6/ Fst35=GR50 (357), and DXg/6/Fst39=GR56 (357); also Stupperich 1990; 1992; 1993; 1996; 2006 for early and post-publication excavation reports.

¹⁹⁶ For Archaic graves, see Lazaridis 1965; Kranioti 1984; Kallintzi 1991; 1992 (i); 1993; 1994; 1995; 1997; 1998 (i); 2000 (i); 2000 (ii); Kallintzi 2001-2004 (i); 2001-2004 (ii).

¹⁹⁷ For early Archaic 'Clazomenian' cemeteries in Abdera: Skarlatidou 2004. For a broader overview of the Abdera chora during the early Archaic and subsequent periods: Kallintzi 2004 (particularly 271-274).

¹⁹⁸ See Polat 2013 for the most recent overview of the Melis (Antandros) necropolis finds. See also Polat & Polat 2005 for early Archaic graves.

¹⁹⁹ Poullos 1995; Valla 1997 (ii); 1998; 2001-2004; 2005; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2006.

²⁰⁰ Leventopoulou-Giouri 1965; Giouri & Koukouli 1969; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2006.

²⁰¹ Triandafyllos 1973-74, 802-803.

²⁰² Akurgal 1960, 5-6; Iren 2003, 5-27, 59-62. See also the TAY Project entry on the site ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=10044&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=10044&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web); last accessed 10 February 2017).

location is recorded. Finally, regarding Troy, Aslan has recently challenged Blegen's original interpretation of the Troy Place of Burning as an early Archaic cemetery [72].²⁰³

In summation, for the EIA, the islands of Lesbos and Lemnos, as well as the Troad, appear considerably darker than the northern coastal region. Very few cemetery sites have been located and/or published. Whether this is due to research gaps or the actual absence of organised 'reserved' cemetery spaces in those regions remains unclear. However, the available information is unquestionably skewed towards the northern coastal area.

The known early Archaic sites, on the other hand, are distributed relatively evenly throughout the NEA, and publications are more detailed. Nevertheless, cemetery sites are few in number, and some sub-regions have only yielded late Archaic material (e.g. Samothrace,²⁰⁴ Thasos, and Lesbos).²⁰⁵

Interpretation and Discussion

The Settlement and its Dead: the Topography of Cemeteries

All EIA cemeteries mentioned above are located outside the limits of nearby settlements (with the exception of Troy, where one might identify burials in sanctuary and domestic contexts).²⁰⁶ Where both settlement and the cemeteries linked to them are known

²⁰³ Blegen *et al.* 1953, 370-397; Blegen *et al.* 1958, 299-300; Aslan 2011, 387-406.

²⁰⁴ Lehmann 1963, 261-264. See Karadima & Koutsoumanis 1992, 679 for a single possibly pot burial found in the northern necropolis that dates to the end of the 7th century.

²⁰⁵ On Thasos, 6th-century burials have been discovered in the foundations of the south-western city wall (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 329-330). The area has yielded 7th-century pottery but no 7th-century graves (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1996, 770). A single, isolated 7th-century grave has been found near the modern Skala Sotiros settlement (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1972, 520). On Lesbos, Archaic cemeteries have been discovered in Eresos (Zachos 2012, 305) and Methymna (Tsaravopoulos 1987, 482), but they date to the 6th century onwards.

²⁰⁶ See Appendix 1, [72].

to us, distances between them range from ca. 200 m (Antissa) to ca. 1000 m (Hill 133-Kastas). No EIA cemeteries lie more than 1 km away from their respective settlements.

It is also notable that most cemeteries linked to settlements are located on hills or hillsides, usually at a lower altitude than the actual settlement and always within direct line of sight from it. There is no obvious attempt to hide the dead from the living, with the possible exceptions of Vrychos (where the slope of the hill prevents some of the megalithic graves from being observed from the hilltop) [Figure 44]²⁰⁷ and Pyrrha (where the single known EIA burial is located behind the Geniatu hill) [Figure 57].²⁰⁸ In all other studied cases, the selection of the cemetery locations allowed oversight of the necropolis.

During the 7th century, NEA cemeteries were, similarly, located less than 500 m away from settlements and often immediately outside the settlement limits. There is always a clear line of sight between the settlements and the cemeteries, with no known exceptions; the cemeteries were an integral element of the early Archaic settlement landscape.

Indeed, most early Archaic cemeteries in the NEA appear to have been located near roads and along access routes to settlements. This argues for some degree of public spatial organisation, and is quite evident in larger settlements and poleis. The Hephaestia cemetery, for example, lies on the sloping coast close to the settlement promontory, near any road that would lead away from the settlement [Figure 45]. The same is the case for the Assos, Abdera Ammolofos (K), and Antandros cemeteries [Figure 33, Figure 59, Figure 60].²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ See Appendix 1, [40].

²⁰⁸ See Appendix 1, [54].

²⁰⁹ See Appendix 1, [23], [42], [57], [58].

At first glance, the northernmost Abdera cemeteries (II and X) are distinct outliers: several graves are located more than 1 km from the northern peribolos wall [Figure 33]. This arrangement might have been due to tradition (an imitation of the funerary practices in the Clazomenian metropolis, with several distant cemeteries around a settlement),²¹⁰ but recent geomorphological studies have shown that environmental reasons may have been the cause. Even today, after considerable silting, the area around Abdera is marshy and known to seasonally flood. The fact that most Abdera cemeteries are clustered on or near small hills might indicate that no available space existed near the Abdera settlement [Figure 123, Figure 124].²¹¹

At sites where long-term human presence is attested, cemeteries persist in the same location. The most characteristic examples of such sites are Kastri for the EIA and Hephaestia for the early Archaic period. The cemeteries excavated at those sites remain in use for substantial periods of time (e.g. four centuries at Kastri and more than a century at Hephaestia). Cemeteries were only abandoned and/or relocated in tandem with nearby settlements. This argues for stability concerning matters of ‘exclusivity, boundedness, permanence and specialisation’.²¹² One or more places for the dead are marked early on, and remain in use as special areas, throughout the lifetime of the settlement, as an indication of continuity and social stability.

This is not uncommon in the 8th- and 7th-century Aegean in general, especially in long-lived settlements and settlements that display a degree of spatial planning. With regard to topography, cemeteries are never distant from settlements: they are commonly found in

²¹⁰ Hürmüzli 2004, 77-86; Kallintzi 2004, 273-274.

²¹¹ Syrides & Psilovikos 2004, 356-359.

²¹² Parker-Pearson 1993, 206.

often-visited areas outside settlement gates and main roads. However, it is also common to find cemeteries in areas that would not deprive the inhabitants of important, arable land (e.g. near the sea shore). Overlap between the two categories is common, but a tendency to differentiate between the topography of visible / elite and secondary / informal cemeteries does exist. This is visible in the discussion regarding, e.g. the Eretria LG-EA cemeteries. During the 7th century, a child cemetery occupied the West Cemetery area, following an 8th-century cremation cluster. The contemporary West Gate cemetery further north, however, hosted several elite burials.²¹³ It has been suggested that the deceased of the West Gate area had ‘outbid the other elite families, by claiming a prominent burial location’.²¹⁴ The cemeteries of the 7th-century Chalcidike settlements (particularly Mende²¹⁵ and Akanthos)²¹⁶ are characteristic examples of less visible, possibly informal cemeteries, located in sandy, low-value land.

Burial outside of a cemetery context (e.g. within domestic space) is absent from our knowledge of the NEA, barring a single possible exception from Troy (see above). Unfortunately, the lack of exploration of domestic contexts (both EIA and 7th-century) makes it impossible to determine the extent to which funerary topography extended outside cemeteries and within settlement space. In the central and southern Aegean, until the end of the 8th century, neonates, young children, and even adults were occasionally interred *intra muros* within domestic space, usually in enchytrismos pot burials.²¹⁷ This practice gives way to extramural cemeteries during the 7th century and the following periods.²¹⁸ However,

²¹³ Kourouniotis 1903, 27 onwards; Blandin 2007, 31-74; Crielaard 2007, 169-184.

²¹⁴ Crielaard 2007, 188.

²¹⁵ See Vokotopoulou & Moschonissioti 1990; Moschonissioti 2004; 2010.

²¹⁶ Kaltsas 1998, particularly 18-22 and 300-303.

²¹⁷ See, for instance, Eretria (Blandin 2007, 53-64) and Oropos (Vlachou, 2007).

²¹⁸ See Morris 1987, 62-69 for Athens.

graves are still encountered within settlement limits at sites such as 7th-century Argos²¹⁹ and Archaic Sparta.²²⁰

Finally, a short comment on ‘orphan’ (to coin a term) cemeteries. Three cemeteries from my dataset are not linked to any known settlement. For the EIA, those are the Drama IZ tumuli and the Kossynthos riverbed burials [Figure 15, Figure 36].²²¹ Both of these cemeteries were located in the river plains of eastern Macedonia, a considerable distance from the foothills of the Rhodope mountain ranges and with no obvious settlement mound in the immediate vicinity (2 km or less). This might be because of research gaps (the settlements being flat, with no mound, and not having been discovered yet) or because of the actual lack of permanent settlements on the plains (the cemetery being a marked burial ground for small or semi-nomadic population groups). As discussed above, I consider the former to be the more likely proposition. The third cemetery (located on the Filiouris riverbed)²²² dates to the 7th century, and presents a similar problem, in that it exists outside the context of known settlements on an agricultural plain; furthermore, no obvious attempts have been made to advertise its presence from afar (e.g. tumuli) [Figure 35]. It must be noted, however, that the cemetery and its surrounding landscape might have been affected by modern anti-flooding works, and that the available evidence might not be representative of the original size or topography of the cemetery.

²¹⁹ Foley 1988, 47-52.

²²⁰ Schörner 2007, 33-34 with previous bibliography.

²²¹ See Appendix 1, [3], [26].

²²² See Appendix 1, [25].

A Space for the Dead: Cemetery Size and Layout

Most known EIA cemeteries of the NEA are, unfortunately, only partially excavated (or only surveyed); as such, it is necessary to argue from fragmentary information. Nevertheless, the fully excavated and published EIA cemeteries (e.g. Kastri) have proven to be quite extensive (containing hundreds of graves); and, when the characteristics of nearby settlements are taken into account, it is possible to note points of considerable interest in our dataset.

For instance, one would expect the Vrychos settlement (the date, topography, and enclosure size of which appear to be comparable to those of the Kastri acropolis), to possess a similar, extensive cemetery. However, surveys have only pinpointed five megalithic tombs in the area, with no evidence of other funerary contexts.²²³ It is, of course, impossible to determine the number of burials each megalithic tomb contained without excavating the site, but it is difficult to accept that the known graves could have hosted a number of burials comparable to that found in Kastri. We are forced to conclude either that one or more cemeteries were originally present at the site but remain undiscovered (or destroyed), or that Vrychos hosted a smaller population over a briefer time period than Kastri.

The Amphipolis region presents us with a similar problem. The Kastis burials are clearly linked to the EIA settlement found in the neighbouring Hill 133.²²⁴ The tell-like crown of this hill measures more than four times the size of Kastri, but the discovered burials

²²³ See Appendix 1, [40].

²²⁴ See Appendix 1, [1]. See also Lazaridis 1997, 32-36; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 522-524; and Malamidou 2006, 184-187, for an approach focusing mainly on the link between the hill settlement and nearby burials during the 7th to 5th centuries. The discovery of EIA handmade pottery on Hill 133 (Lazaridis 1965, 444-445) and the proximity to the EIA Kastis graves indicates the presence of a similar link during pre 7th-century periods.

in Kastas number merely a tenth of those found in the Kastri cemeteries. In this case, however, it is almost certain that only a small part of the EIA cemetery has been discovered. Only a small fraction of the Kastas hill has been excavated, and the hill in its unexplored entirety covers an area larger than the Kastri acropolis.

All other known EIA cemeteries in the NEA are not excavated to an extent that could support any argument about the number of burials or their size. On the other hand, a *longue durée* / *grande angle* study of their layout offers invaluable insight. What is typical in most EIA cemeteries of the eastern Macedonian / Thracian coastline, Thasos, and Samothrace (Kastas, Drama, Kastri, Ai-Lias / Popinas Mandra, Mesembria-Zone, and possibly Vrychos) is an evident centripetal / clustering tendency in spatial organisation and grave placement. This tendency remained a constant characteristic of these cemeteries, as a rule throughout their period of use.

Specifically, graves were clustered in groups and marked with quasi-monumental structures (earth- or stone tumuli, built chamber tombs, megalithic graves). Graves were added to such structures gradually, with the structures themselves being expanded (sometimes repeatedly) to accommodate them. Some examples are the thrice-expanded tumulus in Drama [Figure 103],²²⁵ one of the Mesembria-Zone tumuli (which served as a core for several subsequent pot burials) [Figure 142],²²⁶ and the large tomb T18 in the Tsiganadika cemetery (which remained in use long enough to house more than 90 burials) [Figure 112].²²⁷ This indicates an attempt to link the newly deceased with specific, pre-existing (and clearly marked) grave groups and to establish continuity with the past. The

²²⁵ See Appendix 1, [3].

²²⁶ See Appendix 1, [31].

²²⁷ See Appendix 1, [18].

criteria employed for the selection of a specific grave group unfortunately remain unclear. It would be tempting to interpret such clustering as an indication of familial links in action (this might have been particularly the case at Kastri, given the large amount of built grave clusters and their continuous use). However, social status might also have played a significant part (as might have been the case at Kastan, given the difference in grave good offerings between the tumulus graves and the isolated pit burials of the cemetery). An obvious parallel for this cluster-based cemetery layout system can be identified in the EIA cemetery of Vergina, where earth tumuli cover several elite inhumations.²²⁸ The cremation tumuli found in Halos could also be interpreted as a Thessalian variation of the paradigm, as they provide evidence of continuous additions of new burials onto a core structure/cluster.²²⁹

The evidence from Lemnos, Lesbos, and the Asia Minor coast is, unfortunately, insufficient for drawing similar conclusions. This is mainly due to research gaps, as only a very small sample of EIA funerary contexts is available from those regions. However, the available material from Tenedos and Lesbos provides us with no evidence for clustering comparable to that observable in the Macedonian / Thracian NEA sub-regions. Given the incomplete nature of the excavations, it is impossible to safely determine whether the burials discovered in the Antissa and Tenedos cemeteries were part of larger, evenly distributed cemeteries or smaller burial clusters [Figure 175].²³⁰ In any case, there are no indications of burial structures (tumuli, built chambers etc.) having been constructed in those cemeteries.

Flat cemeteries, with graves spread out over a wide area, become common in the NEA during the 7th century and beyond. Extensive cemeteries of this type have been

²²⁸ See Andronikos 1969.

²²⁹ See Wace & Thompson 1911/12; Georganas 2002.

²³⁰ See Appendix 1, [46], [47].

discovered in Abdera and Asia Minor (Antandros, Assos), and recall similar cemeteries in central Macedonia (e.g. Mende,²³¹ Akanthos),²³² as well as in the central and southern Aegean (e.g. Argos,²³³ Corinth).²³⁴ Stone-based tumuli (or simpler earth mounds) are not encountered in the NEA during the 7th century, although small mounds were once again employed to mark burials at sites such as Abdera during the 6th century.²³⁵ This differentiates the NEA from other regions of the Aegean world; in Athens, for instance, burial tumuli extending over multiple burials are a common feature in early Archaic cemeteries.²³⁶ Further north, in Thessaly, large mounds are also common (covering both small tholos chambers and cist burials; see e.g. Agioi Theodoroi and Pherai).²³⁷

Clustering (instead of even distribution) of graves ceases to be the norm during the 7th century, although it is still encountered, to some extent, in the Gazoros, Filiouris, and Hephaestia cemeteries [Figure 106, Figure 150].²³⁸ Whether this clustering was a result of planned, conscious choice (as it clearly is in all EIA instances) or other considerations (such as the geomorphology of the site) remains unclear. Hephaestia serves as an example of both of the above potentially factoring into the layout of the cemetery. The location of the two main cemetery clusters may have been dictated by the available terrain, but the smaller groups of graves are reminiscent of what Ian Morris called ‘plots’:²³⁹ grave groupings whose ‘organising principle [...] is implausible [to have been] anything other than kinship’.²⁴⁰

²³¹ Vokotopoulou & Moschonissioti 1990; Moschonissioti 2004; 2010

²³² Kaltsas 1998, 20-21 and 289.

²³³ Foley 1988, 47-49; 7th-century graves in Argos are found in clusters rather than extensive flat cemeteries, but note the organised South Cemetery pithoi (Foley 1988, 48).

²³⁴ Blegen *et al.* 1964; see also Dickey 1992.

²³⁵ Kallintzi 2004, 274-276.

²³⁶ Vlachou 2012, 373-374 with previous bibliography.

²³⁷ Morris 1998, pp.36-39, n. 56 with previous bibliography.

²³⁸ See Appendix 1, [7], [25], [42].

²³⁹ Morris 1987, 72-74.

²⁴⁰ Morris 1987, 90.

Indeed, the frequent occurrence of two- and three-grave groups in Hephaestia must have been, in my belief, a result of planned grave placement, evocative of social (probably familial) links.²⁴¹

It is tempting to seek parallels for the Hephaestia cemetery layout and cremation burial pairs in the Phoenician cemeteries of the Levant (e.g the cemetery of Al-Bass),²⁴² especially if one takes into account the imported grave goods found in the late 7th-century elite graves and Homer's account of 'Sidonian' sailors on Lemnos.²⁴³ However, grave clustering at Tyre takes the form of superimposed, successive inurned cremation burials,²⁴⁴ while, at Hephaestia, no grave overlap takes place. Furthermore, the cremation vessel pairs at Tyre belong to the same grave: one holds the calcified, burnt bones of the deceased, and the other holds their ashes. In Hephaestia, each urn holds the remains of a different individual.²⁴⁵

No grave clustering based on sex or gender is evident. Osteo-archaeological data are scarce (only available for EIA Kastri and 7th-century Abdera, Hephaestia, Assos, and Antandros), but (where available) they show that male and female burials are not clustered separately. Gender identification based on grave goods (even if less safe than physical anthropological approaches) seems to support this conclusion for all studied cemeteries.

²⁴¹ Also note the case of two identical peritmeton figurines having been placed in both graves of such a pair (see Appendix 1, [42] (especially p. 370)). In this particular case, a social link between the deceased is almost certain; it is reasonable to extrapolate a similar conclusion for other grave pairs in the cemetery.

²⁴² See Aubet 2011; Aubet 2013; Aubet-Semmler & Trelisso-Carreño 2014-2015.

²⁴³ *Iliad*, xxiii, 745.

²⁴⁴ Aubet 2011, 49-50; Aubet-Semmler & Trelisso-Carreño 2014-2015, 122.

²⁴⁵ For Tyre: Aubet-Semmler & Trelisso-Carreño 2014-2015, 121; Hephaestia: Mustili 1932-33, 264.

However, intra-cemetery spatial planning and grave distribution based on the age of the deceased can be observed to a limited degree. In the cemetery of Abdera, child burials are significantly more common than adult graves,²⁴⁶ while at Hephaestia, Assos, and Tenedos they are near-absent to the modern observer.²⁴⁷ This can be attributed to matters of inclusion / exclusion of age groups in specific cemeteries, and indicates that children were buried in other, as yet undiscovered areas (e.g. on the fringes of the cemetery or in domestic space).

That said, when both child and adult graves are found in the same NEA cemeteries, no age-based clustering is evident. If e.g. small numbers of child graves are included in a predominantly adult cemetery (presumably after having met the necessary social criteria for inclusion), their graves are evenly distributed among the adult burials (e.g. Filiouris, Antandros).

The Grave: Funerary Practices and Burial Types

During the EIA, inhumations are the norm in all explored cemeteries. Cremation burials are only found in Antissa, and cremations are found only in Drama;²⁴⁸ it is important to note, however that both of the above cemeteries date to the final years of the EIA and the transition to the 7th century.

There is great variety in grave types between regions and individual EIA cemeteries in the NEA. However, within any single cemetery, we usually find only a small number of grave types. The more commonly encountered such types (whether as part of a burial cluster or as individual graves) are cist graves, pot burials (usually in large pithoi but, occasionally,

²⁴⁶ See Appendix 1, [23].

²⁴⁷ See Appendix 1, [46], [42], [58].

²⁴⁸ See Appendix 1, [3], [47].

in amphorae and other vessels as well), pit graves, and ‘free’ burials, i.e. burials in which the body of the deceased was laid directly onto the earth and covered with a layer of earth or small stones.

Pit and free burials are mainly encountered in the Macedonian and Thracian region (Kastas, Kossynthos) [Figure 102].²⁴⁹ Pot burials are also found in those NEA sub-regions (Kastas, Kossynthos, Mesembria-Zone) [Figure 101, Figure 137, Figure 138, Figure 142], but are encountered in Thasos (Kastri), Lesbos (Pyrrha), and Troy (Sector D9) as well.²⁵⁰ Finally, cist graves, while providing us with the most examples among EIA grave types, are mostly concentrated in Kastri and Tenedos.²⁵¹

Within a cemetery, one can usually observe considerable variety in funerary practices, depending on several possible factors; these factors, in turn, appear to differ between cemeteries and communities. At Kastas, for instance, pot and free burials are concentrated in the tumuli, while pit burials are found isolated throughout the mound [Figure 99, Figure 100].²⁵² Furthermore, the few child burials which were discovered were all pit burials, and were not included in the tumulus structures; this might be interpreted as an indication of social differentiation between the adults of the tumuli and those adults and children whose graves were not included in the burial structures. In Drama, on the other hand, both adult and child graves were incorporated in the tumuli, but adults were cremated (with no obvious differentiation based on sex / gender), while children were inhumed in pot burials [Figure 104a].²⁵³ In this case, children were accepted into the tumulus community,

²⁴⁹ See Appendix 1, [18], [26].

²⁵⁰ See Appendix 1, [1], [18], [26], [31], [54], [72].

²⁵¹ See Appendix 1, [18], [46].

²⁵² See Appendix 1, [1].

²⁵³ See Appendix 1, [3].

but they received different funerary rites. The reason for this cannot, unfortunately, be determined with any certainty, and might range from an attempt to economise on the resources necessary for a cremation to local tradition. As another example, pithos vessels were, in some instances, used as burial containers for children at Kastri, but children there were also inhumed in cist and chamber tombs, along with the adult members of the community; once again, there is no evident differentiation based on sex / gender.²⁵⁴ At Kossynthos, adults and children of both sexes were buried in the same fashion, in large pithoi, in remarkably similar arrangements.²⁵⁵ Finally, in Tenedos, all adults were inhumed in cist graves; no evidence of child graves has been found, but this is, admittedly, likely due to the partial excavation of the cemetery.²⁵⁶

Parallels for EIA inhumations beyond the NEA can be found, first and foremost, in the tumuli of Vergina: EIA cremations are present in this cemetery, but to a very limited extent.²⁵⁷ Further south, in Athens, cremations in ‘trench-and-hole’ graves serve as the prevailing rite until the 8th century, at which point inhumations become considerably more common.²⁵⁸ In other Aegean regions (e.g. the Argolid),²⁵⁹ inhumations remain the rule from the beginning of the EIA until well into the 7th century.²⁶⁰ A tentative parallel for the EIA cremations of e.g. Drama might be sought out in Halos, where cremations are the norm for adults. Interestingly, Halos also provides instances of differentiation between adult and child

²⁵⁴ See Appendix 1, [18].

²⁵⁵ See Appendix 1, [26].

²⁵⁶ See Appendix 1, [46].

²⁵⁷ See Andronikos 1969; Vlachou 2012, 368.

²⁵⁸ See Coldstream 2003, 98-100 with previous bibliography; Vlachou 2012, 367.

²⁵⁹ Foley 1988, 34-46; Vlachou 2012, 368.

²⁶⁰ Coldstream 2003, 14-15, 60, 124-125; Vlachou 2012, 367-368.

burials that bring to mind Drama: whereas both adults and children are included in the tumulus structures, the children are all inhumed in enchytrismoi instead of being cremated.²⁶¹

Inhumations (particularly enchytrismoi, pit, and cist graves) remain a common funerary practice during the 7th century, but cremations and cremation burials are also introduced to the north-eastern Aegean, and become the norm for the largest cemeteries of the early Archaic period.

In the Macedonian and Thracian regions, inhumations are still widely employed. Pit graves, pithos burials, and cist graves are common in 7th-century Gazoros, Filiouris, and Abdera, where they were used for child funerals and (less commonly) for adults. The discovered Abdera cemeteries (particularly cemetery K) were certainly primarily reserved for child instead of adult graves; by extension, we only possess a skewed sample of local funerary practices [Figure 125-Figure 128]. The few discovered primary cremations and inurned cremation burials may have been representative of adult funerary practices, as seen in Palaiochora (II) and Chortolivado (X).

Inhumations of adults (especially in pit- and cist graves, which are the preferred types in the NEA) are encountered throughout the Aegean during the Archaic period, although there are considerable research gaps for the 7th century compared to subsequent periods. In central Macedonia, the 7th-century (and earlier) graves in Akanthos are mostly pit burials; cist graves are absent from the cemetery until the 4th century.²⁶² In contemporary Thermi (Thessaloniki), pit and cist graves are common.²⁶³ Further south, inhumations are still

²⁶¹ See Wace & Thompson 1911/12; Georganas 2002; Vlachou 2012, 368.

²⁶² Kaltsas 1998, 290-301.

²⁶³ Skarlatidou & Ignatiadou 1996, 482-483.

encountered in e.g. Corinth and Argos, but variations in funerary practices yield no direct parallels with the NEA cemeteries: in Corinth, the deceased are buried primarily in sarcophagi,²⁶⁴ while, in Argos, pithos burials are preferred.²⁶⁵ Child pot burials (enchytrismoι) are considerably more widespread, even at sites where cremation is the norm for adults. Child enchytrismoι can be found from the Late Geometric period onwards in sites including the aforementioned Mende²⁶⁶ and Akanthos²⁶⁷ cemeteries, in Attica,²⁶⁸ Eretria,²⁶⁹ Oropos,²⁷⁰ the Argolid,²⁷¹ the Cyclades,²⁷² and Ionia.²⁷³

In contrast to the above, cremation is the preferred means of disposal for adults on the 7th-century NEA Asia Minor coast and the nearby islands. The Hephaestia cemetery contains only adult inurned cremations [Figure 149-Figure 150]. Thelastron feeder vessels as grave goods may argue for a very small number of child cremations (3 or fewer), but may also have accompanied adult graves (e.g. graves of mothers). Similarly, at Assos and Antandros, all adult 7th-century graves are cremations or inurned cremation burials. At Assos, only two 7th-century child burials (in cist graves) are known. At Antandros, adults are cremated, but they notably share cemetery space with enchytrismoι child burials.²⁷⁴ Finally,

²⁶⁴ Blegen *et al.* 1964, 50-64; see also Dickey 1992.

²⁶⁵ Foley 1988, 47-51.

²⁶⁶ Vokotopoulou & Moschonissioti 1990; Moschonissioti 2004; 2010.

²⁶⁷ Kaltsas 1998, 291.

²⁶⁸ Houby-Nielsen 2000; also Lemos 2012 167-168 and Vlachou 2012, 382-384 for previous bibliography.

²⁶⁹ Blandin 2007, 60-72, Crielaard 2007, 178-179.

²⁷⁰ Vlachou 2007; Mazarakis Ainian 2010.

²⁷¹ Foley 1988, 35 and 50.

²⁷² See the child cemetery in Astypalaia: Michalaki-Kolia 2010.

²⁷³ See e.g. Smyrna: Mariaud 2006.

²⁷⁴ Yildiz & Erdal 2008; Polat 2013, 192.

outside Asia Minor, in Abdera, a small number of adult inurned cremations and a cremation pit near Chortolivado have been brought to light.²⁷⁵

An age-based differentiation of burial practices (adult cremations in contrast to child inhumations) is evident, based on the above. This differentiation might have reflected the social consensus of the time regarding formal and informal means of disposal of the dead. The 7th-century cremation cemeteries listed above (particularly Hephaestia and Assos) consist mostly of visible, formal graves of relative social elites, and it is easy to assume that cremation was their prerogative. Nevertheless, in cases where evidence of adult informal disposal exists, cremation was universally employed, even for those excluded from the formal cemetery. In Assos, a primary cremation area has been found: while this is uncertain, it may have served those inhabitants that were not included in the main cemetery. Similarly, the few adult cremations found in the Abdera Ammolofos child cemetery and the Chortolivado cremation pit can be interpreted as evidence of informal disposal of the dead. It is highly likely that equivalent informal disposal area(s) existed at Hephaestia, but they still remain undiscovered.

At such sites, inhumation (e.g. enchytrismoι) can be interpreted as a relatively cheap and informal means of disposal for neonates and children. However, it has been argued convincingly that social status dictates, to a certain degree, the method of disposal of the deceased.²⁷⁶ At Assos, the two child cist graves were considerably richer in burial offerings than the average in adult burials.²⁷⁷ This demonstrates that young age may have been sufficient to exclude a child from the rite of cremation, but not, in itself, sufficient to exclude

²⁷⁵ See Appendix 1, [23] (particularly p. 333).

²⁷⁶ Morris 1987, 104-109.

²⁷⁷ See Appendix 1, [58] (particularly p. 418).

the same child from high-status visible burial. Instead, other factors (e.g. familial social status) may have contributed to determining the disposal process for the deceased.

We may seek parallels for the NEA cremation cemeteries in the neighbouring Aegean regions. In southern Aeolis, Archaic cremations can be found in the necropolis of Gryneion.²⁷⁸ Further to the south, in Ionia, the Kyme necropolis has yielded primarily inurned cremations;²⁷⁹ in Clazomenae, funerary practices are more varied, but a significant number of cremations have been recovered from the Akpınar and DSI cemeteries.²⁸⁰ Interestingly, during the 7th century, primary cremation is a common practice in Athens, but the practice differs considerably from all previous examples in that tumuli are erected above the cremations.²⁸¹ Finally, in Eretria, the West Gate cemetery provides an excellent example of a small, elite cemetery, with multiple inurned Homeric-style / warrior cremations.²⁸²

Worthy of mention is the fact that the Lydian and Phrygian cemeteries of the period do not include cremations, with the exception of some end-of-7th-century examples from Gordion.²⁸³ This is highly interesting, given the two door-like stelae recovered from the Hephaestia cemetery [Figure 158]. These finds indicate some degree of imitation of Phrygian parallels and of interaction with the Asia Minor coast and hinterland; but these parallels were marking tombs and inhumations, not individual cremation burials as was (presumably) the case in Hephaestia.²⁸⁴ This increases the importance of the two Hephaestia stelae, as they indicate that local elites selectively adopted the practices of the neighbouring regions. It

²⁷⁸ Özkan 1994, 1-15.

²⁷⁹ Iren 2008, 623-624.

²⁸⁰ Hürmüzli 2004, 80-88; 2005, 45-48.

²⁸¹ Vlachou 2012, 373-374 with previous bibliography.

²⁸² See Blandin 2007; Crielaard 2007, 171.

²⁸³ Sams 2006, 20.

²⁸⁴ Roosevelt 2006; See also Appendix 1, [42] (particularly p. 367).

might be argued that the stelae serve as evidence for Phrygians having been buried at Hephaestia; however, neither inhumations nor small tumuli have been found at the site, as one would expect in such a case.

‘The Products of Human Choice’: Burial Assemblages, Grave Goods, and Offerings

Only for the cemeteries of Kastri, Kastas, the Kossynthos riverbed, Tenedos, and Mesembria-Zone is a detailed description of the finds in a grave-by-grave manner available; the Antissa reports by Lamb adopt a similar approach, but –by her own admission– they are rushed and incomplete, focusing on the local pottery over all other elements.²⁸⁵ For other cemeteries, excavation reports are either completely unavailable or have focused on providing a description of the more representative finds as a whole. Therefore, establishing a correspondence between individual finds and burials is impossible. That said, an overview of the most common burial offerings found at each site is still very useful in the context of the wide-angle approach of this study.

For the EIA, grave good types are surprisingly uniform, throughout the north-eastern Aegean. Pottery is encountered (drinking vessels, in particular), but in only in very small amounts within individual graves (as is the case in Kastas, Drama, Kastri, Kossynthos, and Antissa).²⁸⁶ Instead, pottery (mostly broken utility vessels) is found in considerably larger amounts outside the graves, at the base of tumuli, or around individual burials. This is particularly evident at Kastas, Drama, Mesembria-Zone, and Kossynthos [Figure 113, Figure 144].²⁸⁷ In the last case, excavation reports mention a considerable amount of animal (pig

²⁸⁵ Lamb 1930/1, 174.

²⁸⁶ See Appendix 1, [1], [3], [18], [26], [47].

²⁸⁷ See Appendix 1, [1], [3], [31], [26].

and cattle) bones around the graves as well; this indicates that ritual sacrifices and / or feasting took place near the cemetery, possibly as part of the funeral ceremony.

Metal offerings are encountered in all cemeteries, and consist of weapons (spearheads, iron sword-blades, and short, knife-like blades) and jewellery (fibulae and brooches of various types, depending on the region, hair coils, rings, and necklaces) [Figure 105, Figure 114, Figure 139, Figure 177]. It would be tempting to link weapons to male graves and jewellery to female ones, but the latter is by no means certain. At Kastri, where jewellery could be linked to specific human remains, osteo-archaeological studies have shown that jewellery was used as a grave offering for burials of both sexes; this may have been the case in other EIA cemeteries as well.²⁸⁸

On the other hand, in cases when identifying the sex of the deceased is possible (Kastas, Kastri, Kossynthos), there are no recorded cases of weapons accompanying female burials. In the absence of an EIA counterexample, we can tentatively adopt blades and weapons²⁸⁹ as a characteristic of male burials for the period, while acknowledging the danger of inductive reasoning and symbolic interpretation with such a limited sample. It is also important to note that such a counterexample does exist at Hephaestia, for the 7th century (see below).

A similarly typical offering for female burials does not readily present itself. Jewellery is, as shown above, a fickle indicator. Spindle whorls are singularly representative of female burials in Kastri [Figure 114],²⁹⁰ but they are not encountered in other cemeteries,

²⁸⁸ See Appendix 1, [18] (particularly p. 317).

²⁸⁹ In the case of Kastri, whetstones as well; See Appendix 1, [18] (particularly p. 317).

²⁹⁰ See Appendix 1, [18] (particularly p. 317).

with the exception of Drama, where the sex of the deceased has not been safely determined.²⁹¹

Finally, child burials contain, as a rule, very few offerings (if any at all). Miniature clay vessels (occasionally thelastron nursing cups) are found at Kastri and at Antissa,²⁹² but the Kossynthos child burials have yielded no grave goods whatsoever. Kastri could be considered an interesting exception to this rule, as child burials are commonly accompanied by small bluish glass beads. What the symbolic meaning of such beads was (if any) remains unclear.

In conclusion, throughout the North-Eastern Aegean, EIA burial assemblages are characterised by low absolute numbers of grave goods and offerings. This remains the case for the entirety of the period in question, and there is little change in the types and number of offerings included in burials, even in cemeteries which remained in use for a considerable length of time (e.g. Kastri, Kastas, Drama). Such continuity argues in favour of consistency in the way local communities perceived social identities, and of a similarly stable (but not necessarily complex) social organisation.

The nature of the offerings affords limited insight into the nature of such perceived (or, indeed, emphasised) identities and social roles. As the most representative example, the fact that weapons accompany male burials might be thought of as an indication of an attempt to emphasise their warrior status. However, it must be noted that, firstly, a large percentage of the ‘weapons’ in question were quite probably knives of semi-everyday use (as is quite

²⁹¹ See Appendix 1, [294] (p. 680).

²⁹² See Appendix 1, [18], [47].

likely the case in most of the instances from Kastri),²⁹³ and that, secondly, there is insufficient evidence from contemporary domestic contexts to determine whether these blades were sufficiently exceptional or representative of a particular group to carry a symbolic meaning.

EIA warrior graves can be found in the rest of the Aegean sphere (e.g. in Athens, Euboea, Cyclades, Crete, and other regions): unlike most of their NEA parallels, they are usually inurned cremations (however, note that Drama has yielded warrior grave cremations and that Argos has yielded several 8th-century warrior-type inhumations). The deceased are accompanied by weaponry (e.g. spearheads and ritually ‘killed’ (bent) swords), drinking cups, and other metal objects (spits, andirons, metal bowls etc.). The early 10th-century Lefkandi Heroon provides a particularly rich example of such a grave. It is clear that this grave type seeks to emphasise the warrior status of the deceased; parallels to the Homeric descriptions of heroic burials have been drawn in previous bibliography. The phenomenon certainly reflects developments in social organisation, but does not necessarily document the rise of a warrior social group. Instead, it is possible that a rising elite adopts the practice in an attempt to display wealth and social status: they achieve this by referencing the heroic past and, thus, distinguishing themselves from the rest of the social whole.²⁹⁴

It is evident that during the EIA, the closing of the burial assemblage did not, as a rule, mark the end of the funeral ceremony in any of the sub-regions and sites studied. The pottery and other finds recovered from around the graves at e.g. Kastanas, Drama, Mesembria-Zone, Kossynthos, and Antissa indicate that some social activity took place near the graves during or after the burials. The animal remains found in Kossynthos argue for feasting and /

²⁹³ See Appendix 1, [18].

²⁹⁴ For a review of the ‘warrior burial’ archetype and relevant discussion, see Vlachou 2012, 368-370 with bibliography.

or sacrifices taking place. Furthermore, the small clay figurine discovered near the first burial tumulus of Mesembria-Zone could hint at ritual activity, focused on the cemetery area and the graves in particular. This is by no means exclusive to the NEA of the period: evidence for libation and sacrifices in honour of the deceased is common in cemeteries throughout the Aegean from the EIA to the Classical period and beyond.²⁹⁵

During the 7th century, variability in preferred grave goods between cemeteries is considerably more pronounced than during the EIA. Specifically, cemeteries of the eastern Macedonian and Thracian region retain many of the characteristics of their EIA predecessors, which argues for possible continuity in other aspects of the local communities as well (e.g. social structure and organisation). The Gazoros and Filiouris cemeteries, for instance, are both characterised by small amounts of locally produced pottery, jewellery (fibulae, hair coils, dress-pins etc.), weapons in male burials (spearheads, axe blades, daggers etc.) and spindle whorls / loom weights in female ones. Graves empty of grave goods are rarely encountered [Figure 107, Figure 136].²⁹⁶

Thermi provides an excellent parallel for the above, with local pottery, small amounts of jewellery, and weapons being employed as grave goods.²⁹⁷ Northern cemeteries of the 6th century can also, arguably, fit this model: the 6th-century Aigai necropolis graves, for instance, were considerably richer in finds than those of Filiouris or Gazoros, but the types of grave goods (drinking vessels, weapons for male and jewellery for female burials) are similar.²⁹⁸ The emphasis on weapons is reminiscent of Homeric-style warrior graves of

²⁹⁵ See Vlachou 2012, 366-367 with previous bibliography.

²⁹⁶ See Appendix 1, [7], [25].

²⁹⁷ Skarlatidou 2009, 333-334.

²⁹⁸ Kottaridi 2009, 147-149.

earlier periods – the use of a spearhead as a potential grave marker in Gazoros further reinforces this parallel.

The 7th-century warrior graves from the northern regions (i.e. eastern Macedonia, Thrace) bear considerable similarities to the earlier NEA typical examples. Their main difference from the ‘Homeric standard’ in the rest of the Aegean, is that the deceased are inhumed and not cremated. Seventh-century parallels for such warrior-type inhumations can be found throughout what Morris called ‘Northern Greece’, from Epirus to Thrace.²⁹⁹

Hephaestia differs sharply from the northern mainland sites, in that graves empty of grave goods are common. Metal offerings are frequently encountered, and include jewellery (mainly bronze brooches and dress pins, but also gold / electrum rings and necklaces) and weapons (axes, blades, spearheads, and butts), found in both male and female burials [Figure 151]. Thelastion feeder vessels found in three graves might indicate that the deceased were mothers.

Furthermore, the presence of weapons in the Hephaestia graves fits the Homeric archetype of warrior burials considerably better than what has been observed previously in Thrace and Macedonia. There are no instances of ritually ‘killed’ weapons, but the Hephaestia cremations bring to mind the 7th– and 6th-century rich cremations in Iolkos and Krannon,³⁰⁰ during a period when warrior burials had mostly been abandoned in the central Aegean.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ Morris 1998, 36-45; 47-49.

³⁰⁰ Morris 1998, 38, endnote 57 with previous bibliography.

³⁰¹ Vlachou 2012, 370.

Finally, a century-long overview of the Hephaestia cemetery finds shows a clear shift in the types of grave goods and burial offerings during the second half of the 7th century, which is not evident in any other NEA necropolis during the period covered by this study. High-quality local and imported pottery makes its appearance, along with locally produced and imported figurines [Figure 152-Figure 156]. A small number of graves (certainly two and possibly three, if Ficuciello's interpretation of the Mycenaean seal is correct)³⁰² are linked to the local sanctuaries, as evidenced by e.g. the clay house / fountain model found in Grave BXLVI [Figure 157]. These departures from the established typology of burial goods argue in favour of a contemporary change of attitude towards the dead, and hint at a possible social re-structuring. The evidence from Hephaestia renders it one of the best early Archaic examples of the rise of a social elite.

In contrast, changes of a similar nature are only observed in the cemeteries of the Troad during the transition to the 6th century. The absence of weapons from the 7th-century cemeteries of Assos and Antandros is noteworthy, as is the overarching scarceness of metal objects. One notable exception is the bronze bowls used at Assos as lids for the cinerary urns [Figure 196]. Furthermore, it must be noted that there are very few graves empty of grave goods in Assos, while several such graves were found in Antandros [Figure 197]. This places Assos closer to the elite cemetery examples mentioned above, while the Antandros necropolis might have hosted burials from a wider social range.

Pottery offerings in both cemeteries mostly consist of locally produced vessels (Aeolian Grey Ware is very common), and there is no clear sex- or gender-based

³⁰² See Appendix 1, [42] (particularly p. 368).

differentiation in grave goods. The typology of the offerings at Assos and Antandros is quite similar; there are also distinct similarities with the late 8th-century cemetery of Antissa (although, in this last case, the available grave sample is small).

Special mention must be given to the 7th-century cemeteries of Abdera. At first glance, they appear to be sharply different, regarding grave goods, from other 7th-century cemeteries in the Macedonian and Thracian region; this is not surprising, if one compares the finds from Abdera with those from the aforementioned Asia Minor necropoleis. The archaeological evidence does appear to support Herodotus' claim of an early Clazomenian apoikia on the site: both the burial vessels and the vessels placed as grave goods are mostly imported and of East Aegean origin, with multiple parallels from Clazomenae [Figure 129].³⁰³

The small amount and perceived 'poor quality' of the finds, along with the relative lack of locally produced pottery [Figure 130], have been interpreted as evidence for 'the colony's low standard of living and low economic level' and its dependence on its metropolis.³⁰⁴ I agree that Clazomenae exerted extensive cultural influence over early Abdera; the similarities between the funerary practices and the types of burial offerings found in Abdera and the 7th-century Clazomenian cemetery of Akpınar are obvious (e.g. cremation vessel and grave good typology, indications of feasting or libations near the graves),³⁰⁵ with

³⁰³ Hdt. 1.168; see Appendix 1, [23] (particularly p. 335).

³⁰⁴ Skarlatidou 2004, 258. The skeletal remains from the cemeteries indicate that contagious diseases, fostered by the inhospitable marshlands surrounding the settlement, were a significant problem for the 7th-century colonists (Skarlatidou 1986, 105-106; Agelarakis 2004, 335-336).

³⁰⁵ Hürmüzli 2004, 83-86.

a notable exception: in Abdera, there are no documented parallels for the burial enclosures found in Clazomenae.³⁰⁶

Regarding the former point, however, the evidence from the settlement seems to indicate that the 7th-century Clazomenian apoikia might have been more successful than originally thought. I have already addressed the matter of the massive fortification wall constructed on the site around the mid 7th century: a project that must have been a costly undertaking, and speaks for a considerable degree of local organisation. Furthermore, archaeological evidence suggests that at least a nucleus of early settlers were still active at the site during the 6th century, when the second wave of Teian colonists arrived, and that the two populations merged peacefully.³⁰⁷ Apparently, the local community was successful in securing control over their immediate surrounding area for almost a century, while maintaining close relations with the Troad.³⁰⁸

In summation, variation in grave goods between different sites and regions is more accented in the NEA during the 7th century than it was during the EIA. Continuity is evident on the Macedonian and Thracian coast, despite lack of evidence from the islands of Thasos and Samothrace. On Lesbos, only a small number of early 7th-century graves have been discovered, but the finds they have yielded find direct parallels in Asia Minor cemeteries (e.g. Assos, Antandros, possibly Pitane). Similar finds are also characteristic of the Abdera

³⁰⁶ Hürmüzlü 2003, 12; Polat 2010, 29-37 and 48.

³⁰⁷ Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 2004, 238-242 (particularly p. 241).

³⁰⁸ Contacts between the Clazomenian settlers and Teos may have existed before the arrival of the Teians, possibly in relation to silver mining in the area (see Skarlatidou 2004, 258; Agelarakis 2004, 339-341. See also J.M.F. May's commentary on early Teian coin production in Abdera (May 1966, pp.1-4), but note that Chryssanthaki-Nagle has recently challenged May's dating, and shown that the earliest Abderian coins were struck almost 20 years after the Teians' supposed date of arrival (see Chryssanthaki 2004, 311-312; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 97-103).

cemeteries; this reinforces the interpretation of the site as a Clazomenian-founded settlement, in accordance with the historiographical tradition.

Conclusions

The above observations can contribute considerably to our historical model of the NEA. In fact, given the incomplete state of archaeological research and publication of finds from settlement / domestic contexts of the region, I suggest that funerary contexts might, in some cases, offer better (or more eloquent) insight into social organisation, interregional contacts, and some aspects of everyday life.

A quick overview of the evidence is sufficient to suggest a rough division of the NEA into two main zones, roughly corresponding to, firstly, the northern NEA sub-regions (eastern Macedonia, Thrace, Thasos, Samothrace) and, secondly, the more extensive cremation cemeteries of the eastern islands (Lemnos, Lesbos) and the Asia Minor coastline (Assos, Antandros). There is definite evidence of interaction between the two zones, particularly during the 7th century (the cemeteries of Abdera representing a clear introduction of eastern paradigms into the northern geographical region). There is also evidence for considerable intra-zonal variation, but the above model will serve as a satisfactory basic framework.

The northern zone, during the EIA, is characterised by grave clusters and groups, primarily in the context of large, quasi-monumental burial structures (e.g. tumuli, above-ground built graves). These structures remained in use over extensive time periods, with multiple graves being added to a core tumulus (e.g. Kastasi, Mesembria-Zone) or with continuous re-use of a single large grave (e.g. Kastri). This clearly demonstrates the long

lifetime of the respective settlements; it also implies that the inhabitants sought to emphasise aspects of social continuity by invoking their link to the community's dead.

Graves are occasionally encountered outside the limits of funerary structures (e.g. enclosures) but within the same cemetery. The criteria for such exclusion of community members were, in all likelihood, social in nature (potentially ranging from familial ties to social status), but remain unclear, primarily because of the small available sample size. However, for such exclusion to take place, some degree of intra-communal social differentiation was almost certainly in effect. It is difficult to accept as a coincidence the fact that, where exclusion is observed (e.g. Kastasi), the richest graves (including warrior burials) are those included in the collective burial structures. Instead, it is more likely that the EIA tumuli exclusively hosted the graves of the local elites.

It is also interesting to note that Kastri (a Type 2, relatively small acropolis, with little evidence for large elite structures on the settlement hill) has provided us with one of the most inclusive cemeteries of the EIA northern zone. On the other hand, mainland sites such as Kastasi (linked to the large settlement of Hill 133) have yielded rather exclusive grave clusters, with a significant number of isolated burials. This might indicate that, during the EIA, social elites were primarily active on the Macedonian / Thracian mainland and that social differentiation may not have been as pronounced among the inhabitants of Thasos and Samothrace.

During and after the transition to the 7th century, EIA practices are preserved in the northern zone to some degree, which indicates a high likelihood of social continuity from the 8th to the 7th century. All known cemeteries have yielded relatively few graves (typically less

than 20), and graves continue to be grouped and marked by larger structures. During the 7th century, small burial enclosures serve this function, instead of the tumuli of earlier periods.

Funerary evidence can also assist in placing the northern coastline region within its contemporary wider Aegean context. Among the material recovered from cemeteries, there exists little evidence for interactions, trade or extended contacts with the central and southern Aegean; such evidence (e.g. imported grave goods) is only found in funerary contexts of the 6th century onwards. However, it is possible to identify some similarities with nearby northern regions. For example, collective grave structures are encountered at Vergina, where EIA and Archaic burials are covered by tumuli and enclosed with low stone peribolos walls, highly reminiscent of northern NEA examples.³⁰⁹ Furthermore, several hundred tumuli and megalithic tombs (assumed to have contained multiple burials) have been located (but not excavated) in the Thracian hinterland of modern Bulgaria and Turkey.³¹⁰

Finally, the typology and wide distribution of local material culture elements found in northern burials argues for extensive interactions between population groups within the zone itself. Previous approaches have used metal finds to trace these interactions during the late Archaic and early Classical period,³¹¹ but EIA and early Archaic finds from cemeteries (particularly the typology and distribution of local handmade pottery and bronze jewellery) indicate that such localised networking dates back to at least as early as the 7th century.

The eastern zone, on the other hand, differs significantly from the above, and reflects a divergent historical narrative. It is important to note that the Asia Minor coastline is almost

³⁰⁹ See Andronikos 1969; Vlachou 2012, 368.

³¹⁰ Triandafyllos & Terzopoulou 1996, 927.

³¹¹ Poullos 1995, 419.

completely dark regarding EIA funerary contexts. Antissa and Pyrrha have yielded EIA cremation burials, similar to 7th-century examples, but the available sample is very small. An even earlier example of an extramural cremation cemetery has been tentatively identified in LBA Troy, in the so-called Place of Burning. It is possible to conclude that cremation clearly predates the 7th century in the eastern zone; some degree of intra-regional continuity in funeral customs is evident.

That said, most explored cemeteries date from the 7th century (or the latest years of the 8th century) onwards, and have proven to be of considerable size (regularly numbering upwards of 100 burials). Typically, they occupy proportionally large areas near settlements. This might conceivably argue for significantly larger (or more centralised) population centres than those of the northern zone; or for a significantly different paradigm regarding the utilisation of extra-settlement space.

The most extensive of the known early Archaic cemeteries seem to have been first established during the transition to the 7th century or shortly after (e.g. Hephaestia, Assos, Antandros and Abdera). It is not unreasonable to draw parallels with the early Greek colonies of the western Mediterranean (e.g. Pithekoussai, Cumae) and to suggest that cemetery space was clearly defined early on in the lifetime of the settlements.

Nevertheless, despite the large cemetery size when compared with northern examples, graves in 7th-century eastern zone cemeteries are still, as a rule, too few to account for a century (or more) of settlement activity. It is clear that only a part of the original funerary landscape is preserved and represented in the archaeological record. Ironically, Abdera, which is located outside the core eastern zone limits, might be the site that offers the

most complete and representative image of the eastern funerary paradigms: several extramural cemeteries, dispersed over a wide area. Since a considerable percentage of the contemporary population was not included in the discovered cemeteries, they must have been laid to rest in as yet undiscovered locations. This selective exclusion of society members argues for some degree of social differentiation, as demonstrated by the cemeteries of Hephaestia, Assos, and Antandros.

In Hephaestia, a small, late 7th-century elite group (of only 13 graves) claims and occupies the cemetery of the previous phase, which consisted of more than 170 securely dated graves. The new graves are remarkably rich in (presumably status-indicating) grave goods, including imports from the eastern and southern Mediterranean. One can easily draw parallels with the Eretria West Gate cemetery, where a small local elite also claims an earlier cemetery. Even if the Hephaestia undatable graves (more than 100) belong to this late phase, the difference between the rich, elite graves and the empty undatable ones would have been significant.

The Assos cemetery also appears to have been primarily an elite cemetery. It contains a relatively small amount of well-marked graves (less than 60 over half a century), is relatively compact and organised in orderly rows of graves, and would have been immediately obvious to anyone crossing the nearby city gate. Furthermore, during the early 6th-century, it notably hosts a remarkably rich cremation of a woman, comparable to the richest Hephaestia graves.³¹²

³¹² See Appendix 1, [58] (particularly p. 415).

The above two cemeteries argue convincingly for the rise of a social elite, but what of the remaining population? The Antandros necropolis provides, in my opinion, a good example of a non-elite cemetery of the period. It includes a large number of both adult cremations and child enchytrismoi, with varied grave goods, located some distance away from the settlement. Similar (still undiscovered) cemeteries would, in all likelihood, have hosted most of the graves that are apparently missing from 7th-century sites – the site of Abdera provides a good example of multiple cemeteries linked to a single major settlement.

Finally, the material recovered from eastern-zone funerary contexts (pottery, metal objects or other finds) is primarily locally produced. Aeolian (Lesbian) and Lemnian Grey Ware are overwhelmingly common throughout the cemeteries of the region, both as urns and grave goods. Imports from the central Aegean (e.g. Corinthian pottery) are rare and primarily found in Hephaestia, which has also yielded finds we can link to the south-eastern Aegean, the Levant and even Egypt. These artefacts may have found their way to Hephaestia via the south-eastern Aegean region, which also has yielded finds of Levantine origin.³¹³ It is also clear that Hephaestia had established some degree of interaction with nearby Phrygia, (see e.g. the use of door-like grave stelae). On the other hand, the cemeteries of the Asia Minor coast have yielded material imported primarily from the Aeolis and Ionia, (e.g. Wild Goat Style pottery Ionian kylikes etc.), with little indication of interactions with mainland Greece or more distant areas until the last years of the 7th century, at which point Corinthian pottery makes a tentative appearance.

³¹³ See Kourou 2012 for a review of the eastern import corpus in the south-eastern Aegean and previous bibliography.

Sanctuaries and Cults

*‘ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὖρον ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος
ὕπὸ Φοινίκων ἰδρυμένον’*

(Hdt. 2.44)

Introduction

The way in which the bulk of past scholarship approaches ancient Greek sanctuaries and our conceptual understanding of ancient Greek cults have derived mostly from what we know of the late Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods;³¹⁴ this is hardly surprising, giving the wealth of such evidence and – perhaps more importantly– of epigraphical and historical sources which are available to the modern scholar and date to these periods. With such a body of evidence, it is possible to draw relatively safe conclusions regarding matters such as the intricacies of cult ritual, the social role of a sanctuary, and how these aspects develop through time.

For early NEA sanctuaries and cults, this is a considerably more challenging proposition, especially since several sites present us with a considerable degree of differentiation from the observed paradigms of better-explored central Aegean and mainland Greek sanctuaries. In addition, the archaeological material available for study is usually

³¹⁴ For the purpose of this study, we will adopt a definition of ‘sanctuary’ which is as simple and inclusive as possible; specifically, we will define sanctuaries as spaces a) which were set aside from everyday life (*Τέμενος*: separate, set apart) (Burkert, 1985, pp.84-87; Pedley 2005, 6); b) which were arranged in such a way as to facilitate the performance of cult rituals (such as containing a sacrificial space or cult focus) (Burkert, 1985, pp.87-92; Pedley 2005, 7-10, 57-68); and, of course, c) in which there is evidence for cult ritual action actually having taken place (see below).

limited in comparison to later periods, as subsequent monumental sanctuary phases have often destroyed or obscured early remains. Perhaps more significantly, there is no historical or epigraphical evidence regarding NEA cults before the 7th century. This has led to a distressingly common pattern in past scholarship: the anachronistic extrapolation of information from later evidence to earlier periods, without the required acknowledgment of the dangers inherent in such an approach (see below).

Nevertheless, even in the absence of written sources and with minimal archaeological evidence available, it is possible to glean some information on the development of early cults and ritual practice in their social context if a more wide-angle approach is adopted. Approaching a sanctuary as an evolving whole allows the study of material not as an isolated unit, but in its wider temporal context. In addition, it makes it possible to discuss changes or continuity in the cult. Furthermore, a comparative study of contemporary, neighbouring sanctuaries can offer similar benefits as it provides a basis for parallel or diverging developments in the same geographical sphere. As is also the case with funerary contexts, this dissertation is quite suitable for such an approach, given the extensive geographical area and time period that my dataset covers.

Initial Observations and Approach

Any study of cult practices requires that a robust set of criteria is employed in the identification of specific sites as spaces intended for cult ritual. Therefore, it is necessary that we re-examine the sites identified as sanctuaries in previous bibliography, in an attempt to avoid the danger of basing our conclusions on potentially erroneous earlier identifications.

In this study, I have included sites that satisfy one or more of Renfrew's list of 'behavioural correlates for performance of sacred ritual' in built-space sanctuaries, as reviewed and edited by Pilafidis-Williams to include non-built, open-air sites.³¹⁵ The list defines types of archaeological evidence that argue for the identification of a context as ritual or religious in character. Specifically:

Primary Correlates:

1. Special facilities for ritual use (e.g. temples, altars, benches, hearths, libation pits).
2. Special portable equipment employed in cult practice (e.g. offering tables).
3. 'Attention focusing' devices (installations or landscape features which draw the worshippers' attention to the ritual facilities, e.g. enclosure walls, propyla, hierae hodoi).
4. Cult images (e.g. cult statues, figurines).
5. Depictions of prayer and adoration (this includes inscriptions referencing cult activities).
6. Votive offerings (varying, depending on the site and context).
7. Repeatedly encountered symbols.

Secondary Correlates:

1. Sacrificial remains (e.g. animal bones).
2. Offerings of foodstuff (e.g. plakountia cakes, libations).
3. Rich offerings / investment of wealth (e.g. materially valuable votive offerings).

³¹⁵ Renfrew 1985, 18-21; Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 121-125. See also Morgan 1999, 298-304 for the implementation of a correlate-based approach for the sanctuary at Isthmia.

4. Devices inducing religious experience (e.g. music, dance, use of psychotropic substances, ritual feasting).

Three points are worth noting regarding the above. Firstly, a sanctuary site need not satisfy all of the above correlates (e.g. temples are not found in sites of open-air or cave cults). Secondly, the above criteria cannot provide us with certain conclusions regarding cult practices at a site; instead they only offer a likelihood factor of such practices having taken place. Finally, these correlates are sufficient to identify a sanctuary only if the discovered assemblages cannot be explained as secular in their societal context. Therefore, sufficient evidence to define what is expected of secular, domestic contexts is required.³¹⁶

It is also important to stress, that employing these correlates provides insight that is only valid for the examined contexts and historical phases. Evidence for early human occupation in a sanctuary site should not be interpreted as an indication for an early phase of worship, unless the early contexts also happen to satisfy a significant number of Renfrew's criteria or unless evidence for continuity is, in some way, overwhelming. In this matter above all others, extrapolating from later finds / sources is particularly likely to lead to erroneous conclusions. For example, it would be fallacious to interpret the early occupation layers found in the Archaic sanctuaries of Neapolis³¹⁷ and Oisyme³¹⁸ as indicative of pre-apoikism worship, as these early contexts have offered no convincing evidence for ritual activity.

In this chapter, we will focus specifically on the following aspects of sanctuary / cult sites and on their evolution through time.

³¹⁶ Renfrew 1985, 21.

³¹⁷ Lazaridis 1961/2; Ilieva 2009, 112.

³¹⁸ Giouri & Koukouli 1987; Koukouli 1987; 1988; 1989; Koukouli & Papanikolaou 1990.

- Sanctuary topography: Where are sanctuaries located within the geographical landscape and in respect to the settlements they were linked to (wherever applicable)?
- Installations and facilities: What architectural remains are preserved in sanctuary sites? How monumental are EIA and early Archaic sanctuaries in the NEA, and how does their monumental aspect evolve during the period studied here? Is it possible to identify cult foci, and (if so) which are the most common ones?
- Votive offerings: What *ex voto* artefacts are typically encountered in sanctuary contexts? Is there any differentiation based on site or time period, and (if so) what potential interpretations can be suggested? How do such finds differ (if at all) from domestic contexts in nearby settlements? Can offerings (or the lack thereof) be identified as having symbolic importance of any kind, are they chosen for their material value, or are other factors involved?
- Cult characteristics and social function: Is it possible to identify the worshipped deities (by name or, at least, by their aspects and domains)? Is it possible to categorise the cults in any way? To what extent (and how safely) can one discuss the importance of these cults in the context of the local community and in their wider geographical and temporal context?

Overview

In comparison with settlement and funerary contexts, sanctuaries in the NEA are considerably better explored, for several reasons. Primarily, the shift towards monumentality in the Archaic and subsequent periods left behind easily identifiable architectural remains

which became the focus of excavators. The systematic excavations which followed enabled the discovery of earlier contexts and historical phases of those sanctuaries, where continuity in cult was in effect. Furthermore, the complete excavation of a settlement or cemetery is a difficult affair; more so because of the extensive area which settlements and cemeteries cover. This is less often the case for sanctuaries, which, by definition, are distinct spatial units with clearly defined limits and a relatively smaller extent.

As a result, the quality of information available is usually considerably better than what is available for settlements and cemeteries of the same periods. For sites where only preliminary excavation reports are available (e.g. Oisyme, Neapolis, Mytilene, Pyrrha), those reports enter into considerable detail, even if a quantitative breakdown of recovered pottery and of other small finds rarely takes place. For other sites (e.g. Thasos sanctuaries, Hephaestia, Troy), detailed publications of sanctuary contexts and finds corpora exist, and further research is ongoing, with more information being made available.

That said, there is a small number of tentatively identified sanctuaries (e.g. Ai-Giorgis, Apothiki, Methymna) for which only minimal information has been published and which can only contribute to a limited extent in the following discussion. We must, therefore, acknowledge the possibilities for research gaps. Monumental remains may make it easier for the modern observer to identify the location of an ancient sanctuary, but there is no guarantee that an early cult would survive to reach this stage of monumentality. It is highly likely, for example, that the following dataset is missing a considerable number of yet-undiscovered

early rural sanctuaries, not unlike the 6th-century sanctuary tentatively identified in the cave of Arkoudopetra, near Galepsos.³¹⁹

Identifying EIA sanctuaries in the north-eastern Aegean is problematic. EIA assemblages rarely satisfy enough of the aforementioned criteria for safe sanctuary identification. The apparent scarcity of sanctuaries can be attributed to research gaps, but it might also be a result of EIA societal characteristics and ritual customs. Open-air and/or rural cults (of the type that Pilafidis Williams categorised as ‘Non – built cults’) often lack ‘special facilities’ or ‘ritual equipment’, and would have left us little in the way of physical evidence.³²⁰ It is possible that the apparent lack of EIA sanctuaries in the NEA might have resulted from the prevalence of such cults during the period.

Very few cult buildings date before the 7th century in the NEA, and they were all discovered on Lesbos and at Troy (Catalogue number in brackets). Specifically, on Lesbos, Antissa has yielded an early apsidal building dating to the 9th and 8th century north of the settlement acropolis,³²¹ and a potential small ‘heroon’ enclosure dating from the end of 8th century to the earliest years of the 5th century in its cemetery [47].³²² In addition, the earliest phase of a cult building in Pyrrha was erected in the mid 8th century [54].³²³ Finally, an early cult building of uncertain (but most likely EIA) date was also discovered near the Epano Skala harbour of Mytilene (Lesbos) [53].³²⁴

³¹⁹ The identification of Arkoudotrypa as a sanctuary is very tentative. LBA, Archaic and subsequent pottery has been discovered in the cave (Poulios 1981, 344; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1982 (i), 327), but the finds remain unpublished, and no safely identifiable votive offerings are mentioned in the excavation reports.

³²⁰ Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 125.

³²¹ Lamb 1931/2, 42; note that the identification of this building as a sanctuary is quite tentative.

³²² Lamb 1930/1, 174-175; Spencer 1995 (ii), 51-52.

³²³ Schiering 1989 (i), 348-353.

³²⁴ Archontidou-Argyri 1987, 477; Archontidou 1993, 410; Spencer 1995 (i), 279.

In Troy, ritual activity can be tentatively identified among the fragmentary architectural remains in the south-eastern part of the citadel, near the Troy VI phase Pillar House dating to the mid 8th century onwards.³²⁵ The oval building in the Troy Place of Burning (ca. 725 BCE to mid 7th century), to the north-west of the citadel, has also been interpreted as a possible sanctuary, perhaps linked to earlier funerary contexts.³²⁶ Finally, the earliest phases of the so-called West Sanctuary (Geometric phase: early– to mid 8th century, Late-Geometric / Archaic phase: mid 8th to mid 7th century) also belong to this period, and provide clear evidence of ritual activity [72].³²⁷

In addition to the above, there is convincing evidence for an open-air cult in the sanctuary of the Great Gods in Samothrace dating to the end of the 8th century. Notably, however, there are no architectural remains that can be linked to this early phase [39].³²⁸

The 7th century provides us with a more extensive corpus of evidence. Along the Macedonian and Thracian coastline, early contexts have been discovered in ancient Neapolis (modern Kavala) [10]³²⁹ and Oisyme (modern Nea Peramos) [11].³³⁰ In both sites there are indications of earlier (EIA) occupation but no evidence of EIA ritual activity.

³²⁵ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 85-87 and 203-217; Basedow 2009, 138.

³²⁶ Aslan 2011, 382-412; Aslan & Günata 2014, 93.

³²⁷ Basedow 2009, 135-139 for a study of the early sanctuary phases and Aslan & Günata 2014, 89 and 92-93, for a re-examination of the relevant stratigraphy.

³²⁸ Lehmann & Spittle 1982, 267-269.

³²⁹ Bakalakis 1938 (ii); Lazaridis 1961/2; 1965; Koukouli 1967.

³³⁰ Giouri & Koukouli 1987; Koukouli 1987; 1988; 1989; Koukouli & Papanikolaou 1990.

On the island of Thasos, the earliest finds from the sanctuaries of Alikí in the south of the island [16]³³¹ and of Artemis³³², Athena,³³³ Heracles,³³⁴ and Apollo Pythios³³⁵ in the polis of Thasos itself date to the 7th century [22].

On Samothrace, ritual activity continues in the sanctuary of the Great Gods [39],³³⁶ but can also be identified in the Mandal' Panagia site (near the Mandroudia settlement) [37]³³⁷ and (very tentatively) on the Ai-Giorgis hill, near the ancient city [34].³³⁸

On Lemnos, three 7th-century sanctuaries were discovered in the settlement of Hephaestia [42].³³⁹ Two more came to light near Aulon³⁴⁰ and Myrina.³⁴¹ Finally, an Archaic phase (first half of 7th century – end of 6th century) was identified in the sanctuary of the Cabiri, on the Chloe promontory [41].³⁴²

On Lesbos, the second phase of the Antissa apsidal building remained in use throughout the 7th century, with extensive modifications (including a change in its orientation).³⁴³ The earliest small finds from the cemetery 'heroon' also date to this period [47].³⁴⁴ Furthermore, there is evidence of Archaic (7th– and 6th-century) ritual activity in three

³³¹ Servais 1980.

³³² Macridy 1912, 1-19; Weill 1985, 3-9; Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 89-91; Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, 14-19.

³³³ Daux 1959; 1960 (i); 1961; Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 114-116.

³³⁴ Launey 1944; des Courtils & Pariente 1984, 279; Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 142-145.

³³⁵ Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 109-113.

³³⁶ Lehmann 1962; 1969; Lehmann & Spittle 1964; 1982; Ehrhardt 1985; Graham 2002.

³³⁷ Matsas *et al.* 1993.

³³⁸ Karadima 1995, 490.

³³⁹ Della Seta 1927/9, 713; 1930/1, 500; Messineo 1988/9, 379-425; Beschi 1992/3, 271-273; 2005 (i), 95-220; 2005 (ii), 821-822 and 837-844; Ficuciello 2008, 63-68 for the New Hieron; Correale 2008, 82-90 for the Lazaridis Building; and Archontidou 2004 for the Theatre sanctuary.

³⁴⁰ Archontidou 1991, 370-372; 1992, 539.

³⁴¹ Dova 1995; Beschi 2001.

³⁴² Beschi 1994; Beschi 2003.

³⁴³ Lamb 1931/2 (particularly pp. 45-47); Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 84-85.

³⁴⁴ Lamb 1930/1, 174-178; Spencer 1995 (ii).

locations in northern Mytilene, including the already mentioned EIA apsidal building [53].³⁴⁵ At Pyrrha, a succession of buildings dating from the mid 7th century to the early Classical period replace the original EIA apsidal structure [54].³⁴⁶ In addition to the above, a monumental Lesbian masonry terrace wall was constructed at Apothiki [48]. Its size and the monumental ramp leading up to it suggest that it supported a sanctuary complex, but the site remains unexcavated, and its date is uncertain, although a 7th- or 6th-century date is the most likely.³⁴⁷ Finally, the discovery of a (still unpublished) assemblage of Archaic pottery and figurines has been reported in Methymna [52].³⁴⁸

In the Troad, the EIA sanctuaries of Troy remained in use until the mid 7th century, at which point a destruction layer marks a ‘disruption [...] and perhaps even a temporary hiatus in occupation’,³⁴⁹ until ca. 625 BCE. Cult activity post-destruction is identifiable, firstly near the location of the EIA West Sanctuary building, in a rectangular oikos-like building (Archaic Building) north of the EIA West Sanctuary³⁵⁰ and, secondly, in the Upper– and Lower Sanctuary areas, south of the West Sanctuary building [72].³⁵¹

³⁴⁵ See Chatzi 1973; Spencer 1995 (i), 296-299; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 89-91 for the sanctuary in the Experimental Gymnasium plot, Archontidou-Argyri 1986, 200; 1987, 477; Archontidou 1993, 410; Spencer 1995 (i), 279 for the Epano Skala sanctuary, and Archontidou-Argyri 1987, 479; 1988, 454 for the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the New Archaeological Museum plot. Note that there is very little information available regarding these sanctuaries, and it is impossible to determine how early the local cults make their appearance.

³⁴⁶ Schiering 1989 (i), 354-366.

³⁴⁷ Spencer 1995 (iii), 28 (No. 130) with previous bibliography.

³⁴⁸ Archontidou 1993, 420.

³⁴⁹ Aslan & Günata 2014.

³⁵⁰ Rose 1995, 85-88; 1997, 78-82; Aslan & Günata 2014, 96-100.

³⁵¹ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 259-273; Rose 1993, 104; 1995, 88-89; 1997, 86.

Interpretation and Discussion

Settlements and Centres of Cult: the Topography of Sanctuaries

The challenges in reconstructing the layout of EIA settlements have been discussed in the relevant chapter.³⁵² Exploring the extent to which sacred and secular space were interlinked is subject to the same difficulties; it is equally challenging to determine whether or not cult centres were fully integrated into the layout of EIA settlements. However, some conclusions can still be drawn.

During the EIA, most of the identified NEA sanctuaries were located either within or at the limits of settlement space. On Lesbos, for instance, the location of the Pyrrha and Antissa apsidal buildings (on the Pyrrha acropolis and at the foot of the Antissa acropolis),³⁵³ makes it clear that both sanctuaries were integrally linked to their respective settlements [Figure 50, Figure 57]. Similarly, the Epano Skala sanctuary of Mytilene was, in all likelihood, located just outside the limits of the settlement, near the Euripos strait separating the settlement islet / acropolis from the rest of Lesbos [Figure 56].³⁵⁴

It is impossible to determine the extent of the settlement in Troy before the late 7th-century destruction phase.³⁵⁵ However, the settlement remains found in sector D9 indicate that the settlement extended some small distance beyond the Phase VI fortifications [Figure 74, Figure 198].³⁵⁶ This would place the Pillar House contexts firmly within the sanctuary limits and, arguably, very close to domestic space. The West Sanctuary, on the other hand, has been explored in greater detail, and appears to have been located just outside the

³⁵² See above, p. 57 onwards.

³⁵³ See Appendix 1, [47], [54].

³⁵⁴ See Appendix 1, [53].

³⁵⁵ See Appendix 1, [72].

³⁵⁶ Aslan 2009, 37-40; Aslan & Günata 2014, 96.

settlement limits, with no domestic context in its imminent vicinity: it serves as an excellent example of reserved sacred space. The Place of Burning was located some distance further to the north-west: among the studied potential EIA cult centres that can be associated with nearby settlements, it lies the furthest away from domestic space. This further reinforces Aslan's suggestion that it may have been linked to earlier (LBA) funerary contexts discovered in the area as a callback to the heroic past.³⁵⁷

The sanctuary of the Great Gods in Samothrace presents an interesting problem.³⁵⁸ If one assumes that an EIA settlement occupied the same area as the subsequent polis, then the early hearth and ash altar would have been the only surviving remains of an open-air cult established at the limits of this settlement. However, there is no actual evidence for permanent human occupation in the area before the 7th century at the earliest [Figure 44].³⁵⁹ It is quite possible that the earliest phases of the cult were not associated with any specific settlement, and that the sanctuary originated as a rural cult centre, receiving worshippers from multiple communities. The growth of the cult might have served as a significant social centripetal force for the establishment of the polis of Samothrace in the vicinity during the Archaic period.

During the 7th century, the available evidence still greatly favours sanctuaries that were closely linked to (or an integral part of) settlement space: in most cases, sanctuaries occupy central locations (e.g. acropolis hills), which implies that they served a significant role in the context of their respective communities. For instance, the sanctuaries of Oisyme and Neapolis lie at the top and on the western slope of the settlement acropoleis respectively

³⁵⁷ Aslan 2011, 382-412; Aslan & Günata 2014, 93.

³⁵⁸ See Appendix 1, [39].

³⁵⁹ See Appendix 1, [34].

[Figure 22, Figure 23].³⁶⁰ In Thasos, the sanctuaries of Athena and Apollo occupied the two peaks of the acropolis; the sanctuary of Artemis lies at the foot of the acropolis, adjacent to the 6th-century agora. The sanctuary of Heracles, on the other hand, lies further to the east, a short distance beyond the assumed limits of the 6th century settlement [Figure 32, Figure 115].³⁶¹

On Lesbos, the cult buildings of Antissa and Pyrrha are rebuilt and (in the case of the latter) considerably expanded, with cult activity seemingly continuing well into the Archaic period.³⁶² Likewise, in Mytilene, ritual activity continues in the Epano Skala site; furthermore, the 7th century yields evidence for two new sanctuaries on the settlement islet [Figure 56].³⁶³ All of the above sanctuaries lie firmly within 7th-century settlement space. The same is the case for the partially investigated sanctuary at Methymna, which is located on the southern slopes of the settlement acropolis.³⁶⁴

On Lemnos, the sanctuaries of Hephaestia also seem to fit this paradigm. The so-called New Sanctuary and the Theatre Sanctuary both lie firmly within the limits of the settlement, on the extensive promontory of Hephaestia. The Lazaridis Building might have been located just outside the settlement, given its location on the isthmus which connects Hephaestia to the rest of the island [Figure 45].³⁶⁵ All three cult buildings are located at relatively high points of the landscape, and are quite visible from the surrounding area, both from within and from outside the settlement. Among the three Hephaestia sanctuaries, the

³⁶⁰ See Appendix 1, [10], [11].

³⁶¹ See Appendix 1, [22].

³⁶² See Appendix 1, [47], [54].

³⁶³ See Appendix 1, [53].

³⁶⁴ See Appendix 1, [52].

³⁶⁵ See Appendix 1, [42].

New Sanctuary is of particularly high importance, as it was established in the near-vicinity of elite domestic space: a nearby building, interpreted as a late 8th-century elite domicile appears to have been re-built and re-purposed during the 7th century, possibly as storage space for the cult.³⁶⁶

The Meteorological Station plot sanctuary in Myrina is also of considerable interest: it lies to the north of the settlement, on the slopes of a small coastal hill [Figure 48].³⁶⁷ From a topographical standpoint, it differs from the New Sanctuary and Theatre Sanctuary, which were located near the centre of the Hephaestia settlement: there is little to no evidence to suggest that the early Archaic settlement of Myrina extended that far north. It is, instead, likely that the location of the Meteorological Station sanctuary relative to the settlement was comparable to that of the Thasos sanctuary of Heracles (i.e. a short distance away from the limits of settlement space). Unfortunately, because of the presence of the modern town and the ensuing difficulties in excavating the area, early Myrina has not yet provided us with any clearly sanctuaries in the area around (or on) the acropolis.

In addition to the above sanctuaries, the 7th century has also provided several instances of cult sites which were located a considerably larger distance away from the population centres they were associated with – or which appear to have been completely rural and not linked to any single settlement. The sanctuary at Alikí, on the southern coast of Thasos, for instance, lies more than 20 km away from the main settlement, on a small promontory [Figure 27]. It is located at a safe south anchorage, which dominates the nearby coastal landscape, and was established in the mid 7th century, shortly after the arrival of the

³⁶⁶ See above, p. 71.

³⁶⁷ See Appendix 1, [42].

Parian apoikoi in Thasos.³⁶⁸ It is possible that the sanctuary was established by the newly arrived apoikoi in a bid to extend their control over territory distant from the settlement of Thasos (i.e. not unlike de Polignac and Pedley's 'extra-urban' sanctuaries of later periods).³⁶⁹ It is also possible that it served as a gathering place and a core landmark for the small rural settlements of the regions; it is worth remembering that the coastal zone of southern and western Thasos has yielded examples of such Archaic installations, such as Skala Sotiros and Agios Ioannis.³⁷⁰ Another hint of the reasoning behind the site selection can be tentatively gleaned from pilgrims' *graffiti* of later periods: the sanctuary appears to have been by the most active southern anchorage of the island, and must have served as an important node for sea traffic in the region.

On Lesbos, the tentatively identified sanctuary at Apothiki, might have served in a similar role [Figure 51].³⁷¹ It lies a considerable distance away from all known settlements on the island, and is strategically placed to the immediate west of the sea entrance to the Kalloni Gulf, in a small valley adjacent to the coast. It would have overlooked (and been visible to) all sea traffic entering and leaving the Kalloni Gulf. The early, monumental terrace walls might argue for it having the backing and support of one of the major settlements of the island [Figure 184, Figure 185]. It is less likely that it was an inter-communal sanctuary: the earliest such sanctuary on Lesbos (that of Messa) dates well into the 6th century.³⁷²

³⁶⁸ See Appendix 1, [16].

³⁶⁹ de Polignac 1995, 11-126; Pedley 2005, 39-52.

³⁷⁰ See Appendix 1, [15], [21]; see also Morgan 2003, 109-113 for the potential role of early sanctuaries as gathering places that 'trancended other political boundaries and interests'.

³⁷¹ See Appendix 1, [48].

³⁷² Labarre 1944, 415-416; see also Acheilara 2004.

Apothiki is likely to have been associated with either Eresos (to the west) or Arisbe (to the north-east).

Lemnos provides us with two examples of sanctuaries that were clearly associated with specific settlements, and yet were founded a considerable distance away from them, in relatively imposing locations. The Chloe Cabirion, for instance, is located ca. 5 km (via land) to the east of Hephaestia, and it dominates the entrance to the large gulf east of the Hephaestia promontory [Figure 45].³⁷³ Its distance from the settlement and the relatively early shift towards monumentality on-site (the earliest terrace and cult building at Chloe dates to the beginning of the 7th century) bring to mind parallels from the southern and eastern Aegean, such as e.g. the Heraion of Samos [Figure 159].³⁷⁴

The sanctuary of Aulonas bears some similarity to Chloe, in that it lies ca. 2 km to the north of Myrina, on a small coastal hill [Figure 48]. Interestingly, the apsidal cult building is almost twice the size of the rectangular one at Chloe. It is also worth noting that both Aulonas and Chloe are located directly on the coast, and are not directly visible from the settlements of Myrina and Hephaestia.

Finally, it is interesting to note the developments at Troy after an apparent short hiatus from ca. 650 to 625 BCE.³⁷⁵ The earlier Pillar House and Place of Burning cult centres were abandoned, and cult activity focused solely around the area of the West sanctuary. However, very important changes in the topography and layout of this cult centre took effect during this period.

³⁷³ See Appendix 1, [41].

³⁷⁴ Kyrieleis 1993, 99-122 with previous bibliography.

³⁷⁵ See Aslan 2009; also Appendix 1, [72].

Firstly, the area occupied by the earlier cult building did not continue to serve as the core of the sanctuary. Instead, a new rectangular cult building was erected ca. 20 m to the north. Following that, two enclosures with built altars were constructed ca. 20 m to the south-east, forming what the excavators named the Upper and Lower Sanctuary area [Figure 204]. It is tempting to interpret this change in layout, in conjunction with the evidence for the earlier abandonment period, as evidence for discontinuity in worship.

What also warrants consideration is that while the general location of the sanctuary with respect to the nearby settlement remains did not noticeably change, the presence of a permanent settlement at Troy during this time is questionable in itself. No late 7th-century material exists for this period outside the sanctuary area, and any 6th-century finds we have from the site originate from mixed and disturbed deposits.³⁷⁶ It is, therefore, fallacious to interpret this late 7th-century cult centre as associated with a settlement. Instead, if one accepts that the citadel / settlement area had, indeed, been abandoned, the Archaic sanctuary of Troy should be interpreted as a distinct sanctuary site, probably receiving worshippers from multiple communities. This would make it unique in the NEA for our studied period; once more, the nearest equivalent of such a sanctuary would be the sanctuary of Messa on Lesbos, from the 6th century onwards.³⁷⁷

In conclusion, it is immediately evident that most explored EIA and early Archaic sanctuaries in the NEA were located either well within community space or in the liminal area just outside the settlement. There is a single instance of an acropolis sanctuary (Pyrrha); all other EIA examples are located either on the foot of acropolis hills (Antissa) or at the

³⁷⁶ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 287-299; Aslan & Günata 2014, 97.

³⁷⁷ Labarre 1944, 415-416; Acheilara 2004 (particularly pp. 20 and 40-43).

settlement limits (Mytilene, Troy). The sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace is the only known EIA cult site which still remains unassociated with settlement contexts. It is also clear that our dataset is, unfortunately, skewed. The lack of EIA sanctuary contexts from e.g. the Macedonian and Thracian sub-regions only allows us to form an impression of EIA Lesbos and Troy.

Thankfully, the 7th century provides us with a much larger corpus of evidence, which extends over multiple NEA sub-regions. Once again, sanctuaries are primarily found within settlement space, where they typically occupy central positions. Sanctuaries founded on the top or the slopes of acropolis hills become increasingly common (Thasos, Oisyme, Neapolis, Mytilene). It is clear that local cults develop into important elements of communal identity; their social importance and centripetal influence is reflected in the placement of the sanctuaries within the settlements of the period.

During the same phase, other types of sanctuaries make their appearance for the first time. Chloe and Aulonias serve as examples of sanctuaries that are clearly linked to specific settlement sites (Hephaestia and Myrina, respectively), being located less than an hour's walk away from them. However, they are also well outside settlement limits, and (perhaps significantly) are not visible from the settlements themselves. I would tentatively interpret these two cases as early forms of de Polignac's bipolar polis model in the NEA and as indicative of an ongoing, gradual process of urbanisation in the Lemnos settlements.³⁷⁸ Hephaestia, in particular, also provides us with several instances of sanctuaries inside the settlement space, which could serve as an opposite pole to the extra-mural Chloe Cabirion.

³⁷⁸ de Polignac 1995, 11-126

Alikí on Thasos and Apothiki on Lesbos are two very interesting outliers. They lie more than three hours' walk away from all 7th-century major settlements, and are located in prime locations to overlook sea traffic and receive worshippers from beyond their respective island sub-regions. Consideration for the developing maritime networks of the 7th century is likely to have played an important part in the site selection and founding of these sanctuaries.³⁷⁹ Furthermore, they are likely to have served as gathering places, bringing together rural populations in their area: it is worth remembering that both southern Thasos and western Lesbos have provided us with instances of Archaic rural installations (Agios Ioannis, Lesbian enclosures).³⁸⁰ Finally, the two sanctuaries may also have served as liminal markers, representing the control of larger communities (Thasos, Eresos / Arisbe) over an extended territory.

What remains conspicuous in its absence is evidence for small, non-monumental rural cults. The only such sanctuary for which we have some information is the small sanctuary of Mandal' Panagia.³⁸¹ It was apparently founded near the end of the EIA, and it continued to attract worshippers until Hellenistic times, long after the apparent abandonment of the nearby Mantroudia settlement.

The relative lack of evidence for other such sanctuaries throughout the EIA and the 7th century should not be interpreted as evidence for their absence. They are, by definition, particularly challenging to identify, given the lack of architectural evidence for cult activity. The discovery of 6th-century cave sanctuaries with no associated architectural remains in e.g.

³⁷⁹ See below, p. 199 onwards.

³⁸⁰ See Appendix 1, [15], [56].

³⁸¹ See Appendix 1, [37].

Nea Heracleitsa³⁸² and Arkoudotrypa³⁸³ shows that sanctuaries of this type were not unknown in the NEA; it is almost certain that they existed in earlier periods as well. In addition, Triandafyllos has brought forward several instances of rock carvings at Thracian peak sites, which he interprets as evidence for ritual activity (possibly linked to astronomical observations).³⁸⁴ Surface pottery suggests a tentative EIA date. Finally, the Rhodope mountain range and the river plains to its north have yielded several examples of sites which have been tentatively identified as peak sanctuaries.³⁸⁵ It is highly likely that the lack of contemporary parallels in the coastal areas is a consequence of research gaps, due to the overwhelming research focus on monumental sites and/or *intra muros* contexts within larger settlements.

The Temenos: Architecture, Cult Foci, and Equipment

If any discussion is to take place regarding NEA cults, it is imperative that we establish some familiarity with the preserved architectural remains of the known sanctuaries. As briefly mentioned above, such remains have been discovered in most but not all explored NEA sanctuaries (the most notable exception being EIA Samothrace). Cult buildings seem to be an important part of early NEA cults, especially in sanctuaries located within settlement space, but they are by no means a *sine qua non*. On the other hand, cult foci (i.e. facilities and objects which enabled the ritual functions of the cult, such as hearths, libation pits, altars, cult statues) are, by definition, almost always present. They are often accompanied by ritual

³⁸² Bakalakis 1938 (i), 84-95.

³⁸³ Poulios 1981, 344; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1982 (ii), 327.

³⁸⁴ Triandafyllos 1986, 129-140.

³⁸⁵ See Bozhinova 2012 (particularly p. 56 onwards), with previous bibliography.

equipment (e.g. libation vessels, offering tables), which can potentially serve as a source of insight into the specific ritual practices of the local cults.

Cult Buildings and Architecture

With the exception of Samothrace, cult buildings have been found in all identified EIA sanctuaries. These buildings were all either apsidal (Antissa,³⁸⁶ Mytilene)³⁸⁷ or oval (Pyrrha,³⁸⁸ Place of Burning),³⁸⁹ with stone foundations and (in all likelihood) a mudbrick and wooden superstructure [Figure 180, Figure 186, Figure 189, Figure 208]. The cult building in the West Sanctuary in Troy presents both an exception and an interesting variation during the Late Geometric period: its exterior was rectangular, but its interior space was arranged into an apse, with a large stone bench (which probably served as the focal point of the cult) running across its north-eastern end [Figure 203].³⁹⁰ The Antissa ‘heroon’ foundations were also rectangular, but there are no indications that the ‘heroon’ was ever a roofed building; the wall remains are more likely to have formed a small enclosure [Figure 182].

During the 7th century, rectangular cult buildings gradually became the norm. Some apsidal buildings of earlier periods (e.g. Antissa, Pyrrha) remained in use or were rebuilt on a similar plan, but no new apsidal buildings were constructed, with one notable exception. The large, multi-roomed apsidal building in the Aulon sanctuary stands apart from its 7th-century contemporaries in Lemnos.³⁹¹ Its dimensions (ca. 27 by 11 m) mean that it is smaller

³⁸⁶ See Appendix 1, [47]; also Lamb 1931/2, 42-48.

³⁸⁷ See Appendix 1, [53]; also Archontidou-Argyri 1987, 477.

³⁸⁸ See Appendix 1, [54]; also Schiering 1989 (i), 352-353 and 361.

³⁸⁹ See Appendix 1, [72]; also Aslan 2011, 382-412; Aslan & Günata 2014, 93

³⁹⁰ A stone (statue?) base and a deposit of fibulae were discovered under the structure; they belonged to the earliest (still EIA) phase of the building (Basedow 2009, 139; Aslan & Günata 2014, 89).

³⁹¹ See Appendix 1, [45].

than most 7th-century hekatompedon temples of the central and eastern Aegean (e.g. Eretria, Samos); however, it is still considerably larger than most NEA cult buildings of the same period.³⁹²

As a rule, 7th-century NEA cult buildings were single-roomed and relatively small (usually 10-15 m long), but, as the century progressed, new architectural elements and concepts were introduced into the region. These include bi- and tripartite forms typical of small Greek temples, with a recessed entrance (occasionally *in antis*), a central room / cella, and (in some cases) an adyton or opisthodomos. Such designs are encountered at e.g. Oisyme and the Thasian sanctuary of Heracles [Figure 110, Figure 122]. The first indications of monumentality and architectural decoration make their appearance (e.g. 7th-century relief decoration in the area of the Apollo sanctuary at Thasos) [Figure 116], but monumental peripteral temples are not erected before the early 6th century.

Among the 7th-century sanctuaries, cult buildings have been safely identified and dated in Oisyme,³⁹³ Thasos (sanctuary of Heracles),³⁹⁴ Samothrace (Mandal' Panagia),³⁹⁵ Lemnos (Hephaestia, Myrina, Aulon, Chloe),³⁹⁶ Lesbos (Antissa, Pyrrha, Mytilene),³⁹⁷ and Troy (final phases of the Pillar House and Place of Burning cults, West Sanctuary).³⁹⁸ The excavation of the Neapolis sanctuary has, unfortunately, remained incomplete because of modern habitation, and no cult building has yet been brought to light. Similarly, the sanctuary

³⁹² Its apsidal shape, internal subdivision, and the fact that it is flanked by smaller structures might suggest that the sanctuary developed over earlier domestic contexts (possibly a rural installation loosely associated with the Myrina settlement). It is still possible that part of the building was still serving secular functions during the 7th century. See Ficuciello 2013, 187-189.

³⁹³ See Appendix 1, [11].

³⁹⁴ See Appendix 1, [22].

³⁹⁵ See Appendix 1, [37].

³⁹⁶ See Appendix 1, [41], [42], [45].

³⁹⁷ See Appendix 1, [47], [53], [54].

³⁹⁸ See Appendix 1, [72].

of the Great Gods on Samothrace has only provided evidence for open-air cult until well within the 6th century.

The exact function of these buildings is not clear in all cases, and it is likely to have differed between cults. They may have served as a house ('oikos') for the worshipped deity's cult image; as an enclosed space for hosting the cult rituals ('telesterion'); as a space to store the cult equipment and display votive offerings; or all of the above, to varying degrees. For instance, the EIA West Sanctuary cult building in Troy seems to have served primarily as an oikos: a 'mortised stone base'³⁹⁹ has been discovered on its eastern end, with a deposit of discarded fibulae in its vicinity. This base is likely to have supported a cult statue.⁴⁰⁰ Basedow has also tentatively suggested that the recovered fibulae might have supported the peplos of the statue before being ritually discarded.⁴⁰¹ In contrast, the interior of the cult buildings at Hephaestia and Chloe was clearly arranged so as to enable worshipper attendance during ritual activity [Figure 160, Figure 165]. The long seating benches, interior altars, and bema platforms discovered in these telesteria indicate that cult ritual regularly took place within the buildings, with a group of worshippers participating in the proceedings.

The 7th century also marks the appearance of the first major landscaping works to alter / improve the sanctuary temene. The first monumental terraces and platforms are erected during this phase at Alikı, Apothiki, and Troy.⁴⁰² Finally, we observe the first appearances of non-cult buildings within the context of a sanctuary: edifices hosting secondary functions such as storage or dining. Such buildings are first encountered on Lemnos: the Chloe

³⁹⁹ Aslan & Günata 2014, 89.

⁴⁰⁰ Basedow 2009, 139; Aslan & Günata 2014, 89.

⁴⁰¹ Basedow 2009, 139.

⁴⁰² See Appendix 1, [16], [48], [72].

Cabirion, for instance, was flanked by storage rooms,⁴⁰³ and the Edifice of Votive Offering Deposits might have partly served as a storage building for the New Sanctuary of Hephaestia [Figure 160, Figure 164].⁴⁰⁴ Other types of secondary buildings, such as hestiatoria (or dining halls) only make their appearance during the 6th century.⁴⁰⁵

Cult Foci and Equipment

I am employing the term ‘cult focus’ to describe facilities and objects which enabled and facilitated cult practices in a sanctuary: elements which were essential and a core part of ritual activity. The term encompasses two of Pilafidis-Williams’ primary correlates: ‘special facilities for ritual use’ (e.g. altars, hearths, libation pits) and ‘cult images’ (e.g. cult statues).

It has been pointed out in previous studies of early Greek sanctuaries that it is particularly difficult to distinguish between early domestic and sacred facilities: interior hearths, for instance, are encountered in domestic architecture, but can also serve as sacrificial escharae in cult buildings. The same is the case for benches or bothros pits.⁴⁰⁶ The architectural forms of the EIA can offer little help, since, in themselves, they rarely allow us to differentiate safely between households and cult buildings.⁴⁰⁷ This contributes significantly to the difficulty in identifying early places of worship in the Aegean, and is one of the major factors that limit us to the use of a correlate system. In the discussion that follows, I will review facilities and objects that can be tentatively identified as cult foci, alongside any material evidence for other pieces of equipment used in cult practices.

⁴⁰³ Beschi 2003, 980-981.

⁴⁰⁴ Della Seta 1927/9, 713; Beschi 2005 (i), 143-145; Ficuciello 2008, 65.

⁴⁰⁵ See Launey 1944, 55-66 for the Lesche building in the Thasos sanctuary of Heracles; Lehmann 1962; Kuhn 1985, 187-199 for the Hall of Votive Gifts in Samothrace; Lazaridis 1963, 258; Daux 1965, 964-966 for the twin buildings at Aliko.

⁴⁰⁶ See Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 279-286.

⁴⁰⁷ See above, p. 68 onwards and p. 141 onwards.

During the EIA, hearths are a relatively common element among the sites that can be identified as potential sanctuaries. They are present at the West Sanctuary⁴⁰⁸ and the Pillar House area at Troy⁴⁰⁹ and under the Classical Hall of Choral Dancers on Samothrace.⁴¹⁰ The apsidal West Sanctuary eschara was located inside the early cult building, and consisted of a layer of ash and burnt animal bones over a low, stone-built base [Figure 202]. This eschara is associated with what has been interpreted as the base of an offering table further to the east and with the cult statue base discussed above.⁴¹¹ It was, in all likelihood, employed for animal sacrifice in the context of the West Sanctuary cult.

The Pillar House eschara was of very similar construction, and may have served a similar function. It was located to the immediate east of the eponymous pillars, and can be associated with them. These two pillars (P1-P2) were visible until the Hellenistic period. They originally served as core structural elements of the LBA Pillar House; subsequent to its collapse, they may have been used as cult foci, similar to baetyls or standing stones.⁴¹² Late EIA and early 7th-century pits containing mainly ritually deposited fine ware ceramics have been discovered near their bases; furthermore, gold foil and ivory objects were recovered from the surrounding area.⁴¹³

The Samothrace hearth, on the other hand, was little more than ‘a pavement of small stones, framed by boulders’ and covered by a layer of burnt earth [Figure 147]. In its EIA state, its identification as a place of sacrifice and a cult focus is, admittedly, far from safe.

⁴⁰⁸ Basedow 2006, 18 and 22, n. 5; 2009, 135; Aslan & Günata 2014, 89.

⁴⁰⁹ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 217; Basedow 2009, 138-139.

⁴¹⁰ Lehmann & Spittle 1982, 267-269.

⁴¹¹ See Appendix 1, [72].

⁴¹² Basedow 2009, 132.

⁴¹³ See Appendix 1, [72].

However, it is important to note that, during the early 7th century, it was converted into a shallow offering pit and, subsequently, a low ash mound/altar.⁴¹⁴ It is the evident continuous and uninterrupted re-use of this particular hearth until its eventual conversion into an ash altar which makes it a likely early cult focus. No EIA buildings were discovered nearby: it must have served an open-air cult.

Escharae are by no means the only type of cult focus present in EIA sanctuaries. For instance, in addition to the cult foci discussed above, Troy presents us with yet another type of core structure employed in ritual activity. Specifically, on an artificial terrace between the West Sanctuary and the earlier Troy VI fortification wall, several stone-built, circular platforms came to light. They date from the mid 8th to the mid 7th century, and their function may have been similar to raised eschara hearths or offering tables [Figure 203].⁴¹⁵ Several had been repeatedly repaired or had subsequent platforms built upon them, with different phases separated by a thin layer of sand and ash. Blegen interpreted them as threshing floors, or areas for the sun-drying of food;⁴¹⁶ however, the large amounts of drinking vessels discovered nearby indicate that these stone platforms were associated with ritual feasting.⁴¹⁷

Furthermore, several free-standing large stones were discovered south of the southern gate of the Troy VI fortification wall. It is possible that they served as horoi (area markers) for the Pillar House sanctuary, but Basedow has also suggested that they may have functioned similarly to standing stone cult foci, meant to receive offerings, not unlike the

⁴¹⁴ Lehmann & Spittle 1982, 267-269.

⁴¹⁵ See Appendix 1, [72]; also Blegen *et al.* 1958, 273-279; Basedow 2006, 18-20; 2009, 135; Aslan & Pernicka 2013, 11-14.

⁴¹⁶ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 273-279.

⁴¹⁷ Parallels to those stone circles have been found in other Aegean regions, including Lefkandi, Asine, Mycenae, and Naxos (Aslan & Pernicka 2013, 14 with bibliography), but they are unique in the NEA. See also Basedow 2009, 135; Aslan & Günata 2014, 92.

two pillars in the Pillar House area.⁴¹⁸ However, the local stratigraphy is very disturbed, and the date of their placement is uncertain. It is possible that they were unconnected with the EIA phases.

Seventh-century cult foci in the NEA are more varied than during the earlier period; furthermore, because more evidence from sanctuaries is available, they also become easier to identify. Eschara hearths are still encountered, mostly inside cult buildings. Square, stone-framed hearths were found at Oisyme⁴¹⁹ and at the Thasos Heracleion [Figure 110, Figure 122];⁴²⁰ in both cases, they are likely to have been employed for animal sacrifice (or in some other aspect of ritual activity). A raised structure at the southern end of the Chloe Cabirion might have served as a hearth intended to facilitate ritual feasting (a clay tripod cauldron was discovered on it) or as a bema from which a priest might address the worshippers [Figure 161, Figure 162].⁴²¹ Finally, in the Antissa apsidal building, a low hearth, similar to the Troy escharae of the previous period, was constructed. It was covered with a burnt earth layer.⁴²² Its interpretation as an eschara is tentative (as is, admittedly, the identification of the building as a sanctuary), but the discovery of parts of bronze vessels, bone jewellery, and fine pottery in the area does seem to argue for a ritual function of the building and the hearth.

Sacrificial altars first appeared in the NEA during the early 7th century, but not originally as built structures. Rock formations served as altars during early periods (e.g. the 7th-century rock-altar of the Thasos Heracleion).⁴²³ Small stone— or slab-built structures first

⁴¹⁸ Blegen *et al.* 1953, 104-105; Basedow 2009, 141.

⁴¹⁹ See Appendix 1, [11].

⁴²⁰ See Appendix 1, [22].

⁴²¹ See Appendix 1, [41].

⁴²² See Appendix 1, [47].

⁴²³ See Appendix 1, [22].

make their appearance in the later years of the century. These can be apsidal (such as the one found in the Upper Sanctuary at Troy)⁴²⁴ or rectangular (such as the tentatively-dated ones in the sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace).⁴²⁵ Monumental altars, with space reserved for prothesis (pre-sacrificial display of the victims) and steps leading to the sacrificial platform only make their appearance during the 6th century (e.g. Thasos Artemision⁴²⁶ and Heracleion).⁴²⁷

With the tentative exceptions of the Troy stone circles (which remain in use until the mid 7th century) and of a square offering-plate-like artefact discovered at Pyrrha,⁴²⁸ no offering tables are documented. On the other hand, bothros libation pits appear to be more common. Archaic bothroi have been tentatively identified under the Hall of Choral Dancers in Samothrace;⁴²⁹ furthermore, in the New Sanctuary of Hephaestia, two cylindrical vessels were built into a wall niche, presumably to receive libations [Figure 168].⁴³⁰

The New Sanctuary cult building has also yielded a structure that is unique in the NEA. In the northern corner of the cult building, a small room contained an elevated bench-like ‘altar’. The exact function of this structure remains uncertain: it bears no traces of fire,

⁴²⁴ See Appendix 1, [72]; also Blegen *et al.* 1958, 259-260.

⁴²⁵ See Appendix 1, [39]. The date of these altars is very tentative, and might range from the 7th to the 6th centuries. They were apparently unconnected to any specific cult building, which makes it more likely that they date to the earlier, open-air phase of the cult.

⁴²⁶ Weill 1985, 9; Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, 16.

⁴²⁷ Launey 1944, 27-29.

⁴²⁸ Schiering 1989 (i), 360-362. Note that the date of the artefact is uncertain. It is highly likely that it belongs to a 6th-century phase of the sanctuary.

⁴²⁹ Lehmann & Spittle 1982, 271.

⁴³⁰ Their date is uncertain; the cult building itself dates to the second half of the 7th century (Beschi 2005 (ii), 840; Ficuciello 2008, 68).

and is unlikely to have been used for sacrifice [Figure 165]. The contexts associated with it mostly contain pottery sherds and fragments of metallic objects.⁴³¹

In summary, eschara hearths are the predominant type of cult focus, from the EIA up to and including the 7th century. Some can be linked to open-air cults (e.g. Samothrace), but most are found inside cult buildings (e.g. Oisyme, Thasos Heracleion, Antissa, Troy). This is by no means exclusive to the NEA; several parallels, both in cult and domestic architecture can be found in other Aegean sites of the same periods.⁴³² The delayed appearance of built altars is worth noting; the central and southern Aegean provides considerably earlier examples of such structures (see e.g. the successive altars in the Samos Heraion).⁴³³ That said, the Thasos Hephaestion hosts an early bedrock altar, which indicates that the concept of open-air, altar-centred sacrifice was not unknown in the EIA, at least during the 7th century. This is further demonstrated by the appearance of small built altars in the last quarter of the century (e.g. Troy, possibly Samothrace).

The Gods' Due: Votive Offerings

Ex voto artefacts recovered from sanctuary contexts can greatly contribute in the identification of a sanctuary site, and provide a wealth of information regarding matters such as the date of the establishment of the cult, the worshipped deity, the social impact of the cult, and the type of worshippers the sanctuary attracted. It is also possible (and desired) to draw comparisons with domestic contexts of the same period, so as to further illustrate the significance of specific finds within their wider communal and social context. Unfortunately,

⁴³¹ See Appendix 1, [42].

⁴³² See Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 280 n. 64-65 for a list of Aegean parallels, including e.g. Perachora, Iria, and Dreros.

⁴³³ Buschor 1933, 146-173; see also Kyrieleis 1993, 100.

this is relatively problematic for NEA cult sites, as the available excavation reports and partial publications are generally lacking in necessary detail, to such a degree that any quantitative analysis of the recovered material is often impossible.⁴³⁴ That said, some insight can still be gained from a qualitative overview of pottery and other small finds from early sanctuaries.

Regarding the EIA contexts, all sanctuaries yielded locally produced pottery, but Pilafidis – Williams’ correlates of ‘rich offerings’ and ‘indications of wealth’ (monumental sculpture, metal and ivory objects etc.) are rare compared to the subsequent 7th-century assemblages.

At the EIA sanctuaries of Lesbos, local Grey Ware (in some instance of particularly fine fabric) is by far the most common pottery type encountered. The pottery assemblages found in the early Antissa apsidal building mainly include local Aeolian Grey Ware and a local red-clay variation on it. Very few imported (East Greek) Geometric pottery fragments were found in the foundation layer of the building and on its floor. High-quality Aeolian Grey Ware and some Proto-Corinthian pottery were found in subsequent layers. Other types of finds are scarce: only three bronze fibulae, the handle of a bronze vase, and a bone needle-like object, decorated with incised circles, were recovered from the early building [Figure 181].⁴³⁵ The EIA sanctuary in Mytilene provides similar assemblages, with material (mainly pottery, still unpublished) dating from the EIA to the Roman period. Local Grey Ware and a Protogeometric amphora were discovered inside the building; nearby, a large deposit pit

⁴³⁴ This will, hopefully, be addressed in the near future, especially regarding Thasos and the opposite coast: a detailed study of the pottery from those sanctuaries is, at the time of writing, underway by Prof. J. J. Maffre (Sorbonne), Dr A. Tichit (Sorbonne), and Dr C. Walter (Louvre Museum) (pers. comm.).

⁴³⁵ See Appendix 1, [47]; also Lamb 1931/2, 44-45, 62-63.

came to light, containing figurines and pottery dating from the 10th century BCE to the 2nd century CE.⁴³⁶

In contrast, the Antissa ‘heroon’ has yielded very few finds (which also remain unpublished). Both graves discovered inside the enclosure wall were looted, and are not easily datable; dates as far back as the Early Bronze Age have been suggested for similar cist graves on the island.⁴³⁷ A tentative *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the enclosure wall’ is provided by a late 8th-century pot burial, which had been placed against the exterior of the enclosure. All finds unearthed from within the enclosure (pottery, figurines, and other offerings) date from the 7th century onwards.⁴³⁸ Similarly, the original excavation of Pyrrha by Boehlau was never concluded, and the finds remained unpublished. Schiering re-examined the site in 1989, but information on finds remains scarce:⁴³⁹ Grey Ware is reported by Lamb⁴⁴⁰ and Bayne,⁴⁴¹ and Protogeometric pottery by Spencer.⁴⁴²

The earliest eschara on Samothrace has yielded no pottery but only ash, charcoal, and animal bones ‘one cut for the extraction of marrow’.⁴⁴³ The earliest dateable finds (G2-3 Ware and Coarse Ware handmade Thracian vessels) were found in the early 7th-century ash layer covering the hearth context.⁴⁴⁴ The continuous use of the hearth, the evidence for early

⁴³⁶ See Appendix 1, [53].

⁴³⁷ Spencer 1995 (ii), 52 n. 31.

⁴³⁸ Spencer 1995 (ii), 51-54; Lamb 1931/2, 175-178.

⁴³⁹ See Schiering 1989 (i).

⁴⁴⁰ Lamb 1932, 11.

⁴⁴¹ Bayne 2000, 216.

⁴⁴² Spencer 1995 (i), 281

⁴⁴³ Lehmann & Spittle 1982, 268.

⁴⁴⁴ Lehmann & Spittle 1982, 269, n. 6, cat. nos. 1-82.

sacrifice, and the accumulation of ash argue for an early cult, but the lack of finds from the original fill prevents a precise dating of its appearance.⁴⁴⁵

In Troy, the largest EIA assemblages come from the West Sanctuary.⁴⁴⁶ The area yielded mainly drinking / mixing bowls and some amphora fragments. The earliest vessels (11th– to 9th-century Grey Ware and Protogeometric pottery) were discovered in nine deposit pits, near the subsequent cult building.⁴⁴⁷ The pits also contained burnt animal bones and two pronged objects (similar to figurines with upraised arms).⁴⁴⁸ Two fenestrated stands are also noteworthy:⁴⁴⁹ they have been compared to fenestrated Protogeometric kalathoi,⁴⁵⁰ but their profile is reminiscent of tall Late Geometric stands and vessel bases [Figure 200, Figure 201].⁴⁵¹ No direct parallels are known, but non-fenestrated LHHIC stands have been found at western Asia Minor sites.⁴⁵²

Regarding the earliest phase of the sanctuary building (late 9th / early 8th century to ca. 750 BCE), there is very little dateable pottery, some bronze fibulae, and a clay bull figurine.⁴⁵³ The finds from the building that are associated with its subsequent phase (ca. 750 – 650) are equally few.⁴⁵⁴ The largest closed assemblage is the deposit of drinking and eating

⁴⁴⁵ See Appendix 1, [39].

⁴⁴⁶ See Appendix 1, [72].

⁴⁴⁷ Rose 1997, 82-83; 1998, 74-77; Aslan 2009, 149-150; Hnila 2012, 163–164, 185–192; Aslan & Günata 2014, 86-88

⁴⁴⁸ Aslan 2009, 148-150; Aslan & Günata 2014, 87-88. See also Rose 1997, 80-83; 1998, 76-77 for the excavation reports.

⁴⁴⁹ Rose 1997, 82; 1998, 74-76.

⁴⁵⁰ Aslan 2009, 149; Popham *et al.* 1980, pl. 130, 139, 176.

⁴⁵¹ Coldstream 2003, 100, fig 37

⁴⁵² Mountjoy 1998, 54, fig. 3.4.

⁴⁵³ Rose 1995, 91; Aslan & Günata 2014, 89.

⁴⁵⁴ Aslan & Günata 2014, 92.

vessels on the stone circle terrace. It contained large quantities of Grey and G2-3 Ware, and a limited number of other artefact types (e.g. necklace beads).⁴⁵⁵

Interestingly, the area surrounding the Troy IV Pillar House yielded assemblages that were smaller, but contained a higher percentage of metal and other precious materials. Several deposit pits were excavated near the pillars P1 and P2; furthermore, the fill of the nearby Houses 768, 769 and 814 yielded fine pottery, beads, metal (gold foil, blades), ivory and bone artefacts.⁴⁵⁶

Lastly, the oval building in the Troy Place of Burning and its surrounding area yielded mainly LBA but also early Archaic pottery of the early 7th century.⁴⁵⁷ Nevertheless, some pottery fragments (Catling Type II amphora fragments and the earliest G2-3 Ware vessels) may be dated to the end of the 8th century.⁴⁵⁸

In summary, sanctuary assemblages of this period mainly consist of pottery (mostly drinking and eating vessels). These vessels might have been votive offerings in their own right; or they may have been part of the equipment of the sanctuaries; or they may have been employed in ritual feasting and then discarded. In some cases (the most significant of which are probably the stone platform assemblages in Troy), there is strong evidence (such as large kraters and dinoi) in favour of the last interpretation. Other finds, such as metal, ivory and bone objects, weapons and jewellery, are relatively rare. Furthermore, there is no material evidence that EIA sanctuaries attracted worshippers from beyond their immediate

⁴⁵⁵ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 274-279; Basedow 2009, 135, 139; Aslan 2011, 412 - 419; Aslan & Günata 2014, 92-93.

⁴⁵⁶ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 214-217 and 291-293; Basedow 2009, 136-139; Aslan & Günata 2014, 93-94.

⁴⁵⁷ Aslan 2011, 387-406.

⁴⁵⁸ Aslan 2011, 388-393.

surrounding region: no pre 7th century imported artefacts have been found. Local Grey Ware is predominant in the sanctuaries of Lesbos, while the sanctuaries of Troy have yielded mainly handmade pottery and local Anatolian Grey Ware; the small amounts of Protogeometric pottery found in Troy have recently been shown to be locally produced.⁴⁵⁹

Archaic sanctuary sites of the NEA yielded significantly greater amounts of votive offerings, pottery, figurines, and assorted artefacts. Local pottery still comprised the majority of the discovered material in many sites, but wares imported from the central, southern, and eastern Aegean gradually became more common (especially during the 6th century), as did mould- and hand-made figurines, decorative artefacts, and jewellery, frequently of high material value (gold, ivory).

The Archaic sanctuaries of Thasos provide the best examples of the above.⁴⁶⁰ Large assemblages of local pottery, imported wares (Attic, Corinthian, Cycladic, East Aegean – Ionian), and (perhaps more importantly) local imitations of such wares have been found in the Artemision, the Heracleion and the Aliki caves.⁴⁶¹ Cycladic (mostly Parian) and East Aegean / Wild Goat Style pottery are the most frequently encountered imported pottery types [Figure 118]. Clay figurines are also common, especially in the Artemision: seated female figurines and standing kore types are the most characteristic types.⁴⁶² Furthermore, several

⁴⁵⁹ Aslan *et al.* 2014, 290-302.

⁴⁶⁰ See Appendix 1, [16], [22].

⁴⁶¹ Lazaridis 1963, 258; Daux 1965, 964-966; Weill 1985 (particularly 205-207); Huysecom-Haxhi 2009 (particularly 17-19) with previous bibliography; and Ilieva 2009, 111 for the 7th-century G2-3 Ware.

⁴⁶² See Weill 1985 for the Artemision.

votive offerings of high material value were discovered in the Artemision, including gold, bronze, and ivory jewellery imported from the central Aegean and Asia Minor.⁴⁶³

In the Macedonian sanctuaries,⁴⁶⁴ early 7th-century local and G2-3 Ware assemblages are succeeded by assemblages with increasing amounts of Cycladic and East Aegean pottery, as well as Attic, Corinthian, and even Laconian wares. Thasian pottery is also widely distributed along the Macedonian coastline. The Parthenos sanctuary of Neapolis, for instance, yielded a large Melian amphora [Figure 109],⁴⁶⁵ Thasian pottery, as well as Corinthian and East Aegean pottery (mostly Ionian and Wild Goat Style).⁴⁶⁶ Similar pottery assemblages were discovered at Oisyme.⁴⁶⁷ It is also not surprising that 7th- and 6th-century figurines similar to those found in Thasian sanctuaries are also encountered in Neapolis⁴⁶⁸ and Oisyme,⁴⁶⁹ given that the two poleis were Thasian apoikiai / emporia. Offerings of high material value (metal, ivory etc.) are rarer than in the sanctuaries of Thasos. Only the sanctuary on the Oisyme acropolis yielded a large number of metal artefacts, including fragmentary bronze shields with extensive relief decoration (simple motifs and pictorial depictions of mythological scenes are reported), knife blades, spear- and arrowheads, and metal objects ‘of everyday use’ (brooches and dress pins). Notably, the entirety of this material is unpublished, and no more precisely datable than Archaic.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶³ This includes a golden diadem with orientalising motifs (possibly Rhodian), bronze fibulae from the central Aegean islands and Asia Minor, and a bronze mirror support from the Peloponnese (Grandjean & Salviat, 2000, pp.297-99). Ivory garment-decoration plaques with inlays of amber were also discovered in the Artemision (Grandjean & Salviat, 2000, pp.297-99, fig. 260).

⁴⁶⁴ See Appendix 1, [10], [11].

⁴⁶⁵ It has been conclusively shown that the so-called ‘Melian’ vessels were produced in Paros, of which Thasos was an apoikia. See Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 285-287; Zaphiropoulou 2004, 418.

⁴⁶⁶ Lazaridis 1961/2, 238.

⁴⁶⁷ Giouri & Koukouli 1987, 372; Koukouli & Papanikolaou 1990, 492.

⁴⁶⁸ Lazaridis 1961/2, 238, pl. 30-31.

⁴⁶⁹ Giouri & Koukouli 1987, 370.

⁴⁷⁰ Giouri & Koukouli 1987, 371.

On Samothrace,⁴⁷¹ only Grey Ware, local handmade Macedonian Ware and G2-3 Ware pottery sherds are encountered in the 7th-century layers at the sanctuary of the Great Gods.⁴⁷² Likewise, only a few local handmade pottery sherds speak of human presence at Mandal' Panagia during that time,⁴⁷³ and the Ai-Giorgis site has yielded only a few G2-3 Ware and Subgeometric pottery fragments.⁴⁷⁴ Small amounts of imported vessels from the central and southern Aegean only make their appearance during the transition to the 6th century.⁴⁷⁵

Other types of votive offerings are remarkably absent from the sanctuary of the Great Gods. No jewellery or any materially valuable offering was discovered; a spearhead is the only reported Archaic metal find from the sanctuary.⁴⁷⁶ On the other hand, several bronze fibulae dating from the beginning of the 7th century to the 6th century (including one of the 'Phrygian' subtype, with parallels from the Thasos Artemision) were discovered in Mandal' Panagia.⁴⁷⁷

In the sanctuaries of Lemnos,⁴⁷⁸ imported pottery remains rare, even as late as the 6th century; only a few Attic and Corinthian vessels have been reported in the sanctuaries of Hephaestia.⁴⁷⁹ Local Grey Ware and (from the later years of the 7th century) Proto-Lemnian Ware comprises the majority of pottery assemblages in Lemnian sanctuaries [Figure 168,

⁴⁷¹ See Appendix 1, [37], [39].

⁴⁷² Lehmann & Spittle 1982, 268-269; Lehmann 1998, 136; Matsas 2004, 227.

⁴⁷³ Matsas *et al.* 1993, 648-649; Lehmann 1998, 178-179.

⁴⁷⁴ Karadima 1995, 490.

⁴⁷⁵ Lehmann 1962, 137; Kuhn 1985, 198-199; Matsas *et al.* 1993, 650.

⁴⁷⁶ Ehrhardt 1985, 201.

⁴⁷⁷ Matsas *et al.* 1993, 647-648, 651; Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 297.

⁴⁷⁸ See Appendix 1, [41], [42], [45].

⁴⁷⁹ Archontidou 2004, 69-73 and 80; Beschi 2005 (ii), 843-861, particularly 854-856, Correale 2008, 84.

Figure 170].⁴⁸⁰ In the Chloe Cabirion, a large pottery deposit was excavated to the northwest of the telesterion; it mainly contained drinking vessels, including many early 7th-century G2-3 vases. Several of those were misfired and, therefore, evidently locally produced.⁴⁸¹ Finally, locally produced carchesia were discovered in the sanctuaries of Chloe and Hephaestia [Figure 163, Figure 170].⁴⁸²

Numerous small-scale figurines were discovered at Aulonias, Hephaestia, and Myrina. They include wheel- and mould-made statuettes,⁴⁸³ ‘cut-out’ peritmeton silhouettes,⁴⁸⁴ clay models of fountains with chthonic symbolism (tortoises, snakes),⁴⁸⁵ and siren figurines [Figure 167, Figure 171, Figure 173].⁴⁸⁶ No jewellery or metal offerings are reported, with the exception of a single spearhead and a few fish-hooks from Hephaestia.⁴⁸⁷ Instead, items of everyday use (lamps, spindle whorls, loom weights) are present in large numbers, often in the same assemblages as figurines and fine pottery.⁴⁸⁸

In the Lesbos sanctuaries,⁴⁸⁹ imported pottery appears around the end of the 7th century and in relatively small amounts. Local Grey Ware (Aeolian Bucchero) remains

⁴⁸⁰ Proto-Lemnian ware is a local, subgeometric pottery type (ca. 700-550 BCE), decorated with geometric and floral motifs, and pictorial scenes (horses, chariots, sirens etc.) on later vessels. It is interpreted as the Lemnians response to the Archaic pottery of Ionia, Lesbos, and the Troad (see Archontidou 2004, 67).

⁴⁸¹ Beschi 1994, 35-36; 2003, 974-981.

⁴⁸² Beschi 1994, 35-36; 2003, 974-981; 2005 (ii), 851; Archontidou 2004, 80; Correale 2008, 84.

⁴⁸³ Archontidou 2004, 84-88.

⁴⁸⁴ Beschi 2001, 195-214; Archontidou 2004, 88.

⁴⁸⁵ Beschi 2005 (i), 97-106; Ficuciello 2008, 65-66.

⁴⁸⁶ Beschi 1992/3, 271-273; 2005 (i), 143-145; Ficuciello 2008, 65, for the Hephaestia figurines; and Beschi 2001, 195-214, for the Myrina figurines.

⁴⁸⁷ The spearhead was found next to the remains of a man, in a circular shaft near the House of Votive Offering Deposits, and should probably be linked to the Persian campaign of 512/1 BCE, marking the destruction of the sanctuary (Beschi 2005 (i), 106-108).

⁴⁸⁸ Beschi 1992/3, 271-273; 2005 (i), 143-145; 2005 (ii), 848, 850-851, 853-854, 857; Ficuciello 2008, 65.

⁴⁸⁹ See Appendix 1, [47], [52], [53], [54].

overwhelmingly common.⁴⁹⁰ Some Corinthian, Laconian, and Attic pottery was discovered in Antissa (7th– and 6th-century)⁴⁹¹ and Mytilene (mainly 6th-century with very few 7th-century examples).⁴⁹² Also, small amounts of G2-3 Ware have been discovered in Antissa,⁴⁹³ along with 7th- and 6th-century East Aegean pottery whose provenance is uncertain (it may have been locally produced).⁴⁹⁴

No 7th-century figurines are reported: the earliest such finds come from 6th-century layers in Mytilene.⁴⁹⁵ Other types of offerings are only reported in Antissa: a leaf-shaped spearhead and some fibula fragments were found in the Archaic apsidal building.⁴⁹⁶ Notably, the Antissa ‘heroon’ yielded a few instances of small clay feet bearing suspension holes [Figure 183]. Spencer has interpreted them as ‘gouty feet’: the offerings of worshippers to a healing cult.⁴⁹⁷ It is also possible, however, in the absence of other such evidence, that they had been parts of children’s dolls.

In Troy, the EIA sanctuaries were abandoned ca. 650 BCE.⁴⁹⁸ After cult activity made its re-appearance in the West Sanctuary area, the finds present a rather different picture from earlier phases, especially regarding votive offerings and pottery deposits. Specifically, the Archaic Building to the north of the old West Sanctuary yielded limited amounts of Grey Ware pottery.⁴⁹⁹ Larger pottery assemblages were found in the Upper– and Lower Sanctuary,

⁴⁹⁰ Lamb 1930/1, 51-56; Chatzi 1972 (i), 43; Archontidou-Argyri 1987, 477; Archontidou 1993, 410; Spencer 1995 (i), 279; 1995 (ii), 50; Bayne 2000, 137-155; Acheilara 2004, 20.

⁴⁹¹ Lamb 1931/2, 56-60.

⁴⁹² Chatzi 1973, 517.

⁴⁹³ Ilieva 2009, 114.

⁴⁹⁴ Lamb 1931/2, 58; Schaus 1992, 358.

⁴⁹⁵ Chatzi 1973, 517; Archontidou-Argyri 1987, 479; 1988, 454; Spencer 1995 (i), 298.

⁴⁹⁶ Lamb 1931/2, 62-63.

⁴⁹⁷ Spencer 1995 (ii), 53.

⁴⁹⁸ See Appendix 1, [72].

⁴⁹⁹ Rose 1997, 80.

south of the EIA West Sanctuary. Locally produced Wild Goat Style and Grey Ware vessels are common; after the transition to the 6th century, Swan Style vessels (black-figure pottery with swan imagery) also make their appearance.⁵⁰⁰ In contrast to earlier periods, imported pottery (Corinthian ware, Ionian cups, and East Aegean vessels) are also encountered, especially during and after the turn of the century. Furthermore, significantly more figurines were discovered in the Archaic West Sanctuary assemblages than in those of earlier periods. Small-scale, 7th- and 6th-century clay figurines, including Grey Ware and painted female statuettes, and animal figurines, were discovered near the Archaic Building and in the Upper- and Lower Sanctuary area [Figure 205, Figure 206].⁵⁰¹ Furthermore, a small number of Archaic female polos-wearing figurines came to light in the Lower Sanctuary,⁵⁰² along with a figurine mould which argues for local figurine production.⁵⁰³

In conclusion, we may observe that, from a material culture standpoint, sanctuary contexts may not differ significantly from settlement assemblages. This is particularly the case in matters regarding pottery and significantly more so during the EIA. The pottery assemblages from the EIA Lesbos and Troy sanctuaries, for instance, mostly consist of functional, locally produced pottery, of the same types which are common in contemporary local domestic contexts (e.g. Aeolian Grey Ware / Lesbian bucchero and local Protogeometric pottery).

That said, there are exceptions: the Protogeometric (?) stands from Troy are unique in both the Troy West Sanctuary itself and the wider region, with no parallels from other

⁵⁰⁰ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 265-268 and 269-273; Rose 1995, 88; 1997, 86.

⁵⁰¹ Rose 1995, 91; 1997, 80 and 86; precisely dating those figurines is problematic; they may date to the 6th century.

⁵⁰² Aslan 2009 (ii), 54.

⁵⁰³ Rose 1997, 86.

contemporary sanctuaries or domestic assemblages. It is interesting to note that one of them bore simple depictions of horses on a reserved band near its foot: it is, to my knowledge, the earliest vessel with pictorial decoration found in the sanctuary. Whether they were votive offerings, had actual ritual use, or both is unclear – but the remains of ritual feasting found on the stone platform terrace (to the immediate north-east of the sanctuary) might indicate that the stands had been used to support cauldrons or other large vessels in this context.

Further differentiation between sanctuary contexts and domestic assemblages can be identified via other types of small finds. Bronze fibulae and a single ivory object from Antissa find no (reported) parallels in contemporary domestic contexts on the island. Similarly, the Troy sanctuaries have provided us with clay animal figurines, the difficult-to-interpret clay pronged objects / figurines from the West Sanctuary and several small finds in ivory, bronze and gold foil from the Pillar House area. The finds are too few and fragmentary to discuss their potential symbolism, but they sharply distinguish the sanctuary contexts from the contemporary settlement layers nearby, and also argue for relative affluence among the worshippers.

During the 7th century, differentiation between material recovered from sanctuaries and domestic assemblages becomes more pronounced at all studied sites. In the sanctuaries of Thasos and the opposite coast (Neapolis, Oisyme), for instance, high-quality pottery imported from the central and southern Aegean is considerably more common than in the domestic assemblages of the period (drinking vessels, plates, aryballoi). The same can be said for the 7th-century sanctuaries on Lesbos, where Corinthian, East Greek (and, in later

contexts, Attic) pottery co-exists with local bucchero vessels.⁵⁰⁴ On Lemnos, the pottery recovered from the sanctuary deposits of Hephaestia, Chloe, and Myrina only includes locally produced examples of Lemnian Grey Ware and early examples of Proto-Lemnian pottery, but they are of the highest quality and appear to find parallels only among the grave goods of the Hephaestia cemetery. Finally, Troy yielded both local products and potential imports from the central Aegean (mostly Corinthian and East Greek vessels). The latter are encountered in contexts of the final quarter of the century, when it seems the settlement was permanently abandoned, and human activity focused solely on the sanctuary areas.

Interestingly, the only pottery recovered from the 7th-century sanctuaries of Samothrace (both that of the Great Gods and Mandal' Panagia) is handmade Thracian pottery and fine G2-3 Ware. While no contemporary domestic contexts are, so far, known from Samothrace, it is possible to draw parallels with the early layers of the Bernard Trench at Thasos,⁵⁰⁵ where pottery of the same types was found. In contrast to other contemporary NEA sanctuaries, those of Samothrace yielded pottery which does not significantly differ from that found in domestic assemblages of the period.

Some individual instances of exceptional pottery types require further discussion. The appearance of 'Melian' pithamphorae at Neapolis, for instance, is of great interest, as such vessels are only otherwise encountered in the NEA in funerary contexts (information is limited, but they are likely to have served as grave markers or burial vessels).⁵⁰⁶ Based on

⁵⁰⁴ It must be noted that such material is also reported in assemblages that have not been safely linked to sanctuaries, including the acropolis of Mytilene (Schaus 1992, 356). That said, early domestic contexts on Lesbos have not been extensively investigated (especially not to a degree comparable to sanctuary assemblages) and how representative these pottery types are of such contexts remains unclear.

⁵⁰⁵ See Bernard 1964.

⁵⁰⁶ Leventopoulou-Giouri 1965; Giouri & Koukouli 1969; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2006.

examples from Eretria and other sites, Verdan has convincingly argued that these vessels were comparable to the *lebes gamikos* in function, and he has linked them to adulthood, marriage, women, and the role of women in the household.⁵⁰⁷ Their presence in Neapolis strongly suggests that the local deity's domain extended over matters related to matrimony.

A particular vessel shape, encountered in the sanctuary of the Great Gods, deserves particular mention:⁵⁰⁸ the *carchesia* (or *karchesia*) cups were cylindrical, with a slightly concave profile and two vertical, *kantharos*-like handles; they are believed to have been used mainly in cult activities.⁵⁰⁹ They are, interestingly, also common in the Archaic sanctuaries of Lemnos which might indicate some degree of cultural interaction linking the two islands [Figure 163].⁵¹⁰ Whether any particular symbolism is attached to the shape is unclear.

Finally, some pottery finds from Lemnos deserve particular mention. I have already discussed the two immured cylindrical vessels in the Hephaestia New Sanctuary cult building with regards to their possible function as libation receptacles.⁵¹¹ From a material culture standpoint, they are unique in shape, with no contemporary parallels. It is almost certain that they were built for the specific purposes of the sanctuary, even though their exact role in the cult remains unclear. No such vessels have been found at the Chloe Cabirion, but the Cabirion has yielded another unique find of great interest: a clay tripod cauldron, found near the *eschara* / *bema* in the cult building. While tripod cauldrons are by no means a rare offering in e.g. mainland Greece sanctuaries, this is clearly not an expensive *ex voto* but a functional vessel, given its discovery location and the material it is made of. When considered in tandem

⁵⁰⁷ Verdan 2015, 131-134.

⁵⁰⁸ Lehmann & Spittle 1964, 151-152 (n. 1) and 232-233.

⁵⁰⁹ Love 1964, 216-218.

⁵¹⁰ See above, p. 157.

⁵¹¹ See above, p. 148.

with the eating and drinking Grey Ware and G2-3 Ware vessels found in the sanctuary deposits and the nearby storage building, it becomes clear that the Cabirion cult practices involved food preparation inside the cult building itself, probably followed by ritual feasting.

In addition to the above finds, 7th-century sanctuaries provide a considerably more extensive corpus of non-pottery finds when compared to EIA cult centres. ‘Rich offerings’ and ‘indications of wealth’ are more common. The sanctuaries of Thasos, for instance, (the Artemision in particular) have yielded a considerable number of metal (bronze and gold) and ivory artefacts, including weapons (mainly arrowheads), brooches, diadems, decoration for clothing, and other types of jewellery [Figure 119, Figure 120].⁵¹² Oisyme has provided us with a significant hoard of weapons and bronze, relief-decorated shields, sadly still unpublished.⁵¹³ Smaller concentrations of metal finds have been found in the Edifice of Votive Offering Deposits in Hephaestia (mostly bronze tools, fishing hooks, and harpoons), Mandal’ Panagia (several bronze fibulae), and in the Upper– and Lower Sanctuary area of Troy (mostly bronze dress pins). It is worth noting that such metal finds are, as a rule, absent from contemporary domestic contexts. Parallels (especially for jewellery and weaponry) have only been reported in funerary assemblages.

Figurines also sharply differentiate sanctuary contexts from domestic assemblages. The sanctuaries of Thasos, Oisyme, and Neapolis have yielded one of the most extensive corpora of clay figurines in the 7th- and 6th-century NEA. This corpus ranges from standing early Daedalic-style female statuettes to 6th-century seated deities of what Huysecom-Haxhi and Weil categorised as the ‘Lady with Polos’ type.⁵¹⁴ An equally important but

⁵¹² For a recent study of these artefacts, see Prêtre 2016.

⁵¹³ Giouri & Koukouli 1987, 371.

⁵¹⁴ Weill 1985, 147-220; Huysecom 1997, 155-180; Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, 342-356.

typologically distinct corpus of figurines comes from the sanctuaries of Lemnos: it is characterised by a large variety of different techniques, including wheel-made figurines, clay peritmeton silhouette-like cut-outs and mould-made products [Figure 167, Figure 171, Figure 173]. The themes present in this corpus are considerably varied, with common elements emerging in the sanctuaries of both Hephaestia and Myrina. One can encounter female seated and standing figurines, siren statuettes, and animal figurines. Interestingly, the clay models of fountains found in Hephaestia are unique in the NEA. It has been suggested that they might indicate a link between the local cult and water;⁵¹⁵ the high likelihood that the cult practices involved libations (as evidenced by the immured cylindrical vessels), only reinforces this interpretation.

The 7th-century sanctuaries of Lesbos and Troy yielded far fewer figurines than their Thasian or Lemnian counterparts. Most of these figurines were depictions of animals (mostly horses), with a very small number of female figurines from Troy dating to the late 7th century. It is only after the transition to the 6th century that figurines in these sites become more common. Similarly, the sanctuaries of Samothrace yield no figurines (or any depictions of gods or mortals for that matter) until the 6th century. No interpretation readily presents itself for this, although an argument for an aniconic cult could be made for the sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace, especially given the historical testimonies that are available for the cult in later periods.

A final note should be made regarding a category of offerings that is often overlooked at NEA sites: sacrificial remains. Eschara hearths often contain the ash and burnt remains of

⁵¹⁵ See Beschi 2005 (i).

animals or birds, but no zoo-archaeological studies have taken place so far on this material, at any of the relevant sanctuaries. However, two examples of well-preserved (and easily identifiable) sacrificial victims are known.

Firstly, the sanctuary at Aulon has yielded several examples of sacrificed calves, one of which lies in a safely dated Archaic layer [Figure 174]. These were complete sacrifices: the animals were sacrificed, and then buried in their entirety, with no part of the victim being distributed to the worshippers. The multiple sacrifices indicate that this is not a foundation sacrifice or other singular ritual, but an integral part of the cult practices.⁵¹⁶

Secondly, the Upper– and Lower Sanctuary area at Troy has yielded a great amount of deer antlers and bones of large felines (possibly lions). Many interpretations have been put forward for this material, including the keeping of tame beasts within the sanctuary enclosure and the decoration of the sanctuary with deer antlers.⁵¹⁷ However, the display of hunting trophies in the sanctuary might also have been the case. In the case of Troy, the specific role of the animal remains within the context of the local cult remains unclear. Nevertheless, they do seem to indicate that the purview of the worshipped deity extended over the wild.

Cult and Ritual Practices

Given the above archaeological evidence, it is possible to glean some insight into the identity of the worshipped deities and the ritual activity linked to their cults. Post-Archaic historical testimonies, epigraphic sources, and archaeological evidence can, in some cases, assist in casting light on early cult practices, but, following the basic premise of this study,

⁵¹⁶ Archontidou 1991, 372; 1992, 539.

⁵¹⁷ Rose 1995, 93; 1997, 78.

they must be approached based on the available archaeological finds and never as representative in themselves of early cult. For example, Herodotus' insistence that the cult of Heracles in Thasos was founded by the Phoenicians as an offshoot of the cult of Melkart is widely accepted in the modern bibliography, but there is little to no archaeological evidence to support the historian's claims.⁵¹⁸

Regarding the EIA, the Lesbian sanctuaries, unfortunately, provide us with relatively little evidence. For instance, it is particularly challenging to attempt to draw any conclusions regarding the Antissa apsidal building cult, given that the building had been thoroughly cleared and / or looted during subsequent periods. The small eschara discovered in the second phase of the building might indicate that the cult had involved sacrifice and the burning or cooking of the victims.⁵¹⁹ The multi-roomed layout of the early building is also worth considering: it might be the case that, during its early phase, it had served as a domestic household while also hosting a cult. Oropos might serve as a supporting parallel for such an interpretation: there, apsidal buildings hosted cult activities within the context of an *oikos*. Furthermore, the discovery of a secondary apsidal building (probably a metalworking workshop) near the Antissa sanctuary also brings to mind the characteristic Oropos building clusters.⁵²⁰

Similarly, there is no clear deciding evidence regarding the cult in Pyrrha during the EIA. Nevertheless, the development of the site during the 7th and 6th centuries and the placement of the sanctuary near the south-western gate of the acropolis argue against it having been a domestic cult, like what I have proposed for Antissa; and the finds from

⁵¹⁸ See below, p 170.

⁵¹⁹ See above, p. 147.

⁵²⁰ Mazarakis Ainian 2007, 166-167. See above, p. 72.

subsequent phases indicate a cult focusing on an interior eschara, a bothros and a built altar. Shiering has suggested Apollo as the recipient of the cult, but in my opinion there is little to no evidence to support this.⁵²¹ Such is also the case with the Epano Skala sanctuary at Mytilene (thought to have been dedicated to Apollo Maloeis).⁵²² What can be determined with reasonable certainty regarding Antissa and Pyrrha is some degree of cult longevity: the rebuilding and expansion of the cult buildings in both sites, with no evident abandonment phase and with remarkable adherence to the foundations and architectural remains of earlier phases, presents us with an unbroken timeline in both sanctuaries.

Similarly, the single open-air eschara hearth in the sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace gradually accumulated ash to such an extent that it overflowed into the surrounding area. This can be consistent with a high ash altar, and indicates, firstly, that the eschara remained the central focus of the local cult over an extended time period, and secondly, that sacrifice was an integral part of the cult since its earlier phases. Furthermore, the discovery of late Archaic eschara and bothros facilities in the Hall of Choral Dancers,⁵²³ directly over the early hearth, argues for continuity in cult foci, well into the Archaic and even Classical periods. The documented use of the pre-Greek inhabitants' language as *lingua sacra* until the Hellenistic period could, likewise, serve as an indication of cult continuity or religious syncretism.⁵²⁴

Regarding the Troy sanctuaries, the pronged clay objects recovered from the EIA pits are reminiscent of contemporary 'goddess with upraised arms' figurines from other Aegean

⁵²¹ Schiering 1989 (i), 365.

⁵²² Balazka, S, 'Να καταχωθούν τα αρχαία', *Ελευθεροτυπία*, 18 Ιουλίου 1992; Spencer 1995 (i), n. 51; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 97.

⁵²³ Conze *et al.* 1880, 15-16; Lehmann & Spittle 1982, 271-272.

⁵²⁴ Diod. Sic., *Hist.* 5.47.3.

regions.⁵²⁵ These figurines and the fibula deposit inside the cult building argue for the worship of a female goddess (possibly but not necessarily an early form of the deity worshipped in the subsequent Archaic Building and Upper– and Lower Sanctuary).

The nearby stone circular platforms might have been linked to the sanctuary; however, it is more likely that they served as foci for a different cult. An interesting suggestion has been put forward by Basedow and Aslan: such a cult may have focused on the remains of the heroic past, given the proximity of the platforms to the Troy VI fortification wall.⁵²⁶ This wall remained, during the period of use of the stone circles, the most evident and imposing feature of the settlement, and any ritual activity taking place on the platform terrace would have been easily visible to all approaching the site from the west and south.⁵²⁷

The discovery of loom weights, beads, and jewellery in the Pillar House area indicates that it might have hosted the cult of a female deity whose purview extended over household activities. It is interesting to note the apparent use of the two pillars as cult foci and as markers for votive offering deposits – this is not encountered in any other NEA sanctuaries of the period. Basedow has tentatively suggested an early form of Athena Ergane as the cult recipient.⁵²⁸ However, this is by no means certain, and is primarily based on

⁵²⁵ See, for instance, Prent 2009, 231-238.

⁵²⁶ Basedow 2009, 140-142; Aslan 2011, 416.

⁵²⁷ Aslan draws particular attention to the significance of the near-monumentality of the site and the ‘impressive space for performance and display’ produced by the spatial arrangement of the sanctuary (Aslan 2011, 416).

⁵²⁸ Basedow 2009, 140-142.

historical sources which document the existence of a sanctuary dedicated to Athena during subsequent periods.⁵²⁹

The available evidence for post 8th-century cults of the NEA is more extensive. This is largely due to the continuous use of many sanctuaries from the 7th century up to the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. In cases of evident continuity, extrapolating from later testimonies and finds of subsequent periods can provide some insight; however, one must keep in mind the aforementioned dangers inherent in such an approach.

In the Thasian Artemision, for instance, Hellenistic inscriptions provide us with the epithet ‘Pōlō’ (ΠΩΛΩ) for the worshipped deity, whose purview encompassed the protection and rearing of children to adulthood (‘πῶλος’: foal, young child).⁵³⁰ A late Hellenistic – Roman stele also references the cult of Artemis ‘Eileithyie’ (ΕΙΛΕΙΘΥΙΗ), a goddess of childbirth also encountered in Paros.⁵³¹ However, the form of worship (and the aspects of the worshipped deity) during the early Archaic period remain unclear. Seventh- and 6th-century material, including the figurine corpus, loom weights, and jewellery from the site might serve as indications of the worship of an early, still-developing aspect of Artemis Pōlō as protectress of the household.⁵³² On the other hand, evidence regarding early worship of Artemis Eileithyie is non-existent.⁵³³ As for the cult practices, the earliest evidence that might provide some insight dates to the 6th century, when a monumental built altar is erected

⁵²⁹ See e.g. Hdt. 7.43 where ‘Ἀθηναίη Ἰλιάς’ receives sacrifice from Xerxes in Troy.

⁵³⁰ Macridy 1912, 8-9; Salviat 1959, 380-381.

⁵³¹ Salviat 1959, 363-367. A sanctuary of Artemis Eileithyie is located on mount Kounados in Paros. It consists of a cave with a source of water and a narrow terrace (Berranger 1992, 82-83). Interestingly, there is no evidence to indicate that the Paros cult dated as early as the Archaic period; there is a possibility that the cult first emerged on Thasos, and was subsequently introduced to Paros.

⁵³² See above, p. 154.

⁵³³ Eileithyie was mostly worshipped in small and/or open-air or cave sanctuaries. A large, monumental sanctuary dedicated to her would be exceptional. See Berranger 1992, 83.

in the lower sanctuary terrace.⁵³⁴ There are no indications of sacrifice dating to earlier periods.

The sanctuary of Heracles, on the other hand, provides us with a much better impression of the 7th-century cult. Herodotus claimed that Phoenicians had founded the cult of Heracles on Thasos, before the arrival of the Greeks.⁵³⁵ There have been attempts to reconcile the historian's claims with the archaeological evidence, with limited success. Launey, in his study of the sanctuary, suggested that two distinct aspects of Heracles received worship: the Phoenician Heracles-god and the Greek Heracles-hero.⁵³⁶ The early rock altar, with its nearby temple,⁵³⁷ would have been the focus for the cult of the pre-apoikism, divine aspect, while the Polygonal Masonry Edifice and its interior eschara would have hosted the cult of the heroic aspect.⁵³⁸ Launey also listed several inscriptions that set contradicting rules and regulations for the cult, and interpreted them as evidence of a dual cult with distinct ritual practices.⁵³⁹ The earliest of these inscriptions date to the beginning of the 5th century: how representative they are of the 7th-century cult is questionable. Nevertheless, the existence of

⁵³⁴ Weill 1985, 9; Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, 16.

⁵³⁵ Hdt. 2:44 and 6:47. See Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 145 for previous bibliography; van Berchen 1967, 88-109 for a study of the Thasos Heracleion in relation to Phoenician Heracles-Melqart sanctuaries. There is no material evidence (pottery or other artefacts) that could argue for the Phoenicians' presence on the island; Herodotus may have mistakenly referred to the pre-Greek inhabitants of the island as 'Phoenicians'.

⁵³⁶ Launey 1944, 191-219.

⁵³⁷ The early phase of the temple was discovered after Launey's publication (des Courtils & Pariente 1985, 882-884; des Courtils & Pariente 1986, 802-805). His linking the early altar to the temple has only been reinforced by this discovery.

⁵³⁸ Launey 1944, 165-177. Recesses in the bedrock around the altar might have received food offerings (Launey 1944, 183).

⁵³⁹ *SEG* 2:505; *IG* XII, Suppl. 353. Van Berchen challenged the duality of the cult, stating that both types of rituals could have been addressed to the same deity (van Berchen 1967, 94-95). However, I would like to suggest that an inherent duality of cult exists even in such cases, with the rituals addressing different aspects of the deity. Pouilloux suggested that Heracles Thasios, mentioned in the *SEG* 2:505 inscription was, in fact, the divine aspect, while the feasting and games mentioned in the *IG* XII, Suppl. 353 inscription were addressed to the heroic, 'military' aspect of Heracles (Pouilloux 1954, 363-379).

two distinct cult foci (the rock altar and the eschara) and two cult buildings (the temple near the altar and the eschara building) can serve as tentative confirmation of an early bipolar cult.

Regarding the Thasos Athenaeon and Pythion, little can be identified beyond the identities and epithets of the worshipped deities (and that only based on 5th-century inscriptions, with all the uncertainty that this entails); very little of the early phases of the sanctuaries is preserved, although it is certain that both cults were introduced during (or shortly after) the founding of Thasos.⁵⁴⁰ During the 6th century, the cult of Athena Poliouchos appears to have involved animal sacrifice on an altar, west of the temple and, possibly, ritual feasting.⁵⁴¹ Nothing is known of Apollo Pythios beyond that he likely served as a god of justice (linked to the laws and thesmoi of the city), given that his sanctuary received fines from lawbreakers in Classical times.⁵⁴²

Several deities have been suggested as the recipients of worship in the sanctuary of Alikí, including a stonecutters' patron deity and the Dioskouroi.⁵⁴³ Given the discovery of four kouroi and a fragmentary 4th-century inscription, Servais considered Apollo Archegetes to be the most probable candidate.⁵⁴⁴ A 3rd-century inscription, discovered in one of the sanctuary caves also reads ...]Ν ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙ | ...Σ]ΠΗΛΑΙΟΝ.⁵⁴⁵ All of this evidence, however, dates from the second half of the 6th century onwards. Furthermore, the sanctuary has yielded no early cult focus, and we possess little to no insight into the cult practices. In

⁵⁴⁰ Daux 1960 (i), 866 for the Athenaeon; Holtzmann 1994, 5-13 for the earliest (7th-century) monumental reliefs from the Pythion. The two reliefs may have originally flanked the entrance of the sanctuary.

⁵⁴¹ Daux 1960 (i), 864.

⁵⁴² *IG* XII, Suppl. 350, 355, 358, 362.

⁵⁴³ Servais 1980, 73-74; Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 164.

⁵⁴⁴ Servais 1980, 5, 22-23 and 73-75.

⁵⁴⁵ Daux 1965, 966.

summary, Alikí is one of the most obscure sanctuaries on Thasos at least during its early phases.

Some cults on the Macedonian coast appear to have shown similarities to the Thasian ones, as indicated by the discovery of female figurines of the same type as those found in the Thasian Artemision at the sanctuaries of Neapolis and Oisyme.⁵⁴⁶ Furthermore, the discovery of ‘Melian’ pithamphorae at Neapolis could serve as an indication that the worshipped deity’s domain extended over matrimony and the raising of children.⁵⁴⁷ Notably, both poleis were founded by Thasian apoikists, and remained under (at least partial) Thasian control until the end of the 5th century.⁵⁴⁸ In Neapolis, the name ‘Parthenos’ is encountered in 5th-century inscriptions;⁵⁴⁹ it is, unfortunately, impossible to identify name of the worshipped deity at Oisyme. It is tempting to interpret both Macedonian cults as offshoots of the cult of Artemis on Thasos, especially given the similarity in finds encountered in the sanctuaries. However, while the earliest instance of an identifiable cult focus in the Thasos Artemision is the aforementioned late 6th-century monumental altar,⁵⁵⁰ Oisyme provides us only with a 7th-century interior eschara, and Neapolis has yielded no cult focus yet.

With regards to Samothrace, it has been suggested that the Mandal’ Panagia sanctuary was also dedicated to a ‘Mother Goddess’.⁵⁵¹ However, a small statue base of unreported date from Mandal’ Panagia bears the inscription ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ,⁵⁵² making it likely

⁵⁴⁶ See above, p. 155.

⁵⁴⁷ See above, p. 162.

⁵⁴⁸ Loukoupoulou 2004 (i), 862-865, Nos 634 (Neapolis) and 635 (Oisyme).

⁵⁴⁹ Bakalakis 1936, 35-36 and im. 51-52.

⁵⁵⁰ See above, p. 169.

⁵⁵¹ See the Greek Ministry of Culture website: http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/3/gh352.jsp?obj_id=2552 (last accessed 10 February 2017).

⁵⁵² Matsas *et al.* 1993, 647.

that the cult crystallised into that of the Greek goddess in later years. No evidence whatsoever exists regarding the cult practices of earlier periods.

On the other hand, the three open-air altars discovered throughout the sanctuary of the Great Gods demonstrate that sacrifice was an important part of the cult beyond the EIA eschara.⁵⁵³ The historical testimonies referencing the cult on Samothrace are, in most cases, post-Hellenistic and highly contradictory with respect to each other, but it is still possible to determine that several deities were worshipped at the sanctuary from at least the Classical period onwards. Apart from the four Cabiri (named by Dionysodorus as ‘Axieros’, ‘Axiokersos’, ‘Axiokersa’, and ‘Casmilus’),⁵⁵⁴ there are references to the cult of Aphrodite, Pothos, and several heroes (Dardanus, Iasion, Harmonia, Cadmus).⁵⁵⁵ From an archaeological perspective, the multiple Archaic cult foci in the sanctuary argue in favour of the worship of multiple deities from the earliest phases of the cult. However, it remains impossible to determine with any certainty to what degree these early deities corresponded to their Classical (and subsequent) successors. The generally aniconic character of the cult greatly contributes to this uncertainty.

All historical testimonies that reference the cult of the Cabiri in Lemnos are also post-Archaic. It appears that, at Chloe, a trinity of Cabiri received worship: the ‘Great Goddess Lemnos’, the ‘Elder God’ (occasionally equated to Hephaestus), and their child, ‘Cabiros’.⁵⁵⁶ The problem of an aniconic cult is as evident here as in Samothrace: no evidence that could provide insight into the early aspects of the worshipped deities survives. Nevertheless, the

⁵⁵³ See above, p. 148; also Appendix 1, [39].

⁵⁵⁴ *FGrHist* 68 F1.

⁵⁵⁵ Plinius, *Nat.Hist* 36.4.25. Also Ehrhardt 1985, 164-178.

⁵⁵⁶ Acusilaus, *Genealogies*: *FGrHist* 2F20; Hemberg 1950, 164-166; Burkert 1985, 281-285; Parker 2011, 253-255.

early telesterion of Chloe, with its benches, bema, and no provision for open-air sacrifice, argues for a mystical cult from as early as the 7th century.

No testimonies regarding the cults of Hephaestia survive, but all three bear distinct similarities to the Chloe Cabirion (benches for seating; interior cult focus in the case of the New Sanctuary). The female figurines discovered in New Sanctuary and Theatre Sanctuary contexts argue in favour of a female deity.⁵⁵⁷ Furthermore, the clay fountain models and wells in the area surrounding the New Sanctuary could be tentatively interpreted as symbolic of a deity whose purview extended over the waters or the earth; possibly an aspect of what the Italian excavators refer to as the ‘Great Goddess Lemnos’.⁵⁵⁸ Similar figurines were discovered in the Meteorological Station sanctuary at Myrina: it is likely that the Great Goddess was worshipped there also.

In addition, the nearby Aulonas sanctuary was almost certainly dedicated to a female goddess (who, in Hellenistic times, was worshipped as Artemis).⁵⁵⁹ Several sacrificed and subsequently buried calves throughout the sanctuary indicate that complete sacrifices were an integral part of the cult rituals.

In Antissa, the identity of the cult recipients at the Antissa ‘heroon’ is unknown. Given the context of the sanctuary, an ancestral-like cult is quite likely, and the 7th-century clay feet could very well argue for an early healing cult (if, as mentioned above, they were actually votives in their own right and not parts of a figurine or clay doll).⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁷ See Appendix 1, [42].

⁵⁵⁸ The argumentation put forward by Beschi (2005 (i)) appears convincing in this respect, but we must acknowledge the danger of arguing on matters of religious symbolism based on what equates to a temporal ‘snapshot’ of the sanctuary.

⁵⁵⁹ Archontidou 1991, 370.

⁵⁶⁰ See above, p. 158.

In Mytilene, both 7th-century sanctuaries seem, at first glance, to have been dedicated to female deities. The New Archaeological Museum Plot sanctuary⁵⁶¹ yielded several late Archaic and Hellenistic figurines and a fragmentary monumental statue depicting the goddess Aphrodite.⁵⁶² Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions from Mytilene reference the cult of Aphrodite ‘Peitho’, and it is relatively safe to identify the cult of the goddess at this site during post-Archaic periods.⁵⁶³ However, based on the available information it is impossible to safely determine whether cult continuity can be traced back to the 7th century.

The Experimental Gymnasium Plot sanctuary,⁵⁶⁴ on the other hand, has yielded two 6th-century figurines of Cybele, one of which depicts her holding what appears to be a lion on her lap.⁵⁶⁵ It is more than likely that the goddess received worship on-site from at least the 6th century onwards, but the cult building has yielded no early cult focus, and the date of the establishment of the cult is unclear.

The Archaic sanctuary of Pyrrha has provided several distinct cult foci dating from the 6th century onwards. Late Archaic phases of the early cult building (Building A) contained a small stone ‘offering table’, an eschara hearth, and a bothros-like structure. In addition, an exterior built altar was erected nearby, in front of a secondary late Archaic building (Building B).⁵⁶⁶ Schiering noted that the positioning of the altar, west of Building B, finds parallels in temples of Apollo and Artemis in Asia Minor and Delos, and he suggested that the sanctuary of Pyrrha was dedicated to Apollo, ‘a most favoured god in

⁵⁶¹ See Appendix 1, [53].

⁵⁶² Archontidou-Argyri 1987, 479; 1988, 454.

⁵⁶³ IG XII.2 73. It is worth noting that Peitho is also known as Aphrodite’s daughter (Lobel & Page 1955, 105 no. 200; Shields 1917, 34).

⁵⁶⁴ See Appendix 1, [53].

⁵⁶⁵ Bodenstedt 1981, pl. 5.11.

⁵⁶⁶ Schiering 1989 (i), 354-366.

Aeolis'.⁵⁶⁷ However, this evidence is rather circumstantial in nature and not necessarily applicable for the 7th century, especially since there are matters of continuity of cult to consider in the case of Pyrrha. The successive phases of the earlier building (Building A) might argue for continuity regarding the EIA cult from the 8th century onwards, but the external altar makes its appearance during the 6th century, when the second cult building (Building B) was erected [Figure 189]. This argues for the introduction of new cult elements during the late Archaic phase of the sanctuary and for considerable changes in ritual practice.

Finally, no written evidence exists to identify the deity worshipped at the Archaic West Sanctuary of Troy. The finds (specifically, the 7th- and 6th-century figurines and large feline skeletal remains discovered in the Upper- and Lower Sanctuary),⁵⁶⁸ however, argue in favour of a local version of Cybele or the Potnia Theron. The altars found in the Upper and Lower Sanctuary enclosures serve as evidence for open-air sacrifice. In addition, the pottery from the site (primarily eating and drinking vessels) argues for potential ritual feasting as part of the cult. Interestingly, the built altars of this phase differ considerably as cult foci from the eschara hearths and stone platforms of the earlier phases. If one also takes into account the preceding ca. 650-625 BC hiatus phase, it is reasonable to conclude that the late 7th century introduces significant changes in the cult practices of the re-established West Sanctuary compared to the EIA phase.

In conclusion, for the EIA, our information suggests considerable variation in cult practices between sub-regions and sites. There is evidence for open-air sacrifice on Samothrace and (depending on the date we adopt for the pre-apoikism rock altar) at the

⁵⁶⁷ Schiering 1989 (i), 365.

⁵⁶⁸ See above, p. 499, 517.

Thasos sanctuary of Heracles; however, there are also cult centres where animal sacrifice seems to have taken place inside a cult building (e.g. West Sanctuary). The Pillar House pits at Troy also provide us with evidence for alternative modes of worship (in this case, apparently, the ritual deposition of fine pottery and precious artefacts as votive offerings); and the stone platform terrace near the Troy West Sanctuary argues for extensive and repeated ritual feasting, possibly as part of the sanctuary cult, or as a communal ritual.

That said, with the exception of Samothrace, we lack any meaningful information regarding rural sanctuaries and open-air cults of the period. I have argued above that such cults may have been an important part of the rural landscape of the EIA, and it is reasonable to assume that ritual practices at such cult sites would differ considerably from those at settlement sanctuaries of the period. However, actual evidence remains conspicuous in its absence. It might be possible to glean some insight from the study of often-overlooked Thracian peak or hilltop cult sites. To my knowledge, no such sites from the coastal zone have been published; however, Triandafyllos has, in the past, briefly discussed the possible religious (or even ‘astro-archaeological’) significance of acropolis sites on the southern spur of the Rhodope mountain range in coastal Thrace,⁵⁶⁹ and peak sanctuaries have also been tentatively identified in the river plains north of Rhodope.⁵⁷⁰

A frequent element encountered at the Rhodope sites are carvings, hewn in the bedrock: in most cases they are limited to linear motifs, shallow basin-like recesses or clusters of holes.⁵⁷¹ It is interesting to note that such carved recesses in the bedrock have also

⁵⁶⁹ Triandafyllos 1986, 133-138.

⁵⁷⁰ See above, p.140.

⁵⁷¹ Triandafyllos 1986, 133-134 and 137-138.

been discovered around the early rock ‘altar’ in the Thasos Heracleion.⁵⁷² This suggests a possible link between the early Thasian cult and the Macedonian mainland / hinterland; it also serves as further confirmation of the likely Thracian origin of the cult.

The 7th century presents us with considerable changes, one of which is the introduction of the built altar as a man-made, clearly defined structure for the purpose of open-air sacrifice (e.g. in Samothrace and Troy). Other notable developments are the founding of new cults in Thasos and its peraea (with goddesses of matrimony and child-rearing being the primary recipients of worship), and the establishment of the very important Lemnian sanctuaries. Interestingly, the cults of Lemnos have yielded evidence for cult practices which sharply differentiate the sub-region from the rest of the 7th-century NEA, including complete sacrifices (at Aulonias), an apparent lack of facilities for open-air sacrifice throughout the island, and a preference for ritual activity inside the cult buildings, possibly as an early form of a mystery cult.

A few points require particular mention, before we proceed to a final overarching synthesis of our observations. The names and identities of the worshipped deities are, generally, unknown throughout the studied period. Some exceptions exist (e.g. the Thasos Heracleion, Artemision, and the acropolis sanctuaries), but in these cases our information is based solely on post-7th-century sources. If we limit ourselves exclusively to the study of the recovered archaeological evidence, it is only possible to theorise regarding the aspects and purview of the cult recipients.

⁵⁷² Launey 1944, 28.

The worship of female deities appears to have been very common in all regions, from the EIA up to and including the 7th century. As shown above, they are worshipped in a variety of ways, and hold different purviews. For instance, the protective and child-rearing aspects of Artemis Pōlō on Thasos can find parallels in the cults of Oisyme and Neapolis, where votive offerings harkening to adulthood and marriage were found. The ‘Great Goddess Lemnos’, on the other hand, appears to have been a goddess of nature, linked to sources of water or the earth, if the excavators’ interpretation of the votive offerings from her sanctuaries is correct. Finally, the goddess worshipped in the West Sanctuary of Troy might have been a local variant of Cybele or the Potnia Theron, given the animal offerings found in the 7th- and 6th-century sanctuary assemblages. Cults dedicated to male deities are considerably less common (e.g. Thasos Heracleion and sanctuary of Apollo; possibly Pyrrha), and all insight into their aspects and purview is, unfortunately, provided solely by post-7th-century historical and epigraphical sources.

Furthermore, cult practices appear not to have been intrinsically linked to the purview and domain of the cult recipients. As discussed above, the offerings from the Thasos Artemision and the sanctuaries of Oisyme and Neapolis indicate that the worshipped deities were highly similar with regard to their purviews. The mainland cults were established shortly after that on Thasos, quite likely as its offshoots. Yet, while a monumental altar makes its appearance in Thasos during the 6th century, the Oisyme sanctuary retains its interior eschara throughout the 7th and 6th centuries, and no external altar has been discovered. This argues for considerable differentiation in the practice of sacrifice between the two sanctuaries, despite the obvious similarities in the aspects and domains of the worshipped deities.

Finally, the archaeological evidence documents examples of multiple, different cult foci in the same sanctuary. For instance, the sanctuary of the Great Gods has yielded both an early eschara and several altars; likewise, the Thasos Heracleion provides us with the early rock altar and an interior eschara. This is likely to have been due to multiple deities (or different aspects of the same) having received worship in the same temenos, with variety in cult practices and ritual action reflecting this differentiation. It is tempting to interpret these cases as the result of religious syncretism, especially in regions such as the Thasian peraea, where there is evidence for extensive population movements and interactions.⁵⁷³

Conclusions

Unfortunately, the term ‘Dark Age(s)’ is quite appropriate when discussing EIA cults of the region, considering how little information is available regarding them (at least when compared to subsequent periods).⁵⁷⁴ The few sanctuaries that have been identified are located within or just outside the limits of contemporary settlements, and (with the notable exception of Samothrace) have all yielded architectural remains of small (usually apsidal) cult buildings or enclosures. It is almost certain that there are considerable research gaps regarding rural cults of this period: there are some indications of peak sites and rock-carvings in the Macedonian and Thracian hinterland, but at this point one can only speculate about their significance and role.

Most NEA sanctuaries of the period are linked to settlement space, and it is possible that, to some degree, cult crossed over into the domestic sphere (e.g. Antissa). Cult buildings

⁵⁷³ See below, p. 210 onwards.

⁵⁷⁴ Note that I am using the term simply in reference to the lack of evidence and not to imply the collapse of earlier paradigms as has been done in the past (Kotsonas 2016, 241-245 with previous bibliography).

can be directly compared to contemporary domestic structures, both in size and design. There are no early tendencies towards true monumentality, even during the 8th century, despite the appearance of the first large temples in the southern Aegean during that time.

Identifying the participants of those early cults is an interesting challenge. The relatively small size of the cult buildings, the apparent preference for interior hearths as a cult focus, and the relatively small quantity of votive offerings might argue for a limited number of worshippers. However, those finds that have been recovered from EIA sanctuaries (e.g. Antissa, Pillar House) include artefacts of bronze, gold, and ivory, which may have been *ex voto* offerings of the local elite.

It is important to note that there is no evidence for those sanctuaries ever attracting worshippers beyond the strict limits of the local populations: imports from other sub-regions or from beyond the NEA have not been brought to light. It is unlikely that these EIA places of cult served as nodes in a larger interregional network or otherwise contributed to inter-site and/or inter-cultural connectivity.

That said, they are likely to have played a significant role within the social context of the local communities. In at least two cases (the stone platform terrace at Troy and the Antissa ‘heroon’) ritual activity took place on or near obvious remains of an earlier period: the Troy VI citadel walls and a pair of (possibly LBA) burials, respectively. It is quite likely that these cults served to establish communal continuity through association with the physical remains of the past.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁵ See Morgan 2003, 187-190.

It is also worth noting that, among the sanctuaries discussed above, there is one site where ritual activity might have been primarily social / communal and not religious in nature. Specifically, the platform terrace in Troy is unique among EIA sites in the NEA, and has very few tentative parallels from the rest of the Aegean (e.g. Lefkandi and Asine). The terrace assemblages have only yielded eating and drinking vessels of relatively high quality, including large shapes such as kraters and dinoi. Identifiable votive offerings are absent.

Given the information available today, it is likely that that this platform terrace hosted ritual practices which were primarily associated with the fortifications of the earlier Troy VI phase (perhaps as a reference back to the heroic past of the site) and, possibly, with the nearby West Sanctuary cult. The number, arrangement, and re-use of the platforms indicates that they may have been linked to distinct (perhaps familial) social groups of the local community. Participating in the ritual feasting on-site would have been an opportunity to engage socially with one's equals and significantly strengthen communal bonds. It might also have been a chance for local elites to effectively display their status.⁵⁷⁶

New elements and developments in ritual practices make their appearance during the 7th century, but changes are gradual, and vary throughout the NEA. All EIA sanctuaries remain in use during the turn of the 8th century and well into the 7th, with no indications of interruption of cult activity before the mid 7th century. All the evidence points towards continuity in cult at the above sites. One notable outlier is Troy: there, the EIA sanctuaries are abandoned ca. 650 BCE, only for the West Sanctuary to be re-established (with some changes in cult practice being highly likely) ca. 25 years later.

⁵⁷⁶ Note that ritual feasting appears to be a major aspect of early cult in central / southern mainland Greece as well. See e.g. Isthmia: Morgan 1999, 392-393 and 402-403; 2003, 117-118; Gebhard 1995, 125.

The first half of the 7th century marks the founding of several new sanctuaries that are of great interest, especially when approached on a sub-regional level. It is possible to identify common elements and similarities in material culture and cult practices between neighbouring sanctuaries, and to differentiate between sub-regions to a surprising degree.

The sanctuaries of the Thasian and eastern Macedonian sphere bear remarkable similarity to each other. This applies to matters of topography, the typology of votive offerings, and (as far as this can be determined) the aspects and domains of the worshipped deities. It is possible to draw parallels between the Thasian Artemis and Athena, the Neapolis Parthenos, and the Oisyme (as-yet-) unnamed goddess. In fact, if one considers these common elements in conjunction with the date of the apparent foundation of the cults in the first half of the 7th century (with the Thasian cults shortly preceding the mainland ones), one can infer that the mainland cults were subject to substantial Thasian influence, and might even have been founded as a result of planned Thasian action.

Nevertheless, apparent differences, e.g. in cult foci, demonstrate that different factors (social or otherwise) influenced the development of these cults from the moment of their foundation, and that the various communities retained some agency in shaping the local ritual. Perhaps it is significant that all of the above cults (including the Thasian ones) were established in settlement locations where there is some evidence for EIA (at least late 8th-century) occupation. It is tempting to suggest that the cults developed through the fusion of indigenous Thracian elements and Greek influences; indeed, the cult of Heracles in Thasos is more than likely to have been the result of such syncretism.

Regarding the worshippers in the sanctuaries of Thasos and its peraea, it is relatively safe to identify the presence of elites among them. This is evidenced by finds such as the gold, ivory, and bronze jewellery, the weapons, and the relief-decorated Oisyme shields recovered from the cult sites. However, when one considers the presumed aspects and purviews of the worshipped deities (matrimony, raising of children to adulthood) and the accompanying large assemblages of artefacts of lesser material value (e.g. loom weights, locally produced pottery, clay figurines etc.), it becomes clear that these were unlikely to have been socially exclusive cults. Instead, it is more likely that the 7th- and 6th-century Thasian region cults were open to most members of the local communities. The elite offerings should be interpreted not as indications of limited, elite access to the cult, but as social displays of wealth and status to the rest of the community.

Sadly, there is too little information regarding the 7th-century contexts from Lesbos and Samothrace to enter into as detailed a discussion. That said, the apparent continuity throughout the transition from the EIA to the 7th century in those sub-regions is particularly evident on Lesbos, with all that this entails for cultural homogeneity in the context of the cults of the island. Apsidal cult buildings remain the norm, but are rebuilt and altered, in some cases into more complex designs with multiple rooms (e.g. Pyrrha). No changes in cult practice are evident. From a material culture standpoint, it is interesting to note that the Lesbian sanctuaries still present a corpus of material which consists almost exclusively of locally produced wares (primarily Lesbian Grey Ware / bucchero) with minimal imports (mostly concentrated in assemblages from Mytilene). Little to no evidence for the presence of ‘outsiders’ (i.e. not community members) as worshippers can be identified, at least until the early 6th century.

The same can be said for Lemnos. In fact, the Lemnian 7th-century sanctuaries stand noticeably apart from their contemporaries in the rest of the NEA. The rectangular cult buildings of Hephaestia and Chloe, with their long interior benches, the extensive figurine corpora from Hephaestia and Myrina (mostly consisted of types unique to the island), and the large assemblages of locally-produced high-quality pottery (mostly G2-3 and Proto-Lemnian wares) sharply distinguish Lemnos from other sub-regions.

For Hephaestia in particular, the arrangement of the cult building hints towards an exclusive cult. Allowing for ca. 0.6 m of seating space per person on the benches of the New Sanctuary, we can estimate a maximum of ca. 40 seated worshippers, while the Chloe cult building would only fit ca. 30-35 seated. It is clear that participation in the ritual (or parts of it) was restricted to a limited audience. Furthermore, it is likely that one of the most significant criteria for participation in the cult was social status. The reconstruction and integration of a late 8th-century elite domicile into the New Sanctuary complex argues for strong links between the local elite and the cult. In addition, the 7th-century cemetery has also yielded elite burials that might have belonged to members of the priesthood.

In general, Lemnos presents us with a relatively homogenous image of cult activity, with one noticeable exception: the sanctuary of Aulon. The apsidal cult building (similar to earlier parallels from other sub-regions, but built on a near-monumental scale) and the complete sacrifices found nearby are unique in Lemnos and, in what regards the sacrifices, unique in the entirety of the NEA. It is, unfortunately, impossible to determine the exact role of the Aulon sanctuary in the Lemnian ritual landscape, given that very little of the recovered material has been published at the time of writing. It is possible that it served as an early type of extra-urban sanctuary in association with Myrina, just as Chloe is likely to

have been associated with Hephaestia. However, it is clear that it contrasted significantly with its contemporary Hephaestian paradigm. It may have served a markedly different audience and / or social function: it has even been suggested that the sanctuary may have developed from an earlier domestic cult in a rural homestead of sorts, with the early apsidal building still serving domestic functions to some degree.⁵⁷⁷

Finally, 7th-century Troy also stands apart from its contemporaries as the only known cult site of the period in the Troad. Furthermore, it is the only site in the NEA where an EIA sanctuary was abandoned and subsequently re-established after a short hiatus in occupation, even after the apparent abandonment of the local settlement. This is by no means unique in the rest of the Aegean (see e.g. the sanctuary at Zagora, which remained in use after the abandonment of the settlement at the end of the 8th century; Koukounaries on Paros and Emporio on Chios also serve as cases where sanctuaries preserve the ‘memory’ of past habitation),⁵⁷⁸ but it remains exceptional for the NEA. More importantly, it marks a notable shift in the settlement and sacral landscape of the Troad. Late 7th-century Troy may have developed into an important regional cult site of the Scamander river plain.

To sum up, in my opinion, the key concept that underlines this phase is interregional variation regarding a) ritual practices and b) the social function of sanctuaries. I believe that the previous discussion has served well in presenting evidence for the independent development of cults, experimenting, and adaptation that took place in most NEA sub-regions. An argument could be made in favour of an early form of peer-polity interaction / competition,⁵⁷⁹ but this was mostly limited to an intraregional level. In matters of cult, at

⁵⁷⁷ Ficuciello 2013, 187-188.

⁵⁷⁸ See Mazarakis Ainian 2012, 135 with previous bibliography for a discussion of this phenomenon.

⁵⁷⁹ See Renfrew 1986, 1-18.

least, variation between sub-regions was, in my opinion, too pronounced for an ideology of inter-communal imitation and competition to have been dominant.

Overall, the impression we are given for the 7th century is one of steady development and the gradual introduction of significant new elements in ritual action; some of them potentially originated from the southern Aegean regions, mainland Greece, and / or the Ionian coast. During this period, the stage was set for the subsequent rapid crystallisation of cult practices and the emergence of ‘Greek-style’ monumental sanctuaries in the 6th and 5th centuries. Yet it is important to clarify that this is by no means an overall unidirectional Hellenisation of earlier NEA cults. As demonstrated above, elements of early ritual are incorporated into the complex structure of the developing cults, and survive well into the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Overall Conclusions: Beyond the Finds

A ‘Historical Narrative’: Thoughts and Observations

Historical accounts in previous scholarship on the NEA have been based on historical and/or literary sources and their interpretation; with the viewpoint and contemporary ideological background of the scholar having a major impact on how these elements are synthesised into a narrative whole. The quality of available sources and the level of insight they can provide vary greatly with respect to the focus of study; by extension, the narratives one can attempt to (re)construct vary accordingly.

In the context of this study, it becomes eminently clear that what can be described as the ‘historical textbook’ style of narrative is beyond our capabilities. I do not propose (in fact I do not believe it is possible, given the currently available information) to pinpoint specific ‘big dates’ or absolutely datable events, as historians often do when assembling a timeline. After all, the timeframe and geographical focus of this study place us firmly within pre- and proto-history. The earliest historical testimonies relevant to the period (e.g. Herodotus) date almost two centuries after the events they describe, and may bear the same ideological colouring which one would criticise in a modern scholar. In addition, no epigraphical evidence is available. Only a limited number of 7th-century poets’ works are preserved;⁵⁸⁰ unfortunately, they only represent a narrow social, cultural, moral, and political viewpoint on a much more complex landscape. Furthermore, they are literary works and not historical

⁵⁸⁰ For instance Archilochus for 7th-century Thasos; Alcaeus and Sappho for late 7th- / early 6th-century Lesbos.

records, and (more importantly) they have reached us mostly second-hand, through the work and commentaries of Alexandrian scholars.

Therefore, as the entirety of the previous discussion has made clear, our main source of information must by necessity remain the archaeological material: the finds as single objects, as individual elements within larger assemblages, and in relation to their geographical and temporal context. If any narrative is to be synthesised and/or discussed, it needs to be one of material culture and (perhaps more significantly) of change – change that is visible through material culture and through the archaeological record in general. Note that it is not my purpose to rigidly define culture ‘groups’ (a highly criticised practice among culture historians), although, of course, I have in previous chapters identified and loosely traced the distribution of material culture elements (specific find types, practices etc.). Instead, I have attempted to draw my conclusions based on the wider context of those elements, and how their attributes change through time.

It is my belief that, given the current state of research on the NEA, there is little alternative to such an approach. In fact, such an approach is necessary for the facilitation of further study in the region. Preucel and Hodder have expressed this necessity succinctly: ‘The description of development, diffusion and movement of cultural traits establishes a space-time systematic, which forms an essential building block for research in a new region’.⁵⁸¹ The NEA very much fits the description of a ‘new region’: such a ‘space-time systemic’ has only been lightly touched upon in previous scholarship and then only in the interest of studying the significance of a single site in its immediate contemporary context.

⁵⁸¹ Preucel & Hodder 1996, 6.

In previous chapters, I have put forward conclusions which are relevant to the material discussed. What follows is a brief synthesis of those conclusions into four general thematic narratives: firstly, I will discuss what insight the distribution of material culture elements over time provides regarding matters of connectivity and cultural interaction between different geographical areas. Secondly, I will discuss matters relevant to population movements, the extent to which they can be traced through the archaeological record, and the apoikism movement in the early Archaic NEA. As a logical extension of that topic, I shall discuss the development of communal identities in the NEA. Finally, I will focus on the matter of intra-communal identity, social structure and status, and explore the evidence for social elites in the rapidly changing socio-political landscape of the NEA.

Material Culture, Continuity and Connectivity

The Early Iron Age: the North and the East

The LBA to EIA transition in the NEA is, generally, characterised by continuity in material culture, with very few exceptions. In the north-eastern coastline regions (eastern Macedonia, Thrace), handmade Thracian pottery is the most characteristic style. It develops organically from LBA examples into new and varied forms (e.g. jugs with inclined rims, ‘Ribbed’ Ware, multi-handled amphorae); variations of such vessels can be identified in neighbouring regions, such as central and western Macedonia⁵⁸² and, perhaps more importantly, north of the Rhodope mountain range, in modern Bulgaria.⁵⁸³ Within the geographical space of the NEA, parallels can also be found on the northern islands of Thasos and Samothrace: the Kastri settlement has yielded one of the most important corpora of

⁵⁸² Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 690-697.

⁵⁸³ Hänsel 1976; Şalganova & Gotzev 1995; Bozhinova 2012, 53, 58-61 with previous bibliography.

Thracian pottery,⁵⁸⁴ and the surface pottery from the EIA south-western ‘crescent’ settlements of Samothrace belongs to the same types.⁵⁸⁵ Related pottery has also been found in Troy EIA contexts (Coarse Ware and Knobbed Ware / ‘Handmade Lustrous Ware’ in the excavators’ publications).⁵⁸⁶

This continuity is not limited to pottery alone. As I argued during my study of domestic contexts, many settlements founded during or before the LBA appear to have remained in use throughout the EIA, with no evident break in occupation. Defensible hill sites on the Macedonian and Thracian river plains (e.g. Assar Tepe) are characteristic of these periods, and parallels can be identified to the north of the Rhodope mountain range. Admittedly, few of these sites have been excavated, and their stratigraphy remains obscure; nevertheless, the impression one is given is that of relative cultural stability throughout the region.

A similar observation can be made regarding the eastern coastline and the island of Lesbos, although it must be noted that our conclusions are considerably less safe. Nevertheless, Bayne has demonstrated that the locally produced EIA Grey Wares (which comprise the vast majority of the assemblages dating to the period) evolve smoothly from earlier, local LBA types, even though he ultimately traces their origin to influences from mainland, Mycenaean Greece.⁵⁸⁷ Sadly, it is impossible to discuss this transition for Lemnos: surprisingly, the island has not yielded any contexts of the period. This is particularly vexing: knowledge of EIA Lemnian material culture might have shed some light on the process

⁵⁸⁴ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1976, 294-299; 1977, 249; 1980, 422. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992 for the Thracian EIA corpus from the Kastri cemeteries.

⁵⁸⁵ Matsas 2004, 242-255.

⁵⁸⁶ Aslan & Hnila 2015, 186-190.

⁵⁸⁷ See Bayne 2000.

which resulted in the unique cultural character of the island during the late 8th and 7th century (see below).

Having established the above general observations, it is time to address specific points of interest, and how they can provide further insight.

It is interesting to note the relative cultural homogeneity that links the coastal river plains of Macedonia and Thrace to the Danube regions. The Rhodope mountain range is a formidable geographical obstacle between the two, and yet the similarities in material culture argue for continued cultural interplay and bidirectional contacts. Two factors may have contributed significantly to this.

Firstly, the rivers originating from the mountain ranges (e.g. Strymon, Nestos, Aggites, Filiouris, Evros) may have served as routes towards the hinterland. In particular, Strymon, Nestos, and their tributaries carve their course through the mountain ranges, and reach as far north as modern Sofia, with mountain passes linking them to the Evros river plain. The latter forms a major, easily travelled crescent, which envelops Rhodope from the East. It is tempting to assume that these rivers formed the main nexus for traffic towards the Balkan hinterland. However, whether they were truly navigable remains questionable.⁵⁸⁸

As a second point, it is imperative to discuss the appearance of handmade pottery styles in the transitional and EIA layers of Troy. These vessels mark a cultural shift at the site, and have been interpreted in previous scholarship as indicating the arrival of a new,

⁵⁸⁸ Apollodorus (2.112) and Strabo (7.35) recount that (at their time) Strymon was only navigable from its mouth to the (now drained) Lake Kerkinis. The Nestos and Evros Rivers presented similar problems for navigation. They could, potentially, support small rafts and shallow-draft boats; river traffic may have been seasonal.

Thracian population group in the area; a group which, potentially, passed through the Chersonese,⁵⁸⁹ and reached as far as Gordion.⁵⁹⁰ Whether that is truly the case is debateable (see below); however, it clearly demonstrates some degree of cultural interaction between the Troad (Troy in particular) and the Thracian regions, to the extent that cultural elements characteristic to the latter become significantly representative of Troy EIA contexts. The Hellespont should not be perceived as an insurmountable obstacle, and the northern and eastern regions were not culturally isolated.

This becomes more evident upon examination of the characteristic Protogeometric amphorae recovered from Troy and studied by Catling. Group I amphorae, dated to the early years of the EIA (11th – 10th century), have also been discovered at several sites in the Euboic and Thermaic Gulf, and on the Chalcidike.⁵⁹¹ Catling originally interpreted them as indicative of trade networks extending throughout the northern Aegean, and placed their production either in Lokris or the Pagasetic Gulf. Notably, he states that ‘Troia must have been at the furthest limits of the trade routes leading to the northeast Aegean’.⁵⁹² However, recent Neutron Activation Analysis studies of the Troy amphorae have shown that these were locally produced vessels.⁵⁹³

This considerably alters how we perceive Catling’s proposed model (for one thing, the link he tentatively traces to the legend of the Lokrian maidens can, I believe, be safely dismissed at this point).⁵⁹⁴ If we accept his thesis that these amphorae were, indeed, meant

⁵⁸⁹ Aslan & Hnila 2015, 191.

⁵⁹⁰ Henrickson & Voigt 1998, 101; Rose 2008, 411.

⁵⁹¹ See Catling 1998, 153-166.

⁵⁹² Catling 1998, 162-164; interestingly, the scholar proposes that these trading links may have been following earlier examples of Mycenaean trade, reaching as far as the Black Sea and the Eastern Balkans.

⁵⁹³ See Aslan *et al.* 2014.

⁵⁹⁴ Catling 1998, 164.

to facilitate maritime trade (a suggestion that I find convincing),⁵⁹⁵ then Troy can no longer be considered the final, most distant node of a trading network centred in the north-western Aegean. Given that transport vessels were fabricated on-site, we can safely conclude that Troy was not simply a recipient of trading traffic but an important participant in the aforementioned trading network; and that traffic flowed both towards and from Troy. Even more significantly, the existence of such a trading network presupposes that there was a demand for the transported goods (whether agricultural produce, oil or wine remains unknown), a good knowledge of what each side had to offer and a foundation of trust and frequent contact between the involved regions. The adoption of the Group I amphora type by the Trojan manufacturers may have been a bid to tailor their exports to the expectations of the inhabitants of the Thermaic Gulf region (where the type is likely to have originated); and Catling is right to suggest that EIA merchant traffic may have been built on the foundation of the earlier, extensive networks of the Mycenaean phase.⁵⁹⁶

However, it is important to note that, with the exception of Troy, no Group I amphorae have been found at coastal sites east of the Chalcidike peninsula, including coastal settlements. This is, in all likelihood, due to research gaps, and future fieldwork might provide us with new evidence; however, the integration of the Thracian coastal areas into the aforementioned network of EIA contacts is called into question. Tracing the routes linking Troy with the north-western Aegean during the EIA becomes problematic, as no intermediate nodes to the trading networks are known between the Chalcidike and the Hellespont.

⁵⁹⁵ Catling 1998, 162-164.

⁵⁹⁶ Catling 1998, 164, n.50.

The 7th century: Innovation, Continuity, and Outliers

The 7th century marks considerable changes throughout the NEA. During this time new material culture elements are introduced into the region. In addition, the earliest known post-LBA contexts for several NEA sub-regions (e.g. Lemnos and most of the Troad), date to this century. This allows for better integration of these regions to our suggested narrative. Once again, evidence for sharp cultural discontinuity is not common. Instead, one is given the impression of a gradual shift from the EIA paradigms to a new, more complex model, over a period of almost a century.

From the standpoint of material culture, the most important development of the period is the introduction of new pottery types in NEA space. This includes imports from the southern Aegean regions and locally produced innovative types. It is important to note that (at least during the first half of the century) newly introduced material is very rarely encountered separately from finds characteristic of earlier periods (as outlined above).

G2-3 Ware is one of the most distinctive new pottery types of the late 8th / early 7th century. Its distribution covers sites throughout the NEA, with high concentrations in Troy, Lemnos, Thasos, and its peraea, but instances of G2-3 Ware are also found in sites of the Chalcidike and as far to the west as the Thermaic Gulf and Methoni. Originally, it was thought that these vessels were mostly produced in Troy and Lemnos, and exported to other regions;⁵⁹⁷ however, recent μ -XRF analysis of G2-3 Ware samples has shown that short-lived workshops were also present in Thasos, its peraea and possibly Lesbos.⁵⁹⁸ The likelihood of itinerant workshops is quite high, especially within sub-regions. Interestingly,

⁵⁹⁷ Ilieva 2009, 113-114, 116.

⁵⁹⁸ Ilieva *et al.* 2010, 571-573.

there is evidence for interregional exchange, with e.g. Trojan- and Lemnian-produced material found on Thasos.⁵⁹⁹ local production did not prevent the circulation of pottery, even pottery of the same general type.

Of equally great importance is the first appearance in the NEA of imported material from the central and southern Aegean during this phase, followed by the gradual development of characteristic local styles through imitation and adoption of imported wares. This is primarily evident on the northern coast and nearby islands (particularly Thasos and its peraea), where imports include pottery from the Cyclades, Athens, and Corinth, as well as products of Ionian workshops. It does not take long for local workshops to adopt and adapt techniques characteristic of the imported styles into their own work: the Thasian black-figure wares of the 7th and 6th centuries, for instance, incorporate elements of earlier and contemporary Attic and Cycladic pottery.⁶⁰⁰

Recent NAA analysis and typological work by Kerschner and Mommsen has also shown that Aeolian workshops of the 7th century were considerably influenced by Ionian and other contemporary styles, with several painted pottery styles (e.g. the Aeolian Subgeometric and Dot Style) being established as local responses to neighbouring production. Kyme and Aeolian Larisa have been tentatively identified as production centres of many such styles; Kerschner has suggested that migrating potters may have travelled between northern Ionia and Aeolis.⁶⁰¹ The products of these workshops found their way to northern Aeolis and the

⁵⁹⁹ Ilieva *et al.* 2010, 572 and 574.

⁶⁰⁰ Weill 1985, 205-207; Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, 17-19 with previous bibliography.

⁶⁰¹ Kerschner 2006, 111-115.

southern Troad (e.g. Pitane); but it must be noted that their presence appears considerably more limited on Lesbos and further to the north.

Another, different example of expanding connectivity is Ionian / Clazomenian pottery, which makes its earliest appearance in Abdera during the second quarter of the 7th century and remains an important part of the local material culture for at least 50 years.⁶⁰² Interestingly, there seems to be little evidence for local pottery production in imitation of the imported wares. I am, therefore, convinced that Abdera was in continuous contact with southern Aeolis / northern Ionia until at least the final years of the 7th century, possibly to secure necessary resources and vital support; there is evidence that the settlement faced serious problems during the years after its foundation.⁶⁰³ It is worth noting that similar imported material is not encountered at neighbouring sites: Abdera remains an outlier in 7th-century coastal Thrace. This casts some doubt on whether the link between Abdera and Clazomenae was part of a larger trading network or, instead, a result of population movements (see below); nevertheless, it further reinforces our impression of increased interregional mobility during the early Archaic period.

Finally, special mention must be made to the so-called Group II amphorae: a stylistic continuation of the Group I amphorae of earlier periods.⁶⁰⁴ In the NEA, they are found at Troy, at sites near the mouth of the Strymon, on Thasos, and at Antissa. Catling has interpreted these amphorae as the northern equivalent of the 7th-century SOS amphorae, i.e. as transport vessels.⁶⁰⁵ Their distribution (so far they have exclusively been unearthed in

⁶⁰² Lazaridis 1965, 453-458; Skarlatidou 1989, 570; 1992, 689-690.

⁶⁰³ Skarlatidou 1986, 105-106; Agelarakis 2004, 335-336.

⁶⁰⁴ Catling 1998, 166-171.

⁶⁰⁵ Catling 1998, 170-171.

islands and coastal sites) certainly indicates that they were linked to maritime traffic. Furthermore, while, as yet, they have not been subjected to chemical analysis comparable to that performed on Group I amphorae, one can identify small but noticeable regional typological variations on the basic Group II type: this argues for decentralised, local production on the basis of a successful design.

The above observations lead us to three conclusions: firstly, the EIA maritime traffic network linking the Troad to the Chalcidike, the Thermaic Gulf, and the shores of Thessaly appears to have survived well into the 7th century. As in previous periods, small variations in transport vessel typology indicate that more than one production centre was involved in the manufacture and distribution of transport vessels. Secondly, linking the Troad to the north-western Aegean is no longer problematic compared to earlier phases: in contrast to the EIA, the discovery of Group II amphorae in eastern Macedonian sites provides us with several examples of important nodal, stepping-stone sites between the Chalcidike and the Hellespont. Catling himself identified a possibly Thasian workshop in addition to what he perceived to be the main Thermaic Gulf production.⁶⁰⁶ Finally, this network is likely to have extended as far as Lesbos, as evidenced by the finds from Antissa. This further demonstrates the integration of both northern (i.e. eastern Macedonia, Thrace, Thasos, Samothrace) and eastern (i.e. Lesbos, Troad) sites into the suggested network of interactions.

There are, however, sites and regions where evidence for continuity and connectivity is comparatively limited; further discussion is crucial to determine their role in their NEA context.

⁶⁰⁶ Catling 1998, 167-169 and 171.

The acropolis of Oisyme presents us with the best-preserved stratigraphical sequence in the sites of the Thasian peraea. The excavators report an early pre-apoikism destruction layer, characterised by handmade Thracian pottery, fire, and building remains; these lie under subsequent, 7th-century layers, characterised, in turn, by imported wares from Thasos and the central Aegean.⁶⁰⁷ Interestingly, no mention is made of Thracian Wares being discovered in early Archaic contexts. It is possible that the excavators only reported what they perceived to be the dominant pottery types (as is likely the case with Bernard's 1964 article on early Thasos stratigraphy).⁶⁰⁸ If, on the other hand, the excavation reports are complete and accurate, then Oisyme presents us with the sole example of clear discontinuity in the Thasian region. Interestingly, during the 7th century, the site develops to be quite similar to its nearby contemporaries from a material culture standpoint: it is the nature of the transition from the EIA to the early Archaic period which might differentiate it from them. While the violent occupation of the site and its subsequent integration into the Thasian sphere of influence in the early 7th century is certainly not the only interpretation we might suggest, it is certainly a tempting one.

Moving to a different sub-region, Lemnos is, in all matters, an outlier. It is clear that the island was by no means culturally isolated: as mentioned above, one can clearly identify local G2-3 Ware production, which, to a degree, follows the developments of contemporary workshops in neighbouring regions, while introducing characteristic Lemnian typological variations. The same can be said for Lemnian Grey Ware, which presents us with unique local shapes, different from contemporary Aeolian Grey Ware analogues.⁶⁰⁹ Furthermore, it

⁶⁰⁷ Giouri & Koukouli 1987, 374; Koukouli & Papanikolaou 1990, 492.

⁶⁰⁸ Gimatzidis 2002, 78.

⁶⁰⁹ Bayne 2000, 218.

can be argued that Archaic Proto-Lemnian pottery was a response by local workshops to the new black-figure techniques introduced to the central Aegean (and, possibly, neighbouring Thasos), or, possibly, to the developing East Greek styles of the opposite Asia Minor coast.⁶¹⁰ Perhaps more significantly, the imported artefacts found in the Hephaestia cemetery (e.g. faience Bes figurines, alabaster statuettes) clearly show that at least the local elites were (directly or indirectly) in contact with the eastern Mediterranean beyond the Aegean.⁶¹¹

The relative lack of EIA contexts from the island is frustrating, as it makes determining the nature of the EIA – early Archaic period transition highly problematic. There are some tentative indications of continuity (such as the discovery of what has been interpreted as an elite 8th-century dwelling near the 7th-century New Sanctuary of Hephaestia, and possibly 9th-century layers with local Grey Ware pottery near the southern end of the same settlement), but it is impossible to determine the extent to which local EIA material culture influenced the cultural character of the island during the 7th century, and how smooth the transition truly was. Nevertheless, it is clear that the island inhabitants were not isolated from the rest of the Aegean sphere. There is evidence that they were willing to follow and selectively adopt material culture developments of their neighbours. The forming of the markedly distinctive cultural character of 7th-century Lemnos was, to a large degree, the result of them adapting, modifying, and innovating upon those adopted elements.

Finally, Troy serves as an exceptional case, in that the site stratigraphy clearly indicates an abandonment phase in the mid 7th century, lasting for ca. 25-50 years. This clean

⁶¹⁰ Archontidou 2004, 67-73.

⁶¹¹ A tentative argument could be made for a foreigner having settled, died, and been buried in Hephaestia, but the evidence linking the burial in question with the local cult makes it more likely that the deceased was a member of the local social and/or religious elite (Mustili 1932-33, 100-106 and 255-256).

break in occupation is followed by the re-establishment of Trojan sanctuaries in ca. 625 BC. However, there are notable differences compared to earlier periods (e.g. the exact site of the sanctuaries, the cult foci, the ritual practices); even more significantly, there are no indications of re-occupation of the settlement itself. The handmade vessels and G2-3 Ware, which characterised the earlier period, were gradually phased out in favour of Aeolian Grey Ware, East Greek and orientalising pottery, Swan Style vessels, and imported (Attic and Corinthian) wares. It is clear that no argument can be made for site continuity; interpreting the identified interruption, however, can be problematic.

This is largely because no reason for such an interruption is immediately evident. A destruction layer can be identified in the eastern parts of the citadel. This layer consists mostly of rubble, and (to my knowledge) does not include traces of fire;⁶¹² there is nothing that might argue for a violent destruction of the early 7th-century settlement. A natural disaster (e.g. an earthquake) cannot be ruled out, especially since we lack any contemporary stratigraphy from other settlements of the Troad. If we widen our view to cover the entirety of the studied area, it becomes evident that no comparable layers can be found at e.g. Hephaestia or other excavated settlements of the NEA; based on the available information, we can only conclude that the factors which led to the abandonment of 7th-century Troy were limited to this site alone.

It is my belief that the answer lies with the previously discussed rapidly developing inter- and intraregional contacts in the NEA. It is telling that, with very few exceptions (e.g. Neandria), inland settlements are a rarity in the 7th-century Troad; most sites in which early

⁶¹² Aslan 2009, 37-40; Aslan & Günata 2014, 96.

Archaic activity can be identified lie either on the Sigeion ridge (along the western coast) or along the northern and southern coasts of the Hellespont. I find it likely that the inhabitants of Troy abandoned the site (possibly but not necessarily after a natural disaster) so as to settle in a more competitive location and link up with the developing networks in the region. In support of this argument, one can point out that the old site was not forgotten or permanently abandoned: a generation later, the old West Sanctuary was re-established. As discussed above, the votive offerings recovered from the post-abandonment sanctuary layers clearly indicate changes in cult practice, and that the worshippers were fully engaged with their contemporary NEA cultural context; it is also clear, however, that they were familiar with the ritual and cult history of the site.

In summary, the general impression we are given for the studied region and period, from the LBA to the 7th century, is that of continuity and a remarkable persistence of early elements of material culture. Change does not take the form of breaks in continuity (with the possible exceptions of 7th-century Oisyme and Troy, discussed above), but is introduced to the NEA via new pottery styles: either imports from neighbouring regions and the central / southern Aegean or local innovations and adaptations of imported types. Earlier ‘indigenous’ (for lack of a better term) types remain in use, and (in most cases) coexist with the newly introduced material.

Connectivity during the EIA is, admittedly, difficult to trace, given the relative lack of evidence. However, it is clear that the eastern Macedonian and Thracian coast were parts of a greater cultural whole, which extended far to the north of Rhodope and, arguably, to the west, beyond Chalcidike. The relative cultural homogeneity observed between the Troad, the Aeolis, and the nearby islands also argues for close links between them and forms a separate

eastern region. There are clear indications of interactions between the two wholes (potentially linked to population movements) before the 7th century, mostly observed in EIA contexts in Troy. Finally, it is possible to identify traces of a bidirectional maritime traffic network, linking the Troad to western Macedonia and the Euboic Gulf; a network that might have been following routes established during the LBA or earlier periods.

The evidence for such a network of cultural interaction between the various sub-regions becomes particularly evident with regards to the 7th century. The distribution of trade amphorae links the Hellespont and the Troad to the nearby islands, as well as the Macedonian and Thracian coast; from there, the network extended beyond the Chalcidike, as far east as the Thermaic Gulf and Thessaly. This trading network would have contributed to establishing and developing familiarity between different population groups and their material culture in the context of mercantile exchange. Moreover, it would have facilitated the circulation of new pottery types (such as G2-3 Ware) throughout the region: it is telling that such pottery was subsequently (re-)produced locally in several sub-regions, further blurring the cultural distinction between the earlier northern and eastern zones.

Population Movements and Early Apoikism

There are two overarching types of population movement that need to be discussed in the context of this study: inter-regional movement (i.e. ‘migration’, ‘colonisation’: the displacement of a sizeable population group over a considerable distance, with the purpose of settling in a new region) and intra-regional movement (i.e. ‘relocation’: the abandonment of a site in favour of a nearby alternative, which is more suited to the group’s needs at the

time).⁶¹³ I fully acknowledge that the distinction between the two is not clear-cut and, admittedly somewhat arbitrary, but I believe it will serve to better structure my conclusions on the matter.

I wish to clarify that, from a theoretical standpoint, I do not fully subscribe to the culture-historical ‘migrationism’ model, as it was put forward in the early- and mid- 20th century,⁶¹⁴ nor am I a proponent of the ‘immobilist’⁶¹⁵ and diffusion-focused approaches of the ‘retreat from migrationism’⁶¹⁶ camp, which has received so much criticism recently.⁶¹⁷ On the other hand, I do find the framework proposed by Burmeister to be robust enough and, furthermore, relatively applicable to my dataset.

Burmeister’s approach to identifying the presence of a migrant group in a community is based on Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of the ‘habitus’. The habitus, as Bourdieu envisaged it, refers to the dispositions of individuals and the ways in which they perceive and react to their social environment, thus exerting their agency. One’s social environment shapes these dispositions over time: individual behaviour is influenced by several outside factors, including the entirety of one’s social interactions, personal experiences, and the social structure of one’s community. In turn, individual behaviour affects the prevalent underlying beliefs and tendencies that characterise a social group; it also contributes to reproducing pre-

⁶¹³ Note that the latter might well be seasonal; as a hypothetical example, abandoning a highland summer settlement for lowland winter installations certainly qualifies.

⁶¹⁴ See Clark 1966.

⁶¹⁵ Hawkes 1987, 203.

⁶¹⁶ See Adams *et al.* 1978.

⁶¹⁷ See Hakenbeck 2008 for a review of recent bibliography on the matter.

existing social structure paradigms. It is not difficult to see how people of the same social group and with similar backgrounds might also share a habitus.⁶¹⁸

Burmeister theorises that the presence of a minority migrant group in a community would inevitably result in changes in this group's habitus. Specifically, through everyday social interaction, the group's members would gradually change their behaviour in a communal context to better reflect the new social environment and the common mores. However, in a private (e.g. domestic or familial) context, the influence of the wider community would be lessened. This would facilitate the expression of the immigrants' original habitus and culture, allowing them to persist for a longer period; it would also allow for the preservation of material culture elements which are visible to the archaeologist. It is this differentiation between communal and private contexts that Burmeister suggests can serve as an indication of the presence of foreign elements in a community.⁶¹⁹

The Early Iron Age: Factoids, the Troad Question, and Small-Scale Movements

Firstly, I would like to address the matter of the so-called 'Aeolian migration': a presumed extensive inter-regional population movement, which (supposedly) brought populations from Thessaly and the surrounding regions to settle in Aeolis at some point in the 11th to 9th century. This is a historical factoid that has been challenged repeatedly in the past and most recently (and convincingly) by Rose and Aslan.⁶²⁰ Based on the evidence assembled and presented above, I believe there is no indication whatsoever that such a large-scale migration ever took place; instead, it is most likely that the Aeolian migration was a

⁶¹⁸ See Bourdieu 1977; 1990 (particularly p. 52-65).

⁶¹⁹ Burmeister 2000, 542-553.

⁶²⁰ See Rose 2008 with previous bibliography; also Aslan & Hnila 2015, 201. See also Parker 2008, in which a case is made against any linguistic link between the Thessalian and Lesbian / 'Aeolian' dialects.

fabricated narrative of the 6th and 5th centuries, more so if one takes into account the skewed manner in which the Aeolian settlers are presented as agents of change and Hellenisation in ancient (and modern) narratives. That is not to say that I believe there was no contact between the regions, especially during the 7th century: the Group II trade amphorae found in Antissa show that Lesbos was at least partly involved in maritime trade with the north-western Aegean and the Pagasetic Gulf. However, evidence for earlier contacts (or in fact, any significant change in the population makeup of EIA Lesbos and Aeolis) is conspicuous by its absence.

In contrast, Aslan and Hnila have recently posited that a significant inter-regional migration may have taken place during the earliest phases of the LBA to EIA transition, from the Thracian regions towards the Troad. Their argument is based on the ‘sudden’ introduction and local production of Thracian-style, handmade pottery (‘Handmade Lustrous Ware’ as they describe it) and on the appearance of building techniques common to the south-eastern Balkans during this period in Troy and Maydos.⁶²¹ The scholars acknowledge continuity in other matters, but maintain that the above changes must have been the result of a migratory wave starting from the northern region, moving through the Chersonese, and reaching towards the Troad and its hinterland. It is, I believe, reasonable to conclude that a newly arrived population element made its presence known in the region. However, the scholars go so far as to suggest that the earlier inhabitants were ‘integrated into the arriving population of migrants’, and seem to imply, firstly, that the migration was (to a degree) organised and purposeful and, secondly, that the agency and cultural participation of the earlier indigenous

⁶²¹ Aslan & Hnila 2015, 187-191; note that building techniques are one of the best sources of insight into the inhabitants’ habitus according to Burmeister (2000, 542).

population in the forming of the new demographic and cultural status quo were limited.⁶²² I agree that any population movement was almost certainly unidirectional (as is evident in the material culture record discussed above); however, I am not convinced that the newly arrived populations were as culturally dominant in the new communities as Aslan and Hnila seem to imply. The observed continuity in e.g. Grey Ware pottery techniques and the observed amalgamation of styles and types argues for a more complex process, with local cultural influence remaining prevalent in some areas. It is worth remembering that the relevant archaeological evidence is limited to material and stratigraphy from two sites, only one of which has been explored to anything nearing completion. Further exploration of the transitional layers in Maydos and future excavations in other sites of the Troad should, hopefully, shed more light on the matter.

With the exception of the above, there is no evidence for major inter-regional population movements until the early 7th century. However, I believe that some conclusions on aspects of smaller-scale, intra-regional mobility can still be drawn. Unfortunately, the information we possess regarding the Asia Minor coast and the islands of Lesbos and Lemnos is quite limited. On the other hand, the evidence from the coastal regions of eastern Macedonia, Thrace, and the nearby islands of Thasos and Samothrace provides a considerably better basis for argument.

The main points that seem relevant are: firstly, the settlement topography of the coastal region and the islands, where settlement sites lie primarily on defensible hilltops, but never far from fertile plains; secondly, the existence of several peak or mountain sites in the

⁶²² Aslan & Hnila 2015, 205.

Rhodope mountain range (and further to the north, in modern Bulgaria), a fair distance away from any arable land; thirdly, the evidence for now-lost settlements on the river plains themselves (e.g. the ‘orphan’ cemetery on the banks of the Kossynthos River); and, finally, the evidence for fishing-related subsistence activities on a considerable scale at the site of Kastri, which lies no further than a two-hour return trip away from the sea-shore.

I propose that the defensible settlements near the river plains must have served as permanent bases for agriculture and as stable points of reference, linking the plains and coastal areas to the highland sites. These settlements could easily have developed into extensive communities and potential seats for the local elite (see below).

What, then, of the highland sites? It is tempting to interpret many of the sites I included in my study as seasonal or semi-seasonal installations. Populations might have travelled between summer (highland) and winter (lowland / coastal) sites periodically throughout the year, having adopted a hybrid agricultural / pastoral subsistence system and/or engaging in trade through the developing coastal traffic networks of the period. However, the viability of subsistence pastoralism in Aegean antiquity has been recently challenged by scholars such as Halstead.⁶²³ Unfortunately, there have been no systematic analyses of archaeozoological material from the NEA, and it is, therefore, impossible to reach any safe conclusions regarding the extent of the role of pastoralism in these early economies.

It may have been the case (especially regarding Kastri and the Samothrace south-western ‘crescent’) that inland sites were, to some degree, refuge settlements, as we have come to perceive those in the southern Aegean and Crete. They are placed relatively close to

⁶²³ Halstead 1996 (particularly 33-36); see also Morgan 2003, 168-169 (with previous bibliography) for central / southern Greece.

agricultural land and coastal plains, and there is evidence (mostly from Kastri) that agricultural produce and fishing served as an important part of the inhabitants' subsistence activities. However, this would still require a considerable degree of (daily) travel to and from the settlements. Therefore, the abandonment of these sites during the late 8th and early 7th century is likely to have been due to economic reasons (i.e. securing more easy access to agricultural land) and the developing maritime trading networks of the period. The populations seem to have relocated to coastal sites, perhaps in response to coastal settlements (e.g. Neapolis, Oisyme) being founded on the opposite mainland.

The 7th Century: Interregional Mobility, Early Apoikism, and Relocation

The 7th century presents us with a considerably more varied and changing landscape. For one thing, evidence for inter-regional mobility is more common than earlier periods, given that 7th-century contexts are better explored. Furthermore, this is the earliest period for which we have contemporary literary sources (limited as those may be) which provide insight into the topic at hand. Three regions are relevant to our discussion regarding large-scale inter-regional mobility: firstly, Thasos and its peraea; secondly, Abdera; and, finally, the coastal zones of the Troad.

The establishment of the polis of Thasos by Parian colonists is historically attested;⁶²⁴ however, what truly sparked off academic discussion about the foundation of the apoikia from an archaeological perspective was Bernard's original publication of the Kokkinos plot findings and stratigraphy. This discussion has focused around two main issues: firstly, the

⁶²⁴ Thuc. 4.104.

process which resulted in the establishment of the Parian apoikia and, secondly, the exact dating of its foundation.

There can be no doubt that the arrival of a population group from the Cyclades played a crucial role in the development of the poleis of Thasos and of the opposite coast. A cultural ‘pocket’, characterised by Cycladic pottery (including a considerable corpus of Parian wares), the founding of new cults, and (less certainly) the introduction of new funerary practices, makes its appearance within the larger context of the surrounding regions. This ‘pocket’ presents us with an overarching habitus of sorts (perhaps interpreted more broadly than originally intended by Burmeister) which sharply differs from that observed in earlier periods. This, in my opinion, conclusively demonstrates the presence of a migrant element in the region.

What remains less clear are the particularities of this presumed inter-regional population movement. Several theories have been put forward in the past, including a ‘three-wave’ colonisation over the first half of the 7th century, originally suggested by Pouilloux,⁶²⁵ and a ‘single-wave’ arrival of the apoikoi, as posited by Rolley.⁶²⁶ Ambiguities in Bernard’s original publication contributed to this lack of consensus, with many scholars preferring to focus mostly on literary sources and later inscriptions rather than on the available material. Bernard himself saw the first apoikoi establishing a tentative foothold on the island in the early 7th century, with a subsequent wave establishing firmer control over the territory after continuous conflict with the previous Thracian inhabitants.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁵ Pouilloux 1986, 43-67.

⁶²⁶ Rolley 1997 (primarily 40-41).

⁶²⁷ Bernard 1964, 145-146.

After the recent re-examination of the Bernard Trench finds by Gimatzidis and the continued excavation of the site by Kohl and Muller,⁶²⁸ it becomes clear that there is no evidence in support of a narrative of conflict between the indigenous Thasians and the newly arrived apoikoi. It is also worth remembering that elements of early (presumably pre-Greek) cult practice are preserved in the Archaic and Classical worship of Heracles; and that there are cases of settlements in rural Thasos (e.g. Agios Ioannis) where the material culture of the 7th and 6th centuries appears to be an amalgamation of early local and Greek elements.

Therefore, in my opinion, the founding of the colony must have been a peaceful process and, to a degree, a result of collaboration between the apoikoi and the previous inhabitants. After all, based on our observations of EIA settlement characteristics, relatively large, nucleated settlements were not a concept unknown to the region. Furthermore, as Kohl *et al.* have pointed out, the exploitation of the large iron ore deposits in the Thasos acropolis hills might have served as an incentive for collaboration between the two population groups. There is certainly evidence for metallurgical activities at the foot of the acropolis dating to the earliest phases of the colony.⁶²⁹

What remains less clear is how the process of colonisation affected the region (and inhabitants) of the coastal peraea. Oisyme and Neapolis both belong to the aforementioned cultural ‘pocket’, and must have received a critical influx of apoikoi from the Cyclades and / or Thasos itself. Notably, both sites have yielded evidence of pre-apoikism phases: the settlements were not founded *ex nihilo* by the newcomers. Does this mean that cohabitation and coexistence were the case there as well? Not necessarily: while evidence from Neapolis

⁶²⁸ See Gimatzidis 2002.

⁶²⁹ Kohl *et al.* 2002, 65-66, with previous bibliography.

is limited, it is worth remembering the extensive destruction layer found on the Oisyme acropolis and the subsequent relatively sharp cultural transition from the EIA Thracian paradigms to a Greek cult centre. While by no means certain, it is not unreasonable to interpret this as an indication of martial conflict in the context of a second colonisation wave, focused on the eastern Macedonian coastline. An attempt by the newly-established community of Thasos to extend its control over the opposite coast, at the expense of the local inhabitants, is also a possibility. This would certainly mesh well with the contemporary poet Archilochus' references to military action against the Thracians.

When did these population movements take place? The earliest datable material from the central Aegean on Thasos dates in the third quarter of the 7th century. Graham has proposed a date for the arrival of the first apoikoi around 650 BC, in a single wave.⁶³⁰ However, we have established (see above) that the gradual arrival of colonists and the forming of a joint community with the previous inhabitants is a more likely scenario. This would require a period of interaction in which the cultural character of the newly arrived apoikoi might not have been pronounced (or visible in the archaeological record). As Kohl *et al.* have pointed out in their conclusions, 'the existence of a fragile settlement of apoikoi, not yet open to extensive (cultural) contacts with the Greek 'South'' cannot be ruled out.⁶³¹ This might place the first interactions as far back as a generation from the middle of the 7th century (i.e. around 680 / 670 BC), which coincides with the current estimate of the French excavators.⁶³²

⁶³⁰ See Graham 1978.

⁶³¹ Kohl *et al.* 2002, 66-68.

⁶³² Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 24.

The earliest Greek material from Oisyme and Neapolis dates to the third quarter of the century; it is interesting to note the temporal disparity between the mainland sites and Thasos. This easily fits with the ‘second colonisation wave’ narrative, put forward above, with new settlers arriving from the central Aegean; or it might be the case that the establishment of the peraea poleis was the work of the Thasian community (which, I believe, is more likely). It is, to my mind, clear that whichever of the two narratives proves in the future to be true, the settling of the peraea by new population groups was a development subsequent to the establishment of the 7th-century settlement / apoikia in Thasos.

Abdera presents us with another case of a cultural ‘pocket’ which made its appearance relatively abruptly and, apparently, extended only over a single site (I hesitate to call it a polis for the 7th century, as we have no evidence for urbanisation, political structure, or any of the hallmarks of the contemporary Greek city-states). The earliest pottery from the area dates to the mid / third quarter of the 7th century, and is contemporary with the erection of the extensive fortification wall surrounding the settlement and the earliest funerary contexts from the surrounding cemeteries. Abdera is very much a ‘new’ site in that it has yielded no EIA Thracian material. In fact, given the topography of the site and the problems its early inhabitants faced (extensive swamplands surrounding the settlement, high child mortality rates, and rampant disease), it might have been the case that the area was completely unoccupied before the arrival of the 7th-century apoikoi.

The material from the site (mostly East Greek and Ionian imported wares) indicates that the Asia Minor coast is the most likely point of origin for these settlers. Given that partial parallels in funerary customs and similar pottery can be found at early Clazomenae, it is relatively safe to conclude that the historical testimonies of an early Clazomenian (or, at least,

Ionian) population element in Abdera are, at least to some degree, factual. Yet, in contrast to the metal-rich Thasos acropolis and Thasian peraea, there is no evident reason for choosing to settle at this particular site (especially given its obvious disadvantages) barring, perhaps, to facilitate trade with inland Thrace. What also remains unclear is the purpose of the fortification wall surrounding the settlement. If it were purely defensive (and its design seems to imply that it served a defensive function at least in part), it would have made more sense to erect it on the nearby 'Polystylos' hill; however, its actual primary function may have been to protect the settlement area from flooding. In conclusion, Abdera are likely to have been founded on an unoccupied site of little interest to the locals, and clashes between the settlers and earlier inhabitants or neighbouring populations are unlikely to have been extensive.

Finally, regarding inter-regional movements, one cannot avoid addressing the historical narratives which have been put forward concerning the sites of the Troad and northern Aeolis. Based on late historical testimonies, foundation myths, and other historical sources, most of the sites included in this study have, in past scholarship, been considered Aeolian settlements, or settlements founded in the 7th- and 6th centuries by Greek apoikoi.⁶³³ However, there is insufficient archaeological evidence to truly support this narrative. Our knowledge of period contexts and stratigraphy is minimal; furthermore, the appearance of new pottery types in the region could easily be explained as a result of developing contacts, the imitation of imported styles, and local innovation. While it is true that several coastal settlements appear to be founded during the 7th century, I would argue that this might be a result of intra-regional 'relocations' instead of inter-regional 'migration' or 'colonisation'.

⁶³³ See Mitchell 2004, 1000-1017 for a bibliographical overview of the sources available for these sites and for a historical viewpoint on their founding dates and circumstances.

I have argued that the abandonment of Troy may have been (at least partly) due to the local population seeking to better integrate themselves into the developing maritime networks of the period; and that the re-establishment of the West Sanctuary, a generation later, demonstrates that at least some memory of the sacred character of the site (an aspect of the old inhabitants' *habitus*) was preserved. There is, therefore, reason to believe that the establishment of 7th-century settlements along the Troad coastline was a result of similar considerations among the regional populations. I do not discount the possibility of new population elements or groups of *apoikoi* arriving in the area from e.g. the central Aegean or Ionia. However, I consider it likely that the earlier inhabitants played a considerably more active role in the establishment of the new settlements than seems to have been acknowledged, by relocating from hinterland sites to the Aegean coast.

It is important to note that there is a contemporary parallel for such intra-regional relocation: Samothrace. There, the EIA 'crescent' hilltop settlements of the island interior are, apparently, abandoned during the 7th century; however, it is significant that the Mandal' Panagia sanctuary near Mantroudia seems to remain in use. Chronologically, the next major settlement one can identify on the island lies on the polis site on the northern coastline, near the sanctuary of the Great Gods. The similarities with the Troad are evident: the population relocated near the coastline, while also continuing ritual activity at earlier cult sites and maintaining relative continuity in their *habitus*.

In summary, we can trace three major inter-regional population movements over the studied period: firstly, the 'Thracian migration' from the south-eastern Balkans to the Troad, during the late LBA / early EIA; secondly, what we can reconstruct as a two-stage *apoikism* of Thasos and its *peraea* during the second quarter and/or the middle of the 7th century; and,

finally, the founding of Abdera by what we can assume to be settlers from Ionia. Other instances of migration or colonisation which commonly appear in previous (primarily historical) scholarship are simply not represented in the archaeological record, and any discussion involving them should take that into account.

There are very few instances where evidence for population mobility is accompanied by what could be tentatively identified as evidence for clashes between the newcomers and the earlier inhabitants (e.g. Oisyme). In fact, it is clear that, at least in the northern, Thracian sphere (especially Thasos), some degree of cooperation and coexistence between the two elements was the rule, fuelled, perhaps, by the benefits inherent in the developing trade and maritime traffic networks of the period.

There are also tentative indications of intra-regional mobility. It is possible but by no means certain that seasonal relocation took place in EIA eastern Macedonia and Thrace. In addition, intra-regional relocation of communities can also be identified in the 7th-century Troad (notably, with near certainty in Troy); however, determining the exact nature of this phenomenon and the extent to which it overlaps with inter-regional apoikism will require future fieldwork and more in-depth archaeological investigation of the stratigraphy of sites in the region.

Communal Identities

The question of communal identity (or its extensions, the political and ethnic identities) and how it is reflected in archaeological evidence is a particularly difficult one to answer; more so because there has been no scholarly agreement on a precise definition of the concept and term. Nevertheless, some general underlying principles seem to be present in

most recent studies, and they might serve as the main pillars on which to base my conclusions. Reviewing the entirety of the scholarly discussion on the question is beyond the scope of this thesis; however, I believe that some points need to be set out, to establish the necessary groundwork for my argument.

For instance, Jones' 1997 position was that '[ethnic groups] are based on the expression of a real or assumed shared culture and common descent'.⁶³⁴ It is interesting to note that it is the belief in a shared descent which is important for establishing an ethnic identity; whether this belief is accurate is irrelevant. In the same year, Renfrew pointed out what is, in my opinion, the single most important aspect of the communal identity concept: '[Ethnicity] is ultimately a matter of group self-recognition and self-identity'.⁶³⁵ Ultimately, it is the group itself that defines which elements are most important for its self-recognition. Morgan's 2003 position is particularly noteworthy in this regard: the scholar adopts a set of criteria similar to Hall (see below), but emphasises above all the importance of studying the '*process* of choice by which a tier of identity is constructed or prioritised for perceived group advantage'.⁶³⁶

Finally, I feel that I must include Hall's 2002 thesis, as I find myself in agreement with it: 'Ultimately, the definitional criteria or core elements which determine membership [to an ethnic group] are a putative subscription to a myth of common descent and kinship, an association with a specific territory and a sense of shared history'.⁶³⁷ One criticism that could

⁶³⁴ Jones 1997, 84.

⁶³⁵ Renfrew 1998, 275.

⁶³⁶ Morgan 2003, 10-11.

⁶³⁷ Hall 2002, 9. It must be noted that a very similar list of criteria was proposed by Anthony Smith before Hall (Smith 1988, 22-31). The scholar lists as 'dimensions' of *ethne*: a) a collective name; b) a common myth of descent; c) a shared history; d) a distinctive shared culture; e) an association with a specific territory; and f) a sense of solidarity. Hall's simpler list is preferable for this study, as points (a) and (f) are particularly

be applied to Hall's position is that it is rather narrow, compared to Renfrew's more cautious, generalist stance. Nevertheless, it has the advantage of being the result of a Classicist's perspective, specifically focused on the ancient Greek world. Therefore, Hall's three elements, and how they are reflected in the archaeological record of the NEA, will serve as the main axes of my argument and the basis for my narrative.

The Early Iron Age: Territory, Shared History, Continuity

Of Hall's three 'definitional criteria', our viewpoint for the period must, by necessity, focus primarily on evidence for a 'close association' between communities and specific territories; and on any evidence for a 'sense of shared history'. There is no evidence regarding myths of common descent, except from substantially later periods; and applying those, retroactively to earlier communities is as fallacious as retrojection from historical sources.

I have argued above that continuity (in material culture, at least) was an overarching characteristic of the NEA from the end of the LBA to the early 7th century. Furthermore, I have presented evidence for relatively limited inter-regional population movements, and argued for the presence of permanent settlements in the northern regions of eastern Macedonia, Thrace, Thasos, and Samothrace.

The above points are significant, in that they argue for constant occupation of specific geographical regions by specific communities, with no noticeable major changes in the population makeup over time. Even if semi-permanent habitation were the case, it is clear that land and/or specific sites were 'claimed'; either for pastoral and agricultural activities

difficult to explore in the absence of written evidence. Point (d) (a 'distinctive shared culture') has already been discussed extensively (see above, p. 191-204) insofar as material culture is concerned.

(e.g. the Rhodope mountain sites); or as points of control over traffic and the surrounding landscape (e.g. Petrota); or possibly, even as seats of authority (e.g. Assar Tepe).

Is this sufficient evidence for the presence one of Hall's 'core elements'? Can we identify a strong link between these communities and their 'territories'? Yes – but only up to a point. What remains unclear (and is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future, pending more in-depth excavation and investigation of LBA and EIA settlement sites and their topography) is the nature of the interplay between the various communities: how their territories were defined; how fluid their borders were; and how exclusive their control over them was. Should we reconstruct the eastern Macedonian / Thracian region as a 'tribal' region, with rigidly defined areas under the control of specific population groups (as later sources seem to imply was the case), or as a more fluidly changing landscape, with loosely defined territorial borders? I tentatively lean towards the former, given that certain LBA / EIA sites appear to have been founded so as to oversee, control, and perhaps even restrict mobility through specific areas (e.g. Petrota).⁶³⁸ There is little or no evidence that would conclusively demonstrate the existence of an overarching Thracian identity at the time, and it is certainly impossible to safely discuss local / communal identities in the context of such an overarching regional identity.

It is also possible to identify material expressions of a 'sense of shared history' in EIA communities. In the northern regions, the cemeteries located near the settlements (and always within sight of them) are characterised by above-ground structures: either small tumuli (e.g. Kastas) or megalithic structures (e.g. Vrychos) or large, stone-built tombs (e.g.

⁶³⁸ Comparisons may be drawn with what we know of early non-political 'tribal' ethnicities of the Greek mainland; see e.g. the discussion of Achaia by Morgan (2000, 205-211; 2002, primarily 98-99 and 105-109).

Kastri). In the EIA settlement landscape, they would have served as a constant reminder of the history of a settlement and of the enduring presence of a community at a site. Kastri provides us with an excellent example of several such satellite cemeteries in continuous use from the end of the LBA to the early years of the 7th century: the hill slopes around the settlement were dotted with several built tombs, which were repeatedly re-used and would have been a testament to the long lifetime of the settlement.

The Troad does not provide us with similar EIA examples. However, Troy presents us with an interesting alternative: the use of the Bronze Age citadel fortifications as a backdrop for ritual activity. The West Sanctuary area and the Stone Circle Terrace in particular were located in the immediate shadow of the Troy VI citadel walls. Even more importantly, the Stone Circle Terrace provides us with evidence for repeated ritual activity (most likely ritual feasting) in the area. It is not difficult to see how such activities would encourage the forming of tighter communal bonds, while also not-so-subtly underlining the long history of the settlement.⁶³⁹

The 7th century: Experiment, Coexistence, and the ‘Other’

In contrast to the EIA, the 7th century does offer a limited corpus of contemporary written sources for the NEA (note, however, that all literary sources from the period come to us second-hand, primarily via the works of Alexandrian scholars). The poems of Archilochus, for instance, provide us with some limited information regarding the Thracian tribes of the Thasos region (the poet names the ‘Saians’ in his well-known ‘discarded shield’

⁶³⁹ The integral links between sanctuaries and settlement space in general during this period would have contributed significantly to this effect. Participation in a cult or social ritual is a significant social factor in the development of ‘community of place’ and in establishing common descent and social ‘belonging’ (see Morgan 2001, 82).

elegy)⁶⁴⁰ and the fact that they were in military conflict with what we can assume were Parian apoikoi around the second quarter or the middle of the 7th century. Alcaeus sheds some light on the political happenings in Lesbos around the end of the century, and provides insight into contemporary perceptions of the social function of the hoplite warrior in the context of a polis community.⁶⁴¹ Yet, of the three main axes of Hall, only traces of the third (the sense of a shared history – and of shared responsibilities towards the community) can be vaguely discerned in these works. To explore the other two, it is necessary to focus on the archaeological record.

Before anything else, it is worth noting the apparent abandonment of several EIA sites during this century, especially in the eastern Macedonian / Thracian coast and the islands of Thasos and Samothrace. These sites include, but are not limited to, Kastri on Thasos, the south-western ‘crescent’ sites on Samothrace, and many of the Thracian mainland citadels (e.g. Assar Tepe, Petrota). For the mid 7th century, Troy serves as an interesting parallel from the Asia Minor coast. This development clearly reflects a major upset in the established relationships between the local communities and their ‘specific territories’ and, by extension, the nature and character of their communal identities. Does this mean that EIA communal identities, as they had been in these areas, completely ceased to exist? Not necessarily: the continuation of cult in Mandal’ Panagia and the re-establishment of cult in Troy show that (at least in some cases), even after the abandonment of the nearby settlements, the inhabitants retained a link to the sites and, by extension, elements of their earlier communal identities.

⁶⁴⁰ Plut. *Instit. Lac.* 34.239.

⁶⁴¹ Campbell 1982, nos. 70, 74, 129, 130B, 140, 208, and others.

However, the arrival of new population elements (see above) and the potential cohabitation and coexistence with earlier population groups in the newly established (or re-established) settlements (e.g. Thasos and its *peraea*) must have ushered in considerable changes in how these groups perceived themselves and each other. In Thasos, for instance, the cult of Heracles incorporates Greek and pre-Greek elements, which might reflect attempts to integrate identifying elements of both communities into the character of the developing polis. However, there is also 6th-century epigraphical evidence from the Macedonian coast which indicates that Thracians and Parians were still, at the time, identifying themselves as distinct population groups.⁶⁴² The general impression we are given is that of a period of experimentation, in which the ‘other’ is tolerated or even accepted, but remains a discrete entity, because of the lack of a ‘shared history’ of sufficient depth.

A different impression is given at e.g. Abdera. There, no presence of earlier communities is attested on-site, and there are no indications that the newly arrived population group co-existed on an everyday level with ‘others’ (i.e. non-community members). On the contrary, the *apoikoi* appear to have fully preserved their material culture, burial customs, and *habitus* (i.e. shared elements in their history) while also claiming in a uniquely spectacular way (though a massive enclosure wall) their new communal territory. While, admittedly, it is difficult to fully disassociate Abdera from Clazomenae (especially given the suspected extensive contacts between the two long after the founding of the *apoikia*), I would argue that Abdera provides us with one of the best and clearest examples of the forming of a self-defined communal identity in the 7th-century NEA.

⁶⁴² *SEG* 27:249.

The islands of Lemnos and Lesbos, on the other hand, are notable in that they (apparently) received no major influx of new population groups at any point during the studied period. Uninterrupted continuity, from the beginning of the EIA to the 7th century, remained, therefore, the norm at most Lemnian and Lesbian population centres. This would have clearly expedited the formation of a sense of shared history within these communities and considerably strengthened the inhabitants' perceived association with the surrounding regions: their 'homelands'. It is not unreasonable to conclude that circumstances greatly facilitated the crystallising of distinct communal identities (and, arguably, political identities, from the latter half of the 7th century onwards) among the inhabitants of these sites.

It is interesting to consider which populations played the role of the 'other' in Lemnos and Lesbos, especially in comparison to other NEA regions. A communal group defines itself primarily through differentiation and exclusion of its non-members.⁶⁴³ In the Thracian region, there was sufficient contrast between the material culture and history of the newcomers and the earlier inhabitants for differentiation between population groups to be acknowledged – and for it to serve as the framework around which the communal identities of the 7th century were structured. In Lesbos and Lemnos, on the other hand, no differentiation along these lines can be readily identified.

Therefore, any contrast between communities must have been focused around myths of common descent (for which we have no contemporary information) or the territories they claimed and were associated with. The rural enclosures in western Lesbos (concentrated,

⁶⁴³ Hall 2002, 9: 'The ethnic group is a self-ascribing and self-nominating social collectivity, that constitutes itself in opposition to other groups of a similar order'. Also, Morgan 2003, 10: '[Ethnicity] is a matter of continuing choice, manipulation and politicisation, highlighting traits accorded active importance in the structuring and expression of socio-political relations within the community and in relation to outsiders'.

specifically, in the region between Antissa, Arisbe, and Eresos) provide the modern observer with a clear indication of the importance of territorial control to the local populations, from the 7th century onwards; while it is clear that only a few of these installations may have played a purely military role, some are clearly placed to monitor and control traffic in the Lesbian hinterland and overlook the chorae of the Lesbian poleis. It is highly likely that, within the context of a single island, characterised by uniform material culture and uninterrupted, centuries-long continuity in population makeup, the primary distinguishing criterion between communities would be the territory over which they had established control, and with which they maintained a close association.

In summary, given the lack of written sources, it is clear that the matter of communal self-identification and its nature for the early NEA will, in all probability, never be addressed to our complete satisfaction. It is, however, quite possible to identify core aspects of communal identities in the archaeological record of the NEA from at least as early as the EIA.

This early period is primarily characterised by continuity in settlement occupation; in turn, this is likely to reflect a strong association between communities and their settlement landscape. There are indications that land and territory was ‘claimed’ by communities, and that it remained under their control for substantial time periods. Furthermore, the history shared by members of a community is often emphasised e.g. by funerary or cult practices and their link to material remains of the past.

The situation changes abruptly in the first half of the 7th century, when the first apoikoi from the central and eastern Aegean make their appearance. New balances are

sought; communities of apoikoi and earlier inhabitants co-exist (e.g. in Thasos) or clash (e.g. possibly at Oisyme). At this point in time, the two population elements still identify each other as the ‘others’; their period of association has not been sufficient for them to have developed a shared history, even if they share the same territory. Yet it is clear that some attempts were made to bring the two communities together (e.g. in matters of cult) and, potentially, to forge a common identity over time.

Interestingly, the 7th-century NEA also provides examples of alternative scenarios. Abdera serves as an example of a new settlement established in the apparent absence of earlier populations in the area. The apoikoi establish their new settlement, claim a considerable extent of territory, and persist on-site for almost a century. During this time, they retain elements of their original identity through their shared origin and history, which differentiates them sharply from any neighbouring Thracian populations. In contrast, Lemnos and Lesbos provide several examples of communities that remain unaffected by the arrival of new population elements. Despite the relative cultural homogeneity prevalent in those islands and the observed continuity in population makeup, there are still indications of differentiation, with the ‘others’ being primarily identified based on the settlement and territory with which they were associated.

Social Structure and Elites

Having gone over what we can glean regarding communal identities and how population groups perceived themselves and ‘others’, it is a natural next step to conclude with discussion of intra-communal differentiation; social structure and change; the emergence and role of elites in a population group; and what information the archaeological record can truly provide regarding these matters.

My approach will be based on four primary thematic categories. Firstly, I will seek to identify indications of social inclusion and exclusion within a single community, and to explore the potential criteria on which they were based. Following that, I will attempt to identify traces of material wealth (e.g. imported goods, objects of high material value), and discuss their prevalence and possible symbolism in different communities (e.g. as expressions of elite social status). My third point of focus will be an extension of the latter, in a tentative discussion of established and ideal social roles, and how (if at all) they are reflected in the archaeological evidence. Finally, I will seek out potential centres of power (e.g. rulers' dwellings) and evidence for organised and directed communal action (e.g. monumental works, large construction, communal infrastructure); evidence that would argue in favour of the rise to power of an elite capable of initiating and co-ordinating such action, and willing to do so.

The Early Iron Age: Grave Clusters, Seats of Power, and 'Chiefs'

Regarding matters of social inclusion and exclusion, it is the cemeteries of the Macedonian / Thracian coast and Thasos that serve as the best source of information for the EIA. Funerary practices in these regions involve the creation of large, above-ground built tombs (e.g. Kastri), stone-based tumuli (e.g. Kastas, Drama), funerary enclosures (e.g. Kossynthos), or 'megalithic' monuments (e.g. Vrychos), all being structures meant to host several successive burials and to remain in use over multiple generations. This argues in favour of smaller social groups (possibly but not necessarily familial in nature) being active within the larger communities, with inclusion in the group's assigned burial space being contingent on group membership.

Interestingly, there are documented instances of isolated adult burials in these cemeteries. At Kastanas, for instance, several simple EIA pit burials have been discovered some distance from the stone-based tumuli grave clusters. Unfortunately, the criteria for this apparent exclusion from the communal burial clusters are unclear, and several potentially valid explanations can be put forward. The individuals in question may not have been considered full members of the community; or they may not have been members of the social groups with which the tumuli clusters were associated; or they may not have been of sufficiently high social status to be included. It is important to note that sex and gender do not appear to have been significant exclusion factors: adult women and men are equally represented in the above contexts, and must have been considered valid members of the social groups in question. Age, on the other hand, does appear to have played a significant role, with young children and infants being either excluded from adult grave clusters (e.g. Kastanas) or given significantly different (usually simpler) burial rites (e.g. Drama).

The above evidence indicates that some degree of intra-communal social differentiation was in effect from as early as the EIA. Children held a different status from adults; and even between adults there were perceived differences in social status extending beyond gender roles, although the exact nature of these differences remains unknown to us.

Funerary contexts also provide us with the lion's share of artefacts that may be considered to have been of relatively high value – mostly bronze jewellery, tools, and weaponry. However, the actual number of such grave goods remains quite low; and only a limited number of burials have yielded more than a few finds of high value. It is notable that the graves in question are usually those included in larger clusters, with excluded graves often completely devoid of offerings. Yet the evidence from funerary contexts alone is far

too sparse to allow a safe identification of any truly elite groups. The discovery of offerings of high material value in some sanctuary contexts of the period (e.g. Antissa, Troy Pillar House area) provides a tentative additional indication of their existence, but the evidence remains circumstantial. What must be noted is that the discovery of weapons in some male burials of the period does not necessarily mean that the deceased were warriors in life. Instead, the presence of the weapons might serve as a statement of social status and power by a rising elite, through a symbolic reference to the heroic past.

It is possible to identify certain EIA sites as seats of local power. Many of the hilltop Thracian settlements, in particular, are likely to have served as core sites for the local social elites from as far back as the LBA – EIA transition (e.g. Assar Tepe) to the 8th century (e.g. Maroneia). These sites were fortified, contained relatively large, multi-roomed buildings with stone foundations, and also included several structures, usually interpreted as storage facilities for agricultural crops. In essence, these sites provide us with evidence for directed labour (for the erection of the fortifications) and for intra-communal relative affluence (particularly obvious in the design of the large buildings, especially when compared to the evidence for simple, post-hole and/or wattle-and-daub structures found at other sites). Interestingly, the presence of storage facilities associated with the large buildings also indicates that some degree of central control might have been exerted over the production and storage of agricultural goods and other resources. In that respect, even though drawing a direct parallel would be fallacious, it is still possible to identify similarities between this paradigm and LBA chiefdom / palatial redistribution systems in the central and southern Aegean: the archaeological record presents us with the infrastructure necessary for a small

elite group to administer and control the flow and availability of resources in the rest of the community.⁶⁴⁴

The 7th century: the New Elite

As in earlier periods, any insight we can glean into matters of social inclusion and exclusion comes primarily from funerary contexts. As I have already argued in the chapter concerning cemeteries, above, some of the cemeteries of the period (e.g. late 7th-century Hephaestia, Assos) were clearly socially exclusive and reserved for the elites of their communities. Other cemeteries, such as that of Antandros and those of Abdera seem to have hosted primarily non-elite burials.

Notably, the elite cemeteries include both male and female burials. Similarly to the EIA, the sex / gender of the deceased do not appear to have been significant criteria for exclusion. On the other hand, only a few child burials were present in elite cemeteries. Children appear to have been buried separately from adults as a rule, with Abdera providing us with several examples of child cemeteries.

Cult contexts provide us with an alternative viewpoint into matters of social inclusion and exclusion. For the 7th century, there is evidence for cults likely to have been open to most (if not all) members of a community (e.g. those in the Thasos Artemision); in fact, one can even attribute a social and political centripetal effect to these cults, an effect that must have contributed significantly to 7th-century urbanisation. On the other hand, it is also possible to identify cults that must have been socially exclusive for parts or the entirety of the ritual (e.g. at Hephaestia or Chloe). It is interesting to note that at Hephaestia, where elite presence can

⁶⁴⁴ See, for instance, Earle 2011, with previous bibliography.

be inferred from both funerary and cult contexts, it is possible to trace a direct link between the two, thanks to the discovery of typical votive offerings among the grave goods.

Identifying what types of finds are associated with elite social groups is of great interest. Jewellery, metal vessels, high-quality pottery, and occasionally weapons are encountered in elite burials of the period. Similar finds (mostly jewellery and weaponry) are also encountered in contemporary cult contexts, primarily in the Thasian sphere and on Lemnos. Notably, many of these artefacts incorporate exotic or rare materials (e.g. gold and ivory jewellery in the Thasos Artemision) or, clearly, imports from outside the Aegean (e.g. alabaster Bes figurines from the Hephaestia cemetery). These finds serve to underline the participation of the 7th-century elites in and beyond the greatly expanded connections and trade networks of the period: a trait they may have sought to emphasise as one of their defining characteristics.

However, this was by no means the only defining trait of the new elites. In the sanctuaries of Thasos and its peraea, for instance, dedications of high-quality shields and weapons indicate that warfare may have been considered a significant part of their social identity.⁶⁴⁵ Furthermore, the discovery of arrowheads and high-quality (often imported) drinking cups as votive offerings at the same sites, may indicate that hunting, symposia, and feasts were also thought as core elements of elite social identity. It is interesting to note that both activities would take place within the context of a narrow, exclusive social circle whose

⁶⁴⁵ The literary evidence of the time from Thasos and Lesbos meshes well with the archaeological evidence in this respect, with Archilochus mocking his contemporary mores on warfare, and Alcaeus fully embracing them.

members appear to have defined themselves (at least partly) by their ability to partake in them.

It is also possible to identify evidence for the employment of elite authority in a communal context. In Abdera, for instance, the construction of the 7th-century settlement enclosure is a public work of considerable importance and scale, which surpasses all contemporary Aegean parallels: in my opinion, it is almost certainly the result of directed communal action under the oversight of the elites of the community. In that respect, we can infer that elites did exert some degree of centralised authority, even beyond the Thracian chiefdom system, and in the changing socio-political landscape of the 7th century.

In summary, it is possible to tentatively trace a gradual change in intra-communal social structure and in what it meant to be elite in the NEA. In the proposed EIA chiefdom system of the Thracian / northern regions, elites drew their power and status from their centralised control over territory and resources; it is likely that acropoleis such as Assar Tepe and Maroneia served as their seats of power.

This system eventually transitions into the more varied landscape of the 7th century, when elites appear to have been the main agents and beneficiaries of the developments in connectivity and maritime traffic. They also form a self-defining social group in their community; participate in social activities exclusive to the group and base their social status on this exclusivity; and formulate an underlying code of behaviour deemed appropriate for and by the group, within the context of the early political communities of the 7th century.

Closing Remarks

In drawing this study to a close, I would like to present a short summary of my conclusions and my final thoughts on them. My main points have been laid down in the previous chapter, but I believe that this epilogue is necessary to provide clarifications, personal thoughts, and final answers to some of my research questions.

A major aspect of this study has been the gathering and presentation of the relevant archaeological evidence in a gazetteer-like catalogue or compendium for the NEA. While this was, in itself, not a primary goal of the thesis, it was still necessary for our approach based on archaeological material, as little such effort has been made public in the past for the region. This compilation of data has brought several little-known, unpublished sites in the region to the fore, and has resulted in what is, to my knowledge and at the time of writing, the most complete archaeological overview of the region, within the geographical and temporal limits set at the beginning of the thesis.

The tri-axial approach that I employed is by no means novel, but proved satisfactory in organising the body of the evidence, structuring the study and facilitating the presentation of the finds. The thematic categorisation (i.e. Settlement / Funerary / Sanctuary contexts) that was used allowed the easy and (more importantly) intuitive drawing of comparisons between EIA sites and contemporary parallels from neighbouring regions. It also allowed change and developments to be traced through time using a more easily manageable framework than the entirety of my corpus of evidence.

This compendium of archaeological evidence has also revealed the rather extensive research gaps in the region; the EIA Troad, for instance, is almost completely dark, as is EIA Lemnos and 7th-century Samothrace. What I found quite interesting was the tendency, in earlier archaeological scholarship, to either gloss over this fact, extrapolate from later evidence, or use what little material is available to validate later historical sources, instead of allowing the material to speak for itself. A prime example is Bayne's (otherwise excellent) study of Grey Ware, in which he seems to take the Aeolian migration for granted and attempts to reconcile his archaeological observations with that historical narrative.⁶⁴⁶ I hope to have convincingly demonstrated the danger and fallacy of basing one's narratives on such factoids, and the massive potential for ground-breaking new information if further fieldwork were to be pursued in the region.

What the archaeological evidence does indicate is that the NEA was never peripheral to the Greek central and southern Aegean alone. At the start of the period under study, the NEA was lying at the periphery of several cultural spheres, including the South-eastern Balkan cultures and the Eastern Aegean coastline. Throughout the studied period, population movements, expanding connectivity and maritime trading networks, intercommunal interactions, and cultural influence from neighbouring regions led to cultural, technological, and social innovation. By the end of the 7th century, the NEA presents us with extensive variety and variation between sub-regions: there are several easily identifiable and distinct spheres of cultural and social influence (e.g. the Thasian region, Lemnos, Lesbos, and the opposite Aeolian coast).

⁶⁴⁶ Bayne 2000, 265-268. It is telling that he acknowledges that his account 'rests on the most tentative foundations'.

I find this variety particularly interesting, especially when one considers that at no point were the various sub-regions fully isolated. Evidence for intra- and inter-regional population movements and maritime traffic is present from the early years of the EIA, and improves considerably during the 7th century and in later years. This expanding connectivity contributed significantly to the cultural and social developments of the period; in fact, I believe it was a major factor in the establishment of new communities and in the rise of a new social elite.

On the other hand, a striking characteristic of the NEA, the prevalence of which I found relatively surprising, is the observed continuity (in matters of material culture, population makeup, cult and funerary practices) in most sub-regions, from the end of the LBA to well within the 7th century. Sites of the northern region in particular (eastern Macedonia, Thasos, Samothrace), preserve elements characteristic of the EIA even after the introduction of new paradigms from the southern Aegean. Newly introduced elements are often partially and selectively adopted, and earlier practices remain an integral part of the social and cultural character of NEA communities.

This process provides surprising insight into the development of communal identities throughout the studied period. It is of great interest to note how their development differs depending on how population groups define the ‘other’; another significant factor seems to have been the extent to which they chose to co-habitate with the ‘other’, and jointly develop a shared history and associations with specific territories. It is clear to me that earlier narratives that want the Greek apoikoi and the earlier inhabitants of Thasos engaging in martial conflict during the founding of the colony seem increasingly tenuous today; similar

Hellenisation narratives regarding the Archaic NEA in previous scholarship also need to be re-examined with a critical eye.

I will bring this study to a close with a reminder that the exploration and study of the NEA is very much a work in progress, and it is gratifying to see the interest the region has attracted in recent years. Further fieldwork and/or examination and publication of previously recovered material could potentially confirm or disprove beyond any doubt most of my narrative. I am very eager to see what future scholarship might contribute, especially for less-explored regions like the Troad.

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Abbreviations

AΔ:	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
AEMΘ:	Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη
ΠΑΕ:	Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
AJA:	American Journal of Archaeology
AJP:	American Journal of Philology
AM:	Archäologische Mitteilungen
ASAtene:	Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente
BCH:	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
Istan. Mitt:	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
REA:	Revue des études anciennes

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APPENDIX 1:
CATALOGUE OF SITES AND FINDS

SITE CATALOGUE

Appendix 1

Catalogue of Sites and Finds

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Appendix 1

Catalogue of Sites and Finds

Eastern Macedonia

1. Amphipolis (Hill 133)

Location and Topography: The hill in question lies almost 2 km north / north-east of the modern village of Amphipolis and immediately to the south of Nea Mesolakkia. It is tell-like, with a wide base, relatively steep sides, and a flat top, which measures just under 50,000 m². The hill rises to a height of 133 m (which gives it its name), and dominates the landscape of the mouth of the Strymon between Mt Pangaeon and Mt Kerdyllion [Figure 3, Figure 13].

Viewshed: Hill 133 is located to the north of the westernmost spur of Mt Pangaeon, which gives it a perfect view over most of the south-western part of the Strymon river plain; on the other hand, it has no direct line of sight to the coastline, and has a very limited sea horizon. Despite nearness of the settlement to the sea and despite its oversight of the Pangaeon / Kerdyllion pass, the site selection indicates that its inhabitants' primary goal was to secure the surrounding river plain.

Settlement: The site was surveyed in the 1960s by Lazaridis and 12 test trenches were opened. The stratigraphy was problematic, but the recovered pottery argues for near-continuous occupation from the Neolithic/EBA period to at least the 6th century BCE. Specifically, the most recent layers yielded local (or possibly Thasian) pottery of the late 7th-century / early 6th century, decorated with concentric circles and linear motifs; also, Ionian kylikes, imported 6th-century Attic black-figure pottery, and 'possibly local pottery with

banded decoration'.⁶⁴⁷ Earlier layers yielded handmade black undecorated pottery, wares with incised decoration, and early black-on-red vessels, dating to the earliest phases of the EBA. Apart from pottery, the excavations also brought to light loom weights, sea-shells, and a boar's tusk, finds which provide some insight into subsistence activities in the settlement.⁶⁴⁸

No ancient architectural remains were discovered on Hill 133. It is also unclear whether the settlement was fortified. This makes it difficult to estimate the exact nature of the human occupation of the site. Hill 133 may have served as a fortified citadel and a semi-permanent / seasonal base for a more spread-out population,⁶⁴⁹ but it may also have served as a permanent settlement.

Cemetery: The Kastasi hill / tumulus lies almost 3 km to the north-east of Amphipolis and less than 1 km to the south-east of the Hill 133 tell-like mound. The Kastasi tumulus is much smaller than Hill 133 and visible in its entirety from the latter's crown.

EIA graves have been unearthed in multiple locations on Kastasi, and it is quite possible that the EIA cemetery originally extended throughout its entirety.⁶⁵⁰ Twenty-seven EIA burials are confirmed; ambiguity in the excavation reports could allow for 8 more.⁶⁵¹ Graves were, as a rule, not re-used during antiquity. It should be noted that late Archaic (late 6th-century) graves were also found on the hill in great numbers, but that no 7th-century contexts have been safely identified: this apparent gap is of some interest, and might

⁶⁴⁷ Lazaridis 1965, 444. No images of the latter pottery type have been published, but based on the descriptions, it is likely that these vessels correspond to the 6th-century, widely distributed Phari-type vessels.

⁶⁴⁸ Lazaridis 1965, 444.

⁶⁴⁹ Malamidou 2006, 186-188.

⁶⁵⁰ Lazaridis 1973, 52-53; 1974, 63-64; 1975, 70-71; 1976, 98; 1977, 43-44; 1981, 25.

⁶⁵¹ Lazaridis (1981, 25) is uncharacteristically vague in his report of the discovery of "eleven new graves, of which at least one pit burial" (**Note:** in this cemetery context, pit burials date to the EIA; see below, p.291) "and at least two cist burials" (**Note:** Archaic in this cemetery context). This allows for at least eight graves which are not described at all, and might well be EIA in date.

correspond to a local crisis. That said, a large part of Kastan hill (and, by extension, the EIA – early Archaic cemetery) remains unexcavated.⁶⁵²

Isolated EIA graves are found throughout the hill,⁶⁵³ but two large stone structures have also been discovered under the northern slopes of the hill. The first (and largest) was found on the north-eastern side of the hill: it consists of a large, roughly circular layer of rough stones, containing several smaller, circular stone structures [Figure 99]. Under this layer were discovered seven ‘free’ burials (where the dead had been placed directly onto the earth, without any pit having been dug beforehand). Built within the stone layer and partially covered by it, six more pot burials came to light: five in massive pithoi and one in a smaller amphora.⁶⁵⁴ The second structure was found on the north-western side of the hill: it is smaller, but follows the same design [Figure 100]. It contained four pithoi burials, and covered a single free burial.⁶⁵⁵ It is very likely that the stone layers formed the bases of earth-covered tumuli, not unlike those found in Halos⁶⁵⁶ or Vergina.⁶⁵⁷

Kastan has yielded cist graves, pit-, pot-, and free burials, but all cist graves date to the late Archaic phase of the cemetery.⁶⁵⁸ Most pit graves, pot burials, and free burials date to the EIA, with the exception of seven pit burials and a single amphora cremation burial, which date to the Archaic period.⁶⁵⁹ Among the EIA graves, the different types are found in almost equal numbers, with pit burials (usually covered by a thin layer of stones) being

⁶⁵² The (still unpublished) recent excavations on the hill, conducted by the 28th Ephorate of Antiquities, might provide some answers on the matter. At the time of writing, however, works are focusing mainly on Hellenistic contexts.

⁶⁵³ Lazaridis 1973; 1974; 1975; 1976; 1977; 1981; 1982.

⁶⁵⁴ Lazaridis 1976, 98 and im.3; 1977, 43; 1981, 25.

⁶⁵⁵ Lazaridis 1977, 43.

⁶⁵⁶ See Wace & Thompson 1911/12.

⁶⁵⁷ See Andronikos 1969.

⁶⁵⁸ Lazaridis 1973, 53; 1974, 64; 1975, 70-71; 1976, 94-98; 1977, 43-44; 1981, 25; 1982, 51-52.

⁶⁵⁹ Lazaridis 1982, 50-51; 1977, 44.

slightly more common. All of the EIA pot burials discovered (ten in total) and most of the free burials (at least eight out of 11) are found in the two tumuli [Figure 101]. On the other hand, the five known EIA pit burials are found as single, isolated graves.⁶⁶⁰ No information is available regarding the posture of the dead interred in pot or free burials, but in pit burials the dead were interred in the supine position, with their legs fully extended. Their arms were extended alongside the torso or, in the case of one female burial, clasped over the waist [Figure 102].⁶⁶¹ EIA child (pit) burials have been discovered, but are relatively rare (only two are reported).⁶⁶²

The commonest finds from the EIA cemetery are handmade pottery vessels, but very few of them were found inside the burials themselves. Instead, most were found discarded on the stone base layer of the two major tumuli, near the graves. It is highly likely that they were not meant to be offerings, but were instead used by the mourners during nekrodeipna feasts and ritually discarded afterwards.⁶⁶³ The burials themselves yielded finds that were of greater material value but relatively few in number, while at least three graves did not contain any offerings at all.⁶⁶⁴ The finds include jewellery (iron and bronze finger rings, bronze dress-pins, bronze and glass beads, bronze armbands, two golden hair coils),⁶⁶⁵ a total of five weapons (a flint blade, an iron spearhead, two large iron swords, fragments of an iron

⁶⁶⁰ Eight graves are mentioned in the excavation reports without any reference to their type. The description context makes it more likely that they were pit (EIA) or cist (Archaic) graves, but this is not certain. See Lazaridis 1981, 25.

⁶⁶¹ Lazaridis 1973, 53; 1974, 63.

⁶⁶² Lazaridis 1975, 70; 1981, 25.

⁶⁶³ Lazaridis 1977, 43; 1981, 25.

⁶⁶⁴ Lazaridis 1974, 64; 1975, 70-71.

⁶⁶⁵ Lazaridis 1973, 52-53; 1974, 64; 1977, 43; 1981, 25.

dagger),⁶⁶⁶ and very little pottery (a small kylix, a small jug, and ‘two handmade-pottery vessels with vertical handles’ are the only four vessels reported).⁶⁶⁷

2. Dialekto

Location and Topography: The modern Dialekto village lies in the foothills of the Rhodope mountain range, north of the Nestos river plain. To the north-east of the village, surface pottery was discovered over a total of 200,000 m². The 1987 survey report, by V. Poullos, documents that the pottery was mostly concentrated in an area of 30-40,000 m², near the rural road north of the village, and that evidence for an ancient destruction layer was evident on the surface (ash, fragmentary wall remains etc.). No follow-up excavation took place, and none of the above is visible today. No extensive cultivation has taken place, but several animal pens and pastoral installations have been erected over the area [Figure 4, Figure 14].

Viewshed: The site lies near the northern end of the Nestos river plain, and overlooks the entirety of the river plain and the sea, up to Thasos [Figure 75]. The size and apparent long lifetime of the site argue for a reasonably large population centre, instead of a small fortified location.

Settlement: Very little information is provided regarding the recovered material, beyond the fact that it included mostly ‘Archaic and Classical pottery’, accompanied by EIA handmade pottery and Roman wares.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶⁶ Lazaridis 1973, 52-53; 1977, 43.

⁶⁶⁷ Lazaridis 1977, 43; 1981, 25.

⁶⁶⁸ Poullos 1987, 445.

3. Drama Industrial Zone

Location and Topography: An EIA tumulus cemetery was discovered to the west / north-west of modern Drama, near the road to Prosotsani, on the Aggites river plain. No ancient settlement has been discovered in the cemetery vicinity [Figure 15].

Viewshed: Despite its location in the Aggites river plain (almost 3 km south of the western Rhodope foothills), the cemetery is only partially visible from the surrounding region, due to the relatively uneven terrain.⁶⁶⁹

Cemetery: The three tumuli (A, B, and C) were heavily disturbed, and contained ‘several’ cremations and at least two (child) pot burials. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the exact number of cremations from the available reports.⁶⁷⁰

The tumuli were built with a thick fill layer of earth and stones serving as the tumulus base. The earliest of the Drama tumuli (Tumulus C, dating to before the 8th century) was constructed over three earlier, concentric, circular stone rings (referred to as a ‘krepis’ by the excavators) [Figure 103].⁶⁷¹ It is possible that the tumulus gradually grew in size to house more graves, with the stone rings marking its steadily widening base at different points in time. There is evident clustering of burials within the tumuli, but based on the information available, it is impossible to determine whether this is a result of changes in the tumuli over time or conscious grouping of burials. For example, in Tumulus C of the Drama cemetery, there are two distinct grave and offering clusters in the central ring and one cluster in the

⁶⁶⁹ Estimated original tumulus height: 3 m; the stone bases alone rise to a height of 0,7-0,9 m (Peristeri 2004, 261).

⁶⁷⁰ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 333-334. In Tumulus A, at least five cremation burials were discovered; no information on the other tumuli is available.

⁶⁷¹ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 334.

outer one.⁶⁷² It is reasonable to suppose that the central clusters were formed because the central ring of the tumulus corresponds to its earliest phase. However, this does not explain why there are two such clusters nor why grouping is also evident in the outer ring, instead of the graves and offerings being more evenly distributed. It is highly likely that the placement of the graves was based on criteria such as familial relationships or the social status of the deceased.

The Drama tumuli differ notably in funerary customs from other EIA cemeteries of the wider region, in that *in situ* cremations and cremation burials are the most common types of graves, instead of inhumations.⁶⁷³ The most ancient of the three tumuli (Tumulus C), was in use from as early as the 10th century to at least the 8th century, and contained solely cremation burials. Their exact number is, unfortunately, not included in the excavation reports, but as mentioned above, the burials and the associated offerings were grouped in three major clusters within the tumulus.⁶⁷⁴ The 8th- and 7th-century Tumuli A and B also contained mostly cremation burials. Their exact number is unreported, but this is largely due to most of them being disturbed during antiquity: only five undisturbed cremation burials are listed for Tumulus A.⁶⁷⁵ Cremations were of two types: inurned cremation burials (the most usual ash container vessels being handmade amphorae with banded, ribbed or stamped decoration), or ash remains placed directly onto the stone base layers of the tumuli. The actual cremation of the deceased must have taken place near or on the tumuli themselves: in Tumulus B, a deep pit was found inside the stone base layer, containing the ashes and burnt

⁶⁷² Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 334.

⁶⁷³ However, note that several graves may date to the early 7th century (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 333)

⁶⁷⁴ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 334

⁶⁷⁵ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 333.

remains of several cremations and many grave offerings. Some inhumations were also discovered in Tumuli A and B, but none belong to adults: they include a total of five child inhumations in three pithos vessels [Figure 104a] and, notably in the case of Tumulus B, a dog burial in a pithos [Figure 104b].⁶⁷⁶

The tumuli have yielded mostly pottery: wheel- and handmade vessels have been found both on the outer surface of the tumuli and in their interior, over the stone base layer.⁶⁷⁷ The handmade pottery covers a wide time period, from 10th-century early ribbed- and stamp-decoration to late EIA banded-decoration vessels. The wheel-made pottery consists mainly of Grey- and Red Ware vessels, with incised decoration.⁶⁷⁸ The earliest of the three tumuli (Tumulus C) contained several weapons: two Naue II swords [Figure 105], two spearheads, and, interestingly, two tools described by the excavators as ‘picks’.⁶⁷⁹ The excavators also mention several dress pins and fibulae, but provide no further information on their types or number.⁶⁸⁰ Finally, of great interest is the discovery of small spindle whorls. In the Thasian cemeteries of Kastri, spindle whorls are the most characteristic find associated with female burials.⁶⁸¹ This might also have been the case here. However, the Drama excavation reports do not provide any information regarding the graves with which such finds were associated (or whether they were found outside graves, as parts of greater offering assemblages).

⁶⁷⁶ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 333.

⁶⁷⁷ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 334.

⁶⁷⁸ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 334. An investigation of the origin of this Grey- and Red Ware would be of great interest, as it would provide insight into local trade and exchange networks. Unfortunately, the relevant material remains unpublished and unavailable for study.

⁶⁷⁹ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 334.

⁶⁸⁰ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 334.

⁶⁸¹ See below, p. 317.

4. Eion

Location and Topography: Ancient Eion was tentatively identified in the 1980s by Koukouli-Chrysanthaki on the hill of Profitis Ilias, ca. 4 km to the south-east of the mouth of the Strymon River. The hill lies in the middle of a small alluvial plain, at the western end of the valley which divides Mt Pangaion and Mt Symbolon. The hill stratigraphy is very heavily disturbed by both army works and agriculture, but the southern slopes yielded LBA and EIA handmade grooved pottery not unlike that found in the Kastri cemeteries of Thasos [Figure 3, Figure 16].

Viewshed: The hill overlooks the entirety of the mouth of the Strymon River, up to and including the eastern coastline of the Chalcidike peninsula and Mt Athos. It also dominates its surrounding arable plain. Nevertheless, it does not enjoy a good view of the hinterland to the north; notably, its field of view extends only as far as the Amphipolis pass, and does not include any part of the Strymon river plain further to the north. The Pangaion and Symbolon foothills also limit its viewshed towards the east.

Settlement: Early material (primarily incised LBA and grooved EIA pottery) is mostly clustered in the southern part of the hill. Subsequent material is found evenly distributed over the entirety of the hilltop. This later material comprises central Macedonian wares (e.g. ‘purple’ pottery, with parallels from Kastanas), Sub-Protogeometric pottery, such as Catling-style amphorae dating to the 7th and 6th century, G2-3 ware fragments, Ionian pottery with linear decoration, and imported late Archaic / early Classical pottery from the central and southern Aegean (e.g. Attic and Corinthian vessels).⁶⁸²

⁶⁸² Koukouli 1987, 423-424; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1996, 639-640.

5. Eleutheroupolis

Location and Topography: The Paliampela hill lies immediately to the east of the modern city and over the Christian cemetery. It is a natural rise, with relatively steep sides. The site is located at the easternmost end of the pass / valley between Mt Pangaion and Mt Symbolon, and at the southernmost end of the Aggites river plain. It is separated from the coastal area by a low range of hills, and lies less than three hours' walk from the coastal settlements of Oisyme and Neapolis [Figure 4, Figure 17].

Viewshed: The hill provides an excellent overview of the river plain to the north and east; the hilly ground towards the south blocks all view towards the coast.

Settlement: Surface surveys (and limited excavations on the northern slope) have yielded material that indicates continuous occupation of the site from the LBA to the Hellenistic period. This includes handmade grooved EIA pottery and several early and late Archaic drinking vessels (Ionian kylikes, Subgeometric skyphoi).⁶⁸³

No architectural remains (such as fortifications) are reported, but the likelihood is high that the hill served as an acropolis or fortified position. Originally, the excavators identified the site as ancient Fagris,⁶⁸⁴ but the hill of Kanoni, near modern Orfani was subsequently proven to be a more likely alternative for that ancient site.⁶⁸⁵

6. Galepsos (Pithari)

Location and Topography: The site comprises of a very low hill, near the modern beach of Karyani. The site lies almost directly on the sea and very near the Chalikorema ('pebble-

⁶⁸³ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 332.

⁶⁸⁴ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, 332.

⁶⁸⁵ Nikolaidou-Patera 1989, 489; 1990, 518-520; 1993, 499-501; 1996, 835-838.

stream') seasonal current, at the westernmost end of the Mt Symbolon foothills. It is not particularly defensible in itself, but lies at the foot of the very steep Gaidourokastro hill, where scholars place ancient Galepsos.⁶⁸⁶ Since no excavations have taken place in the latter, it might be that Pithari served as a harbour / sea access for a (still unconfirmed) EIA phase of the Gaidourokastro settlement [Figure 3, Figure 4, Figure 18].

Viewshed: Pithari offers an unobstructed view over the entirety of the eastern Chalcidike coastline, Mt Athos, and the mouth of the Strymon river; but the view of the hinterland is blocked by Gaidourokastro.

Settlement: Under a late Archaic layer (possibly including a late Archaic Demeter sanctuary and some late Archaic / Classical graves)⁶⁸⁷ an EIA layer was brought to light during the construction of the coastal road. Very little material from the site has been published, especially since no systematic excavation involving the EIA layers has taken place. Visible 'architectural remains' are reported, but no date is put forward, and they are likely to belong to the late Archaic and Classical phase of the settlement.⁶⁸⁸

7. **Gazoros**

Location and Topography: As is the case with several sites, excavation works have only taken place in the cemeteries of ancient Gazoros (modern Agios Christophoros), which date to the latest phases of the EIA and the 7th century. A low, round prehistoric settlement mound has been identified at the south-western end of the modern settlement, but the Iron Age and

⁶⁸⁶ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1972, 525-527.

⁶⁸⁷ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1973-1974, 786; Malama & Milkaki 2008, 396.

⁶⁸⁸ During the 2000s, the 18th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical antiquities conducted a series of test trenches and rescue excavations further to the east, and brought to light several 6th-century buildings (Malama & Milkaki 2008, 396)

Archaic / Classical / Hellenistic settlement sites are located further to the south-west, in the Agios Athanasios hills. These hills lie at the foot of a spur of the Rhodope mountain range, to the north of the confluence of the Aggites and Strymon Rivers [Figure 3, Figure 19].

Viewshed: Gazoros overlooks the near-entirety of the Strymon river plain, and also controls the mouth of the Aggites tributary river plain, to its south-east. It also overlooks the Amphipolis / Hill 133 area and river pass to the south. The size of the settlement and the area it controlled remain unclear, but the site topography indicates that value was placed on both defensibility (EIA hill settlement and possible Archaic – Roman Agios Athanasios acropolis) and control of arable land (nearby Strymon plain area).

Settlement: The EIA settlement lies apart, on a small circular hill (ca. 53,000 m²) to the immediate south-east of the cemetery area. It has not been excavated, but notable quantities of handmade pottery, typical for EIA eastern Macedonia and Thrace have been discovered on the surface of the southern and south-western slopes of the hill.⁶⁸⁹

The nearby hill of Agios Athanasios, flanked by Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman graves, is the most likely centre / acropolis for the post-EIA settlement. However, this hill has not been excavated either, and no early surface material has been reported from the area.⁶⁹⁰

Cemetery: A small cemetery, comprised of 15 graves, came to light near the settlement hill [Figure 106]. Many of the graves were looted or contained no offerings, but the safely datable assemblages date the cemetery to the 7th century.⁶⁹¹ It is also worth noting that the

⁶⁸⁹ Valla 1997 (i), 846; 1997 (ii), 559, fig. 1.

⁶⁹⁰ Valla 1997 (ii), 559, fig. 1.

⁶⁹¹ Valla 2001-2004, 109-115; 2005, 110-115

cemetery was, in all likelihood, considerably more extensive in antiquity: rescue excavations took place at the site after reports of looting by locals, and several graves are reported to have been destroyed.⁶⁹²

Finds from the 7th-century graves discovered near Gazoros [Figure 107] include locally produced wheel- and hand-made pottery decorated with painted linear and geometric motifs (vertical lines, rhomboid motifs etc.),⁶⁹³ and small amounts of bronze jewellery (arced and figure-of-eight fibulae, bracelets, and a cross-shaped pendant). Loom weights mark some female burials, while weapons (axes, daggers, swords, and speartips) are found only in male burials.⁶⁹⁴ Of some interest is a spearhead found wedged on the ground near the head of a male burial; it is possible that the spear was used as a grave marker to emphasise the warrior status of the deceased.⁶⁹⁵

8. Megali Arika (Symbolon)

Location and Topography: The site in question lies on a nameless hill, 2 km east of Gaidourokastro, between the Megali Arika rise and the Trapezitsa hill. The hilltop is naturally flat and the hillsides steep and forested; the only access is from the north. The topography of the site seems to indicate the presence of a small settlement or outpost, possibly linked to the Pithari settlement and/or Galepsos [Figure 3, Figure 4, Figure 20].

Viewshed: The site viewshed is directly comparable to that of Galepsos. A higher altitude provides a wider horizon: the entirety of the eastern Chalcidike is visible, as is the

⁶⁹² Significant amounts of 7th century material were seized by the authorities; it is highly likely that this material originated from additional graves, now destroyed (Valla 2005, 109-110).

⁶⁹³ Three possibly imported vessels with 'geometric' motifs are also reported from the site: a skyphos, a spherical pyxis, and an aryballos (Valla 1998, 730).

⁶⁹⁴ Valla 1998, 730; 2001-2004, 699-700; 2005, 110 and 114.

⁶⁹⁵ Valla 2005, 115.

mouth of the Strymon River and the Eion plain. The view of the hinterland (i.e. the valley between Mt Pangaion and Mt Symbolon) is blocked by the Mt Symbolon foothills to the north.

Settlement: No architectural remains are visible, but a surface survey yielded some pottery dating to the EIA and ‘historic times’, both from the hilltop and the northern slope.⁶⁹⁶

9. Nea Karvali / Akontisma

Location and Topography: The site is located to the south-west of modern Nea Karvali, on the western slopes of a large, oval, coastal hill. Swampy marshland flanks the hill along the coast. There is no indication that the hill itself was ever used as an acropolis or that its crown was fortified during antiquity, but extensive modern (early 20th-century) military trenches at the hilltop may have destroyed earlier architectural remains [Figure 4, Figure 21].

Viewshed: The hill overlooks the entirety of the Kavala Gulf to the west (with the notable exception of Neapolis itself, which is occluded by low hills) and the river plain near the mouth of the Nestos River to the east. The entirety of the Thasos northern coastline is also visible.

Settlement: On the south-western slope, stretching from the crown to the foot of the hill, a trapezoidal fortification (with straight wall segments and rectangular towers) was brought to light. The walls themselves are impossible to date securely, and must have been repaired / rebuilt several times during antiquity, because the masonry / construction style varies greatly between different parts of the wall (isodomic masonry, rougher-stone construction etc.). The pottery recovered from the site might be helpful in dating the

⁶⁹⁶ Poulios 1984, 271-272.

structures: the excavator has reported Subgeometric kylikes ‘of the usual type for the area’, but provides no more information. Therefore, a date for the earliest on-site occupation of the (early?) 7th century is likely but by no means certain.⁶⁹⁷

Koukouli-Chrysanthaki has suggested that the site be identified with ancient Akontisma, and that this fortification corresponds to an early phase of the settlement. Although no geophysical studies have taken place in the area, it is clear that the marshy ground to the west of the hill formed a natural harbour (now silted up) in antiquity.

10. Neapolis

Location and Topography: The ancient settlement of Neapolis occupied the same area as modern Kavala, and specifically the Old Town district, on a small cape that juts out towards the south. The cape rises relatively smoothly but quite high over sea level, providing an easily fortifiable position for an acropolis and a relatively sheltered harbour to the west (where the modern harbour of Kavala is also located). Some narrow coastal plains extend towards the east and west, but hills towards the north separate Neapolis from the extensive Aggites river plain [Figure 4; Figure 22].

Viewshed: The early settlement would have overlooked the entirety of the Kavala Gulf, as well as the northern coastline of Thasos. To the east, the river plain surrounding the mouth of the Nestos River would also have been visible. However, it is worth noting that a north-eastern spur of Mt Symbolon occludes the entirety of the Aggites river plain to the north of Neapolis, and that the Macedonian hinterland in general was not visible beyond 4-5 km from the settlement. The site selection for Neapolis seems to indicate prioritisation

⁶⁹⁷ Koukouli 1967, 420-422; Nikolaidou & Patera 2005, 30-31.

of control of maritime traffic (especially in the Kavala Gulf) over control of mainland territory.

Settlement: No clearly identifiable settlement contexts have been discovered, partly because the area has been excavated to a very limited extent. However, in the area occupied during the 6th century by the Parthenos sanctuary, early layers containing handmade EIA pottery with incised decoration, G2-3 Ware and a 7th-century ‘Melian’ amphora were brought to light. While there is very little evidence for cult activity in the sanctuary during this early period, the stratified early deposits clearly indicate that the site was occupied from at least as early as the 7th century.⁶⁹⁸

Sanctuary: The sanctuary of the Parthenos was first excavated during the 1930s by Bakalakis and revisited by Lazaridis in the 1960s.⁶⁹⁹ It lies on the western slope of the acropolis hill. The sanctuary has not been explored in its entirety, and its total extent remains unclear; the earliest known architectural remains from the site date well within the 6th century [Figure 108], and most of the evidence for early ritual activity also dates to this period, with a significant corpus of pottery, sculpture, and other votive offerings. It is, however, more than likely that ritual activity took place in the area since at least as early as the mid 7th century. This is indicated by the large 7th-century ‘Melian’ amphora mentioned above, which depicts the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and was found in the sanctuary temenos [Figure 109].⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁸ Bakalakis 1938 (ii); Lazaridis 1961/2, 235-238; 1965, 446; Koukouli 1967, 417.

⁶⁹⁹ Bakalakis 1936, 1-48; Bakalakis 1938 (i), 75-102; Bakalakis 1938 (ii); Lazaridis 1961/2, 235-238; 1965, 443-446; Koukouli 1967, 417-434.

⁷⁰⁰ Lazaridis 1961/2, 238.

11. Oisyme

Location and Topography: The site is located on an oval natural hill at the southernmost end of the Eleutherae bay, south of modern Nea Peramos. It lies almost directly on the sea, and enjoys an excellent natural harbour to the north. Furthermore, it borders a small fertile river plain, which was formed by the runoff from the south-eastern slopes of Mt Symbolon, and remains separated from the larger Aggites river plain by a northern spur of this mountain. The surrounding area is still extensively cultivated during modern times [Figure 4, Figure 23].

Viewshed: The site overlooks the small arable plain to its north, but holds a commanding position over the Kavala gulf. The northern coastline of Thasos and the sea approaches towards Mt Athos are also quite visible.

Settlement: The hill clearly served as a fortified acropolis during the Archaic period, as the largest part of the fortification wall circuit has been preserved to a considerable height. Its date remains uncertain, but a 6th-century date for the earlier phase of the wall is most likely.⁷⁰¹

On the acropolis itself, a late 7th-century / early 6th-century sanctuary came to light (see below). The earliest material from sanctuary deposit layers comprises Wild Goat Style wares, pseudo-Chian (actually Thasian) cups, and some imported Cycladic pottery.⁷⁰²

To the east of this sanctuary, an earlier occupation layer came to light. It corresponds to a destruction event, as it is rich in burnt clay (roof tiles and / or burnt mudbrick) and ash.

⁷⁰¹ Giouri & Koukouli 1987, 365-366; Leventopoulou-Giouri 1965, 447.

⁷⁰² Giouri & Koukouli 1987, 371-373; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papanikolaou 1990, 491-492.

It has also yielded EIA handmade pottery similar to that found at Kastri and other sites in eastern Macedonia: the commonest shapes are single-handled cups with grooved decoration, and four-handled amphorae.⁷⁰³

Cemetery: The Oisyme cemetery is located south of the settlement acropolis, on low, sandy ground near the coast. It is still visible from the settlement, but there is no recognisable effort to make it so: it does not lie along any obvious roads to the interior, and it does not extend over a low hill, as other cemeteries do for increased visibility [Figure 23].⁷⁰⁴

While the necropolis is quite extensive during the 6th and 5th centuries (almost 200 cremations and burials), its state during the 7th century remains unclear. Two cremation burials in 7th-century ‘Melian’ amphorae have been discovered and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki has interpreted them as indicative of early cemetery use.⁷⁰⁵ The date of those cremation burials, however, is questionable: while the cremation burial vessels themselves date, undoubtedly, to the second half of the 7th century, Giouri and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki report that the offerings found inside include 5th-century imported (Attic and Corinthian) pottery.⁷⁰⁶ Given that *terminus post quem*, I find it more likely that select 7th-century vessels were preserved and used as urns during the 5th century and subsequent periods.

Sanctuary: The largest structure currently visible on the hilltop belongs to a Classical sanctuary.⁷⁰⁷ A small, 5th-century temple had been constructed over an earlier, 7th-century

⁷⁰³ Giouri & Koukouli 1987, 374-375, Koukouli 1988, 427, 1989, 376 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Papanikolaou 1990, 492-493.

⁷⁰⁴ See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2006, pl. 23.2 for a map of the necropolis.

⁷⁰⁵ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2006, 170-171.

⁷⁰⁶ Giouri & Koukouli 1969, 351.

⁷⁰⁷ Giouri & Koukouli 1987, 363-387; Koukouli 1987, 444; 1988, 424-427; 1989, 375-376; Koukouli & Papanikolaou 1990, 487-502.

building which had been destroyed at the end of the 6th century. It appears to have been tripartite, with a small pronaos, a cella and a possible opisthodomos. An eschara hearth, framed by stone column bases, occupied the centre of the cella [Figure 110].

Most of the material associated with this early phase of the sanctuary was recovered from a deposit layer, to the immediate north of the early building. Among the 7th-century material, Cycladic and East Aegean pottery are reported as the most common fine wares, accompanied by so-called Pseudo-Chian wares, i.e. Thasian imitations of East Greek vessels.⁷⁰⁸

The same deposit layer also yielded several fragments of marble and clay statues, late Archaic clay figurines of the kore and ‘Lady with Polos’ types, and a substantial corpus of metal objects, including weapons, bronze shields, and shield-band decorative elements.⁷⁰⁹

12. Platania

Location and Topography: The ancient fortified settlement is located 2 km to the east of modern Platania, on the appropriately named Kales (‘castle’) hill. The hill lies in the foothills of a southern spur of the Rhodope mountain range, which encloses a river plain formed by one of the tributaries of the Aggites River. The site may have been selected due to its defensibility and the excellent oversight of the river plain it offers. However, it differs significantly from previously mentioned fortified acropoleis in that it lies a considerable distance away from the arable plain and at a higher altitude [Figure 4, Figure 24].

⁷⁰⁸ Giouri & Koukouli 1987, 371-372; Koukouli & Papanikolaou 1990, 492. For the Phari workshop, see Blondé *et al.* 1992, 11-40.

⁷⁰⁹ Giouri & Koukouli 1987, 371.

Viewshed: The settlement mostly overlooks the narrow tributary valley extending from the foot of the hill. It also enjoys a very narrow field of view on the Aggites river plain and, weather permitting, a small fraction of the Strymon plain. The mountainous area surrounding the hill limits its oversight of the Rhodope hinterland [Figure 76].

Settlement: Very limited excavation works have taken place on site. The currently visible architectural remains correspond to a 6th-century CE fortification phase, but the excavation test trenches have yielded material that confirms human occupation of the site from the Late Neolithic onwards. This also includes an EIA phase, represented by handmade pottery with incised, stamped, ribbed, and grooved decoration.⁷¹⁰

13. Profitis Ilias (Symbolon)

Location and Topography: The Profitis Ilias hill lies quite near the coastal road, a kilometer east of the modern settlement of Loutra Eleutheron. It is one of the southern foothills of Mt Symbolon. It gently slopes towards the north (and the higher hinterland hills), but its seaward, southern side is quite steep, with two successive narrow terraces. The hilltop is flat, but it is impossible to determine to what extent this represents its form during antiquity as the hill has been repeatedly terraformed, partially excavated, and flattened by army entrenchments and modern agriculture: at the time of writing, the entirety of the hilltop is occupied by an orchard [Figure 4, Figure 25].

Viewshed: The settlement would have no oversight over the northern hinterland, as the hill is one of the foothills of Mt Symbolon. However, it holds a commanding position on

⁷¹⁰ Peristeri 1990 (i), 470; 1990 (ii), 377-379.

the coastal area between ancient Neapolis and Amphipolis, and it offers an unobstructed view over Mt Athos and the western coastline of Thasos

Settlement: LBA and EIA handmade Thracian pottery has been discovered on the southern side of the hilltop and its southern slope. The finds remain unpublished.⁷¹¹

14. Triada

Location and Topography: The site of Triada lies at the extreme west of the geographical region of the north-eastern Aegean; it is located ca. 6.5 km to the south-east of the modern Kerkine dam. No excavation has taken place, but the area was surveyed during the construction works for the modern Egnatia highway [Figure 3, Figure 26].

Viewshed: Triada is perfectly placed to overlook the near-entirety of the Strymon plain.

Settlement: To the immediate south-east of the modern Triada settlement, a cluster of surface pottery was identified. It was scattered over 60,000 m², along the Triada seasonal stream. It consisted of locally produced, handmade pottery, typical of Macedonian and Thracian LBA / EIA contexts, sherds with Sub-Protogeometric decoration (i.e. concentric circles), and Bird Bowls of, most likely, East Aegean origin.⁷¹²

The extent of the original settlement is unclear, as the extensive surface scatter might have been due to surface erosion by the nearby seasonal stream. However, the site topography (on the mountain slopes flanking the Strymon River) finds parallels at Gazoros, Nea Fyli, and Hill 133, and might indicate an attempt to compromise between defensibility and control of arable land.

⁷¹¹ Poulios 1997, 570.

⁷¹² Tolia-Christakou 2008, 496-497.

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15. Agios Ioannis

Location and Topography: The Agios Ioannis settlement lies to the south-east of the island, near the shore of a small bay whose western end is defined by the Alikí sanctuary cape (3 km away). The settlement enjoys an excellent natural harbour, but there is no evidence for extensive maritime activity or permanent harbour installations [Figure 5; Figure 27].

Settlement: Three distinct settlement phases have been identified: one dating to the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age transition, one dating to the Archaic period, and one dating to the 6th century AD. It is, unfortunately, unclear whether these phases are discrete or whether there is continuation throughout the entirety of this extensive time period.

The Archaic phase is represented by several hearths with pebble and clay lining, low stone and earth benches, and clay floors. There are no preserved architectural (building) remains dating to this period, with the exception of several roof tiles, dated by the excavators to the late Archaic period. The working hypothesis of the excavation team is that the aforementioned finds belong to open spaces with partial roofing; this might argue for a semi-permanent settlement or harbour / fishing installation.⁷¹³

The pottery from the site includes imports from the central and southern Aegean (Laconian and Parian wares) as well as Thasian dotted kylikes.⁷¹⁴ More importantly, however, the site has also yielded a corpus of handmade pottery with incised and knobbed

⁷¹³ Papadopoulos 1998 (i), 58, 63.

⁷¹⁴ Papadopoulos 1998 (i), 59-60; 1998 (ii), 725.

decoration that imitates decorative motifs common to contemporary wheel-made Thasian pottery (semi-circular motifs, dots near the lip etc.). This handmade pottery shows evidence of uncontrolled firing (possibly in an open fire), and mostly consists of household pottery shapes (bowls, cauldrons, cups).⁷¹⁵

Given the material recovered from the site, the settlement might have sought to emulate the production of more important regional centres (i.e. the recently established apoikia to the North) on a smaller, peripheral scale. This might argue for a satellite (or even semi-permanent) settlement, with possible links to the nearby Alikí sanctuary, due to proximity to the site.

16. Alikí

Location and Topography: Alikí lies to the south-east of the island, on a large cape which forms two small bays. The nearest known ancient settlement is that of Agios Ioannis (see above); the sanctuary also lies near major marble quarries, mostly exploited in Late Antiquity [Figure 27].⁷¹⁶

Viewshed: The sanctuary overlooks the small bay to its east, but has only limited oversight of the island hinterland. It is also visible from the sea by any ship travelling along the south-eastern coast of the island.

Sanctuary: The sanctuary of Alikí had already been located and partly excavated since 1856, but the first systematic excavation of the site took place in the 1960s. Two relatively small rectangular buildings (dating to the 6th and 5th centuries) were uncovered, constructed

⁷¹⁵ Papadopoulos 1998 (i), 60.

⁷¹⁶ Sodini & Kozelj 1980, 81-126.

on an artificial terrace next to the shore. They probably served as hestiatoria (or dining halls) for the local cult, which was, in all likelihood, hosted in a nearby cave.⁷¹⁷

The earliest on-site cult activities should probably be dated to the mid 7th century: under the two buildings, a terrace wall was brought to light, built with small stones of various sizes. Its fill contained very few safely datable finds: two Proto-Corinthian pottery sherds (ca. 650) and an Early Corinthian alabastron (ca. 600). The excavators consider these finds sufficient to date the terrace (the first expression of monumentality in the sanctuary) to the end of the 7th century.⁷¹⁸

17. Drakotrypa

Location and Topography: The Drakotrypa cave lies to the immediate east of the modern Panagia village, 5 km south-east of modern Thasos itself. It is nestled on the slopes of a seasonal river valley, at the start of a long spur extending from the north / central massif of the island towards the east. The same spur separates the Drakotrypa area from the settlement of Thasos proper, which lies further to the north [Figure 5; Figure 28].

Viewshed: The Drakotrypa cave enjoys a partial view of the fertile Potamia plain and bay; the valley morphology restricts its field of view to a narrow cone towards the east.

Settlement: The cave has yielded pre-apoikism pottery of the 7th century (and possible earlier periods as well), including hand-made pottery with incised and rope-like decoration, similar to that of the later Kastri phases.⁷¹⁹

⁷¹⁷ Servais 1980, 10-70.

⁷¹⁸ Servais 1980, 16 and n. 35.

⁷¹⁹ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1973, 447-448.

It is possible that it served as a cave sanctuary, but the recovered material includes nothing that might be linked to ritual practice. It is also possible that the site served as an occasional / seasonal refuge (e.g. for a pastoral community).

18. Katri

Location and Topography: The ancient settlement of Katri lies on the top of a hill between modern Theologos and Potos. The slopes of the hill are very steep, and consist of sheer cliffs to a large extent; in particular, the hilltop is inaccessible from the southern side. The easiest access to the hilltop lies at its northern end, where most of the excavation works were focused.

The hilltop is flat, and measures ca. 12,000 m² [Figure 77], with a long spur towards the south that juts over the modern road, and allows for an unobstructed view over the neighbouring valley and the Potos plain. Excavations took place during the 1970s, by Koukouli-Chrysanthaki; although they focused mostly on the surrounding cemeteries, several test trenches were also opened at the northern end of the hilltop. No follow-up excavations have taken place, and the original trenches have mostly collapsed; no remains are visible today (although the outline of the trenches can still be traced), and the highly detailed publication of the cemeteries by Koukouli-Chrysanthaki⁷²⁰ does not provide any further information on the settlement beyond what was originally included in the excavation reports [Figure 5; Figure 29].

Viewshed: The location of Katri allowed it to overlook only the entirety of the small valley to the south of the settlement and a small part of the coastal plain its south-west

⁷²⁰ See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992.

[Figure 78]. It could be argued that the nearby installations in e.g. Popinas Mandra and Ai-Lias were satellites of Kastri, especially since they are strategically placed both to be visible from Kastri and to significantly extend the area under observation.

Settlement: The excavators opened a total of 15 trenches over a period of ten years,⁷²¹ with the local stratigraphy yielding layers ranging from the Neolithic period to the EIA. Post-holes that correspond to the structure of a large apsidal (or possibly oval) building with interior transverse walls were discovered, extending over several trenches. Its interior yielded handmade pottery of everyday use, sea-shells, utility blades, and fragments of a grindstone but, notably, no hearth(s).⁷²² It dates to the end of the LBA or the earliest phases of the EIA, and was destroyed by fire: a thick layer of ash covered the entire structure. To its west, a second, possibly contemporary, apsidal building was discovered.⁷²³

A cluster of low, slate foundations extends to the southeast of the aforementioned buildings. Again, they seem to have belonged to circular or apsidal buildings, and contained a storage space with several large pithoi. Their date is questionable, but they are clearly more recent than the earlier post-hole buildings. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki places them in the EIA,⁷²⁴ probably immediately after the aforementioned destruction phase.

Cemeteries: The Kastri cemeteries are located on the hillsides surrounding the settlement. The Kentria cemetery lies on a small plateau immediately to the south-west of the Kastri hill, and is only visible from the southernmost edge of its crown; the Tsiganadika

⁷²¹ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1972, 524; 1973-1974, 778-780; 1975, 282-283; 1976, 294-299; 1977, 249; 1980, 422.

⁷²² Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1972, 524; 1973-1974, 779.

⁷²³ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1973-1974, 779.

⁷²⁴ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1976, 294-297.

cemetery lies on the eastern slope of the hill immediately to the West of the acropolis, and is visible in its entirety from the settlement; and the Vrysoudes and Larnaki cemeteries lie to the North of the settlement hill. The Kentria, Tsiganadika and Vrysoudes cemeteries are located between 200 and 400 m away from the settlement, but the Larnaki cluster lies almost 1 km to the north, and may have belonged to another (undiscovered) settlement [Figure 29].⁷²⁵

The four cemeteries are the largest among those dating to the EIA in the north-eastern Aegean. A total of more than 310 burials dating from the 11th to the early 7th century have been discovered; more than 180 of them were found in the extensive Tsiganadika cemetery, while the rest were relatively evenly distributed between the remaining cemeteries. In the above cemeteries, the number of graves is significantly less than that of the burials: many grave clusters, cist graves, and built chamber tombs have been repeatedly re-used during antiquity. Therefore, to a casual observer, the cemeteries give the impression of having been much smaller than they actually were.⁷²⁶

The cemeteries are organised in above-ground grave clusters and chamber tombs [Figure 111, Figure 112]. Such clusters are found in all four cemeteries, and range from small structures, encompassing one or two cist or pot burials, to larger five-or six-grave clusters, with indications of repeated grave re-use.⁷²⁷ Several large, stone-built chamber-like tombs

⁷²⁵ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 22.

⁷²⁶ See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992 Vol. A, for a catalogue of the finds and a grave-by-grave description of the cemeteries. The publication by Koukouli-Chrysanthaki is very detailed, and the scholar both acknowledges and addresses the problem with multiple burials. Anthropological studies of the human remains have been employed in order to provide insight into the number of actual inhumations that took place in the Kastri cemeteries.

⁷²⁷ See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 369-382 for an overview and typological analysis of the burial structures of Kastri.

are also found, either as parts of larger clusters or forming a separate structure in themselves. Most of them possess a small prothalamos space, and all contain multiple burials (human remains and burial offerings),⁷²⁸ with no indication of containers (e.g. pots, cists, sarcophagi, larnakes) having been used for individual burials. This implies collective ownership of the graves through time, which could be interpreted as indicative of a family-centred model of cemetery organisation. The significantly less likely alternative is that access to all graves was available to community members.

The commonest grave type in Kastri is the cist grave, closely followed by the built ‘chamber’ tomb and the (much rarer) pot burials (in pithos vessels). However, the number of the graves can be misleading, as it does not, in itself, account for their frequent re-use during antiquity, nor the inhumation of more than one bodies in a single chamber tomb. It is often the case that cist graves were re-used up to three or four times, with some containing more than five burials;⁷²⁹ on the other hand, chamber tombs frequently hosted upwards of five burials (with the large tomb T18 containing more than 90) [Figure 112].⁷³⁰ This shifts the perceived preferred burial type ratio significantly towards chamber tombs, with no obvious differentiation based on the sex of the deceased.⁷³¹ All pithoi are either found empty of human remains or used for child burials, but child burials are by no means limited to pithoi.⁷³² Human remains are, usually, heavily disturbed (the precise number of burials in crowded chamber tombs is particularly difficult to ascertain), but where individual remains are left

⁷²⁸ The Tsiganadika cemetery chamber tomb T18 is the largest such tomb discovered in Kastri: it contained more than 90 individual burials loosely grouped in more than five stratigraphic assemblages by Koukouli – Chrysanthaki (1992, 191-226).

⁷²⁹ See, for instance, the grave T14B in Tsiganadika cemetery, which hosted at least six adult and two child burials (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 174-177).

⁷³⁰ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 191-226.

⁷³¹ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 642-643.

⁷³² Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 653-654.

undisturbed, they usually lie in the supine position, with their legs fully extended or slightly bent at the knees. The arms of the deceased are either extended along the sides of their torso or one of them is bent, with the hand touching the chest. Heads are found turned to the side, but it is very difficult to ascertain whether this was originally the case or whether they were moved during antiquity, especially since the number of skulls found undisturbed and clearly belonging to a specific skeleton is very small.⁷³³

Pottery (primarily handmade vessels) is very common and found in all undisturbed graves [Figure 113]. All vessels found in grave contexts were types used in eating, drinking or food preparation, and many bore traces of previous use. Notably, several had been broken and subsequently repaired with lead clamps. This clearly shows that the vessels placed in burial contexts were part of the deceased's original household equipment and not made specifically for burial use.⁷³⁴ Jewellery (fibulae, beads, hair coils, wrist amulets) is relatively common, and (as a rule) was worn by the dead during the burial (hair coils are found on or near skulls, fibulae were found near shoulders and collar-bones etc.). Jewellery is not, in itself, sufficient to identify the sex of the deceased, with the exception of hair coils and earrings, which are only found in female burials. Spindle whorls are the most characteristic find for female burials, while bronze and iron blades and whetstones (usually strapped to the waist of the deceased, or placed near their side) mark male burials [Figure 114].⁷³⁵ Of particular interest are small, blue-green glass beads, found only in child burials or in larger

⁷³³ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 642.

⁷³⁴ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 643. It is also important to note that excavations in the Kastri settlement have yielded pottery types identical to those found in the cemetery assemblages (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 643, n. 125 and fig. 170-173).

⁷³⁵ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 599-621 for jewellery; 594-598 for spindle whorls; 588-593 for EIA blades and whetstones.

chamber tombs where children are interred with adults.⁷³⁶ Child graves in the Tsiganadika cemetery are also commonly accompanied by miniature vessels.⁷³⁷ Finally, there are rare examples of metal slag masses and miniature ‘talent’-shaped lead objects that might reference the occupation of the deceased (e.g. trade, metallurgy etc.).⁷³⁸

19. Palaiokastros

Location and Topography: The Palaiokastros hill lies to the east of Skala Marion and north of Limenaria, near the rural church of Agios Eleutherios. The hill is rather small compared to e.g. Kastri: the wall circuit only encloses an area of ca. 5,000 m². As it lies at the limits of (and overlooks) one of the largest alluvial plains of the island, it may have served as an acropolis-like fortified centre for EIA populations [Figure 5, Figure 30].

Viewshed: The settlement is located at the south-western end of a long valley (leading to the island hinterland), but also partly overlooks the Limenaria plain [Figure 79]. Notably, it lies near a considerably higher hill, which occludes part of the westernmost areas of this plain, but it enjoys an unimpeded view of the rest of the area, the coast, and the sea as far as Mt Athos.

Settlement: There are clear signs of human occupation on the site, including an enclosure / fortification wall probably dating to Late Antiquity, and building remains which are probably contemporary with it. Surface surveys have yielded a quantity of metal slag which argues for metallurgical activity. In addition, some handmade pottery with grooved

⁷³⁶ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 643.

⁷³⁷ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 139-141, 189-191, 266-267, 290-291.

⁷³⁸ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 137, 296 and 643.

decoration, similar to that found at nearby Kastri, indicates a previous, LBA – EIA period of occupation.⁷³⁹ No excavations have taken place.

20. Popinas Mandra / Ai-Lias / Koukoudia

Location and Topography: The Popinas Mandra plateau and the nearby Ai-Lias hill lie to the east of Kastri, while the Koukoudia hill lies immediately to the south-east of the settlement, on the opposite side of the valley leading to the Potos plain. Several enclosure walls and smaller structures have been discovered in this area.

It is worth noting that Kastri is relatively difficult to reach from these nearby sites, given the rather steep geomorphology of the area and the seasonal stream(s) that separate the Kastri acropolis from them [Figure 5, Figure 29].

Viewshed: All architectural remains are located on high points, which provide considerable oversight over the surrounding area (notably including parts of the southern coastline of the island), and are visible from each other, possibly forming a network of satellite installations or smaller settlements linked to Kastri.

Settlement: In Popinas Mandra and Ai-Lias, traces of enclosure walls have been discovered; at each site, a small building was erected inside their circuit. In Koukoudia, no enclosure wall has been found, but a small structure with several (storage?) pits inside it was brought to light.⁷⁴⁰ They may have been pastoral installations, homesteads or small fortifications; it is quite likely that they served all of the above functions to some extent.

⁷³⁹ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1978, 292-293.

⁷⁴⁰ Papadopoulos & Bechsi 2003, 64-66.

Cemeteries: At Ai-Lias, several small stone cairns were identified. They bear some similarities to the stone-built graves of Kastri, and argue for small population groups permanently inhabiting the satellite installations and burying their dead on site. As no excavations have taken place, dating the structures is difficult. Surface pottery argues for a LBA – EIA date (which corresponds to the Kastri period of occupation).

21. Skala Sotiros

Location and Topography: The Skala Sotiros settlement lies on the north-western coast of the island, immediately to the south of the Prinos bay and at the southern edge of the Prinos plain. To its immediate east, a mountain spur of the Thasos central massif reaches almost to the coastline. The archaeological site lies under the modern village church and has been partially excavated by Koukouli-Chrysanthaki. It is a particularly long-lived settlement, dating from the Early Bronze Age to at least the 4th century BCE [Figure 5, Figure 31].

Viewshed: The settlement overlooks the entirety of the opposite Macedonian coast, including the modern bay of Kavala, and may have served as a harbour settlement.

Settlement: The full extent of the settlement has not been determined, and the complicated stratigraphy makes it difficult to distinguish individual phases, more so since all the available information on the settlement comes from annual excavation reports. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki identified a single curved EIA ‘fish-bone’ masonry wall, covered by a destruction layer of ash, animal bones, sea shells, and pottery sherds at the southern part of the site.⁷⁴¹ This EIA phase is followed by a very tentatively dated 7th-century layer and a late

⁷⁴¹ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988, 423.

Archaic / Classical phase of the 6th to 4th century BCE.⁷⁴² There are no indications of EIA or Archaic fortifications, and the site is not naturally defensible.

22. Thasos

Location and Topography: The ancient settlement of Thasos lies directly under the modern city, and has not been excavated in its entirety. Settlement contexts have been brought to light mainly as a result of rescue excavations. Furthermore, early (7th-century and earlier) settlement contexts are very rare compared to 6th-century and Classical buildings and strata. Nevertheless, traces of early habitation have been discovered under later layers in several locations throughout the extent of the subsequent settlements. The early settlement must have extended from the slopes of the acropolis hills to the south-east to the small natural harbor and the Thesmophorion cape towards the north. It occupied the easternmost part of a small coastal plain, which was flanked by hilly ground and encompassed by two long spurs extending from the central Hypsario massif. The extent of the 7th-century settlement in Thasos towards the west is unclear, but the finds from the Athena and Apollo sanctuaries on the acropolis document that the citadel was integrated into the settlement (as a sanctuary area and, in all likelihood, as a fortified position) from the late 8th / early 7th century [Figure 5, Figure 32, Figure 115].⁷⁴³

Viewshed: The inclusion of the acropolis hills would provide the settlement with a clear overview of the Limenas bay and (to a lesser extent) the Makryammos bay to the southeast; it would also offer excellent oversight of the Nestos river plain and the eastern half of the Kavala Gulf.

⁷⁴² Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1982 (ii), 324-325; 1988, 423.

⁷⁴³ See Daux 1959; 1960 (i); 1961; Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 109-116.

Settlement: Between the Artemision and the Dionysion, in the so-called ‘Heracles’ or ‘Kokkinos’ plot, a well-preserved stratigraphic sequence was excavated and subsequently published during the 1960s by Paul Bernard.⁷⁴⁴ This ‘Bernard Trench’ remains one of the most important dating sources for the pre-apoikism and early-apoikia phases of the ancient settlement more than 50 years later. Recently, the material and site were revisited during a follow-up excavation, and a more detailed dating sequence was suggested.⁷⁴⁵

The earliest layers date well within the 8th century, and have yielded parts of two consecutive apsidal buildings. They are followed by several successive sand, gravel, and black earth layers, with metal slag and charcoal inclusions, as well as considerable quantities of pottery, some of it imported from the Thermaic Gulf area and the Thracian coast. Some G2-3 pottery also helps to identify a 7th-century phase in this dense stratigraphic sequence.⁷⁴⁶ Notably, no pottery from the southern / central Aegean is encountered in this early layer: it must correspond to either a pre-apoikism or a transitional phase, as suggested by Kohl *et al.*⁷⁴⁷ The early layers have also yielded an abundance of sea-shells, which the excavators have interpreted as ‘a characteristic sustenance source for the proto-historic populations of Thasos’.⁷⁴⁸

To the north of the Bernard Trench, near the Poseidonion, 7th-century layers were brought to light under a cluster / insula of Classical / late Archaic houses. The stratigraphy is less clear than that of the ‘Heracles’ plot because of the continuous habitation and the evidence for possible minor landslides during antiquity. However, some architectural

⁷⁴⁴ See Bernard 1964.

⁷⁴⁵ See Gimatzidis 2002; Kohl *et al.* 2002.

⁷⁴⁶ Bernard 1964, 87-142; Gimatzidis 2002, 74-77; Ilieva 2009, 111-112.

⁷⁴⁷ Kohl *et al.* 2002, 66-68

⁷⁴⁸ Kohl *et al.* 2002, 68.

remains can be dated with relative security to the Archaic period, including two walls of polygonal masonry discovered under a Hellenistic house, as well as a low wall of gneiss, with a large Subgeometric storage pithos interred in a bedrock cavity nearby. Seventh-century pottery, similar to that found in the Bernard Trench, was recovered, in smaller amounts, from the Poseidonion area.⁷⁴⁹

In addition to the above, a late 7th-century house was discovered ca. 100 m south of the Heracleion; it consisted of a central room with a hearth and a small court, and was destroyed and rebuilt in the second half of the 6th century. Under the house foundations, an earlier (probably mid 7th-century) layer with a partly preserved apsidal wall came to light. No information is available regarding the finds from these buildings.⁷⁵⁰

Finally, there is some tentative evidence for late 7th-century / early 6th-century activity in the Thasos theatre area. Just outside the extent of the koilon, a black earth layer containing ‘Archaic pottery of the late 7th century’ was brought to light, immediately above the bedrock. A water conduit (built of grey slate) and three postholes were also discovered; one was partly destroyed by a late Archaic wall, which provides a tentative *terminus ante quem* for the earlier buildings.⁷⁵¹

Sanctuary: the Acropolis Sanctuaries: The two sanctuaries on the Thasian acropolis (that of Apollo Pythios on the eastern peak and that of Athena on the western) have primarily yielded material dating to the 6th century onwards, including an extensive corpus of imported and locally produced pottery, clay figurines, bronze weapons, and monumental architecture.

⁷⁴⁹ EFA 1961/2, 248-250.

⁷⁵⁰ EFA 1968, 362.

⁷⁵¹ Bonias 1994, 590.

However, there are no *in situ* architectural remains from the sites dating before 600 BCE, and 7th-century material is rare.⁷⁵²

That said, it is still possible to identify an early phase of ritual activity for both sanctuaries. For the Apollo sanctuary, this is primarily documented by the discovery of the well-known Thasian ram-bearing kouros (which dates to the turn of the 7th century), and of a pair of 7th-century orientalising architectural reliefs depicting crouching lions or panthers [Figure 116]. Beyond those finds, the stratigraphy of the area has been heavily disturbed, and early material cannot be safely linked to cult activity.⁷⁵³

The same cannot be said for the Athenaion. There, the earliest architectural remains correspond to a 6th-century predecessor of the Classical monumental temple; however, material recovered from deposits found in the temple area argues strongly for a 7th-century phase of worship. Imported pottery from the East Aegean, Corinth, and the Cyclades finds direct parallels in the earliest, 7th-century layers of the Artemision (see below); furthermore, Daedalic figurines have also been recovered from the fill around the Classical temple.⁷⁵⁴ Unfortunately, most of this material remains unpublished.

Sanctuary: the Artemision: The sanctuary of Artemis at Thasos is located east of the agora and to the immediate south-east of the Passage of the Theoroi. All preserved architectural remains from the site (including a monumental altar and a large square enclosure wall, which defines the extent of the temenos) date from the 6th century onwards [Figure 117]. Nevertheless, the Artemision has also yielded extensive early Archaic contexts,

⁷⁵² Daux 1959; Daux 1960 (ii); 1961; Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 114-116.

⁷⁵³ Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 109-113.

⁷⁵⁴ Daux 1960 (ii), 864-866.

with finds mostly concentrated in the south-eastern side of the square enclosure, immediately outside of its north-western side and near the Passage of the Theoroi⁷⁵⁵

The Archaic figurines from the site have been published in detail by Weill and Huysecom-Haxhi. They are a major part of a larger corpus that extends from the 7th century to late Hellenistic and Roman times; a limited number of Daedalic figurines with elaborate painted decoration clearly document ritual activity on site since the early years after the arrival of the Greek apoikoi.⁷⁵⁶ Furthermore, Archaic contexts also yielded bronze and ivory jewellery (a golden diadem, dress pins, brooches, garment decoration), currently on display in the Museum of Thasos [Figure 119, Figure 120].⁷⁵⁷

Unfortunately, no pottery corpus from the sanctuary has been published at the time of writing.⁷⁵⁸ However, annual excavation reports have provided several examples of Archaic Cycladic (primarily Parian) [Figure 118] and Attic pottery from the site, accompanied by local imitations. Representing the 7th century, East Aegean pottery and G2-3 Ware have also been discovered.⁷⁵⁹

Human presence on site can easily be traced back to the first half of the 7th century, as evidenced by the early G2-3 Ware. Dating the appearance of ritual activity is considerably less safe: it is possible (but by no means certain) that an early sanctuary existed on site before

⁷⁵⁵ For a compilation of previous bibliography on the pottery and other small finds, see Maffre & Tichit 2014, 141 (n. 7-8).

⁷⁵⁶ See Huysecom-Haxhi 2009 and Weill 1985 for the publication monographs and figurine catalogues of early and late Archaic figurines.

⁷⁵⁷ Maffre & Tichit 2014, 145-148; also see Prêtre 2016.

⁷⁵⁸ The pottery from the site is currently being studied and prepared for publication by Prof. J. J. Maffre (Sorbonne), Dr A. Tichit (Sorbonne), and Dr C. Walter (Louvre).

⁷⁵⁹ Maffre & Tichit 2014, 141 (n. 7) provide an exhaustive compilation of previous bibliography on imported pottery and local production; for the G2-3 Ware from the Artemision and a review of the discussion on its significance, see Ilieva 2009, 111-112.

the arrival of the Parian colonists, as was probably the case in the nearby sanctuary of Heracles (see below). On the other hand, the sanctuary had definitely been founded by the mid 7th century, as evidenced by the earliest Daedalic figurines and clay statues recovered from the site.

Sanctuary: the Sanctuary of Heracles: The Thasos Heracleion lies outside what we presume were the limits of the early settlement, to the west of the acropolis. The excavators brought to light architectural remains and traces of cult activity dating back to the Early Iron Age and continuing into Late Antiquity [Figure 121].

Early worship was probably centred on the large altar, framed by the subsequent sanctuary buildings. Originally this altar was simply a rock formation, slightly inclined from north to south, measuring ca. 13.7 m x 5.3 m. Its surface bore traces of fire, which argues for the burning of sacrifices; it is also very likely that the progressive accumulation of ash led to the formation of an ash altar of great dimensions, since ash and burned bones were discovered in bedrock cavities surrounding the altar.

At some unspecified time, steps leading to the top were carved into the western side of the rock formation and dressed with white marble. During the same phase, the eastern side of the altar was trimmed vertical, and formed a low wall, as high as 35-50 cm. Finally, in all possibility during the same period, two partially preserved walls were erected along the northern and southern sides of the altar, defining a small space where, according to the excavators, the prothesis (i.e. the preparation of the victim) took place. A gneiss-paved hieraodos led from the entrance of the sanctuary to the steps in the western side of the altar; and

an iron ring, where the victims were presumably tied to await sacrifice, was discovered between two gneiss slabs near the altar.⁷⁶⁰

Immediately to the east of the rock altar, two parallel rows of five cavities each were discovered, carved into the bedrock. The depth of these cavities ranges from 30 up to 80cm; inside them, the excavators discovered ash, small black-glazed pottery sherds, and a few fragments of unidentified bone. Their purpose must have been to receive offerings to the hero / god.⁷⁶¹

South of the altar, an Archaic rectangular building, measuring 17.3 m x 7.4 m was brought to light [Figure 122]. Its ground plan is reminiscent of a temple (pronaos, cella, adyton). The earliest pottery discovered within this Archaic ‘temple’ (incised pottery and imported Cycladic wares) dates its construction to the first half of the 7th century, probably immediately after the colonisation of Thasos.

The axis of this ‘temple’ is oriented north-south, with the entrance towards the north and framed by two antae. The walls of the building are built with polygonal masonry, and are preserved up to a height of 1.5 m. In the western cella wall, there was originally a second entrance, whose threshold was discovered *in situ*; this entrance, however, was eventually sealed with polygonal masonry, similar to that of the western wall. In the interior of the building, behind this sealed entrance, a great heap of gneiss and marble fragments was discovered; it is possible that its purpose was to strengthen and hold up the wall.

⁷⁶⁰ Launey 1944, 27-29.

⁷⁶¹ Launey 1944, 28.

An eschara, framed by two stone column bases, was discovered within the cella of the building. Each of its sides is defined by three small marble blocks bearing traces of fire. Inside it, the excavators discovered burnt earth but no pottery or bones. It is worth noting that while the column bases are placed on the axis of the central building, the eschara lies distinctly off-centre, and its creation may have preceded the construction of the building.⁷⁶²

Finally, the partially preserved foundation of a second major building (9.85 m x 6.85 m) was discovered under the Classical temple to the north of the altar. The date of this early cult building ‘with a very modest aspect’ is uncertain: dates from the late 7th century to the mid/late 6th century have been suggested in the past.⁷⁶³

Thrace

23. Abdera

Location and Topography: The site of Abdera lies halfway between the mouth of the Nestos River and the Vistonis lagoon; it stretches from the sea-side ‘Polystylos’ hill to almost 2 km inland. During its lifetime, the settlement was defended by two large enclosure / fortification walls: one (dating to the 4th century) near the sea-shore to the south, and one (as early as the mid 7th century) further north, almost 1 km away from the modern shoreline. Coring samples from the surrounding landscape have demonstrated that at the time of their construction, both enclosures abutted a shallow marsh / lagoon (possibly also serving as a harbour for the settlement) to their immediate west, which was connected to the sea and has now been silted up. The ancient coastline differed considerably from the modern one: the

⁷⁶² Launey 1944, 31-36.

⁷⁶³ Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 144.

settlement area formed a short and wide cape, with its northern side mostly blocked by the 7th-century enclosure wall [Figure 6, Figure 33, Figure 123].

Viewshed: Assuming that coastal hill was beyond the limits of the 7th-century settlement (see below), and that early layers and architecture were not simply destroyed by subsequent activity, the fortified settlement would still overlook a considerable stretch of the Nestos river plain to its west, as well as the entirety of the Vistonis bay coastline to the east. On the other hand, only a small part of the modern Xanthi plain to the north is visible from the northern enclosure wall area

Settlement: The early (650-625 BCE) northern fortification wall was repaired and rebuilt almost a century after its original construction (ca 520), during the assumed period of re-colonisation of the site by the Teians.⁷⁶⁴ It remained in use for several centuries, with the end result that the original, 7th-century architecture, is not preserved in its entirety. The largest surviving stretch of 7th-century fortification lies at the northwestern end of the enclosure: it consists of two perpendicular lengths of wall foundation, the northernmost of which includes a gate. The layout and course of the wall and gate make it clear that this is a defensive wall: the sharp corner in the wall, near the gate, provides defenders with very good oversight of the gate battlement.⁷⁶⁵

The wall foundations are 4-4.5 m thick and built of rough stones, directly onto the bedrock. The wall superstructure (most likely originally constructed with mudbrick) has not been preserved. Inside the walls, near the gate, a long rectangular building (11.25 m x 4 m)

⁷⁶⁴ Skarlatidou 1989, 569-572; 1992, 689-690.

⁷⁶⁵ Lazaridis 1965, 453-456.

of similar construction was uncovered; it lies parallel to the course of the wall, and may have served as a guardhouse or watchtower.⁷⁶⁶

Unfortunately, excavation works have mostly focused on the cemeteries of Abdera, at the expense of the settlement itself. The interior of the northern enclosure has not been explored in its entirety and, where test trenches have been opened, they mostly focused on Classical and late Archaic layers and architectural remains (the northern enclosure / settlement having been abandoned during the 4th century). Earlier (late 7th- and early 6th-century) layers have only been found in the Valta Zampaki area, near the aforementioned fortification gate. The layers are described as ‘very disturbed’ by the excavators, possibly due to the continuous occupation of the site. No clearly datable early buildings have been brought to light, but loose pottery was present in relatively great amounts: the majority were imported wares, from the central and southern Aegean (of which Corinthian wares were the most common) and from Ionia (Clazomenian vases and Ionian kylikes).⁷⁶⁷

There is no evidence that the highest point in the settlement vicinity (i.e. the 4th-century acropolis in the southernmost end of the cape) was fortified during the 7th century; in fact the only evidence that argues for an early occupation of the hill is Clazomenian and Ionian pottery found in unstratified fill layers, near a Late Antique (probably Byzantine) fortification wall.⁷⁶⁸ No early architectural remains have been unearthed. There is no ready explanation for why a population group that so clearly prioritised defense would exclude this

⁷⁶⁶ Skarlatidou 1989, 570-572.

⁷⁶⁷ Lazaridis 1965, 453-458; Skarlatidou 1989, 570; 1992, 689-690.

⁷⁶⁸ Lazaridis 1965, 458.

naturally defensible high ground from the settlement defensive plans; in fact it is unclear why this hill was not placed at the centre of the earlier fortifications.

Cemeteries: Among the early Archaic cemeteries of the north-eastern Aegean, the four Abdera necropoleis are, undoubtedly, the most extensive. Almost 350 graves were discovered, 280 of which were found in the Ammolofos cemetery (cemetery K in all previous reports and publications), northwest of the northern city peribolos wall. 22 graves were found further away, in the Palaiochora cemetery (II). At least 42 identified graves and an ‘indeterminate number [...] (of) disturbed burials and cremations’ were discovered in cemetery X, far to the north of the northern peribolos, while a single Archaic burial was found in sector Γ, immediately to the south of the same peribolos [Figure 33].⁷⁶⁹

It must be noted that, as is also the case at Antandros,⁷⁷⁰ many of the available excavation reports and publications do not differentiate between 7th-century and early 6th-century burials, mainly because of the perceived similarity in funerary typology between graves of those periods.⁷⁷¹

All of the above cemeteries are characterised by grave groups of irregular size. Cremations, pit burials, and enchytrismoi were placed with no evident clustering based on the type of funerary practice, age or sex / gender [Figure 125]. There is no uniform orientation of graves and no evidence for the use of the cemetery space being regulated in any way. In fact, there are several instances of graves being partially or completely destroyed by

⁷⁶⁹ Kallintzi 2004, 271.

⁷⁷⁰ See below, p. 408.

⁷⁷¹ See below, p. 334-335; see also Kallintzi 2004 for a general overview of funeral typology in Abdera during the Archaic and Classical periods.

subsequent ones⁷⁷² – this demonstrates either that early graves were not clearly marked or that their preservation was not a concern. The cemeteries extended over a relatively large area: the largest one (Cemetery K) is, at the time of writing, known to cover almost 900 m².⁷⁷³ As none of the cemeteries have been excavated in their entirety, their original extent might have been even greater.

Cremations and cremation burials are not as common as in other sites of the NEA. Adults were buried in simple pit graves [Figure 126],⁷⁷⁴ pot burials [Figure 127]⁷⁷⁵ or were (less commonly) cremated;⁷⁷⁶ children were, as a rule, buried in pot (mostly amphora) burials [Figure 128a]. It is worth noting that the vast majority of graves discovered in Abdera (more than 250 in total) were child (pot) burials.⁷⁷⁷ Burial vessels (pithoi for adults or smaller vessels for children) were usually placed on their side and supported by stone slabs. Their mouths were covered with stone slabs or large pottery fragments. If the mouths of the vessels were too narrow to fit the deceased, the top halves of the burial vessels were removed, to allow access to their interior, in a manner highly reminiscent of the 8th-century Kossynthos riverbed or the 7th-century Filiouris riverbed pithos burials [Figure 125b-c].⁷⁷⁸ The burial vessels had seen everyday use before being repurposed for use in the cemetery: there are several cases of already broken vases being used as makeshift burial vessels.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷² Skarlatidou 2004, 249.

⁷⁷³ Skarlatidou 2004, 249.

⁷⁷⁴ Kallintzi 2000 (i), 880-881; Skarlatidou 2004, 249.

⁷⁷⁵ Kallintzi 1997, 638; 1998 (i), 739; 2000 (i), 880-881; Skarlatidou 2004, 249.

⁷⁷⁶ Kallintzi 1998 (i), 739; Skarlatidou 2004, 256.

⁷⁷⁷ Kallintzi 1997, 638-639; 1998 (i), 739; 2000 (i), 880-881; Skarlatidou 2004, 249-250.

⁷⁷⁸ See above, p. 338.

⁷⁷⁹ Skarlatidou 2004, 249 and 251, fig. 7.

Cremations in Abdera are both primary and secondary (the ash having been collected from the pyre and placed in a small pit at the cemetery). Most cremations (19 in total) were discovered in cemetery K. Only eight are primary, *in situ* cremations. Cremation is mostly reserved for adults, but there are three notable exceptions: an adolescent and two children were also cremated. One of the children was found in the same context as the remains of an adult woman, in all probability its mother.⁷⁸⁰ A single cremation burial was discovered in cemetery K, and a small number (not given in excavation reports) of cremation burials were also uncovered in Palaiochora (Cemetery II).⁷⁸¹

Two isolated exceptions to the above general observations are worth noting. Firstly, in the Chortolivado cemetery (X) a pit of substantial size was discovered, containing two infant burials and the remains of several adult burials and cremations. It is unclear whether the pit saw repeated use over time or whether it served to hold the discarded remains of destroyed burials.⁷⁸² The latter is interpretation more likely, given a) that it contained skeletal remains from both cremations and inhumations, and b) that destruction of earlier graves by subsequent ones in Abdera is a common phenomenon.⁷⁸³

Secondly, a single cist grave, used for a child burial, was found in cemetery K [Figure 128b]. In previous bibliography, this particular grave has been emphasised as unique and of high importance in the cemetery.⁷⁸⁴ However, the stone slabs forming the grave are highly

⁷⁸⁰ Kallintzi 1998 (i), 739; Skarlatidou 2004, 256.

⁷⁸¹ Kranioti 1984, 283; Skarlatidou 2004, 256.

⁷⁸² Kallintzi 2000 (i), 881; 2004, 271.

⁷⁸³ See above, p. 332.

⁷⁸⁴ Skarlatidou 2004, 249 and 252, fig. 9.

reminiscent of the support slabs used to enclose and stabilise pot burials; it is possible that the cist grave was simply used as an inexpensive alternative to a pot burial.

In the Abdera cemeteries, less than a third of the 7th-century graves contained burial offerings.⁷⁸⁵ These offerings comprised mostly pottery, although some jewellery is also encountered in very few cremation burials. The offerings were usually placed inside the burial vessel, both in the case of pot burials (child enchytrismoi and adult pithos burials) and cremation burials. Seventh-century pit burials did not, as a rule, contain grave offerings, with very few exceptions.⁷⁸⁶

Pottery offerings mainly consist of imported drinking vessels. Locally produced vessels are very few, compared to the imported (mainly East Greek and Proto-Corinthian) pottery. North Ionian Bird Bowls and bowls with banded decoration are the commonest examples of such pottery, closely followed by small, one-handled cups of the same provenance [Figure 129].⁷⁸⁷ Also present in the cemeteries (but in significantly smaller numbers) are Wild Goat style vessels (primarily trefoil and miniature oinochoae, but also ring-shaped aryballoi and kyathoi).⁷⁸⁸ Proto-Corinthian, Transitional, and Early Corinthian aryballoi (ovoid and piriform) and alabastra of the last quarter of the 7th and the early 6th century represent the Corinthian workshops; they are usually found in groups of more than one, and are only slightly less common than the aforementioned East Aegean types [Figure 130].⁷⁸⁹ Finally, limited quantities of Aeolian Grey Ware (one-handled cups, *olpae*) and

⁷⁸⁵ Skarlatidou 2004, 258.

⁷⁸⁶ See e.g. Kallintzi 2000 (i), 881.

⁷⁸⁷ Kallintzi 2000 (i), 880; Skarlatidou 2004, 249-252. A South Ionian bowl type, with low conical foot and separate lip is also present, but in very low numbers. See Skarlatidou 2004, 250 and 252, fig. 12.

⁷⁸⁸ Skarlatidou 2004, 253-254.

⁷⁸⁹ Kallintzi 2000 (i), 880; Skarlatidou 2004, 254-255.

locally produced pottery (wheel-made cooking pots and one-handled cups made with coarse clay) also came to light [Figure 130].⁷⁹⁰

It must be noted that most of the cremation burial vessels were also imported, with multiple parallels from the Clazomenae cemetery.⁷⁹¹ This, in combination with the large amount of North Ionian pottery discovered in Abdera, provides archaeological support for Herodotus' testimony concerning an early Clazomenian colony on the site.⁷⁹² SOS amphorae and Corinthian vessels were also employed as urns, but to a significantly lesser extent.⁷⁹³

Jewellery is quite rare in the 7th-century Abdera cemeteries. A single golden hair coil was found in a pit burial in Chortolivado (X),⁷⁹⁴ while the other cemeteries yielded only small numbers of bronze 'Phrygian' fibulae, bronze bracelets, and beads. Parts of two bone dress-pins and a necklace of lead beads were also discovered in cemetery K.⁷⁹⁵

24. Assar Tepe

Location and Topography: Assar Tepe (Turk. 'Hanging Rock', a very apt description of the hill) lies to the immediate east of modern Xylagane [Figure 81]. It is part of a spur of the Rhodope mountain range which penetrates into the Filiouris river valley from the south-east. Its southern slopes are quite steep, but it can be easily accessed from the north. Its crown is fortified with a double enclosure, which was surveyed and excavated in the 1970s to a limited extent [Figure 6, Figure 34, Figure 131].

⁷⁹⁰ Skarlatidou 2004, 254.

⁷⁹¹ See Sezgin 2004 (particularly 170-173); Skarlatidou 2004, 256, fig. 28.

⁷⁹² Hdt. 1.168.

⁷⁹³ Kallintzi 1997, 639; Skarlatidou 2004, 255-256.

⁷⁹⁴ Kallintzi 2000 (i), 881.

⁷⁹⁵ Skarlatidou 2004, 256.

Viewshed: The hill is a formidable naturally defensible location which dominates the surrounding landscape. It overlooks the entirety of the Filiouris river plain towards the north and west; to the south, its field of view extends over the Maroneia plain [Figure 80, Figure 81].

Settlement: The fortification / enclosure walls are quite strong (ranging from ca. 1.4 m thick for the outer enclosure to 1.7-2 m thick for the inner enclosure) and built with small rough stones; it is mostly collapsed, covering the slopes of the hill with a clutter of small stones [Figure 132]. Several oval and round buildings were uncovered inside the enclosure. No undisturbed stratigraphic contexts were brought to light, but the handmade pottery discovered dates from the LBA to the EIA.⁷⁹⁶

25. Filiouris

Location and Topography: A small 7th-century cemetery has been excavated in the Filiouris riverbed, 3 km to the south-east of the modern Mikro Doukato village. No traces of a settlement contemporary with the graves have been discovered in the area; in this, the Filiouris graves are highly reminiscent of the EIA Kossynthos burials (see below), despite their later date [Figure 35].⁷⁹⁷

Viewshed: The site is visible from all nearby hills in the eastern part of the Thracian plain; from the level of the plain itself, however, uneven ground limits visibility.

Cemetery: 19 graves were discovered, but the number of individual burials is unclear, given the very poor preservation of the skeletal remains. The cemetery was divided into two

⁷⁹⁶ Tsibidis-Pentazos 1971, 91-92; Tsibidis-Pentazos 1972, 86-89.

⁷⁹⁷ Triandafyllos 1973-74, 802-803.

clusters, one containing 12 graves and the other seven. The graves did not share a common orientation (not even within their cluster), and there are no indications that they were marked in any way. It is important to note that, even though the Filiouris site has yielded almost twice the Kossynthos burials, this is not necessarily representative of the original extent of the two cemeteries, given the damage caused by the respective rivers.⁷⁹⁸

The commonest grave type in Filiouris are cist burials [Figure 133]. They are constructed with small, irregular stones and covered with a layer of similar stones. The orientation of the graves varies, but most are oriented east-west.⁷⁹⁹ The dead also vary in their orientation; most are lain with their heads towards the west.⁸⁰⁰ At least four children were buried in the cist graves; the very bad state of the skeletal remains that came to light might allow for more. Of some note are also four pithos burials [Figure 134], all found in one of the two grave clusters. All four are partly destroyed; no information regarding their contents is provided by the excavation report.⁸⁰¹

The Filiouris riverbed cemetery has yielded pottery of the 7th and 6th centuries [Figure 135], along with several metal objects [Figure 136]. Those include several bronze fibulae, hair coils, beads, a bronze dress-pin, and a single iron blade (a knife or dagger).⁸⁰²

⁷⁹⁸ Utili 1999, 122-126

⁷⁹⁹ Three are oriented north - south, two are oriented north-west – south-east, and seven are oriented east - west. The orientation of three graves is not provided in the excavation report (Triandafyllos 1973-74, 802-803).

⁸⁰⁰ The excavator reports five dead with their heads towards the West, three with their heads towards the North, and two with their heads towards the East. (Triandafyllos 1973-74, 802-803).

⁸⁰¹ Triandafyllos 1973-74, 802-803.

⁸⁰² Triandafyllos 1973-74, 802-803.

26. Kossynthos

Location and Topography: The Kossynthos EIA cemetery / cemeteries are located near the modern town of Vafeika, on a large south to east turn of the Kossynthos River. The graves were found partly washed away by the river, during anti-flooding works and levee construction near the river. They were grouped in two locations, more than 3.5 km distant from each other. The distance separating the graves argues in favour of interpreting the groups as two different cemeteries, rather than grave clusters of the same cemetery. However, changes in the course of the riverbed since antiquity may have resulted in several graves having been washed away, significantly altering our perception of the original cemetery layout [Figure 36]. No EIA settlement has been discovered in the vicinity of the graves.⁸⁰³

Viewshed: The graves are only partially visible from the surrounding region, due to the relatively uneven terrain.

Cemetery: A total of ten graves came to light in both clusters. Most graves had been used only once, but one held a total of three burials.⁸⁰⁴ Only one of the graves is a (child) pit burial;⁸⁰⁵ all others are pithos burials, containing adults (two men and two or three women) and children (at least 6 child burials).⁸⁰⁶ Pithoi were laid on their side, and the resulting top halves were occasionally removed for easier access to the interior [Figure 137]. The dead were placed in a supine position, directly onto the walls of the vessel (i.e. no bedding of stones was constructed), with their arms and legs fully extended and their heads near the mouth of the burial vessel. The mouth was usually closed with a stone plaque. Graves were

⁸⁰³ See Kallintzi 1998 (ii); Kallintzi 2001-2004 (iii) and particularly Triandafyllos & Kallintzi 1998, plan 1 for the location and grouping of the graves.

⁸⁰⁴ Triandafyllos & Kallintzi 1998, 1-2

⁸⁰⁵ Kallintzi 2001-2004 (iii), 735.

⁸⁰⁶ Triandafyllos & Kallintzi 1998, 1-6; Kallintzi 1998 (ii), 739; 2001-2004 (iii), 735.

covered with a thin layer of small stones and pebbles from the riverside. Notably, in two cases, a low bench or enclosure wall, built with pebbles, was erected near⁸⁰⁷ and around⁸⁰⁸ a pithos burial [Figure 138]. The function of such structures remains unclear: they may have served as grave markers, or as benches for displaying offerings to the dead.

The Kossynthos riverbed burials are similar to those of the Kastasi cemetery in that burial offerings are very few in number. The pottery found in the grave assemblages consists mainly of a limited amount of one-handled handmade cups (at least three in total over the two cemeteries).⁸⁰⁹ Near the burials (specifically, on the pebble-built benches / enclosure walls surrounding some of the graves) several more vessels were found, along with a sizeable assemblage of animal bones (pigs and cattle) that may be the remains of sacrifices or nekrodeipna ritual feasts.⁸¹⁰ Offerings of weapons consist of an iron sword and two daggers, which accompany male burials. Very little jewellery has been discovered (two rings and a bronze fibula) [Figure 139].⁸¹¹ Child burials appear to have not received any offerings whatsoever.

27. Leukopetra

During the construction of the water supply cistern for the modern village of Leukopetra, EIA storage pithoi and Roman-period pottery came to light.⁸¹² Very little information is provided regarding the finds, beyond the date suggested by the excavators,

⁸⁰⁷ Kallintzi 2001-2004 (iii), 735.

⁸⁰⁸ Triandafyllos & Kallintzi 1998, 2.

⁸⁰⁹ Triandafyllos & Kallintzi 1998, 5; Kallintzi 2001-2004 (iii), 735.

⁸¹⁰ Triandafyllos & Kallintzi 1998, 2; Kallintzi 2001-2004 (iii), 735.

⁸¹¹ Kallintzi 1998 (ii), 739; Triandafyllos & Kallintzi 1998, 2, 4.

⁸¹² Eustratiou 2001-2004, 754.

and no architectural remains are reported. Given the very limited available evidence, determining the nature of the ancient occupation is near-impossible [Figure 6, Figure 37].

28. Linos

Location and Topography: EIA layers were discovered under a 4th-century installation, immediately to the north-east of the modern village of Linos, in the Tsutska Tepe hill. The hill is part of the foothills of the Rhodope mountain range at the northern end of the modern Komotini plain. It lies less than 4 km from the course of the Xiropotamos River, which carves a valley to the Rhodope hinterland. The site was excavated after unauthorised reforestation brought to light Late Classical / Hellenistic layers, but the recovered material has not been published [Figure 6, Figure 38].

Viewshed: The site enjoys excellent visibility, and is shielded from the north by the Rhodope mountain range. It overlooks the entirety of the Komotini plain, up to the Vistonis lake and the coastline to the south.

Settlement: Almost no early architectural remains are preserved, but those who partially survive appear to belong to a fortification / enclosure wall around the hilltop. Early layers are mostly evident to the immediate south of the 4th-century buildings and throughout the western side of the hilltop. They are mostly represented by EIA handmade Thracian wares: primarily phiale-like open vessels, cups, and storage vessels with plastic and impressed decoration. The same layers also yielded a small number of loom weights and animal bones.⁸¹³

⁸¹³ Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni 1991, 477.

29. Maroneia

Location and Topography: The earliest traces of human occupation on the wider Maroneia region can be found in the Agios Georgios double-peaked hill, to the south-east of modern Maroneia. The hill is very steep on all sides but the north-western one, where it smoothly joins Mt Ismarus. It was, unfortunately, impossible for me to visit the acropolis, as its sole access point is currently occupied by a military outpost, and is a restricted area [Figure 6, Figure 39].

Viewshed: The hill overlooks the river plains to the west as far away as Abdera. The entirety of the western Filiouris plain and the northern coast of the islands of Thasos and Samothrace to the south are also visible.

Settlement: The crown of the hill is fortified with a strong enclosure wall, built with small rough stones, similar to that found in Asar Tepe. Two long walls extend towards the south-east and south-west, to enclose and defend the small bay to the south-west of the hill. The fortified hilltop is divided into several internal areas by multiple internal walls, with a major building cluster towards the south-eastern end. A large, ‘monumental’ entrance, according to the surveyors can be identified in the northern end of the enclosure, where access to the hilltop is the easiest.⁸¹⁴

Byzantine additions (e.g. round towers at regular intervals) can be identified, but the early fortification is not safely datable, and might date as far back as the LBA /EIA. The

⁸¹⁴ Bakalakis 1958, 104; Tsibidis-Pentazos 1971, 99; Tsibidis-Pentazos 1972, 91; Triandafyllos 1986, 129-131.

surveyors recovered considerable amounts of Byzantine pottery, but also prehistoric Thracian handmade wares, of LBA-EIA date, which remain unpublished.⁸¹⁵

It has been suggested that the fortified area served as an early Thracian settlement, before the founding of the Greek polis of Maroneia.⁸¹⁶ The suggestion has merit, if one considers: firstly, the defensibility of the site from every direction but the north-west; secondly, the apparent attempt that was made to secure safe access to the sea and a natural harbour of sorts to the south-west (via the long walls); and, thirdly, the vast field of view of the fortification.

30. Makri

Location and Topography: The low, prehistoric settlement mound of ancient Makri lies next to the coast, to the immediate south of the modern settlement. The mound is located at the western end of a coastal plain which is formed around the mouth of the Evros River; it is also nestled at the immediate south of the south-easternmost spur of the Rhodope mountain range. If the excavators' interpretation of EIA Makri as a trading post is correct (see below), it must mostly have served maritime traffic; however, it must be noted that there is little evidence for an ancient harbour in the vicinity, and that no natural anchorage readily presents itself [Figure 6, Figure 40].

Viewshed: The settlement mound of Makri overlooks a considerable length of the nearby coastline (up to Agios Georgios of Maroneia towards the west and up to the delta of

⁸¹⁵ Tsibidis-Pentazos 1972, 91.

⁸¹⁶ Bakalakis 1958, 104; Tsibidis-Pentazos 1971, 94.

the Evros River towards the east) and the Thracian sea as far as Samothrace, but has very limited oversight of its own hinterland.

Settlement: In the area to the north-east of the mound, test trenches of the 1990s brought to light a layer of Thracian handmade pottery. The excavators interpret the layer as corresponding to a pre-apoikism phase of occupation, possibly as a semi-permanent trading station.⁸¹⁷ However, no further information on the recovered material or its contexts is published.

31. Mesembria - Zone

Location and Topography: The ancient settlement of Zone (originally thought to be ancient Mesembria) is located to the west of the modern settlement of Mesembria and the Dikella plain. It lies at the easternmost end of a small coastal valley, less than 5 km to the south-east of Petrota [Figure 41].

Viewshed: The site overlooks the small coastal valley and the sea to the south, up to the northern coast of Samothrace. The Thracian hinterland is not visible, as line of sight is blocked by the mountainous spur of the Rhodope range, curving along the Thracian coast.

Cemetery: To the east / south-east of the late Archaic / early Classical Zone settlement (originally thought to be ancient Mesembria), two tumuli came to light. They were located immediately next to the Classical and Hellenistic cemetery of the city, less than 500 m from the settlement acropolis. The cemetery was visible from all surrounding hills, and lies very near the road that led to the west, towards Maroneia.

⁸¹⁷ Kallintzi 1990, 617; 1992 (ii), 495; Eustratiou 1993, 399.

Both Mesembria–Zone tumuli consist of a round stone base layer, with a reserved, cist- or chamber-like central space. However, similarities between them end there. There is no indication that the first tumulus that came to light (and is still visible today) hosted more than one central burial [Figure 141].⁸¹⁸ On the contrary, the circular base layer and central, slab-cist grave of the second tumulus served as the centre for a grave cluster of considerable size, consisting of eight more pot burials [Figure 142].⁸¹⁹ Most of the pot burials were either in immediate contact with the circumference of the tumulus, or framed by low, stone-rubble walls extending from the tumulus to encompass individual burial vessels or small groups of one to three graves.⁸²⁰ Those walls serve as an indication that the tumulus was added to gradually, over time. The reason why this was the case with only the second tumulus and not the first remains unclear.

Both tumuli contained a central grave. The first consisted of a circular reserved space, containing a low stone-built bench, partially covered by the stone base of the tumulus [Figure 143]. This bench might have originally served as a resting place for the deceased, but the partial destruction of the tumulus does not allow the drawing of any certain conclusions.⁸²¹ The second tumulus, although no longer visible to the modern visitor, was considerably better preserved when discovered (although also looted): the central grave is rectangular and cist-like, framed by large stone slabs. It is impossible to determine whether those central spaces were repeatedly used, for multiple burials.⁸²²

⁸¹⁸ Vavritsas 1966, 70 and pl.71.b; 1967, 93-94 and fig. 3.

⁸¹⁹ Vavritsas 1970, 72-74 and pl.106-107. Tsatsopoulou (2001, 24) only reports three of the burials: one ‘slab covered’ grave (the central tumulus grave) and two burials in ‘handmade, locally-made vessels’.

⁸²⁰ Vavritsas 1970, 72-74 and particularly fig. 3.

⁸²¹ Vavritsas 1966, 70; 1967, 93-94; Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi 2001, 24.

⁸²² Vavritsas 1967, 93; 1970, 72.

The eight pot burials consist of five large storage pithoi and three smaller vessels (two amphorae and one lebes-like vessel) [Figure 144]. The former lie on their sides, similarly to the Kossynthos and Filiouris riverbed burials, while the latter are placed vertically on the ground. They do not share a common orientation, but were all placed in small enclosures, extending from the stone base layer of the tumulus. The burial vessels had seen everyday use before being used as burial containers, as evidenced by the lead clamps used to repair one of the pithoi.⁸²³ Skeletal material was very partially preserved, and did not lend itself to determining the extent of grave re-use, with the exception of the pithos B, which contained three skulls.⁸²⁴

The tumuli of Mesembria-Zone had been partially destroyed during antiquity: the relating assemblages and stratigraphy have been substantially disturbed. Pottery and small finds have been recovered from the area of the graves, but it remains unclear whether they were part of the original closed burial contexts, subsequent offerings to the graves, or even completely unrelated to the cemetery contexts.

The central space / grave of the first tumulus was found empty, and the surrounding area yielded highly disturbed stratigraphy, which included both EIA and Hellenistic finds. However, near the collapsed southern side of the tumulus base, a relatively undisturbed EIA assemblage came to light. It contained large amounts of EIA handmade pottery with incised decoration and, notably, a small EIA clay figurine [Figure 145].⁸²⁵

⁸²³ Vavritsas 1970, 72-74; Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi 2001, 24.

⁸²⁴ Vavritsas 1970, 74.

⁸²⁵ Vavritsas 1967, 94; Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi 2001, 24.

The central burial of the second tumulus was, likewise, partly destroyed and looted. No finds were found in its interior. The pot burials surrounding the tumulus, on the other hand, did yield a limited number of finds beyond human remains. Four of the burials contained numerous sea-shells, and one of the pithos burials also contained a fragmentary metal blade (possibly a sword or spearhead) and a bronze bead. The burial vessels themselves are all handmade, and bear incised decoration. They range from large pithoi to characteristic EIA Thracian four-handled amphorae and large, open, lebes-like vessels.⁸²⁶

32. Petrota

Location and Topography: The fortified hill of Agios Georgios rises to the immediate west of the modern village of Petrota [Figure 82]. Its slopes fall off into rocky, steep cliffs in all directions apart from the north-west, where a narrow path allows access to the hilltop. This access point is the one that has been most extensively fortified during the Byzantine period, but remains of contemporary walls have also been discovered in other locations along the crown of the hill [Figure 6, Figure 42, Figure 82].

Viewshed: Unlike the Maroneia and Asar Tepe hills, Petrota has no oversight over the Filiouris river plain to the west. Instead, it overlooks a narrow band of hilly territory which stretches to the north and south of the hilltop, and connects the coastal areas to the south with the extensive river plains to the north.

Settlement: Very limited excavation works have taken place near the Byzantine fortifications; apart from the expected Byzantine- and Ottoman-period pottery, they also

⁸²⁶ Vavritsas 1970, 74; Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi 2001, 24.

brought to light unstratified LBA / EIA Thracian handmade sherds. This led the excavator to draw parallels between Petrota and the contemporary Assar Tepe and Maroneia sites.⁸²⁷

The similarities in site selection are clear, particularly in the easily fortifiable character of the hilltops. However, there are also two notable differences: firstly, no early architectural remains or safely datable fortifications have been discovered in Petrota. Instead, there are several instances of receptacles, water channels, and markings carved into the bedrock of the hill, a practice that has been studied by D. Triandafyllos and is characteristic of LBA / EIA sites in the Thracian hinterland.⁸²⁸ Secondly, the site has no oversight over the Filiouris river plain; instead, it controls a pass towards the extensive river plains to the north of the coastal mountain range.

Samothrace

33. Agianemi

Location and Topography: Agianemi lies 2 km to the south-east of Vrychos, near the Mandal' Panagia and Mantroudia sites. The hilltop is covered with massive rock formations, which are incorporated into an extensive but only partially preserved trapezoidal enclosure wall. The hill falls sharply off to the north and east, and in those areas the enclosure wall only complements the rock cliffs. To the west and south, the slopes of the hill fall off in a considerably smoother gradient, and the enclosure wall is built to a greater height.

Agianemi lies near Vrychos, and the site topography (altitude, visibility over the western plains of the island etc.) is very reminiscent of Augerinos. However, if Matsas'

⁸²⁷ Tsibidis-Pentazos 1971, 93-94.

⁸²⁸ Triandafyllos 1986, 134-136.

original measurements of the enclosure size are correct (see below), the Agianemi installation is larger than the entirety of Vrychos. It is unlikely to have been a minor satellite installation; instead, it might have been as central a site as Vrychos. It must also be taken into account that Agianemi lies very near the (apparently not fortified) settlement sites of Mantroudia and Misovouni, and might, therefore, have served as a refuge fortification for their inhabitants. However, access to the enclosure from those sites is problematic, as a very steep valley separates it from them [Figure 7, Figure 43].

Viewshed: Agianemi overlooks Vrychos, and the settlements of Mantroudia and Misovouni. It also enjoys oversight of the south-western plains of the island [Figure 83].

Settlement: Matsas describes an extensive trapezoidal fortification, with a rectangular battlement in its south-eastern corner, enclosing more than 9,000 m² in total; little of these walls is visible today. Most of the surviving stonework lies on the northern and eastern sides of the hill, where the bedrock foundation has prevented erosion and landslides from contributing to its collapse. Rectangular interior structures (houses or storage facilities) were detected on the northern side.⁸²⁹

Matsas clarifies that the enclosure has not yet been explored, and there are no descriptions of collected surface pottery. As such, the dating of the site to the EIA is tentative, but seems to be supported by the similar acropoleis / enclosure walls in western Samothrace.

34. Ai-Giorgis

Location and Topography: No clearly identifiable early settlement contexts have been found in the ancient polis of Samothrace. The extensive fortification walls of the city are

⁸²⁹ Matsas 2004, 242.

Hellenistic, with Scranton arguing for earlier 5th- and 6th-century phases (but not earlier than that).⁸³⁰ In contrast with Thasos, no early layers have yet been found under the later settlement levels. A tentative exception to the above is the excavation near Ai-Giorgis: an early apsidal building has been discovered near the course of the eastern city wall, near (but at a higher elevation than) the medieval Gattilusi towers [Figure 7; Figure 44].

Viewshed: The site certainly overlooks all northern (sea-borne) approaches to the island, and enjoys a good overview of the nearby coast; the view of the Samothracian interior, on the other hand, is blocked by the low hills to the south of Ai-Giorgis.

Settlement: No publication of the finds has taken place, but preliminary reports by the excavators include their working hypothesis that the building was probably linked to an early phase of the urban sanctuary of Athena, mentioned in Hellenistic inscriptions. A nearby small artificial terrace contained several sherds of Subgeometric and early 7th-century G2-3 Ware, in a burnt earth layer, littered with small burnt animal bones [Figure 146].⁸³¹

While the interpretation of the above material is problematic, it serves to document activity on the site of the subsequent Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic polis from the first half of the 7th century. Given that the area is enclosed in the later fortification walls and is quite defensible (to the extent that it was re-used as a fortification in the 15th century CE), it is reasonable to assume that it may have served as a fortified position and observation point during earlier periods as well.

⁸³⁰ Scranton 1941, 31-32; see also Frederiksen 2011, 185.

⁸³¹ Karadima 1995, 490.

35. Augerinos

Location and Topography: The Augerinos site consists of a partially preserved enclosure (or fortification wall) encircling the top of a steep hill, 1 km to the north of Vrychos.

Most of the surviving fortification wall is preserved on the eastern and northern side of the hill, while loose stones and rubble from collapsed stretches of the wall are scattered throughout the western slope. The southern side of the hill (overlooking Vrychos) is very steep, and no wall remains are preserved there [Figure 7, Figure 44].

Viewshed: It has been suggested that Augerinos served as a satellite installation or outpost for the Vrychos acropolis; its small size, its nearness to Vrychos, and the extensive oversight of the northern coastline and the valleys to the west and north it provides seem to argue in favour of that interpretation [Figure 85].⁸³²

Settlement: The wall is built with loose, unworked stones; it incorporates the geomorphology and steep sides of the hilltop, and is founded directly onto the bedrock. It encompasses a rather small area compared to Vrychos (less than 2,000 m²) and provides excellent oversight of the valleys and paths to the northern coastal area, near modern Palaioiopolis.⁸³³

Unfortunately, no surface survey or excavation has taken place, and no pottery or other finds from the site are reported. The proposed dating of the enclosure / fortification as

⁸³² Matsas 2004, 242.

⁸³³ Matsas 2004, 242

contemporary to Vrychos is mostly based on similarities in settlement topography and fortification architecture and layout.

36. Krimniotissa

Location and Topography: Krimniotissa lies near the Pachia Ammos beach, in the south of the island, on a southern spur of Saos that reaches down to the sea. The site consists of a small, flat plateau nearly 2 km away from the shore, where seven circular structures and a single rectangular one have been discovered. In addition, a little further to the south, a rise along the same spur of Saos had been fortified with an enclosure wall [Figure 7].

Viewshed: The site enjoys excellent oversight of the Pachia Ammos bay and valley; the fortified rise to the south is, notably, very difficult to approach from the south and very defensible.

Settlement: No excavation has taken place, but surface pottery has been collected. It consists of handmade vessels of the Knobbed Ware types, similar to those recovered from Sourvalies. Matsas identifies parallels from Thasos, Kastanas, and Troy.⁸³⁴ Their precise dating is near-impossible: they may document human activity on-site from the 12th to the 8th century.

Cemetery: In addition to the above, a single isolated ‘megalithic’ grave, similar to those found at Vrychos,⁸³⁵ has been identified near the remains of the enclosure wall; it remains unexcavated at the time of writing.⁸³⁶

⁸³⁴ Matsas 2004, 233-234 with bibliography, 252-253.

⁸³⁵ See below, p. 359.

⁸³⁶ Matsas 2004, 232.

37. **Mantroudia / Misovouni/ Mandal' Panagia**

Location and Topography: Whether these two sites should be grouped together is debatable. Misovouni is likely to have been nothing more than a small agricultural / pastoral installation, dependent on the larger Mantroudia settlement. The sites are located less than 1 km away from each other, on the same spur of the Saos mountain range, south and south-east of Agianemi, respectively. It is worth noting that the EIA Mandal' Panagia sanctuary lies on the outskirts of the Mantroudia settlement; it may have served as a social centripetal factor for the settlements and installations of the region, centered in Mantroudia [Figure 7, Figure 43].

Viewshed: The two sites overlook Agianemi, but are separated from it by a particularly steep valley. They also overlook the western plain of Samothrace (where modern Kamariotissa lies), while also being placed near one of the most gently sloping approaches to the central Saos mountain range of Samothrace [Figure 84].

Settlement: Triandafyllos and Matsas located two groups of buildings in Mantroudia: the northernmost one, near the sanctuary of Mandal' Panagia consisted of four large rectangular buildings and one circular structure. The second group, further to the south and at a higher elevation, consisted of a larger group of eight rectangular and six circular structures.⁸³⁷ Unfortunately, upon my visit, I could not trace the southern cluster; I presume that was because of the massive stone and rubble landslides that have evidently taken place and affected most of the mountain slope. On that note, Matsas categorises the settlement as 'unwalled', in direct contrast to its contemporary installations in Samothrace. Upon my visit to the site, no enclosure or fortification walls were evident; however, the local Ephorate, on

⁸³⁷ Matsas 2004, 231.

their 1980 survey of the site, mention ‘a damaged drystone enclosure wall, measuring 150 m x 55 m and ca. 1.8 m thick.’⁸³⁸ It is possible that the enclosure wall was likewise destroyed by the landslides, or misidentified.

Misovouni lies further to the east / north-east, and has yielded ‘traces of a smaller EIA installation’;⁸³⁹ upon visiting the site, I could not identify any surface remains. The site has only yielded partial building remains and small quantities of EIA pottery with impressed decoration. By contrast, the only pottery included in reports regarding Mantroudia bears incised linear decoration. This confirms EIA activity at both sites, but does not provide us with a relative chronology for them: it has been shown that, despite early attempts to formulate a typological / chronological sequence, incised decoration is not always followed by impressed decoration, and the two types are often contemporary.⁸⁴⁰ It is possible (and, in fact, probable, given their close proximity) that Mantroudia and Misovouni coexisted.

Sanctuary: Rescue excavations near the small church of Mandal’ Panagia brought to light an ancient sanctuary. Most of the finds date to the Hellenistic period; however, there are finds dating to the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century as well, such as bronze brooches, Thracian pottery bearing incised decoration, and imported Ionian and Corinthian vessels. No architectural remains that can be safely dated to the Archaic period were unearthed; however, the foundations of a rectangular building (measuring 3 m x 4.3 m) of uncertain date have been discovered.⁸⁴¹

⁸³⁸ Skarlatidou 1980, 434.

⁸³⁹ Matsas 2004, 231.

⁸⁴⁰ Matsas 2004, 244-245.

⁸⁴¹ Matsas *et al.* 1993, 647-655.

38. Sourvalies

Location and Topography: The site consists of a small (probably natural) rise / mound next to the sea-side, near the modern village of Ano Kariotes. It is the only known EIA settlement site in the north-eastern part of Samothrace and, in contrast to the western installations, it does not occupy a defensive position, despite its proximity to several northern spurs of Saos. It is possible that it served as a harbour installation for a still-undiscovered inland site [Figure 7].

Viewshed: Sourvalies overlooks the sea north of Samothrace and the opposite Thracian coastline. Towards the south, the hilly ground and the northern slopes of Mt Saos block the view of the hinterland.

Settlement: Only surface pottery collection has taken place. Only four sherds of Knobbed Ware have been published, with a very wide date range from the 12th to the 8th centuries. No fortifications or other architectural remains are visible, but the settlement mound is clearly tell-like, and such remains may be uncovered upon excavation, which has not yet taken place.⁸⁴²

39. Sanctuary of the Great Gods

Location and Topography: The Sanctuary of the Great Gods lies to the immediate west of the ancient polis of Samothrace, near modern Palaiopolis. It is nestled against the slopes of a small stream valley, less than 500 m from the northern coast of the island [Figure 44].

⁸⁴² Matsas 2004, 234. 253.

Viewshed: The sanctuary is visible from the top of the settlement hill to the east and from the small plains to the west. It also overlooks the opposite Thracian coastline, to a limited degree. The uneven valley terrain blocks some lines of sight.

Sanctuary: Under the Classical / Hellenistic temenos (or Hall of Choral Dancers) an EIA hearth came to light. Horseshoe-like in shape, it is stone-paved and framed by irregular gathered stones. Directly over the stone-paved ground within the eschara, ash, pieces of coal, and burnt animal bones were discovered; however, no pottery or other finds allowing the safe dating of the hearth were brought to light [Figure 147].⁸⁴³

A second, ca. 65cm. high layer (referred to as ‘Black Fill’ in the excavation publications), had formed over this hearth: it was filled with ash, pottery fragments, and burnt animal bones. A circular stone construction ca. 3.5 m in diameter surrounded part of this layer; the excavators interpreted it as a shallow pit / deposit in which sacrificial remains were discarded, built over the early eschara. Interestingly, the ‘Black Fill’ is not encountered only within the pit, but overflows into the surrounding area as well.

The presence of animal bones inside the ‘Black Fill’ indicates that animal sacrifices continue to take place; the presence of pottery fragments might mean that ritual festivities accompanied the sacrifices and that the used vessels were destroyed and discarded. The pottery fragments themselves (G2-3 Ware kantharoi of the 7th century and handmade undecorated cups) allow the dating of the ‘Black Fill’, and provide a late 8th-century *terminus ante quem* for the date of the early hearth.

⁸⁴³ Lehmann & Spittle 1982, 267-268.

Two sea-shells with suspension holes were also discovered within the ‘Black Fill’. The excavators interpreted them as votive offerings, and suggested that they indicate the presence of an early Aphrodite cult at the site.⁸⁴⁴

Between the Hall of Choral Dancers and the Arsinoeion [Figure 148], a simple altar was discovered during the American excavations of 1950. It was oriented north-west – south-east, and consisted of two roughly hewn stone blocks, with a small prothesis (sacrifice preparation area) to its south-east. Numerous animal bones (mainly of goats and lambs) and pottery dating to the late 7th and early 6th century were brought to light near the altar.⁸⁴⁵

North of the Classical Hieron [Figure 148], the foundation of a second built altar was discovered. It measures 4.1 m x 3.8 m, and bears traces of repairs during the Hellenistic period. However, the date of the construction of the original altar remains uncertain: it was, in all likelihood, earlier than the earliest 6th-century phase of the Hieron.⁸⁴⁶

Finally, south of the Hall of Votive Gifts and under the late Classical Altar Court [Figure 148], a third early altar came to light. It was monolithic, and measured 0.8 m (length) x 0.8 m (width) x 0.6 m (height). Under the stone block, the beginning of a clay pipe was discovered, leading towards the southwest. It may have served to channel the blood of the sacrificial victims to the brook that runs through the sanctuary area.

Near the altar and the beginning of the pipe, the excavators unearthed eight goat astragaloi (ankle bones) which have been interpreted as belonging to sacrificial victims or as equipment used in oracular rituals. Furthermore, a deposit filled with ash and other finds was

⁸⁴⁴ Lehmann & Spittle 1982, 268-269.

⁸⁴⁵ Lehmann & Spittle 1982, 293-294; Ehrhardt 1985, 147-148.

⁸⁴⁶ Lehmann 1969, volume 2, 58-59; Ehrhardt 1985, 311.

discovered to the immediate north-west of the altar; the excavators referred to it as the ‘Black Pit’ because of the burnt earth in its fill. Charcoal and pottery of everyday use dating to the end of the 7th century were discovered in its deeper layers, which argues in favour of ritual feasting taking place.⁸⁴⁷

40. Vrychos

Location and Topography: The Vrychos acropolis lies in the western half of the island, to the immediate south-west of the modern Chora settlement. It is currently a military restricted area, and was inaccessible when I visited the site [Figure 7, Figure 44].

It consists of an elongated hill, ca. 500 m long and wide, whose fortified hilltop curves in a reverse ‘s’ shape. The fortification walls extend along the north-south length of the acropolis, and also enclose its south-eastern spur. A transverse wall divides the hilltop into two major parts: the northern (ca. 6,000 m²) and southern (ca. 1,500 m²) acropoleis, of which only part of the latter has been excavated.

Based on the distribution of surface pottery, the excavators theorise that the settlement, instead of being fully enclosed by the fortification wall, extended over the hillsides of Vrychos (and particularly the southern and south-eastern slopes, which are markedly less steep).⁸⁴⁸

Viewshed: It has been suggested that the Vrychos acropolis served as a central settlement for a number of smaller enclosures and fortified sites in its surrounding area (e.g. the Augerinos and, perhaps, the Agianemi enclosure).⁸⁴⁹ The intervisibility between these

⁸⁴⁷ Lehmann & Spittle 1964, 110-111; Ehrhardt 1985, 208.

⁸⁴⁸ Matsas 2004, 242.

⁸⁴⁹ Matsas 2004, 242.

sites seems to support this theory, as does their location on the western slopes of Mt Saos, from where they overlooked the entirety of the western arable plains of Samothrace.

Settlement: Three gates have been identified: one near the easternmost end of the transverse wall, (allowing access to the southern acropolis via a very gently sloping eastern hillside) and two in the western wall of the northern acropolis. The gates were defended by multiple small battlements, which were placed in strategic locations near the entrances so as to provide the necessary reinforcement to the settlement defenses. The walls are thick, ranging from 1.8 to 3 m in width, with two sides of large, roughly-worked stones and a fill of small stones and rubble. They follow the course of the hill, and incorporate cliffs and the local geomorphology into the defensive perimeter.⁸⁵⁰

The excavation of the hilltop focused in two areas: the interior of the walls, near the eastern gate and the southernmost (and also highest) end of the southern acropolis. In both areas, the excavation reached the bedrock. No architectural remains were discovered, with the sole exception of a partially revealed circular structure: as its projected diameter exceeds 5 m it might have been the foundation of a dwelling, a storage facility, or even a defensive / observation tower near the gate.

The pottery from the site is handmade, of the EIA Macedonian / Thracian types, and probably locally produced. Thick-walled vessels (mostly cups, phiale-like open shapes, kantharoid drinking and eating vessels with vertical handles, amphorae with multiple handles, and jugs) are decorated with grooved and incised linear motifs, rows of dots, plastic rope-like additions, or impressed decorative elements. The pottery typology provides us with

⁸⁵⁰ Matsas 2004, 238-242.

a tentative date for the beginning of the lifetime of the settlement in the latest EBA years and for continued activity throughout the EIA.⁸⁵¹

Cemetery: Four graves (described as ‘megalithic’ in earlier bibliography) lie to the north-west of the Vrychos acropolis; one more lies to its near west, forming a small, loosely-clustered cemetery that brings to mind those of Kastri, but on a smaller scale. No grave is located more than 600 m from the acropolis enclosure, but the sloping of the hillside renders some of the graves invisible from the hilltop. It is still unknown whether the five graves comprise the entirety of the Vrychos cemetery (with burial clustering inside each megalithic grave), or whether they are the only remaining visible parts of a larger grave group (e.g. cist, pot or pit burials around the megalithic graves).⁸⁵² It should be mentioned, however, that other megalithic graves found in the wider Thracian region (mostly north-eastern Thrace)⁸⁵³ often stand alone or in very small clusters.

None of the graves have been excavated; how many burials they originally contained remains unknown. They all appear chamber-like, bearing some similarities to the stone-built clusters of Kastri, but they are built of massive, roughly worked stone blocks and slabs. Most have an entrance hole towards the west / south-west, and none possess a prothamos (a feature which is common in the Kastri chamber tombs). All graves are single-chambered, with the exception of Grave V, which consists of two chambers. Notably, Grave II has its

⁸⁵¹ Matsas 2004, 238-247.

⁸⁵² Matsas 2004, 234-236 and im.7.

⁸⁵³ See Triandafyllos & Terzopoulou 1996 for an overview of tumuli and megalithic graves in northern Thrace.

entrance oriented towards the north, something that sets it apart from all known Samothracian and Thracian megalithic graves.⁸⁵⁴

Unfortunately, no discovered finds can be linked to the graves: all finds from test trenches in the Vrychos site were discovered more than 200 m away from the nearest graves.⁸⁵⁵

Lemnos

41. Chloe

Location and Topography: The Cabirion of Lemnos is located to the east of Hephaestia, in the Chloe peninsula. It lies at the eastern end of the Agios Theodoros bay, one of the most important natural harbours of northern Lemnos. The area around Chloe is very hilly, and the coast quite rugged: the sanctuary can be accessed only from the south-east [Figure 45].

Viewshed: The hilly ground blocks most lines of sight towards the island hinterland. Surprisingly, the settlement of Hephaestia is not directly visible from the early sanctuary, as it is occluded by parts of the peninsula itself. However, the sanctuary is quite visible from the sea to the north and from the mouth of the Agios Theodoros bay.

Sanctuary: The architectural remains of the Chloe sanctuary are located on two large artificial terraces ‘reinforced with strong retaining walls’. On the northern terrace, a Hellenistic three-aisled building (telesterion) was discovered: in all probability it hosted the cult from the 2nd century BCE until the 3rd century CE. It was destroyed by fire and replaced

⁸⁵⁴ This may well have been due to the location of the grave and the surrounding terrain (Matsas 2004, 232 and 234-236).

⁸⁵⁵ Matsas 2004, 236.

by a smaller, Late Roman building which was erected on the southern terrace, and whose ground plan imitated that of the Hellenistic telesterion.⁸⁵⁶

Under the floor of the Roman building, Archaic contexts came to light even before the 1940s, during excavations conducted by the Italian School at Athens. Post-war, the excavations focused on the southern terrace, and eventually unearthed a pottery deposit (with pottery dating from the 8th until the 6th century BCE) and another cult building, which the excavators interpreted as an Archaic predecessor of the subsequent telesteria [Figure 159].⁸⁵⁷

The Archaic telesterion building was single-roomed, measured 13,5 m in length and 6,4 m in width, with a north-east – south-west orientation. It had at least two entrances: one in the western corner of the south-western wall and one in the northern corner of the north-western wall. Inside it, sandstone benches ran the length of its long walls [Figure 160].⁸⁵⁸

Similar benches framed a stone construction located near the middle of the south-western wall. It consisted of a rectangular base, built with two gneiss slabs. At its north-eastern end, a lower semicircular construction had been added. This could be interpreted as a statue base or a bema, from where one could address the worshippers [Figure 162]. However, given the discovery of a clay tripod lebes (cauldron) near to it, an interpretation of the construction as an eschara hearth seems more likely, despite the apparent lack of traces of fire [Figure 161].⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵⁶ Beschi 1994, 32-35; Beschi 2003, 965-969.

⁸⁵⁷ Beschi 1994, 35.

⁸⁵⁸ Beschi 2003, 969-972.

⁸⁵⁹ Beschi 1994, 35; Beschi 2003, 970-971.

A smaller, multi-roomed building was discovered to the immediate northwest of the telesterion. In all probability it served as storage space for the sanctuary. An Archaic deposit, with G2-3 Ware, Lemnian Grey Ware, carchesia, kantharoi, and various types of jugs was discovered in its vicinity; interestingly, many of the G2-3 Ware vessels were misfired, which argues convincingly for local production [Figure 163].⁸⁶⁰

The destruction of the cult building can be safely placed at the end of the 6th century, possibly as a result of the 512/1 Persian campaign. Its erection can also be safely dated to the 7th century, thanks to the recovered pottery; according to Beschi, it might even have been built as early as the beginning of the century.⁸⁶¹

42. Hephaestia

Location and Topography: The site lies on the northern coast of Lemnos, 4 km to the north-east of modern Kotsinas, on an extensive peninsula which bends towards the east to form a small, shallow harbour to its immediate south. It also borders the Agios Theodoros bay, on the opposite end of which lies the Cabirion of Chloe. The site is connected to the rest of the island by a very narrow isthmus, where the Archaic and Classical cemeteries are located. The entire area is characterised by low hills and plains, which cover the near-entirety of the eastern part of Lemnos [Figure 8, Figure 45].

Viewshed: The settlement is perfectly placed to overlook almost the entirety of the Agios Alexandros plain to the east and the Kotsinas / Repanidi area to the south [Figure 86]. To its immediate east, the small Agios Theodoros bay provides an excellent natural harbour, but Hephaestia also overlooks the entrance to the Kotsinas bay to the west. It is also worth

⁸⁶⁰ Beschi 1994, 35-36; Beschi 2003, 974-981.

⁸⁶¹ Beschi 1994, 36. The scholar adopts a mid 7th-century date in Beschi 2003, 973-974.

noting that the Chloe promontory (where the Lemnos Cabirion is located) is visible from Hephaestia, but the sanctuary itself is occluded behind the westernmost tip of the cape.

Settlement: Most of the excavations that have taken place have focused on areas where ritual activity has been identified (i.e. the New Sanctuary, the Theatre sanctuary). Settlement contexts have been brought to light, but have only recently been the focus of research, and our impression of the the settlement itself is still fragmentary and in the process of being formed. Archaic contexts so far have been brought to light near the New Sanctuary where there is evidence for a) a large elite house near the future sanctuary building and b) late 8th-century and subsequent metallurgical activity. They also occur immediately to the north of the isthmus, in the so-called ‘Area 26’ (where late EIA and early 7th-century layers were found under Byzantine and Classical settlement remains).

To the west of the New Sanctuary cult building, a large house had been erected during the late 8th / early 7th century. Its layout is unclear because the subsequent Edifice of Votive Offering Deposits is built on (and reuses) its eastern foundations, but it consisted of at least seven or eight rooms of varying sizes, including a courtyard and an interior hearth. Although the Edifice of Votive Offering Deposits is clearly linked to the nearby contemporary sanctuary, there are no indications of earlier cult, and the early building does not appear to be linked to any ritual activity. Its interpretation as an elite house is more likely. In addition to the above, in the area where the New Sanctuary building would be erected, earlier layers have yielded fragments of crucibles, two large smelting ovens, iron slag, and several well

shafts. It is clear that, before the erection of the cult building, the area was dedicated to metallurgical activities.⁸⁶²

In the isthmus area, near the eastern small harbour, test excavations brought to light a low terrace wall (only its lower courses are preserved), whose construction dates to the late 8th / early 7th century. It is founded on LHIII B/C layers and other earlier architectural remains, and may have served as part of the settlement fortifications. It is built with large stones, in very loose masonry; holes and empty spaces between stones are filled with smaller unworked stones or left unfilled, and there are no regular masonry courses.⁸⁶³ It faces south, and supports a large artificial terrace, the fill of which extends towards the north, where Classical (and later) settlement remains have been excavated ('Area 26'). Magnetic anomaly scanning has revealed an extensive urban grid throughout the entirety of the south-western area of the peninsula, near the isthmus. Only a small part of this area has been excavated, and no Archaic architectural remains are reported under the Classical housing, but early layers, characterised by late 8th-century and early 7th-century pottery (consisting mostly of Lemnian Grey Ware and G2-3 Ware) extend under the Classical structures.⁸⁶⁴

Cemetery: The Hephaestia necropolis was divided into two major grave clusters ('Zones'), with five smaller sub-clusters. Zone B, containing 70 graves in the subgroups 56B4 and 56B5, was located directly on the isthmus connecting the Hephaestia peninsula with the rest of the island. Zone A was located further to the south-west, at a distance of ca. 150 m, and contained 221 graves in the subgroups 56B1-3 [Figure 45].⁸⁶⁵ It is worth noting

⁸⁶² Della Seta 1930/1, 500; Di Vita 1977, 345; Ficuciello 2008, 63-64.

⁸⁶³ Mercuri 2008, 35-38.

⁸⁶⁴ Mariotti 2008, 171-179; Camporeale *et al.* 2008, 187, 190.

⁸⁶⁵ Mustili 1932-33, 20-137; Ficuciello 2013, 102-103.

that the area separating the two Zones has been excavated, and has proven to be devoid of any burials.⁸⁶⁶ The geomorphology of the site seems to suggest that, as in Abdera, most of the area in question was highly susceptible to flooding. As such, it is quite possible that the apparent clustering of the graves was both a result of environmental (flooding, humidity, soil erosion etc.) and social factors (familial clustering etc.). There is no apparent chronological clustering of graves dating from the second half of the 8th to the end of the 7th century, with one exception: the sub-cluster 56B5 solely contains burials dating to the first half of the 7th century.⁸⁶⁷ Its significance remains undetermined, and may well have been coincidental. Continuity is observed between late 8th- and early 7th-century funerary practices at Hephaestia, and no reason for such a clustering readily presents itself. Surprisingly, late 7th-century graves, which differ significantly from earlier examples in their funerary practices, are, once again, equally distributed throughout the various subsectors. They are, however, significantly fewer in number (13 late 7th-century graves versus 279 earlier graves).⁸⁶⁸ This hints towards the existence of a still undiscovered grave cluster that would contain the remainder of the graves from that period and, perhaps, the 6th-century necropolis (see below). Finally, a feature common to the cemetery is pairs of cremation burials, in burial vessels of different shapes, placed near each other.⁸⁶⁹ It is quite likely that such pairs reflect familial links between the deceased.

The Hephaestia necropolis is smaller in scale than those of Abdera. Out of 291 burials found in five major clusters, 105 did not yield any grave offerings, and their dating remains

⁸⁶⁶ Mustili 1932-33, 8; Ficuciello 2013, 103.

⁸⁶⁷ Ficuciello 2013, 103.

⁸⁶⁸ Mustili 1932-33, 222-228; Ficuciello 2013, 121.

⁸⁶⁹ See below, p. 367.

problematic; 173 date to the early and mid 7th century, while 13 belong to a subsequent phase, dating to its second half.⁸⁷⁰ The interpretation of this reduction in the number of graves after the mid 7th century has been problematic; even more so given that no 6th century cemetery has been discovered in the area. It is possible that several of the aforementioned undateable graves might belong to this period, but if one also factors in the notable difference in burial offerings between graves of this phase and the previous one,⁸⁷¹ Ficuciello's interpretation of the material as 'a clear signal of strong discontinuity in the site' becomes very attractive.⁸⁷²

All 291 discovered graves were cremation burials. It is worth noting that some graves (e.g. Grave 89) contain finds that could be linked to child burials.⁸⁷³ This indicates that children were cremated at Hephaestia to a similar extent as adults. The ashes of the deceased were placed in large burial vessels (mainly pithos-like storage vessels and amphorae) and the mouths of the urns covered with kylikes, bowls or plates. Some of the burial vessels had been broken and repaired with lead clamps in antiquity, which indicates that they served some everyday function before being re-purposed as burial vessels.⁸⁷⁴ Two urn shapes are of particular importance: an ovoid, handle-less, tall jar and a belly-handled amphora, with a particularly wide belly diameter [Figure 149].⁸⁷⁵ A characteristic feature of the cemetery are

⁸⁷⁰ Mustili 1932-33, 14-137; Ficuciello 2013, 102-110 and 121-132. Note that one of the early cremation burials only contains an 8th-century handmade lekythos. Ficuciello has suggested that the entire context might be dated to the EIA, but there are other cases in Hephaestia where earlier artefacts are encountered in 7th-century contexts (e.g. a Mycenaean seal). See Mustili 1932-33, 32-33; Ficuciello 2013, 107 and below, p. 368.

⁸⁷¹ See below, p. 367-371.

⁸⁷² Ficuciello 2013, 132.

⁸⁷³ In the case of Grave 89, this includes a Grey Ware thelastron baby feeder vessel (Mustili 1932-33, 54).

⁸⁷⁴ Mustili 1932-33, 96; Ficuciello 2008, 103.

⁸⁷⁵ Mustili 1932-33, 21-22, 26, 44-45, 48, 51.

pairs of vessels, each containing a different cremation burial, yet placed very near each other [Figure 150].⁸⁷⁶

Of great interest are two 7th-century stone grave markers in the shape of ornate doors, which were found (re-used as grave coverings) in the nearby Classical necropolis.⁸⁷⁷ Those markers almost certainly belonged originally to the early cemetery (possibly to the graves BXLVI and BXLVII). Their shape is unique among the cemeteries studied in this thesis, with some tentative parallels from contemporary Phrygia.⁸⁷⁸ If one takes into account the (possibly familial-based) pairing of cremation burial vessels in conjunction with the shape of the grave markers, it becomes reasonable to suggest that these markers were probably adopted by the Hephaestians as a more economical alternative to family chamber tombs, the entrances to which they evoke.

As mentioned above, more than a third of the cremation burials discovered (105 out of 291) were devoid of any burial offerings. This is a much lower percentage in comparison to e.g. the Abdera necropoleis, but has still rendered the dating of those graves problematic.⁸⁷⁹ The remaining cremation burials can be separated into two highly asymmetric chronological groups (roughly corresponding to the first and second halves of the 7th century), based on their grave offering typology.

During the first half of the 7th century, pottery offerings are very basic: as a rule, cremation burial vessels are only accompanied by one amphora or jug [Figure 151], although

⁸⁷⁶ Mustili 1932-33, 56; Ficuciello 2013, 104.

⁸⁷⁷ Caputo 1932-33, 279-288, Ficuciello 2013, 105.

⁸⁷⁸ Chiai 2000, 201-2011; Ficuciello 2013, 105.

⁸⁷⁹ Mustili 1932-33, 20-137.

several types of handle-less vessels, with or without lids are also encountered.⁸⁸⁰ On the other hand, metal objects are particularly common in early 7th-century graves. Arced fibulae of various sub-types are the commonest metal finds, and are frequently encountered in groups of up to three per grave.⁸⁸¹ Hair coils,⁸⁸² bracelets⁸⁸³, and, most importantly, bronze and iron tools and weapons (axes, knives, spearheads, and sauroter spear-butts) are also encountered.⁸⁸⁴ It is worth noting that fibulae [Figure 151] are found in graves irrespective of the sex / gender of the deceased (which hints that they were part of both male and female apparel) and, even more importantly, that weapons are apparently associated with both male and female burials.⁸⁸⁵ A small number of graves also contained jewellery of greater material value than bronze fibulae: earrings, diadems, rings, and necklaces of ‘a pale gold, similar to electrum’⁸⁸⁶ marked some funerary assemblages as belonging to an emerging elite.⁸⁸⁷ Of particular interest is a Mycenaean lentoid sardonyx seal, found as a sole offering in one of the early 7th-century burials and depicting a long-horned animal (possibly a wild goat or deer?) with a suckling youngling.⁸⁸⁸

⁸⁸⁰ Mustili 1932-33, 147-156; Ficuciello 2013, 107. Local Grey Ware and G2-3 pottery are quite common among grave offerings, while the cremation burials themselves are usually local Red Ware. See Mustili 1932-33, 20-137 and 145-191.

⁸⁸¹ Mustili 1932-33, 238-245, pl. XIV-XV.

⁸⁸² Mustili 1932-33, 33, fig. 39.

⁸⁸³ Mustili 1932-33, 59, fig. 88.

⁸⁸⁴ Mustili 1932-33, 238-249.

⁸⁸⁵ Mustili 1932-33, 248-249; Ficuciello 2013, 107-108. One of the early graves (ACXXII) yielded a particularly large amount of such weapons, including fragments of at least five iron blades, two spearheads, and two metal plates of unidentifiable function (Mustili 1932-33, 61-62) Ficuciello has interpreted it as an early elite ‘warrior leader’ grave, given the emphasis placed on weaponry in comparison to contemporary graves (Ficuciello 2013, 108).

⁸⁸⁶ Ficuciello 2013, 108.

⁸⁸⁷ See, in particular, graves ALX-ALXI and ALXIII (Mustili 1932-33, 42-44, 46-47).

⁸⁸⁸ Grave CLXXXII; see Mustili 1932-33, 78 and 80. Ficuciello suggests a link ‘to the sacred and to leadership’, based on parallels for the theme (Ficuciello 2013, 108), but the absence of any other grave offerings in the grave casts some doubt on her interpretation. Note that Ficuciello describes the seal as having been discovered along with ‘other objects of the Subgeometric period’ (Ficuciello 2013, 108), but Mustili, in his publication of the grave, mentions no other finds, with the exception of the partially preserved cremation burial vessel (Mustili 1932-33, 80).

During the second half of the 7th century, this emerging elite becomes easier to identify in the Hephaestia cemetery. There is obvious continuation in funerary typology and the topography of the cemetery, but there are also considerable changes in funerary offerings compared to the earlier graves. Specifically, bronze jewellery (including the fibulae of the previous period) makes almost no appearance, whereas iron weapons and tools are still encountered, but appear to be less common.⁸⁸⁹ Vessels decorated with painted curvilinear motifs (also found in Proto-Lemnian ware)⁸⁹⁰ make their appearance as burial offerings, along with imported (Proto-Corinthian and Transitional Corinthian) pottery.⁸⁹¹

Of particular importance are three graves (BX, BXLVI, BXLVII), exceptionally rich in offerings, which may have belonged to particularly high-status persons.

Grave BX yielded pottery (six small amphorae, three vessels with lids, a unique rectangular small amphora, and a kantharos-like cup with tall vertical handles), metal objects (two iron axes, fragments of a spearhead), and jewellery (two bracelets, an electrum band with spiral decorations, an earring, and a necklace) [Figure 152]. More importantly, it contained several faience figurines of the god Bes, a sexless nude figurine, which Mustili linked to the eastern Mediterranean [Figure 153],⁸⁹² and two cube-shaped gypsum objects with incised decoration, topped with a stylised Aeolian capital.⁸⁹³

⁸⁸⁹ Ficuciello 2013, 121. Note that, given the small number of graves attributed to this phase (13 securely dated graves in total) compared to the previous one (173 dated graves), the apparent scarcity of iron objects might be a result of the available sample being non-representative of still undiscovered late 7th-century graves.

⁸⁹⁰ See e.g. Mustili 1932-33, 72 (fig. 108), 104-105 (fig. 166), 106-107 (fig. 172), 125 (fig. 222).

⁸⁹¹ Mustili 1932-33, 123-124 and 132.

⁸⁹² Mustili 1932-33, 255-256.

⁸⁹³ Mustili 1932-33, 100-106.

Graves BXLVI and BXLVII were paired cremation burials, both placed in dark Red Ware handle-less vessels. They are the richest graves in the necropolis, with over 40 different burial offerings each (over 60 for Grave BXLVII). These offerings include several Proto-Corinthian and Transitional Corinthian vessels (and, in the case of Gr. BXLVI, a piriform miniature aryballos, with one of the earliest known depictions of the pursuit of Troilos), local pottery (including a small, early carchesion, one-handled cups, plates, four clay cist-like containers, and several small amphorae) [Figure 154], iron blades, axes and javelin tips, very few bronze ornaments, and many glass and clay necklace beads [Figure 155].⁸⁹⁴ What attracts the most interest, however, are the clay figurines discovered in the two graves. They include a small number of figurine vessels (vessel lids with female protomae, two siren-shaped askoi), fragments of female polos-bearing figurines, and several peritmeton-type, silhouette figurines.⁸⁹⁵ Copies of the same peritmeton, depicting a man and a woman in what appears to be a symbolic Hieros Gamos stance were found in both graves [Figure 156], leading the excavators to the conclusion that the two deceased were linked in life as well (possibly as husband and wife, or as part of the priesthood of the local ‘Great Goddess Lemnos’ sanctuaries).⁸⁹⁶ Furthermore, the internal stratigraphy of Grave BXLVI indicates that the grave was, at some point during antiquity, re-opened, and a clay model of a house / fountain, similar to those discovered in the New Sanctuary of Hephaestia, was placed inside the burial vessel, immediately over the ashes of the deceased, without further disturbance of the grave [Figure 157].⁸⁹⁷ This clear link between the deceased and the local cult further reinforces the

⁸⁹⁴ Mustili 1932-33, 120-134.

⁸⁹⁵ Mustili 1932-33, 122-123 and 126.

⁸⁹⁶ Mustili 1932-33, 118 and 126; Ficuciello 2013, 124.

⁸⁹⁷ Mustili 1932-33, 120-121.

impression that the grave belonged to a prominent person; it could also serve as a tentative indication of subsequent hero / ancestor worship.⁸⁹⁸

Sanctuary: the New Sanctuary: The New Sanctuary is located at the near-centre of the settlement peninsula. Despite its name, it was the first of the three Hephaestia sanctuaries to be discovered. The so-called Edifice of the Votive Offering Deposits ('Edificio con Stipe') had been brought to light since the late 1920s.⁸⁹⁹ When the main sanctuary building was discovered to its south, the excavators named it 'Nuovo Hieron' [Figure 164].⁹⁰⁰

After the mid 7th century, the Edifice of Votive Offering Deposits replaced the elite dwelling discussed above. Three major rooms (A, B, and C) were erected, in all probability after the middle of the 7th century BCE. These three rooms comprised the Edifice of the Votive Offering Deposits ('Edificio con Stipe' or 'Grande Stipe' in previous bibliography). Of these three rooms, room B is of particular interest, since a stone-built bench runs the length of its north-eastern and south-eastern walls. On this bench, the fragments of a cult statue and a large amount of votive offerings were discovered (including pottery, copper fishhooks, tips of harpoons, and a marble lamp). Several vessels fixed to the ground were probably used for libations.⁹⁰¹

Room C is of equal importance. A large number of Archaic votive offerings were discovered inside it, surrounding a polyhedral column (possibly a baetyl-like cult focus). Those offerings include local and imported pottery, clay models of buildings (which the excavators have interpreted as fountains) [Figure 166], and figurines of various types

⁸⁹⁸ Ficuciello 2013, 124-126.

⁸⁹⁹ Della Seta 1927/9, 713; Della Seta 1930/1, 499-500.

⁹⁰⁰ See Messineo 1988/9 (Nuovo Hieron); Beschi 2005 (ii), 843 (Nuovo Santuario).

⁹⁰¹ Della Seta 1927/9, 713; Beschi 2005 (i), 143-145; Ficuciello 2008, 65.

(women with raised arms, a figurine of a winged goddess, sphinxes, and sirens) [Figure 167]. Loom weights, some of them bearing inscriptions, were also discovered.⁹⁰²

Ficuciello holds that the early building under the Edifice of the Votive Offering Deposits was in all likelihood the home of an elite; possibly somebody linked to the established metalworking in the surrounding area. If this interpretation is correct, the first appearance of cult activities should date to the mid 7th century, when the Edifice of the Votive Offering Deposits was erected. Ficuciello considers the ‘lack of finds clearly linked to cult activities within the building and throughout the whole of the excavated sanctuary area’ as evidence for this late date.⁹⁰³

The building which the excavators named ‘New Sanctuary’ (‘Nuovo Hieron’ in most Italian publications) was originally constructed at the same time as the Edifice of the Votive Offering Deposits and to its south. It was a rectangular building, measuring about 20 m in length and 7 m in width and oriented south-west – north-east. A small porch *in antis* at the south-western end, formed by a transverse wall, leads to a large room with benches (ca. 30 cm high) built along the interior face of its walls. Near the south-eastern wall of the building, two great limestone and sandstone blocks were discovered; in all likelihood, they had originally supported the superstructure of the building.⁹⁰⁴

The building was interpreted as a sanctuary from the very beginning of its excavation, based on the structures discovered in its north-eastern end. In the centre of the north-eastern wall, a niche containing two tube-like vessels was discovered. The excavators interpreted

⁹⁰² Beschi 1992/3, 271-273; Beschi 2005 (i), 97-106 and 143-145; Ficuciello 2008, 65-66.

⁹⁰³ Ficuciello 2008, 63-65.

⁹⁰⁴ Beschi 2005 (ii), 839-840 and n. 108 for earlier bibliography.

these vessels as libation receptacles [Figure 168]. To the right of the niche, in the eastern corner of the building, the floor was paved with stone. A series of stepped levels, ultimately merging with the long stone south-eastern bench, was formed.⁹⁰⁵

Of great interest is the small (2.8 m x 3 m) room in the northern corner of the New Sanctuary, separated from the rest of the building by limestone ashlar walls. Its floor lay about 80 cm higher than the rest of the building. A bench-like altar ('sacello') was constructed in the north-western half of the room. A single monolithic limestone block formed the front of the altar; the altar fill was comprised of earth, small stones, pottery sherds, and several metallic objects. This is a unique sanctuary feature in the NEA [Figure 165].⁹⁰⁶

The north-eastern end of the building yielded the most finds. The discovered pottery includes fragments of large and small vessels; of particular interest are a pithos, brought to light in the south-eastern part of the altar room, the two tube-like libation receptacles, and two large vessels with lids, discovered on the paved floor near the eastern corner of the building. A small clay horse's head, discovered under the bench-like altar, must also be mentioned, and clay loom weights, similar to those discovered in the Edifice of the Votive Offering Deposits were also unearthed. Finally, it should be noted that both in the New Sanctuary and the Edifice of the Votive Offering Deposits the excavators brought to light several *carchesia* (characteristic two-handled kantharos-like vases). Similar vessels were discovered in the Cabirion of Lemnos, as well as in Thasos and Samothrace; they are considered to have been mainly used in the context of ritual cult activity.⁹⁰⁷

⁹⁰⁵ Beschi 2005 (ii), 838-840; Ficuciello 2008, 68.

⁹⁰⁶ Beschi 2005 (ii), 838; Ficuciello 2008, 67.

⁹⁰⁷ Lehmann & Spittle 1964, 151-152 and 232-233; Beschi 2005 (ii), 840; Ficuciello 2008, 68. See also Love 1964, 216-218 for *carchesia* parallels.

Sanctuary: the Theatre Sanctuary: Recent excavations have brought to light the remains of several buildings under the koilon of the Classical theatre of Hephaestia. The accompanying finds indicate that a sanctuary was present from the 7th century and throughout the Archaic period.

A large (measuring 23 m x 3,6 m) building, discovered under the western wing of the theatre koilon, was almost certainly cultic in function, given the similarities to the New Sanctuary and the finds that were brought to light in the surrounding area. The building is oriented north-east – south-west, and is divided into two rooms. A limestone-dressed, rubble-masonry bench, similar to those of the New Sanctuary runs the length of the interior of the northern wall.⁹⁰⁸ As the southern wall is not preserved, it is impossible to ascertain whether a similar bench was built next to it, but it is reasonable to assume that the building was symmetrical. Its construction dates to the mid 7th century [Figure 169].⁹⁰⁹

Finds related to the sanctuary were discovered both in its immediate surrounding area and in a small Archaic deposit near the outer limits of the koilon. Eighth-century Grey Ware, both local and imported from Lesbos, indicate that the site was occupied from at least as early as the end of the EIA; however it remains unclear whether any ritual activity took place at the time.⁹¹⁰

Seventh- and 6th-century finds are more numerous, and include Proto-Lemnian, Corinthian, and Attic pottery, along with several clay figurines. Drinking vessels (skyphoi, cups, kantharoi) and liquid storage vessels (amphorae, hydriae, jugs) are common, but other

⁹⁰⁸ Archontidou 2004, 45-47; Correale 2008, 86-87.

⁹⁰⁹ Archontidou 2004, 47.

⁹¹⁰ Archontidou 2004, 66-67.

shapes were also encountered (kalathoi, thymiateria, aryballoi). The discovery of carchesia, vessels that are also common in other Lemnian sanctuaries, is a first indication of ritual activity in the Theatre sanctuary during this phase [Figure 170].⁹¹¹

The Archaic figurines the excavators unearthed further establish the religious character of the site. An early ‘praying woman’ figurine, with hands raised, similar to figurines discovered in the Edifice of the Votive Offering Deposits is particularly noteworthy. It was discovered in the aforementioned deposit, and is decorated with spiral motifs on its front. Clay figurines of sphinxes, sirens, and polos-wearing women, some of them mould-produced, were also brought to light southeast of the theatre skene [Figure 171].⁹¹²

Sanctuary: the Lazaridis Building: Near the narrowest part of the isthmus connecting the Palaionpolis peninsula to the rest of Lemnos and south of the ancient city wall, the remains of a building with two rooms came to light. These remains consist of only two walls: the first is oriented north-west – south-east, with the second one perpendicular to it. The two resulting ‘rooms’ were thus, probably, oriented north-east – south-west; however, their southern ends have not yet been discovered. The rubble masonry walls were faced with limestone slabs (three of which were found *in situ*), giving the impression of ashlar, isodomic masonry.

The western ‘room’ did not exceed 10 m in width, but its eastern wall (the wall dividing it from the eastern ‘room’) is only preserved to a length of 6 m. A low bench

⁹¹¹ Archontidou 2004, 69-73 and 80.

⁹¹² Archontidou 2004, 85-91.

foundation, built with limestone and clay, ran along the western side of this wall; the bench itself is not preserved, and might have been wooden.⁹¹³

The eastern 'room' was probably a courtyard; however only 4,3 m of the northern wall have been uncovered. As a result, the function of this 'room' is still undetermined. It should be noted, however, that part of the floor next to the dividing wall (not extending further than 0,9 m from it) was stone-paved. With the exception of this stone-paved strip, the floor of both 'rooms' was beaten earth.⁹¹⁴

A large number of pottery fragments, dating from the 7th to the first half of the 5th century, were discovered right above the floor level. This pottery includes G2-3 Ware, imported Attic vessels, and some Grey- and Tan Ware. Several carchesia were discovered within the Lazaridis building along with other vessels (kantharoi, kraters, and jugs). Their presence indicates that the building was dedicated to ritual activity (perhaps ritual feasting).⁹¹⁵

43. Koukonisi

Location and Topography: The Koukonisi settlement is located on the eponymous islet which lies less than 300 m off the eastern coast of the Moudros Gulf, to the immediate north of modern Moudros itself. Koukonisi measures less than 470 m x 380 m, and today it is linked to Lemnos by an artificial embankment and road. Submerged ancient structures near the eastern side of the island argue for a rise in sea level, and indicate that during antiquity, Koukonisi might have been directly joined with Lemnos; even today, during low tide, access

⁹¹³ Correale 2008, 82-84.

⁹¹⁴ Correale 2008, 84.

⁹¹⁵ Correale 2008, 84 and 87-90.

to the island is possible without the use of the road embankment [Figure 8, Figure 46, Figure 87].

Viewshed: Koukonisi is the only known Archaic settlement in the Moudros Gulf, which is the largest natural harbour of the island. It overlooks the entirety of the northern part of the gulf, up to and including the Alogonisi strait, to the south-west of modern Moudros. However, the highest point of Koukonisi lies just over 10 m above sea level; as such, viewing distance is limited for inland regions, including the Livadochori – Lychna – Atsiki and Pedino plains, to the west and south-west respectively.

Settlement: The site was continuously occupied from the end of the 4th millennium to the Archaic period, but, so far, has only yielded architectural remains dating to the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages. Archaic material has only been recovered from surface surveys: it consists mostly of locally produced pottery sherds dating to the LG and early Archaic periods. Specifically, the earlier periods are characterised by local bucchero (Grey Ware) pottery, while Archaic finds mostly consist of simple Proto-Lemnian-style vessels, with linear geometric decoration. The excavators suggest that the lack of Archaic installations argues for a period of decline after the end of the LBA.⁹¹⁶

44. Mikro Kastelli

Location and Topography: Mikro Kastelli lies at the northern coast of Lemnos, directly to the north of modern Katalakko and on the eastern end of the Gomati bay. It consists of a small rise on a cape, jutting out towards the east, where it creates a small natural harbour to its immediate east. The island hinterland is particularly hilly; to the west of the site, a small

⁹¹⁶ Bouliotis 1994, 23; Archontidou-Argyri 1994 (ii), 53.

seasonal river valley is formed just south of the Gomati beach [Figure 8, Figure 47, Figure 46].

Viewshed: The hilly terrain of western Lemnos limits the field of view of the site, as it does with Myrina. The site has clear oversight of the seasonal stream course to its immediate south and the surrounding hills, but not of the small Gomati valley to its south-west. It also does not enjoy as wide a view of the nearby coastline or of the sea approaches as e.g. Myrina. However, weather permitting, the Saos mountain range of Samothrace and the mountains of Thasos are visible to the north

Settlement: Surface investigation of the site has yielded early Archaic pottery, which argues for 7th-century human occupation (a ‘polisma’, according to Archontidou-Argyri).⁹¹⁷ During the late Archaic and Classical periods, harbour installations are constructed in the bay to the east of the cape, but no earlier datable structures have been discovered. No excavations have taken place.⁹¹⁸

45. Myrina

Location and Topography: The ancient settlement of Myrina has yielded evidence of human occupation dating back to the Chalcolithic period, clustered to the immediate east of the modern day Meteorological Station / Greek Army Officers’ Club (north of the ancient acropolis). This early settlement appears to have declined at around 2400 BCE, with very little evidence following that phase until the late 8th century and the early Archaic period. At that point, the early settlement probably extended from the fortified acropolis in the Kastro (‘castle’) hill to the Tourkikos Gialos southern harbour and the Tsas hill area. Whether the

⁹¹⁷ Archontidou-Argyri 1994 (ii), 53.

⁹¹⁸ Archontidou-Argyri 1986, 205; 1994 (ii), 51, 53-54.

Meteorological Station sanctuary⁹¹⁹ and the Aulonias sanctuary⁹²⁰ were within the limits of the settlement is unclear, but, given their locations, this seems much more likely for the former than the latter [Figure 8, Figure 48].

Viewshed: in contrast to the plains around Hephaestia, the Myrina hinterland is very hilly terrain. As a result, the settlement viewshed only extends over the westernmost hills, and does not reach the valleys of the island interior, or the central plains. Instead, Myrina is perfectly placed to overlook the entirety of the western Lemnian coastline, including the entrances to at least four natural harbours and any possible sea approach to the island from the west [Figure 88]. Weather permitting, it is possible to see as far as Thasos and Mt Athos to the north and the island of Agios Eustathios to the south.

Settlement: The fortifications of ancient Myrina are only partially preserved, as they have been mostly overbuilt by the medieval castle of the city. A short terrace wall or battlement, of what is often referred to as ‘cyclopean’-like masonry but of uncertain date, is visible on the eastern slope of the acropolis, near the gate of the medieval fortress [Figure 172]. A section of ancient fortification wall, built with large, roughly-worked stones, is also preserved as the foundation of the northern medieval castle walls. These early defensive works are thought to belong to the pre-Athenian cleruchy, ‘Pelasgian’ settlement of the Late Geometric and Archaic periods.⁹²¹

To the immediate south-east of the castle hill, near the southern harbour of Tourkikos Gialos, rescue excavations brought to light very badly preserved architectural remains,

⁹¹⁹ Dova 1995, 692-693; Beschi 2001, 191-251.

⁹²⁰ Archontidou 1991, 370-372; 1992, 539.

⁹²¹ Ficuciello 2013, 176.

tentatively dated to the Archaic period. Precise dating is impossible, as the stratigraphy of the area is very heavily disturbed, to the extent that no individual rooms or structures can be easily identified. All walls are built with unworked stones; two of them frame a water conduit, built with stone slabs. Pottery (7th-century Proto-Lemnian Ware but also a single 6th-century eye-cup), pyramidal loom weights, stone tools, and fragments of clay figurines were found scattered among the architectural remains.⁹²²

Further to the east, on the slopes of the Tsas hill, architectural remains similar to the above were brought to light. At least one rectangular room with early Archaic fill and several walls (all built with small irregular stones) were brought to light, with two 7th-century pottery vessels (their types being, unfortunately, not reported), incorporated into the foundations (either as part of a foundation sacrifice, as structural elements, or as anti-flooding measures). The pottery uncovered in the room fill is quite similar to that originating from the Tourkikos Gialos excavations, and is accompanied by other small finds of everyday use such as loom weights, spools, and beads. In addition to the above, the Tsas area also yielded evidence for workshop activity: several clay figurine moulds, peritmeta figurines (one bearing an incised depiction of an eagle eating a snake), and lumps of clay with finger impressions.⁹²³

Sanctuary: Meteorological Station: During early 20th-century rescue excavations, a monumental rectangular building / temple, measuring 10.5 m x 12.5 m was discovered near the then-Meteorological Station of Myrina, on the slopes of a small coastal hill at the northernmost limits of the modern settlement. Its date is uncertain, as only the foundation is preserved, and the stratigraphy of the site is heavily disturbed. The excavators favour a late

⁹²² Acheilara 2000, 938.

⁹²³ Archontidou 1989, 406; 1990, 398.

Archaic date, based on the masonry techniques.⁹²⁴ However, it is clear that the site hosted a cult as early as the 7th century, as the area has yielded one of the most extensive figurine corpora of the island. This corpus includes a large number of clay peritmeta (‘cut-out’) silhouette figurines that are characteristic of Lemnian sanctuaries of the period; it also includes figurines of sphinxes, sirens, and other female forms, very similar to those discovered in 7th-century contexts at Hephaestia [Figure 173].⁹²⁵

Sanctuary: Aulonas: In the early 1990s, the construction of a hotel complex started in the small settlement of Aulonas, to the north of Myrina. The local Ephorate of Antiquities proceeded to conduct rescue excavations after the discovery of ancient architectural remains; they brought to light several buildings belonging to a sanctuary with three distinct historical phases, dated to the Hellenistic, the Classical, and the Archaic period.⁹²⁶

The Archaic period is represented by a large oval building, found in the northern part of the excavation; it was oriented south-east – north-west, with a preserved width of 11 m and a length of 27 m. Its foundation and preserved walls were built with irregular, water-smoothed stones, probably collected from the nearby beach. Interior transverse walls form several rooms, with large threshold stones marking doorways. The excavation reports also mention an earlier Archaic (or perhaps even EIA), phase of the building; but these layers have not been sufficiently explored, and no information regarding the dimensions or floor plan of the building is made available.⁹²⁷

⁹²⁴ Dova 1995, 692-693; Beschi (Beschi 2001, 103) remains unconvinced, and does not rule out the possibility that the building is of later (perhaps even Hellenistic) date.

⁹²⁵ Beschi 2001, 195-214.

⁹²⁶ Archontidou 1991, 370-372; 1992, 539.

⁹²⁷ Archontidou 1991, 370.

Interestingly, the remains of a sacrificed calf with bound legs were discovered immediately to the east of the building, in an ‘Archaic fill’ layer [Figure 174]. Several other sacrificial remains were uncovered throughout the sanctuary, but it is impossible to date them as safely.⁹²⁸

Part of a precinct wall was discovered in the northern part of the plot. Its original construction dates to the Archaic period, but it remained in use until Hellenistic times after being repeatedly repaired. An entrance to the sanctuary has been discovered in its western end; it is flanked by a large deposit pit containing large amounts of Archaic pottery and animal bones, further indications of sacrifice and feasting. Finally, in the western part of the plot, several Archaic terrace walls came to light. The terrace fill is characterised by local 7th- and 6th-century pottery, including G2-3 Ware.⁹²⁹

Tenedos

46. Tenedos

Location and Topography: In Tenedos, a small EIA / early Archaic cemetery was discovered in the Cumhuriyet quarter of the modern harbour, to the immediate south-east of the Göztepe / Yeni Kele hills [Figure 176]. The area has yielded finds dating from the Early Bronze Age to the Classical period and beyond, but, despite the presence of several nearby hills (including Göztepe and Yeni Kele), no settlement acropolis has been conclusively identified [Figure 49].⁹³⁰

⁹²⁸ Archontidou 1991, 371.

⁹²⁹ Archontidou 1992, 539.

⁹³⁰ The settlement has been classified as a ‘flat settlement’ in the TAY Project / Archaeological Settlements of Turkey entry on the site ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=487&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=487&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web), last accessed 10 February 2017).

Viewshed: The area overlooks the opposite Asia Minor coast; it is also visible from the top of the surrounding hills. Visibility towards / from the hinterland of the island is blocked by those same hills.

Cemetery: A total of six graves were found in Tenedos, five of which date to the late 8th century and the earliest years of the 7th century [Figure 175]. One of them was emptied and re-used in antiquity, to house three cremation burials (of uncertain date but, in all likelihood, early Archaic) in Grey Ware vessels.⁹³¹

All five EIA graves found in Tenedos are cist graves.⁹³² Furthermore, all graves but one are oriented east to west. While the available grave sample is small, the Tenedos cemetery gives the impression of one of the first ‘horizontal’ cemeteries in the NEA, not least because of the uniformity in grave orientation and burial offering typology.⁹³³ This uniformity, however, does not extend to the orientation of the dead, which were buried with their heads both towards the east and west.⁹³⁴

One of the six graves was found completely empty, and was probably looted in antiquity. Of the remaining five burials, four are safely dated to the late EIA and very early Archaic period; the fifth is less securely dated, and might be as late as the early 6th century.⁹³⁵ Multiple vessels are found in each cist grave, including amphorae, a miniature oinochoe, kantharos-type two-handled drinking vessels, and local one-handled cups. In one of the

⁹³¹ Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 226-241

⁹³² One was re-used at a later point as a container for three pot cremation burials (Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 228-232).

⁹³³ Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 226-240.

⁹³⁴ Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 228 and 240.

⁹³⁵ The pottery found in the grave is not characteristic of any narrow time period – it could easily date from the 8th to the 6th century. The only dating information available for this burial is a *terminus ante quem*, provided by the later strata, which the excavators date to ca 600-580 BCE (Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 245).

graves, two Red Ware vessels were also discovered.⁹³⁶ Jewellery, including massive island-type fibulae with spherical or arced bodies, hair coils, and rings was also a common offering, found in four of the six graves.⁹³⁷ Of great interest is a necklace, found in the single grave without pottery offerings. It consists of stone and bronze beads, of which the latter are shaped like double axe heads.⁹³⁸ The same burial yielded the only weapon that dates with reasonable safety to the earliest phase of the cemetery – a small iron dagger [Figure 177].⁹³⁹

In addition to the EIA graves, Tenedos has also yielded four graves that date with reasonable certainty to the 7th century. Specifically, one of the EIA graves had been re-used, to house three cremation burials in Grey Ware vessels. The inclusion of three contemporary cremation burials in a single earlier cist grave might indicate some link (whether familial or social) between them.⁹⁴⁰ In addition to the above, a single burial was found 15 m away from the cluster of the EIA graves. It contained pottery that can be dated only vaguely to the 7th or 6th centuries, but the stratigraphic layer over the grave provides a satisfactory *terminus ante quem* of 600-580 BCE.⁹⁴¹ Given the distance between this grave and its contemporary cremation burials, it is highly likely that they belonged to a different layout unit / cluster. However, the partial state of excavation of the cemetery makes it impossible to determine

⁹³⁶ Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 228, 234, 237, 241-245.

⁹³⁷ Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 228, 232-234, 237-238, 239, 241-245

⁹³⁸ Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 239. Miniature axe heads are a jewellery motif also found in other cemeteries of the period and of the LBA. Notably, some were found in the Kastri cemeteries (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, 604-606).

⁹³⁹ Grave III (Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 239). A second knife was found among the three Archaic cremation burials that were discovered inside one of the EIA cist graves. Based on a) this discovery, b) the lack of weapons from all other burials, and c) the lack of any datable pottery from Gr. III, it could be argued that this grave should also be dated to the Archaic phase of the sanctuary. However, the difference in funerary typology (inhumation in a cist grave versus cremation burial) argues for an earlier date for Gr. III.

⁹⁴⁰ Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 226-241.

⁹⁴¹ Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 245.

which of the two is the more representative of their period. No grave markers were employed.⁹⁴²

The three cremation burials found inside the earlier cist grave mainly contained metal offerings (island-type fibulae, a bronze bracelet and ring, and an iron knife). Loom weights were also recovered from the cremation burials, which might indicate that the deceased were female.⁹⁴³ The isolated, 7th-century cist grave no. 6, on the other hand, only contained Grey Ware pottery: trefoil oinochoae, kantharoi, and three carchesia.⁹⁴⁴

Lesbos

47. Antissa

Location and Topography: On the Antissa Obriokastro cape, the earliest traces of human activity date to the EBA, and seem to indicate continuity until the LBA (LHIIIB-C), with ‘substantial walls’ in the promontory ‘extending beneath the sea level’.⁹⁴⁵ This early phase is followed by apparent abandonment of the site until the Early Geometric period. At that point, the new occupation appears to be concentrated to the south of the cape, on the northern slopes of a low hill, with a natural harbour to its immediate north-east. Stratigraphic layers indicate continuity well up to the Archaic and Classical phases [Figure 9, Figure 50].

Viewshed: Similarly to all the aforementioned coastal settlements of Lesbos, Antissa enjoys very limited visibility towards the island interior, due to the mountainous terrain to the south of the settlement [Figure 89]. However, it overlooks the western entrance to the

⁹⁴² Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 228-232 and 244-245

⁹⁴³ Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 228-234.

⁹⁴⁴ Arslan & Sevinç 2003, 240.

⁹⁴⁵ Spencer 1995 (iii), 35.

Methymna Strait and a not inconsiderable part of the north-western Lesbian coast. Furthermore, like Eresos, the projected chora of Antissa also includes several installations / enclosures that may have served to consolidate its power over its territory (see below).

Settlement: The most significant architectural remains dating to the earlier phases are probably those of the apsidal building / sanctuary at the northern foot of the acropolis hill.⁹⁴⁶ To their immediate west, a contemporary second apsidal building was brought to light, with walls of lesbien masonry and oriented north-east to south-west (with the apse to the south-west). Large quantities of iron slag recovered from the building and its immediate vicinity indicate that it may have served as a metallurgical workshop. No houses or other dateable architectural remains have been unearthed.⁹⁴⁷

In the same general area, farming and digging of wells has yielded considerable amounts of EIA and 7th-century material out of context (mostly Grey Ware pottery, undateable building foundations and architectural terracottas ‘of Archaic date’).⁹⁴⁸

Cemetery: The Antissa cemetery lies less than 400 m to the south and east of the settlement, on a high hill near the acropolis which overlooks the ancient harbour. Most of the cemetery was visible from the settlement hill, but graves have also been found by farmers and looters on the peak of the hill and on its eastern slopes, which would have been outside the viewshed of the settlement [Figure 50].

⁹⁴⁶ Lamb 1930/1, 174-175; Spencer 1995 (ii), 35.

⁹⁴⁷ Chatzi 1973, 519.

⁹⁴⁸ Spencer 1995 (iii), 35

Lamb lists four pot burials and two cremation burials, tentatively dated to the end of the Geometric period and the early 7th century.⁹⁴⁹ The earliest graves appear to have been pot and cremation burials [Figure 178]. Other types of burials, such as '[...] stone sarcophagi, clay coffins',⁹⁵⁰ and cist graves were also discovered, but they had all been already opened and looted, with the exception of one cist grave, which dates to the 5th century, and provides a tentative Archaic – Classical date for the rest of the similar burials.⁹⁵¹ On the other hand, dating the pot burials to the EIA (or early Archaic period) is relatively safe, given the large amounts of Aeolian Grey Ware (or 'Lesbian bucchero', as Lamb described it) found inside or near the burial vessels. At least six burial vessels have been found (one amphora, three large jars, a deinos-like vessel, and one fragmentary base). Two of the jars contained cremation burials: they were filled with ash and burnt bone fragments.⁹⁵² Pot inhumations contained burial offerings (including smaller vessels), but no skeletal remains are mentioned in the excavation reports. The single EIA grave from Pyrrha was a pot burial, in a 'Protogeometric vessel'.⁹⁵³

In Antissa, Aeolian Grey Ware ('Lesbian bucchero' in Lamb's publications) was the most common offering [Figure 179]. That said, the number of discovered graves (and, by extension, vessels) is small, and may not be representative of the original cemetery. Furthermore, there is enough variation in vessel shapes that it is impossible to safely identify one such type as the preferred burial offering. Drinking vessels are slightly more common (three cups, two tall kantharos-style drinking chalices, a wide kylix-like cup with vertical

⁹⁴⁹ Lamb 1930/1, 174-177; 1931/2, 65-66.

⁹⁵⁰ Lamb 1930/1, 174.

⁹⁵¹ The date is provided by a red-figure aryballos of the second half of the 5th century found inside the undisturbed grave See Lamb 1930/1, 176.

⁹⁵² Lamb 1930/1, 174-176.

⁹⁵³ Acheilara 1986, 202-203.

handles),⁹⁵⁴ but other vessel types are also encountered (one miniature amphora, a small jug, two miniature trefoil oinochoae, and a small open thelastron, which argues for a child burial).⁹⁵⁵ A single Proto-Corinthian aryballos provides one of the burials with a tentative date in the first half of the 7th century.⁹⁵⁶ The above finds were accompanied by two fibulae, of the Island and Asia Minor / East Greek types.⁹⁵⁷

Sanctuary: the Apsidal Building: At the northern foot of the Antissa acropolis, an apsidal building with two distinct historical phases came to light [Figure 180]. Its main axis lies in the east-west direction, but its orientation was changed: during its earlier phase, its apse was located on its eastern end, while during the second building phase the apse was moved to the western end.

During the earliest phase (dating from the 10th / 9th century to the end of the 8th century), the building measured up to 17.25 m in length and 5.60 m in width; its walls, constructed with local sandstone were not wider than 50 cm, but have been preserved up to a height of 1.85 m. The western end of the building most likely sported two large stone *antae*, of which only the northern one is preserved *in situ*. The interior of the building was divided by four transverse walls, some of which were built up and/or torn down throughout the course of the first building phase; furthermore, near the midpoint of the northern wall, a small niche-like attachment to the building may have served to wall in an early secondary entrance.⁹⁵⁸

⁹⁵⁴ Lamb 1930/1, 174-176.

⁹⁵⁵ Lamb 1930/1, 175-176.

⁹⁵⁶ Lamb 1930/1, 175.

⁹⁵⁷ Lamb 1930/1, 174.

⁹⁵⁸ Lamb 1931/2, 42-45.

During the second phase (dating to the 7th century), several important changes took place. New walls were built with polygonal masonry: a style which clearly differentiated them from those of the earlier phase. The northern and southern walls of the new building were erected directly on top of the older foundation, but the new apse was built at the western end. What led to this change of orientation is unclear. It is possible that the older, eastern apse was incorporated in the new building (thereby turning it into an oval structure), given that this apse is preserved up to a height that exceeds the floor level of the subsequent phase. It should also be noted that an entrance, later walled off, originally existed in the western apse: this would not have been necessary had it been possible to access the interior of the building from the west.⁹⁵⁹

The presence of a central transverse wall should also be noted. If the early apse remained in use, this wall would divide the building almost in half. Its foundation lies at the same level as the northern wall, but lower than the southern one. The possibility that this wall was built during a transitory phase, between the first and second apsidal building, cannot be ruled out.

An eschara was unearthed near the centre of the building, to the immediate west of the transverse wall, clearly belonging to the second phase of the building. It consists of no more than a thick layer of burnt/black earth, over a small pile/pavement of stones.⁹⁶⁰

Lesbian Grey Ware and a few imported East Greek Geometric fragments were discovered under the floor level of the early building. Slightly higher than its floor the

⁹⁵⁹ Lamb 1931/2, 45-47. The excavator notably remarks (Lamb 1931/2, 46) that the walling in of the western entrance to the building may have been in order to reinforce the western apse.

⁹⁶⁰ Lamb 1931/2, 46-47.

excavators discovered more bucchero pottery, of very fine fabric and high quality. Starting from this layer and continuing throughout the layers corresponding to the second building phase, the presence of Proto-Corinthian pottery is also noteworthy. According to Lamb, the early building might have been constructed during the 10th or 9th century, and it likely remained in use up to at least the late 8th century, as indicated by the Proto-Corinthian pottery in its higher fill layers [Figure 181].⁹⁶¹

The second phase of the building cannot be dated accurately, as its internal stratigraphy has been greatly disturbed by Classical and Hellenistic activity. Under the new walls, only bucchero pottery has been discovered. In the very few undisturbed layers in its interior, the excavators also discovered Proto-Corinthian pottery and East Aegean pottery. Lamb hazarded a late 8th-century date for its construction, but Mazarakis – Ainian does not consider any pre-700 BCE date to be plausible.⁹⁶²

The greatest part of the building was filled with small stones and Hellenistic pottery, mixed with Archaic vase fragments. A pit filled with Hellenistic pottery in the eastern apse reaches deeper than the foundation of the early building. It is clear, as also noted by the excavator, that the Archaic apsidal building was either looted or systematically cleared during antiquity. However, a single undisturbed Archaic destruction layer was discovered under the much later walls V and VI, which were, in turn, constructed over the apsidal building. The aforementioned destruction layer provides a late 7th-century *terminus ante quem* for the destruction of the building.⁹⁶³

⁹⁶¹ Lamb 1931/2, 44-45.

⁹⁶² Lamb 1931/2, 47; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 84-85.

⁹⁶³ Lamb 1931/2, 48 and n. 4.

Only a small number of metallic objects were unearthed in the apsidal building area. Three bronze fibulae were discovered within the early apsidal building; three more, accompanied by a leaf-shaped spear tip and a bronze vase grip, were discovered inside the subsequent one. In addition, inside the early building, a long bone object was discovered, decorated with incised circles. Another one was discovered (with no stratigraphic context information) in the earth dump of the excavation. The function of these needle-like objects remains unclear, but it is most likely that they served as decorative elements for clothing or parts of jewellery.⁹⁶⁴

Sanctuary: the Cemetery 'Heron': Lamb's original reports were focused on the apsidal buildings; the tomb clusters that were brought to light southeast of the acropolis remained essentially unpublished until the death of the researcher, at which point the notes and files pertaining to Antissa were collected and preserved in the archives of the British School of Archaeology. Based on the information contained in these files, N. Spencer interpreted a small structure, discovered in the Antissa cemeteries, as religious in function.

A small temenos-like enclosure had been constructed around two cist graves ('Graves VD', in Lamb's records). Of this enclosure, only two wall sections were preserved, to a height of a single course, north and east of the graves. South and west of the graves, the limits of the temenos were marked only by simple irregular stones [Figure 182].

The two graves had been looted; only one of them retained its stone sema. It is impossible to securely date the two graves (they may date as far back as the LBA); however, the discovery of a late 8th-century pot burial touching the immediate south of the temenos

⁹⁶⁴ Lamb 1931/2, 62-63.

enclosure offers an uncertain *terminus ante quem* for its construction. A cantharoid grey ware vessel was discovered under the pot burial; bronze fibulae, the head of a bronze Geometric horse figurine, and pottery of the 7th, 6th, and 5th centuries were unearthed around the pot burial and inside the temenos. Moreover, a large amount of loom weights and pairs of small clay feet with suspension holes (possibly votive offerings) were discovered near the eastern wall of the temenos [Figure 183]. Those finds are not related to any of the burials, and could be linked to the temenos itself.⁹⁶⁵

48. **Apothiki**

Location and Topography: The massive terrace of Apothiki (also known as ‘Kalochtisto’ and ‘Rodotoichos’) is located on the western coast near the entrance of the Kalloni Gulf, in a small seasonal stream valley immediately to the north of the modern village of Apothikes [Figure 51].

Viewshed: The terrace overlooks the mouth of the Kalloni Gulf and the small island of Agios Georgios; but its location in a stream valley blocks line of sight towards the majority of the Kalloni Gulf. The slopes of the hill towards the west also limit the oversight of the island hinterland. In total, the site viewshed is quite limited.

Sanctuary: The most prominent feature of the site is a lesbian masonry wall (preserved to a height of up to 5 m at places), supporting a massive (58 m x 42 m) artificial terrace to its west. Other features, such as a large ramp towards the south-west and a secondary lesbian masonry wall on the terrace itself, are also visible to the modern observer [Figure 184].

⁹⁶⁵ Spencer 1995 (ii), 51-52; also 56-57.

Pottery and other finds from the site have not been published, but early reports and surface surveys indicate the presence of Archaic material, possibly 7th-century in date. Koldewey (and, later, Spencer) agree that the most likely interpretation of the site is as an Archaic sanctuary terrace. If that is true, Apothiki must have been one of the earliest monumental cult sites in Lesbos.⁹⁶⁶

49. Arisbe

Location and Topography: The low, fortified hill of Palaiokastros is located ca. 1.5 km to the north-east of modern Kalloni, on the central Kalloni plain [Figure 9, Figure 52].

Viewshed: The site overlooks most of the western Kalloni plain and the northern part of the Kalloni Gulf, but low hills occlude most of the eastern shore of the gulf (including Pyrrha). The same hills also occlude what today is the Agia Paraskevi and Nape area, i.e. the entirety of the eastern and north-eastern part of the Kalloni plain.

Settlement: It is generally accepted in past bibliography that the hill served as the acropolis of ancient Arisbe,⁹⁶⁷ but it must be noted that almost no Archaic material has been discovered on site. Bayne (and, to a degree, Spencer) have expressed some doubts about this view, pointing out that the identification of Palaiokastros as Arisbe took place mostly by a process of elimination and because of the apparent lack of any satisfactory alternatives.⁹⁶⁸ The surviving fortification wall mostly belongs to the Byzantine period (mortared stone), but there are still stretches of substantial (up to 2 m thick) Lesbian masonry fortifications preserved along the wall circuit. On the eastern slopes of the hill, some remains of undateable

⁹⁶⁶ Koldewey 1890, 38, 43-44; Spencer 1995 (iii), 28 with bibliography.

⁹⁶⁷ See Spencer 1995 (iii), 25-26 with previous bibliography.

⁹⁶⁸ Bayne 1963, 118, 246; Spencer 1995 (iii), 25-26.

housing are preserved. Today they are mostly destroyed, but Koldewey's drawings depict them as rectangular with transverse walls and one or two internal subdivisions.⁹⁶⁹ Only a few (probably Archaic) incised Grey Ware fragments have been recovered from an informal surface survey.⁹⁷⁰

50. Chalatses

Location and Topography: The settlement lies on a very low rise, 500 m to the north of modern Perama, on the western coast of the Gera Gulf. Part of the ancient settlement (architectural remains of uncertain date) is still visible submerged near the coast. The earliest identified human presence on site (a set of small, 'Mycenean-type' cups) dates to the MBA, and specifically the MM III phase; in contrast, the earliest architectural remains date to the LBA (probably the early 13th century), with successive EIA, Archaic, and Classical structures, separated by destruction layers [Figure 9, Figure 53].⁹⁷¹

Viewshed: Although the mouth of the Gera Gulf to the south is occluded by the low hills near Pyrgoi, the settlement in Chalatses is ideally placed to overlook the entirety of the northern and central part of the gulf. It also lies at the end of one of the largest arable plains in eastern Lesbos (the Pappados region), and its viewshed extends to cover a substantial part of it. However, the mountainous Agiasos region to the west blocks all vision to the western hinterland.

Settlement: Only small-scale rescue excavations have taken place on-site; the only evidence pertaining to the EIA / early Archaic periods is a partially uncovered rectangular

⁹⁶⁹ Koldewey 1890, 29-30 and pl. 14.1-3.

⁹⁷⁰ Spencer 1995 (iii), 25-26.

⁹⁷¹ Spencer 1995 (iii), 13-14.

room, with a massive storage pithos placed on a base of small rough stones. The building was completely covered by a destruction layer, containing considerable amounts of Late Geometric pottery, clay roof tiles, and architectural fragments.⁹⁷²

51. Eresos

Location and Topography: The ancient settlement lies under the modern town of Skala Eresou, with the acropolis fortifications on a low hill to the south-east. One of the largest coastal plains of the island, fed by a seasonal stream, extends towards the north. There is evidence for human presence in the site since the Neolithic period,⁹⁷³ but EIA and 7th-century material is limited. Most architectural evidence from Eresos dates from the 6th century onwards, and any potentially earlier finds are not securely dated [Figure 9, Figure 54].

Viewshed: The settlement enjoys oversight of all seaborne approaches to the island from the south / southwest, and also overlooks the entirety of the arable Eresos river plain. Visibility beyond the plain is severely limited and blocked by the relatively high mountain and hill ranges of western Lesbos. It might be necessary to take into account the enclosures / fortifications / installations scattered around the Eresian chora in strategic locations; some of them may have served as outposts and observation installations, to effectively increase the oversight of Eresos over its territory (see below).

Settlement: The crown of the acropolis was fortified during antiquity, from as early as Neolithic times, with a megalithic gate on the northern side of the hill. During the Archaic period, a more extensive fortification wall circuit was constructed in lesbian masonry, encompassing a larger part of the hill. This wall is only partially preserved (mostly in the

⁹⁷² Archontidou-Argyri 1994 (i), 655.

⁹⁷³ Spencer 1995 (iii), 29.

northern slope of the hill as well), but it reaches up to a height of 3 m in places: it apparently served both as a fortification and a terrace / retaining wall. No other EIA or early Archaic buildings are preserved on the acropolis.⁹⁷⁴

Another polygonal masonry wall was discovered running along the banks of the Loggos stream, which traverses the modern settlement from north-east to south-west. It is clearly a terrace wall, possibly also serving to limit seasonal flooding from the stream. Its construction is very much reminiscent of the acropolis walls masonry, and it might be their contemporary; the terrace fill, unfortunately, does not provide any safe dating information. The stratigraphy has been considerably disturbed, and (according to the excavators' reports) contained elements dating up to the Byzantine period.⁹⁷⁵

52. Methymna

Location and Topography: Similarly to Mytilene, only parts of the ancient Methymna settlement have been brought to light, mostly through rescue excavations. The image of the earlier periods of the settlement one can piece together is, therefore, fragmentary, with all the danger that entails regarding the interpretation of the finds.

As at Mytilene, the settlement was organised around the acropolis / 'castle' hill, which lay directly on the coast. The island hinterland to the south-east is, as at Mytilene, characterised by low hills; further to the south, we find the beginning of the long north-eastern / south-western mountain range that covers the entire western part of the island. Small plains dot the coastline, mostly towards the south-west [Figure 9, Figure 55].

⁹⁷⁴ Koldewey 1890, 22-24, pl. 8-10; Spencer 1995 (iii), 29-30

⁹⁷⁵ Archontidou 1993, 420.

Viewshed: Methymna overlooks almost the entirety of the northwestern coastline of Lesbos, up to the Lapsarna cape [Figure 90]. In addition, the south-western coast of the Troad, from the Babakale cape to Assos (and further to the east, depending on the exact observation point) and the northern strait between Lesbos and the Troad all lie firmly within the viewshed of the settlement.

Settlement: A cluster of Late Geometric / early Archaic buildings was found near the modern entrance of the town, under the remains of a Hellenistic cemetery. At least three individual buildings with paved floors of rough unworked stones can be identified, accompanied by two freestanding walls. The early structures are built with mostly polygonal lesbien masonry, and are slightly inclined towards the building interior: they might have served as storage facilities (granaries?). Non-architectural finds from the area include Grey Ware pottery and tools.⁹⁷⁶

Another early building, interpreted by excavators as a storage facility, was discovered further to the west, ca. 150 m north of the harbour, under the remains of a Hellenistic stoa. It contained mostly Grey Ware pottery of everyday use, and dates to the Late Geometric / early Archaic phase.⁹⁷⁷

Surveying and underwater exploration of the modern harbour has shown that the ancient city harbour occupied the exact same area.⁹⁷⁸ In addition, there is evidence of artificial terracing just north of the harbour area, where an Archaic retaining wall built with lesbien masonry was brought to light. The fill of the terrace contains large amounts of Grey

⁹⁷⁶ Tsaravopoulos 1987, 481; Archontidou-Argyri 1988, 463-464; Dellaporta 1998, 779.

⁹⁷⁷ Acheilara 2001-2004, 5.

⁹⁷⁸ Dellaporta 2001-2004, 554.

Ware as well as burnt earth and traces of numerous fires. Several Archaic walls are founded on this terrace: their exact date is uncertain, and might range from the 7th to the 6th century.⁹⁷⁹

Sanctuary: Rescue excavations under the Methymna Health Centre, on the southern slope of the acropolis, brought to light a Hellenistic sanctuary. Excavation reports state that earlier levels yielded a considerable amount of ‘Archaic pottery and figurines’, without, however, providing any further information on their types or date.⁹⁸⁰

53. Mytilene

Location and Topography: As is the case with Thasos, and other settlements where continuous habitation up to the modern times is the norm, the ancient settlement of Mytilene is only partially excavated. Settlement contexts dating to the 7th century or earlier periods have been uncovered haphazardly by rescue excavations in various points. As a result, neither the date of first human occupation (possibly as far back as the LBA) nor the extent of the settlement during the earliest occupation periods can be determined with certainty.

The settlement was clearly centred on the modern ‘castle’ hill / cape which, at the time, was separated from the rest of the island by a narrow channel (the so-called Euripos strait). Towards the west, a range of low hills separates Mytilene from the island hinterland and the Gera Gulf. Towards the north and south, narrow fertile plains extend along the coastline [Figure 9, Figure 56].

Viewshed: The settlement site does not provide any oversight of the island interior beyond the hills to its immediate west. The coastline of Lesbos is only visible up to the Kara

⁹⁷⁹ Archontidou 1991, 368.

⁹⁸⁰ Archontidou 1993, 420.

Tepe cape to the north and modern Neapoli to the south. In contrast, the settlement enjoys a unique view over the Mytilene Strait, between Lesbos and the opposite Asia Minor coast, from the Ayvalik cape to the north down to the Bademli / Denizköy cape to the south.

Settlement: Seventh-century architectural remains have been discovered near the southern harbour, but information regarding them is scarce. Excavation reports only mention the discovery of several walls, accompanied and dated by early Archaic pottery, under subsequent Hellenistic and Byzantine layers.⁹⁸¹ Similar stratigraphy was also discovered further to the east, near the archaeological museum of Mytilene: a cluster of Archaic walls, under Hellenistic layers. In this case, the architectural remains were accompanied by Protogeometric and Late Geometric vessels.⁹⁸²

Further to the west, Archaic Grey Ware was discovered between the harbour and the Profitis Ilias hill. This might argue for habitation on both sides of the Euripos strait during the 7th century, but is not conclusive.⁹⁸³

Finally, part of an early fortification wall was discovered near the western end of the northern harbour, running parallel to the shore. Its precise date is uncertain – there is a possibility that it represents an early attempt to fortify the western part of the settlement.⁹⁸⁴

Sanctuary: Epano Skala: During the years 1986, 1987, and 1993, a sanctuary site was identified and excavated in the modern Epano Skala area of Mytilene (on the settlement isthmus). Initially, the rescue excavation brought to light the corner of a krepis belonging to

⁹⁸¹ Archontidou 1992, 526.

⁹⁸² Archontidou-Argyri 1988, 454-457.

⁹⁸³ Chatzi 1971, 449.

⁹⁸⁴ Charitonidis 1961/2, 261-262.

a large altar or temple (probably 6th-century or later). However, as most of the building extended beyond the limits of the plot in question, it remains unexplored to this day.⁹⁸⁵

North of this structure an earlier apsidal building came to light, its apse oriented towards the south. The walls were built with mud and irregular stones. Three local Gray Ware vessels, along with a Protogeometric amphora and five vessels of domestic use were discovered touching the wall, setting a *terminus ante quem* in the Early Iron Age for the construction of the building. This is also indicated by the pottery dated from the 10th to the 2th century BCE, discovered in a large deposit north of the aforementioned krepis; it is clear that the site hosted ritual activity for an extended time period [Figure 186].⁹⁸⁶

More walls dating to the Geometric period were discovered during the 1993 excavation in the northern part of the plot, but their connection to the apsidal building remains unclear.⁹⁸⁷

Sanctuary: New Archaeological Museum: In 1987, during the building of the new Mytilene Archaeological Museum on the eastern slopes of the early settlement hill, a cult building was discovered near the centre of the plot. Its religious function is clear, given the discovery of an altar – eschara, the remains of a pyre, and a great number of clay figurines. The excavators brought to light two architectural phases of the building, of which the richest in finds dates to the Hellenistic period. Most of the figurines and a larger statue depicting the goddess Aphrodite date to this phase.⁹⁸⁸

⁹⁸⁵ Archontidou-Argyri 1986, 200; Archontidou-Argyri 1987, 477

⁹⁸⁶ Archontidou-Argyri 1987, 477; Spencer 1995 (i), 279

⁹⁸⁷ Archontidou 1993, 410.

⁹⁸⁸ Archontidou-Argyri 1987, 479.

The excavation continued during 1988 and Archaic foundations were discovered under the Hellenistic walls. Several Archaic female figurines were also discovered. However, the finds remain unpublished, and the exact date of the establishment of the cult is unclear.⁹⁸⁹

Sanctuary: Experimental Gymnasium Plot: An oval Archaic building, interpreted by the excavators as a sanctuary, came to light during rescue excavations under the Experimental Gymnasium of the modern city, near the northern coast of the early settlement hill [Figure 187].

The building is oriented north-south, with its one preserved apse in its northern end. Its width tops at 5.5 m; the remains of the long walls do not exceed 8.3 m in length. The interior of the apse is separated by the rest of the interior of the building by a transverse wall, which is preserved to a smaller height than the exterior walls.

Two distinct phases can be identified. The earliest one is best represented in the masonry technique of the western wall and most of the apse, built with small irregular stones and clay. The eastern wall, on the other hand, was built during the second historical phase; it is constructed with lesbien masonry. In its southernmost end, the excavators located the entrance of the building. Northwest of the building, part of an apsidal wall came to light; it was, in all likelihood, part of an earlier, similar building with a slightly different orientation. The southern part of the Archaic building was founded on these early walls, forming a slight, but distinct, ‘kink’ south of the entrance.⁹⁹⁰

⁹⁸⁹ Archontidou-Argyri 1988, 454.

⁹⁹⁰ Chatzi 1973; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 89-91.

Four wells were discovered near the building. They were probably in use from the Archaic period onwards, but the fill of only one of them can be dated securely to Archaic times. Finally, east of the plot, another wall built with Lesbian masonry came to light; it served probably as a terrace retaining wall.

The stratigraphy of the site is very disturbed, leading to relative uncertainty concerning the date of the discovered buildings; however, a 7th-century date for the early building(s) is highly likely, with activity continuing well within the 6th century. Many Grey Ware pottery fragments and vessels as well as Archaic imported wares (including Attic black-figure vases) were brought to light.⁹⁹¹

54. Pyrrha

Location and Topography: The low, flat hill to the east of modern day Achladeri, in the eastern coast of the Kalloni Gulf, served in antiquity as the acropolis of ancient Pyrrha [Figure 91]. The earliest human occupation on-site can be dated by pottery finds dating to at least as far back as the LBA and possibly as far back as the EBA Thermi I phase. The continuity of human habitation is not certain, as no systematic excavation of early settlement contexts has taken place; but the discovery of Protogeometric, Geometric, and Proto-Corinthian pottery on the site seem to indicate that the settlement was occupied throughout the EIA and the early Archaic period, until its time of great prosperity during the 6th century.

Pyrrha lies at the south-eastern end of the Arisbe plain: the largest arable plain of the island. To its south and east, hilly and mountainous terrain lies between it and the Gera Gulf. To its south, coastal plains link the site to Agios Phokas [Figure 9, Figure 57].

⁹⁹¹ Chatzi 1973; Spencer 1995 (i), 296-299.

Viewshed: The island terrain to the east blocks all view towards the island interior in that direction. Unlike the territories of Eresos or Antissa, no enclosures and/or fortifications have been discovered in eastern Lesbos. In contrast, Pyrrha visually dominates the Kalloni Gulf, with clear lines of sight to almost the entire stretch of the coast of the gulf and its southern entrance, near Apothika. Interestingly, this includes a large part of the Alykes and Arisbe plains to the north, but not the acropolis of Arisbe itself, which is occluded by low hills to its south-east.

Settlement: A fortification wall encircles the crown of the hill with, according to Schiering, ‘almost painstaking accuracy’, defending an impressively large area of ca. 95,000 m². The wall had clearly been partly repaired and rebuilt during antiquity: some stretches exhibit ‘carefully constructed isodomic masonry’ the erection of which Schiering places during or after the 5th century. However, there are some remains of earlier construction (mostly located on the northern and north-eastern part of the hill), characterised by polygonal masonry or the employment of large unworked stones. This earlier phase is almost certainly Archaic, and might even date as far back as the 7th century; unfortunately, no excavation of foundation trenches has taken place, and masonry-based dating is unreliable.⁹⁹²

Almost no early pottery from the site has been published, and the limited bibliography available includes only the most minimal information. Only a 7th-century orientalising lebes from the site has been published in any detail,⁹⁹³ but there are records of Protogeometric, Geometric, and Proto-Corinthian vessels.⁹⁹⁴

⁹⁹² Schiering 1989 (i), 340.

⁹⁹³ See Schiering 1989 (ii).

⁹⁹⁴ Schiering 1989 (i), 344.

Cemetery: The Pyrrha cemetery lies on the hill of Geniatu / Achladeri, to the south-west of the settlement; it was identified by surveys (of which the one by Koldewey is the most notable),⁹⁹⁵ but never systematically excavated. Most of the burials found date to the late Archaic and subsequent periods. They are located on the eastern slope of the hill, directly opposite the settlement. Only one EIA burial has been discovered, on the south-western slope of the hill, outside the viewshed of the settlement

This EIA burial (a pot burial in a Protogeometric vessel) has yielded only a fragmented spearhead; the only weapon reported to have been found in EIA funerary contexts on Lesbos. Near the burial, several fragments of Grey Ware pottery were discovered; this is consistent with the Grey Ware vessels found near graves in Antissa.⁹⁹⁶

Sanctuary: Building A: Schiering confirmed the discovery of two cult buildings at Pyrrha, which had also been mentioned by Boehlau.⁹⁹⁷ One of these buildings (Building A) had at least four distinct phases, of which the two earliest ones date from the 8th century until the early 6th century. The second building (Building B) lies to the south of Building A, and dates from the 6th century onwards: it lies, therefore, outside the timeframe of this study [Figure 189].

The first phase of Building A is preserved only in an apsidal wall at the south-western end of the subsequent building remains. In all probability, the building was apsidal or oval,

⁹⁹⁵ Koldewey 1891, 28; see also Schiering 1989 (i), 340-342 for previous surveys and bibliography.

⁹⁹⁶ Acheilara 1986, 202-203

⁹⁹⁷ Note that Schiering (1989 (i), 350) declares Boehlau's original drawings of the buildings 'not entirely accurate' ('nicht ganz zuverlässig').

and its north-eastern side was destroyed before or during the construction of the second architectural phase.⁹⁹⁸

This early apsidal wall is only preserved to a height of three courses. Its exterior face was built with finely dressed stone blocks, but its interior face was constructed with irregular stone fragments ('Bruchsteine' according to Schiering), giving the impression of a more makeshift and rough building technique. It is possible that the higher courses of the wall were built with mud brick.⁹⁹⁹

In the centre of the apse, a cylindrical stone base for a wooden roof support was discovered; its location indicates that it probably belonged to the same building phase as the wall. Unfortunately, other bases that would have permitted an estimate of the original dimensions of the building were not discovered.¹⁰⁰⁰

During the second half of the 7th century BCE, a rectangular room replaced the north-eastern end of the apsidal building (Room II). The construction technique, clearly discernible in the transverse wall A, is evidently rougher than that of the apsidal building: the stones forming the remaining courses are of different sizes, and do not fit very well with each other, resulting in an increased number of stone wedges and gap-filling stones between them. It should also be noted that an orthostat (or anta) clearly divides the south-western (wall A) and south-eastern walls of room II from the earlier apsidal wall.

The northern corner of room II is not well-preserved. Boehlau discovered a great stone block at that location, which he interpreted as a threshold. In the same stratigraphic

⁹⁹⁸ Schiering 1989 (i), 363-365.

⁹⁹⁹ Schiering 1989 (i), 348-353.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Schiering 1989 (i), 351-352.

level as this threshold and within the south-western apse, a stone-paved floor came to light. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the rooms I and II were both in use during the second architectural phase.¹⁰⁰¹

55. Vatera / Agios Phokas

Location and Topography: The site of Agios Phokas has shown evidence of habitation dating back to at least the EBA period, but its periods of prominence correspond to a Hellenistic / Roman sanctuary of Dionysus in the site, followed by an Early Byzantine basilica whose remains are still visible today. The site lies at the end of a long cape west of modern Vatera [Figure 9, Figure 58, Figure 92].

Viewshed: The site overlooks the entirety of the Vatera / Melinta coastline to the east and the entrance of the Kalloni Gulf to the west. Its suitability as an observation point is evident from the fact that a Classical watchtower was erected on the site, south-east of the basilica location.

Settlement: The excavations by Chatzi mostly yielded material of Classical and later times, but surface surveys on the southern end of the cape and its slopes recovered EBA pottery and Late Geometric incised Grey Ware.¹⁰⁰² Spencer argues for an early (Archaic) predecessor of the subsequent cult, but there is no evidence whatsoever for early cult activity. In addition, traces of an (undated) small ancient harbour were found to the east of the cape, where a granite mole and fragmentary columns are still visible.¹⁰⁰³

¹⁰⁰¹ Schiering 1989 (i), 353-354.

¹⁰⁰² Chatzi 1972 (ii), 599.

¹⁰⁰³ Spencer 1995 (iii), 17.

56. Enclosures

Grouped in this category, I include all small installations, fortifications, and enclosure walls that occupy isolated locations (i.e. outside the immediate vicinity of known poleis) in the western half of Lesbos. Note that no such EIA or early Archaic installations exist in the eastern half of the island. Very few (if any at all) of those installations have been excavated, or studied beyond a simple survey / topographical study. By extension, dating them is problematic. In many cases, their dating depends on the masonry techniques and/or the dimensions and the layout of the architectural remains.

Location and Topography: More than 30 such installations have been discovered in the chorae of Eresos, Antissa, and (to a lesser extent) Arisbe. Discussing them all in detail is impossible in the scope of this thesis; a full catalogue of reported sites can be found in Nigel Spencer's more focused work. Only the most general characteristics, common in most installations, will be discussed below; specific sites of high importance and their interpretation are addressed in more detail, as case studies, in the relevant chapters above.

No early enclosures have been discovered in the eastern half of the island: the easternmost such known enclosure lies in Agia Soteira, to the immediate east of modern Kapi. Another enclosure (Drakou Pidima) lies to the north-east of modern Napi. Two more (Kalogera, Damandri) are located in what we presume to be the territory of Pyrrha, and the remaining ones are all located west of Arisbe, in territory controlled by Eresos, Antissa or Methymna.¹⁰⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰⁴ Spencer 1993, fig. 3.1 1995 (iii), 56-58.

Settlement: In general, such installations are located more than 3 km away from major settlement centres. They consist of an enclosure wall, usually preserved to a low height of only a few courses,¹⁰⁰⁵ which usually surrounds a modest area of a few hundred square metres. In some cases, the enclosures contain a single interior building, either free-standing, or integrated into the enclosure wall circuit. Wall thickness ranges from 1 to 2.5 m, and does not appear to be linked to enclosure size; any internal structures had considerably thinner walls. Walls are usually built with lesbien masonry [Figure 190, Figure 191]; as noted above, due to lack of safe dating criteria, masonry techniques are used to identify and date such enclosures. The risk of circular reasoning is fully acknowledged in that regard; unfortunately, given the currently available evidence, this risk is unavoidable.¹⁰⁰⁶

Asia Minor

57. Antandros

Location and Topography: The settlement of Antandros extends over the western slope of a gently sloping hill, to the east of modern Altinoluk, in the south-eastern coast of the Troad [Figure 93]. The site selection is very much reminiscent of Assos, i.e. a sea-side settlement with a nearby acropolis hill and no evident natural harbour. However, Antandros lacks a nearby arable plain such as the Satniois plain near Assos, and is only flanked by very narrow coastal plains [Figure 11, Figure 59].

Viewshed: Similarly to Assos, Antandros mostly overlooks the surrounding coastal area instead of the hinterland, as the mountainous terrain blocks line-of-sight beyond a few

¹⁰⁰⁵ Excepting the fortifications in Xirokastrini and the monumental terrace in Apothika, no enclosure wall exceeds 1.3 m in preserved height (Spencer 1993, 134-135).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Spencer 1993, 85 onwards.

kilometres to the north. Furthermore, the Akçay – Edremit river plain is mostly occluded by low hills 1 km to the east of Antandros. However, Antandros dominates the Adramyttian Gulf. Visibility extends as far east as Assos and the north-eastern coastline of Lesbos; to the south, the entire Asia Minor coastline, from modern Bahçelievler to Ayvalık and its nearby island cluster is visible.

Settlement: As with Assos, the settlement appears to have flourished from the 4th century onwards, while earlier layers have been mostly represented by funerary contexts. Recent work on the site has uncovered some earlier (8th- and 7th-century) material in possible settlement / domestic contexts, but none of this material is published, and preliminary reports only provide limited information.

Early layers and architectural remains have been found next to the mouth of the seasonal stream at the extreme western end of the hill slope, near the modern Çanakkale-İzmir highway and the cemetery area. Eighth-century architectural remains have been discovered under Classical (5th-4th century) and late Archaic (6th-century) layers, and are reported to have been repurposed / integrated in subsequent buildings.¹⁰⁰⁷

Ca. 200 m to the north-east of this sector, recent works have also uncovered what is suspected to have been the outskirts of a 3rd-century sanctuary area, with an earlier 7th- and 6th-century occupation phase. The settlement is documented by Archaic pottery (of unreported types) and the still only partially uncovered remains of what might have been stone bench structures.¹⁰⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰⁷ Polat & Polat 2005, 93.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Polat *et al.* 2009, 3-4.

The acropolis has not been systematically excavated, and no early material from it is published.

Cemetery: The cemetery of ancient Antandros is located almost 1 km to the west of the ancient settlement acropolis. Unfortunately, neither a plan of the excavation nor any other layout information for the Antandros necropolis has been published. However, the information available from excavation reports makes it clear that, unlike early Archaic Assos, graves were often placed on top of earlier ones (often damaging them). Therefore, either the earlier graves were not well-marked or their preservation was not a priority (e.g. because of lack of cemetery space). As an example, the earliest grave in the cemetery (Grave 192) was partially destroyed by the early 7th-century cremation pit no. 171 [Figure 192].¹⁰⁰⁹ Furthermore, early Archaic graves did not share a common orientation¹⁰¹⁰, and no grave markers are reported: this indicates that the Antandros cemetery differed from Assos in layout and space organisation.

The necropolis was excavated in two phases (one during the early 1990s and one from 2001 to 2009), but the early reports provide very little information.¹⁰¹¹ Thankfully, the reports relating to the 2000s excavations are considerably more thorough. More than 300 graves, dating from the end of the 8th century to Hellenistic and Roman times, were unearthed; 143 have been dated as Archaic,¹⁰¹² and at least 48 belong to the 7th century.¹⁰¹³

¹⁰⁰⁹ Polat 2013, 192; See also the Antandros Excavation Website: <http://www.antandros.org/sectors/nekropolis.html> (visited 22 March 2015).

¹⁰¹⁰ Polat 2013, 192.

¹⁰¹¹ The Archaic graves found during the early excavations have been studied by Aytekin Üney in his MA thesis (Üney A, *Antandros Melis Nekropolisi Arkaik Dönem Mezarları*, 2004 – Izmir University); this thesis and the relevant material remain unpublished.

¹⁰¹² Polat 2013, 192.

¹⁰¹³ 14 cremations, nine cremation burials, 25 (child) pot burials (Polat & Polat 2005, 96-98).

Differentiating between 7th- and 6th-century graves is difficult, partially due to the evident continuity in funerary practices.¹⁰¹⁴

Cremation of the dead was the rule for all adults.¹⁰¹⁵ This includes both pit cremations and cremation burials, in vessels such as chytrae, belly-handled amphorae, and at least one olpe. Children (under 6 years old) were inhumed in enchytrismoι among the adults; in this, Antandros differs notably from what we know of contemporary Assos. No specific type of burial vessel is predominant: among the published 25 child burials, amphorae, hydriae, chytra cauldrons, pithoi, and pithos-amphorae are all repeatedly encountered. At the time of writing, no complete catalogue of graves has been published, to my knowledge.

Less than half of the 7th-century graves are reported to contain grave goods. Cremations hold most of the offerings, but none are comparable to the late 7th-century Hephaestia elite graves.

Pottery from the cemetery includes locally produced Red- and Grey Ware, used as both urns and grave offerings. Drinking vessels in graves appear to be rarer than in other contemporary cemeteries: only one Subgeometric kantharoid cup is reported in the adult cremation 171 [Figure 192], a banded skyphos in the cremation burial 146, and two miniature cups in the child pot burials 136 and 160. Imported pottery is, likewise, limited: only two Proto-Corinthian aryballoi have been discovered (Graves 137 and 152). Nevertheless, a single (probably locally produced) Corinthianising aryballos / miniature lekythos was

¹⁰¹⁴ The earliest reported changes in funerary typology date to the second half of the 6th century (with the introduction of Clazomenian sarcophagi and adult pithos inhumations) (Polat 2013, 192).

¹⁰¹⁵ Polat & Polat 2005, 93-99; Polat 2013, 192.

discovered (Grave 171), which might that the contemporary Corinthian pottery had some influence over the local workshops.¹⁰¹⁶

Arced fibulae (often with spherical ornaments) are the commonest metal finds from the cemetery. Even so, only 14 are reported from four different adult graves (Graves 143, 149, 159, and 171). A pair of bronze tweezers (Grave 143), a bronze ring, and a small collection of beads (both found in pot burial 137) are the only other reported metal offerings.¹⁰¹⁷ No weapons were discovered.

58. Assos

Location and Topography: The settlement of Assos occupies a steep hill on the southwestern coast of the Troad, directly opposite the northern coast of Lesbos. To its north, the narrow river plain of the Satniois / Tuzla River stretches towards the west. Further to the north / north-east, a range of low foothills develops into the steep Ida mountain massif [Figure 11, Figure 60].

From the 6th century onwards, the settlement extended south of the acropolis hill, towards the sea side. The still visible zig-zagging fortification curtain wall extending from the acropolis towards the east and west dates to the 4th century, but a 6th-century road, that runs parallel and close to its late Classical counterpart and leads through the western gate, seems to indicate that the paths of access to the settlement and its entrances had not changed significantly since the Archaic period.

¹⁰¹⁶ Polat & Polat 2005, 96-98.

¹⁰¹⁷ Polat & Polat 2005, 96-98.

Viewshed: The acropolis overlooks the fertile but narrow river valley to its immediate north, but offers no visibility further inland because of the mountainous terrain of the southern Troad. In contrast, it enjoys an exceptional view over the Methymna strait (ironically, a better view than Methymna itself). The entirety of the northern coast of Lesbos is clearly visible, as is the strait and the Asia Minor coastline to the east, including Antandros, the Edremit plain and, weather permitting, the small settlement at Trikopi Çiftlik [Figure 94].

Settlement: Although the cemetery in front of the gates and the 4th-century city wall indicates the presence of a relatively affluent settlement (or, at least, a local affluent population group) from the 7th century onwards,¹⁰¹⁸ no such early material is preserved from within the settlement limits. All architectural remains from within the city (housing, the acropolis temple, the aforementioned road) date from the 6th century onwards. Earlier contexts may have been destroyed by subsequent activity.

Cemetery: The 7th-century burials found at Assos are all located between an Archaic paved road and a subsequent Hellenistic road to its east, immediately outside the western gate of the city. The area was used as a cemetery from the Archaic period until well into the Roman Imperial period,¹⁰¹⁹ and graves of different periods are found densely packed over the ca. 1,300 m² which was excavated during the 1980s and 1990s [Figure 193].

The Assos cemetery yielded more than 120 Archaic graves, of which 12 can be safely dated to the second half of the 7th century and 47 to the transition to the 6th century. Like

¹⁰¹⁸ Clarke *et al.* 1902, 221-293 (particularly 293, fig. 1-4) for the first, early 20th-century excavations in the cemetery; Utili 1999 in general for the main publication and particularly catalogue entries CXk3/Fst1=GR10 (356), DXf/6/ Fst35=GR50 (357), and DXg/6/Fst39=GR56 (357); also Stupperich 1990; 1992; 1993; 1996; 2006 for early and post-publication excavation reports.

¹⁰¹⁹ The monumental tomb of Publius Varius, on the 'Street of Tombs' was dated by Clarke *et al.* (1902, 226-28) to the 2nd century AD.

Abdera and Antandros, continuity in burial forms from the 7th to the first half of the 6th century is evident; however, new types of burials (adult pithos burials, child enchytrismoι, *in situ* primary cremations) are also introduced during the early years of the 6th century.¹⁰²⁰

The first impression upon study of the site plans is that of a conventional flat cemetery, with closely spaced graves on a common orientation, evenly distributed over the entirety of the excavated space. This is true for graves dating to the late Archaic and Classical / Hellenistic periods. However, if one isolates the graves dating to the 7th century (and the 7th- to 6th-century transition), evident clustering towards the east of the cemetery space becomes obvious [Figure 193]. Twenty-eight (significantly more than half) of the early Archaic cremations and cremation burials were found in a small 25 m² area (sectors DXf5 – EXa10), with another 12 cremation burials immediately to their south-east (sectors DI – EI), as part of a looser cluster. The remaining early Archaic graves were found distributed across the cemetery as single graves or two-grave clusters.

Many of the DXf5 – EXa10 and DI – EI graves were arranged in rows which run perpendicular to the nearby road. Three such rows contained 16 of the early cremation burials.¹⁰²¹ The stelae marking several of the cremation burials would have made the layout of the cemetery evident to contemporary observers.

The vast majority of cremations are secondary contexts (i.e. the cremation itself took place elsewhere; the ashes were then collected and buried without a burial vessel, in a small

¹⁰²⁰ See Utili 1999 (particularly 356-363) for a detailed publication and catalogue of the Archaic burials; Stupperich 2006, 19-24 for further excavations on the necropolis and more mid and late Archaic burials and cremations.

¹⁰²¹ The custom of placing cremation burials in rows persisted into the 6th century. At least four 6th-century burials were either integrated into pre-existing rows, or formed new ones (in the EI sector). See Utili 1999, 115.

stone-framed pit).¹⁰²² The area where the cremations took place was found in sector DI, quite near the DXf5 – EXa10 and DI – EI clusters. The area is clear of any early burials, and contains multiple layers of ash, coal and burnt bone fragments: in all likelihood, its use was reserved only for the cremation of the dead as near to the cemetery itself as possible.¹⁰²³

Following the cremation, part of the ensuing ash and a small portion of the bones would be retrieved and placed either in a stone-framed pit or in a burial vessel. Unfortunately, the burnt skeletal remains which were recovered are rarely sufficient to reveal information regarding the sex or age of the deceased. In fact, the scarcity of skeletal material has led Uthli to the conclusion that either the pyres were particularly thorough in cremating the bodies or that very little of the actual remains was recovered from the funeral pyres for subsequent burial.¹⁰²⁴ In any case, the cemetery has yielded no 7th-century pot inhumations (neither child nor adult burials), and the only safely identified 7th-century infant burials are two small cist graves, found near the cremation burial clusters.¹⁰²⁵ This apparent lack of child pot burials (enchytrismoι), such as those found at e.g. Antandros, seems to indicate that children were cremated, as is also the case at Hephaestia.¹⁰²⁶

The most common types of cremation burial vessels in Assos are Grey Ware amphorae, but other shapes (trefoil oinochoae and Grey Ware jugs) are also encountered

¹⁰²² See below, p. 416. A single exception to the above, the so-called ‘Primary’ Cremation Grave (‘Primäres Brandgrab’), dating to the first half of the 6th century, was found far to the south of the DXf5 – EXa10 and DI – EI clusters, in the CIX sector. The cremation of the deceased (a young woman) took place *in situ*. The grave was the richest in burial offerings in the Archaic cemetery, containing more than 40 pottery vessels (including lekythoi, aryballoi, and lekaneae), jewellery, clothing decorated with glass beads (which had been fused together by the heat of the cremation), bronze drinking vessels, clay lamps, and five figurine lekythoi. The excavators identify the deceased as a ‘[...] wife or daughter of a rich person’ or as a hetaira (Uthli 1999, 122-126).

¹⁰²³ Uthli 1999, 113-114.

¹⁰²⁴ Uthli 1999, 114.

¹⁰²⁵ Uthli 1999, 127-128.

¹⁰²⁶ See above, p. 366.

[Figure 194].¹⁰²⁷ The mouths of the urns were covered by drinking vessels (skyphoi, carinated cups, Bird- and Rosette-Bowls, and even bronze phialae) [Figure 195, Figure 196]. Cremation burial vessels were placed upright and marked by low, undecorated stelae.¹⁰²⁸

Unlike Antandros, changes in funerary typology take place in Assos during the earliest years of the 6th century. Firstly, a single *in situ* cremation (remarkably rich in grave offerings) was excavated to the north-west of the 7th-century cremation burial clusters, some distance away from the already established cremation grounds.¹⁰²⁹ Secondly, pot burials are introduced for both adults and children.¹⁰³⁰ However, despite the introduction of new funerary customs, there is no obvious break in continuity: cremations and cremation burials remain in use well into the 6th century.¹⁰³¹

By contrast to Abdera and Hephaestia, where a significant percentage of the discovered burials were devoid of grave offerings, in the cemetery of Assos nearly every 7th-century cremation and cremation burial contained at least one pottery vessel or other offering. On the other hand, the maximum number of offerings per grave is quite low, especially in comparison to the contemporary graves of e.g. Hephaestia: the cremation DXf/6 – GR 50, the richest 7th-century funerary assemblage found at Assos, only contained a total of six vessels.¹⁰³²

¹⁰²⁷ Utili 1999, 114-122.

¹⁰²⁸ Utili 1999, 115-116.

¹⁰²⁹ Utili 1999, 122-126. Also, see above, p. 415, n. 1022.

¹⁰³⁰ Utili 1999, 128-136.

¹⁰³¹ See Utili 1999, 355-363, for a comprehensive list of the discovered Archaic burial contexts, their short description, and their dating.

¹⁰³² Utili 1999, 357.

The vast majority of pottery recovered from 7th-century graves at Assos is Aeolian Grey Ware (Bucchero amphorae and chytrae), although Bird Bowls, Rosette Bowls, Maeander-skyphoi, and North Ionian bowls with multiple horizontal bands (similar to those found in Abdera)¹⁰³³ are also encountered.¹⁰³⁴ Corinthian pottery (mostly aryballoi) is present, but mainly in contexts of the early 6th century onwards.¹⁰³⁵ Many of the aforementioned bowls and drinking vessels (most of them of relatively high quality) were employed as makeshift lids for cremation vessels, thereby serving a practical function while also being a grave offering of some value.¹⁰³⁶

The 7th-century graves have yielded no weapons or blades; in general, very few metal finds belong to this early period, including jewellery. Only three bronze fibulae, of Phrygian type, were recovered from 7th-century cremations.¹⁰³⁷ Slightly more common are bronze omphalos-bowls, used as lids of cremation burial vessels in a manner similar to the aforementioned pottery drinking vessels and bowls. They were, in all likelihood, employed as a more materially valuable alternative to such vessels.¹⁰³⁸

Finally, of some interest are the finds from the two child cist graves (DX GR57; EI GR17) found in the area of the cremations / cremation burials. Both graves contained two burials, and this is reflected in the burial assemblages. The earliest grave (DX GR57; ca. 630 BCE) contained two Bird Bowls, two additional small vessels (a lekythos and a miniature

¹⁰³³ See above, p. 334.

¹⁰³⁴ Utili 1999, 111-119 and 356-359, pl. 1-3.

¹⁰³⁵ Utili 1999, 53-63. One exception is the Transitional / Early Corinthian aryballos found in the cremation CX k/3 GR10, which dates to the final years of the 7th century (Utili 1999, 356). Another aryballos was found in one of the two child cist graves, with a contextual date of ca. 600 BCE (see below, p.418).

¹⁰³⁶ Utili 1999, 114.

¹⁰³⁷ Specifically, from cremations BVIII i/5 Fst.2; DX f/6 GR45; DX GR53 (Utili 1999, 356-357).

¹⁰³⁸ Cremation burials CVIII b/2 Fst.2; DI i/8 GR58; DX f/8 GR17; DX h/6 GR26; DX GR37; DX k/10 GR39; DX h/8 GR44; EI b/2 GR2 (Utili 1999, 356-359).

amphora), and a lead ring. The second grave (EI GR17; ca. 600 BCE) contained two drinking vessels (a North Ionian Bowl with groups of parallel horizontal bands and a Banded Cup), an aryballos, and a pair of earrings.¹⁰³⁹ It is important to note that the child graves had received burial offerings comparable in type and material value to those of adult cremation burials.

59. Çevrim Tepe

Location and Topography: The site lies near modern Pınarbaşı, on top of a hill at the northern end of the so-called ‘Araplar Strait’, i.e. the location where the Scamander leaves the mountainous central Troad and its southern / central river valley, and reaches the north-western river plain [Figure 10, Figure 11, Figure 61].

Viewshed: The hill overlooks the near-entirety of the north-western Troad and the Scamander river plain. It also overlooks a major bend of the Scamander, at the mouth of the Araplar strait, but not the Scamander river valley, further to the south / south-east [Figure 95].

Settlement: Akarca reports two lines of fortifications, of which only one, built with irregular stones at the top of the hill, was visible on my visit to the site. The dating of the site is problematic; the official catalogues of the TAY site listing project mark it as an Archaic site, but the only referenced material dates to the 4th century, recovered from the western slope of the hill.¹⁰⁴⁰ Early occupation of the site would not have been unreasonable as the benefits it offers are immediately clear upon visiting: it enjoys an unrivalled view over the

¹⁰³⁹ Utili 1999, 127-128.

¹⁰⁴⁰ See the TAY Project entry on the site:

([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=10636&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=10636&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web) ; Last accessed 10 February 2017).

entirety of the Scamander plain, up to the Sigeion ridge, and also controls the entrance to the Araplar Strait and any river traffic on the Scamander. Nevertheless, to my knowledge, there is no evidence to support this early a date for the site, with the possible exception of the construction techniques used for the fortification wall. This wall differs greatly from known isodomic 4th-century and Hellenistic fortifications of the region, but bears similarities to the collapsed, probably 6th-century, Archaic fortifications of Lamponia and Gargara on the southern coast of the Troad.¹⁰⁴¹

60. Elaious

Location and Topography: The acropolis of ancient Elaious lies at the western end of the Chersonese, at the exact location of the monument to the dead of 1915, near the modern village of Eski-Hissarlik. A wide bay, at some point during antiquity converted into a harbour, lies to the west of the acropolis. The city cemetery lies on the northern slopes of the acropolis. The site is surrounded by arable plains and low hills, which are still extensively cultivated today [Figure 10, Figure 62].

Viewshed: Elaious overlooks the Dardanelles strait and the opposite Troad coast, including the mouth of the Scamander River and the northern end of the Sigeion ridge [Figure 96]. On the Chersonese itself, it also overlooks the arable plains to its immediate west, but low hills occlude the areas towards the north and east.

¹⁰⁴¹ One possible difference between Çevrim Tepe and the southern fortifications is the size of the stones used. On my visit, I found the remains of the fortifications to be remarkably similar at all three sites, with partly destroyed stretches of polygonal masonry flanking a core of rubble and small stones. Clarke (1888, 298-301), on the other hand, reports remains that are considerably more massive than anything I could see on the southern sites.

Settlement: No excavations have taken place on the acropolis, and the extent of the ancient settlement remains unclear. The graves, on the other hand, have yielded material dating to the last quarter of the 7th century (specifically, pottery of Corinthian origin). It must be noted that very little (in fact almost no) pottery of Ionian, Aeolic, or Thracian origin is reported, and that the exact contexts of the early material are not known. It is possible that 7th-century pottery was only present in 6th-century contexts, and that the settlement was founded later than the earliest recovered material.¹⁰⁴²

61. Hamaxitus

Location and Topography: We place the ancient settlement of Hamaxitus on the site of Besik Tepe, which lies on the coast to the west of modern Gülpınar. The site consists of a long coastal hill / ridge, falling off steeply towards the west, not unlike the Sigeion ridge in the north-western Troad. There have been alternative placements of the ancient Hamaxitus settlement (most notably by Leaf, in the Göztepe cape, further to the south),¹⁰⁴³ but Cook's identification is more widely accepted, and will be employed in this study.¹⁰⁴⁴ There is considerable confusion regarding the bibliography of the site: the TAY site listing adopts Leaf's placement, but assigns the material recovered by Cook from Besik Tepe to the site [Figure 11, Figure 63].¹⁰⁴⁵

Viewshed: The hill overlooks a considerable stretch of the coast of the western Troad towards the north, as well as the southern coast of Tenedos. The north-western part of the

¹⁰⁴² Waiblinger 1978, 843-857; see also Loukoupoulou 2004 (ii), 906 for a compilation of bibliography on the cemetery excavations and recovered material.

¹⁰⁴³ Leaf 1912, 23.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Cook 1973, 228-235; 1988, 15.

¹⁰⁴⁵ See the TAY Project entry on the site: ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=9542&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=9542&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web;); Last accessed 10 February 2017).

Tuzla (ancient Satniois) river plain is also visible from Besik Tepe, but the central and southern areas of this plain are occluded by a small cluster of hills to the east of Hamaxitus. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, in antiquity, outposts were installed there to secure oversight of the entirety of the arable area, but no evidence of such structures has been discovered.

Settlement: The site has not been excavated, but Cook, in his survey of the hill, identified Grey Ware and Ionian banded /striped pottery dating back to the 7th and in some cases possibly as early as the 8th century.¹⁰⁴⁶ Once again, safely datable contexts do not exist, and surface material can only be tentatively used to date human occupation of the site.

62. Hatipler Kalesi

Location and Topography: The site consists of a fortified hilltop, ca. 1.5 km to the southwest of Esentepe; it lies at the eastern limit of Mt Merdivenli. The Caicus (Bakırçay) river plain extends towards the east; towards the north, small hills are followed by a narrow coastal plain, opposite the eastern Lesbos coast. Hatipler Kalesi has not been excavated, but was surveyed by Pirson in 2009 [Figure 12, Figure 64].

Viewshed: The hill overlooks the Caicus river valley to the east and the modern Dikili / Kabakum area to the north. The mouth of the Caicus is obscured by an eastern spur of the Merdivenli massif, as are the settlements of Pitane and Elaia to the south.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Cook 1973, 231-232.

Settlement: The fortification walls have been tentatively dated to the Classical period [Figure 97], but the pottery collected from the site dates ‘from the Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic period’, which argues for continuous habitation.¹⁰⁴⁷

63. Kalanuro Tepe

Location and Topography: Kalanuro Tepe lies near the eastern mouth of the Hellespont, nearly 8 km to the south-west of Gallipoli. It is located on a low, embankment-like rise, on the southern coast of the Chersonese, at the southernmost end of the Gallipoli bay. Arable plains and low hills surround the settlement; the Gallipoli bay provides a natural harbour [Figure 10, Figure 65].

Viewshed: Kalanuro Tepe overlooks the Gallipoli bay to the north / north-east, the opposite Asia Minor coast of the straits (i.e. the Lampsakos region), and the eastern end of the Hellespont. It also enjoys oversight of the surrounding arable region to the east / south-east and north, but nearby hills occlude most of the Chersonese hinterland and its northern coast.

Settlement: The site was only surveyed in 1982. Collected surface pottery indicates continuous habitation on the site from the EBA / Troy I period to the Classical period. Early Iron Age pottery is also reported to have been recovered from the site in the TAY site listing, although no further details are provided.¹⁰⁴⁸

¹⁰⁴⁷ Pirson 2012, 241. See also the TAY Project entry on the site: ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=11620&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=11620&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web) ; Last accessed 10 February 2017).

¹⁰⁴⁸ See the TAY Project entry on the site: ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=8896&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=8896&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web) ; Last accessed 10 February 2017).

64. Larisa / Liman Tepe

Location and Topography: The site of Liman Tepe lies by the western coastline of the Troad, 1 km to the south of the mouth of the Kösedere River. It consists of an oval tell-like low hill, nearly 250 m in length, which rises over the plain that extends between the Kösedere and Satniois / Tuzla Rivers. It has been identified as the site of ancient Larisa (Troad) by Calvert¹⁰⁴⁹ and Cook [Figure 11, Figure 66].¹⁰⁵⁰

Viewshed: Liman Tepe overlooks the river plains to its immediate east and the entirety of the curving coastline towards the north, up to modern Dalyan. The southern coast of Tenedos is also visible in its near entirety. The inland regions towards the east are occluded by spurs of the Çigri Dağ. Notably, Neandria, which dominates the northern Çigri Dağ area is not visible from Larisa.

Settlement: The site has not been excavated, but surveys and collection of surface pottery has provided some information on the date of human occupation. The architectural remains reported by early surveys are no longer visible (possibly destroyed by agriculture), but there is pottery as early as Troy III from the site, with Cook noting several examples of 8th- and 7th-century local wares. As with all sites where no actual excavation contexts are available, however, it is difficult to confidently interpret these EIA finds as indications of contemporary occupation, especially since they are considerably outweighed by subsequent (late Archaic and Classical) pottery.¹⁰⁵¹

¹⁰⁴⁹ Calvert 1861, 253-255.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Cook 1973, 218-219.

¹⁰⁵¹ Cook 1973, 218. See also the TAY Project entry on the site:

([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=9899&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=9899&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web) ; Last accessed 10 February 2017).

65. Maydos / Eceabat

Location and Topography: The Eceabat tell is probably the best-explored early site in the Chersonese, being excavated since 2010. It consists of a round mound, with a diameter of almost 200 m and a maximum height of 33 m above sea level. The mound lies inside the modern town, at the eastern end of a large arable plain, flanked by low hills [Figure 10, Figure 67].

Viewshed: The mound overlooks the entirety of the plain to its west, but the line of sight to other inland areas towards the north, west, and south is blocked by hilly terrain. Towards the east, Eceabat overlooks the Çanakkale coastline, and enjoys an uninterrupted view of the opposite coastal plains and the eastern part of the Hellespont.

Settlement: The excavations have focused exclusively on the north-western and western slopes of the mound. They have brought to light evidence dating from the EBA to the Archaic and later periods. The more extensive layers, which also provide most of the uncovered architectural remains correspond to successive occupation phases throughout the Bronze Age. They are succeeded by an EIA / early Archaic phase which is primarily represented by a large oval building with interior transverse wall(s) and a hearth, open areas, and evidence for post-hole structures. No detailed report of the recovered EIA / 7th century pottery exists as yet.¹⁰⁵²

66. Neandria

Location and Topography: Neandria serves as yet another example of a site where the excavation of the settlement contexts has not yielded sufficient evidence to support human

¹⁰⁵² Sazci 2013, 34-37; 2014, 325; 2015, 543.

occupation as early as burial contexts seem to imply. The settlement lies north of the modern Kayacık village, and occupies an extensive area near the northern peaks of the Çigri Dağ mountain range. Signs of clear human activity can be dated with relative safety to the mid 6th century onwards, when e.g. the two known sanctuaries of the city are established [Figure 11, Figure 68].

Viewshed: The site enjoys a unique view over the near-entirety of the Troad. To the north, it overlooks the Scamander plain, up to the Dardanelles. Weather permitting, Imvros (and even Samothrace) are visible near the horizon. To the west, the islands of Tenedos and Lemnos are visible, beyond the western coast of the Troad. To the south, the mountainous terrain blocks line of sight after ca. 10 km, but to the east, Neandria overlooks the near-entirety of the Scamander tributary plains south of the Araplar Strait [Figure 98].

Settlement / Cemetery: Unpublished burial contexts have yielded material that certainly dates as far back as the second half of the 7th century (globular Corinthian aryballoi, Grey Ware etc.).¹⁰⁵³ Bayne, in his study of Grey Ware, while acknowledging that the vessels he was describing belonged to ‘familiar 7th / 6th-century shapes’, opined that the cemeteries must have been founded at the beginning of the 7th century or (in the case of some graves that only contained Grey Ware) as early as the late 8th century.¹⁰⁵⁴ Given the absence of contemporary settlement layers, I find it safer to base our (admittedly tentative) dating of the founding of the settlement on the cemetery artefacts, and place it in the third quarter of the 7th century.

¹⁰⁵³ Koldewey 1891, 14-18.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Bayne 2000, 230-234.

67. (Palai-)Perkote / Bergaz

Location and Topography: The site of Bergaz (or Tabaklar Mahallesi – ‘Potters’ quarter’) lies to the immediate south of modern Umurbey, to the north-east of Çanakkale. The ancient site is located on the southern slopes of the Umurbey sedimentary river plain / valley, which reaches up to the Hellespont coast to the north. Unfortunately, no geomorphological studies have taken place, and the extent of the river plain during antiquity is unknown; the coastline was, in all likelihood, located further to the south [Figure 10, Figure 69].

Viewshed: Bergaz overlooks the entirety of the Umurbey river plain and the opposite Chersonese coastline, including the Kalanuro Tepe hill. Uniquely for a site of the region, however, the nearby coast is completely occluded by the hills that define the river valley.

Settlement: The site has not been excavated, but was surveyed extensively by Arslan, who recovered considerable quantities of surface pottery. This included 7th- and 6th-century material, such as early Grey Ware with *Wellenlinien* decoration, East Greek / orientalising pottery with floral decoration, and Wild Goat Style pottery. The surveyor is confident that the site corresponds to the early location of (Palai-)Perkote, and that the recovered material is sufficient to date human occupation at least as far back as the mid 7th-century.¹⁰⁵⁵

68. Pitane

Location and Topography: Another site at which early occupation is primarily evidenced by burial and not settlement contexts, Pitane is located at the site of modern Çandarlı, on a long promontory to the immediate west of the mouth of the Caicus River and

¹⁰⁵⁵ Arslan 2009, 80-82.

the south of Mt Merdivenli. The promontory is flat, with no clearly discernible acropolis hill. The Caicus river plain lies immediately to the north-east of the site [Figure 12, Figure 70].

Viewshed: The Pitane promontory overlooks the entire Çandarlı Gulf, with the exception of the Elaea bay in its eastern end. Notably, while the Caicus mouth and modern coastline to its immediate east is visible, the rest of the Caicus river plain is occluded by low hills to the east of Pitane. As the changes in the coastline since antiquity have not been explored, it is difficult to determine the extent of control and oversight Pitane possessed over the nearby arable plains.

Settlement: No architectural remains of the early settlement are preserved, and very little early material from the cemeteries is published. Cook reports ‘Late Orientalising’ vessels and primarily 6th-century material,¹⁰⁵⁶ but a Geometric krater and several late 8th / early 7th-century vessels (Dotted Style open vessels and a 7th-century orientalising amphora) from Pitane are listed by Iren.¹⁰⁵⁷ No details regarding stratified contexts are available, so the interpretation of the finds is problematic.

Cemetery: The Pitane necropolis lies to the north of the modern city of Çandarlı; to my knowledge, the exact location of the trenches excavated during the 1912 and 1958-1965 excavations remains unpublished. The area has yielded notable quantities of material dating to the second half of the 7th century, including a large Geometric krater, orientalising dinoi and plates, a Dotted Style amphora, and some Chian vessels of relatively high quality. Unfortunately, the original context of this material remains unknown (as is the extent and exact date of the necropolis). All reported datable assemblages from the late 1950s

¹⁰⁵⁶ Cook & Dupont 1998, 57-61.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Iren 2003, 5-27 and 59-62.

excavation of the Pitane necropolis date to the 6th century, and it is quite possible that 7th-century vessels were re-used as urns or burial offerings for 6th-century graves, not unlike Oisyme.¹⁰⁵⁸

69. Sigeion

Location and Topography: The site of Sigeion lies on a low ridge which runs along the western coastline of the Troad. Surface surveys and excavation works have focused on two successive low coastal hills which fall off sharply towards the Aegean to the west [Figure 10, Figure 71].

Viewshed: Sigeion overlooked the entrance to the Hellespont, and enjoyed an uninterrupted 180-degree field of view over the Aegean and the islands of Imvros and Tenedos to the west. Towards the north, it overlooked the southern coastline of the Chersonese until the Çanakkale strait to the east. Finally, it enjoys clear oversight of the delta of the Scamander and the river plain towards the east (as far as Rhoition) and south-east (up to the Çevrim Tepe acropolis), including Troy, Aianteion, and other sites of the north-western Troad.

Settlement: Ancient architectural remains have been discovered mostly on the northern hill, to the south of the radar station overlooking the Dardanelles. The earliest architectural remains (of which the best preserved ones, in sector D50, consist of a partially preserved rectangular building / courtyard enclosure with a metal furnace and a street surface at the same height level)¹⁰⁵⁹ can be tentatively dated to the Archaic period based on the *terminus ante quem* provided by the subsequent Classical buildings. However, details

¹⁰⁵⁸ Akurgal 1960, 5-6; Iren 2003, 5-27 and 59-62.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Schäfer 2011, 243-244.

regarding the finds recovered from them have not been published, and precisely dating this early settlement phase is impossible based on the currently available information.

The excavators generally report material dating ‘from ca. the 7th to the 4th century’, including part of a Bird Bowl and Aeolian Grey Ware; however, the bulk of the evidence dates from the 6th century onwards.¹⁰⁶⁰ As with Elaious, it is impossible to pinpoint exactly the date of the foundation of the settlement, which could range from the late 7th to the first half of the 6th century.

70. Rhoiteion

Location and Topography: The site is located 2.5 km to the west of modern Intepe, on a high coastal embankment-like hill; this hill is part of a more extensive ‘ridge’ (not unlike the Sigeion ridge, in the western Troad) which reaches from one of the northernmost spurs of the Ida massif towards the west, opposite Elaious. The extensive Simois river plain lies immediately to the south of this ridge; no narrow plains exist near the coast until the mouth of the Scamander [Figure 10, Figure 72].

Viewshed: Rhoiteion overlooks the entirety of the Dardanelles strait, the northern spur of the Sigeion ridge to the west, and part of the Dardanos plain to the east. It also overlooks the entirety of the opposite coastline of the Chersonese, including Elaious, but not Eceabat / Maydos. The Simois valley / river plain to the south of the site is also mostly occluded by hills to the immediate south of Rhoiteion.

Settlement: No excavations have taken place, but the site has been surveyed, with surface pottery finds dating back to the Early and Middle Bronze age being recovered. The

¹⁰⁶⁰ Schäfer 2011, 248.

TAY project only records a single 7th-century Wild Goat Style sherd from the site; based on this evidence, the listing categorises Rhoiteion as a site that ‘had been occupied at earliest [*sic*] from the late 7th century’. In addition, Cook provides us with a few examples of Aeolian Grey Ware (most likely dating to the 8th century) and some orientalising pottery. The lack of an excavation context for the pottery still makes it impossible to discuss occupation phases for the site with any certainty.¹⁰⁶¹

71. Trikopi Çiftlik

Location and Topography: The site is located on the southern coast of the Adramyttian Gulf, to the west of modern Gömeç. It consists of a very low, coastal, tell-like hill, located between the mouths of the two small rivers that flank Gömeç. A small river plain extends towards the east, framed by low hill ranges [Figure 12, Figure 73].

Viewshed: The mound overlooks the entirety of the river plain to the east and the opposite coastline, from Assos to Antandros. The Edremit river plain to the east and the Lesbos coast are, however, both occluded by hilly terrain and the Ayvalık island cluster respectively.

Settlement: The site has not been excavated, but both the hill and the surrounding region were systematically surveyed by E. Beksaç in 1997. The survey recovered material dating from the Chalcolithic period until Late Antiquity. In the reports, considerable emphasis is given to 8th- to 6th-century pottery recovered from the mound itself and the area to its immediate south-west. Eighth-century Grey Ware and loom weights, 7th-century Proto-

¹⁰⁶¹ Cook 1973, 79-83. See also the TAY Project entry on the site: ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=10059&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=10059&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web) ; Last accessed 10 February 2017).

Corinthian pottery, and East Aegean / orientalising pottery were all collected from the site.¹⁰⁶²

72. Troy

Location and Topography: The settlement mound of Hisarlik lies to the immediate west of modern Tevfikiye, on a low hill spur at the edge of the Scamander river plain. The north-western Troad is one area where, thankfully, geophysical studies (radiocarbon dating of inclusions from drill core samples) have taken place; as a result, it is possible to reconstruct changes in the ancient coastline with relative safety. It has been shown that, during the EIA and late Archaic period, the Scamander and Simois deltas were located less than 2 km from the site, with gradual silting forming the modern coastline and filling up the natural harbour to the north-west of the citadel [Figure 10, Figure 74].¹⁰⁶³

Viewshed: The settlement is ideally placed to overlook this area in its near entirety in addition to the southern Scamander plain (up to and including the Pınarbaşı area) and the eastern Simois plain (Kumkale area). Troy also overlooks the entirety of the Sigeion ridge (i.e. the modern western coast of the Troad), and (weather permitting) the islands of Imvros and Tenedos are also visible behind that ridge, to the west.

Settlement: Very little is preserved from the EIA settlement of Hisarlik. Excavations have mostly focused on the West Sanctuary area; contexts apparently unrelated to cult have been identified in other areas of the citadel, but they are by no means sufficient for one to form a complete impression of the ancient settlement. In fact, while human presence is

¹⁰⁶² Beksac 1999, 115-116. See also the TAY Project entry on the site: ([http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm\\$Retrieve?CagNo=8954&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=8954&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web) ; Last accessed 10 February 2017).

¹⁰⁶³ Kraft *et al.* 2003, 163-166.

unquestionably documented, the scarcity of evidence raises the question of whether an actual permanent settlement existed on site.

Running along the exterior of the southern Troy VI fortification wall, a terrace that shows activity from the Protogeometric (ca.1070/1040 BCE) to at least the end of the Archaic period was explored, with the excavators primarily focusing on Sector D9. The terrace wall seems to exist from the earliest phase onwards, and is flanked by packed rubble, containing PG pottery (Grey Ware, handmade pottery, and locally produced amphorae with PG concentric-circle decoration).¹⁰⁶⁴ Over this PG layer, a Geometric building was erected at some point from the beginning of the 9th to the mid 8th century (a more precise dating being impossible, because of the dating ambiguity of the recovered pottery): it consisted of at least two small rooms of irregular shape, with at least three hearths, an oven, and two plastered circular areas. Remains of cooked fish and a substantial ash layer indicate that the area was probably primarily used for food preparation. Pottery, however, is scarce, and consists mainly of locally produced wares that are difficult to date and some sherds that might be forerunners of 7th-century G2-3 Ware.¹⁰⁶⁵

Considerably more evidence is available for the Late Geometric / early Archaic period that follows (ca. 750-650 BCE) [Figure 198]. A small building dating to this period ('House 814') has been excavated in the south-east citadel (Sectors E-F / 8-9), and several partially preserved walls in Sectors H-J / 4-7 and A-C / 5-7 might also belong to this phase.¹⁰⁶⁶ In addition, deposits of discarded pottery (primarily G2-3 Ware but also Grey- and coarse ware, with minimal imports from the southern Aegean or Ionia) were discovered

¹⁰⁶⁴ Aslan 2002, 83-84; Aslan & Günata 2014, 86-88.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Aslan 2002, 85-86; Korfmann 2000, 30-32; Korfmann 2001, 26-27; Aslan & Günata 2014, 89-92.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 291-296; Aslan & Günata 2014, 93-95.

immediately outside the citadel fortifications, and might indicate habitation inside the fortified area.¹⁰⁶⁷

The early Archaic layers are followed by an extensive destruction layer, the cause of which is undetermined. While the destruction layer itself cannot be precisely dated, it covers contexts of the first half of the 7th century (e.g. G2-3 Ware), and is succeeded by late 7th- and early 6th-century contexts; this provides us with a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 650 BCE and 625 BCE respectively for the destruction phase.¹⁰⁶⁸

None of the early buildings are rebuilt during the last quarter of the 7th century, and most of the material from this period comes from the Upper– and Lower Sanctuary to the immediate south-west of the citadel.¹⁰⁶⁹ The D9 area appears to have been rebuilt into one or several terraces, with late 6th-century material discovered in ‘mixed deposits’ in Sectors G8 and E-F / 8-9.¹⁰⁷⁰ Attic and East Greek pottery is introduced to Troy during this period; Neutron activation analysis has shown that some of the East Greek wares (mostly Wild Goat Style pottery and Ionian-style cups) were also produced locally.¹⁰⁷¹ However, most of the identifiable pottery comes from the sanctuary contexts – there is little to no evidence of the existence of a permanent settlement on the site.

Cemetery: Two EIA burials have been found at Troy; both, however, are isolated assemblages, and cannot be linked to any larger cemetery or burial cluster. One burial, found immured in the West Sanctuary cult building walls (see below), is clearly secondary; the

¹⁰⁶⁷ Aslan & Günata 2014, 93 with previous bibliography.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Aslan 2009, 37-40; Aslan & Günata 2014, 96.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 259-273; Rose 1993, 104; 1995, 88-89; 1997, 86.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 287-299; Aslan & Günata 2014, 97.

¹⁰⁷¹ Aslan & Pernicka 2013, 45-48.

human remains are fragmentary and partial, and are not accompanied by any burial offerings. This burial cannot be considered representative of local burial customs, and may have been linked to the local cult.¹⁰⁷² The second EIA grave found in Hisarlik consists of a pithos burial found in sector D9, amongst solely domestic assemblages. Further examination of the surrounding area has confirmed that it is not part of a larger cemetery, and that, once again, using it as a representative sample of burial practices in EIA Troy is unsafe. No finds from the burial are reported.¹⁰⁷³

With regards to the 7th century, large amounts of early Archaic pottery were brought to light in the Place of Burning, to the northwest of the settlement site [Figure 198]. A substantial layer of ash and burnt human remains dating back to the LBA argues for the use of the area as a cremation site during that earlier period.¹⁰⁷⁴ During the EIA, the site appears to have been abandoned; its use resumes during the earliest years of the 7th century.¹⁰⁷⁵ However, the function of the site during its early Archaic phase remains unclear. Blegen suggested that cremations continued to take place,¹⁰⁷⁶ but after re-visiting the area and the material discovered, Aslan has recently re-interpreted it as a ritual site.¹⁰⁷⁷ Her argument is based on the types of 7th-century pottery discovered (mainly eating and drinking vessels, instead of cremation burial urns).¹⁰⁷⁸ She has reached the conclusion that ritual feasting over the earlier LBA cemetery took place in the possible context of ancestor worship (see below). However, convincing evidence for cult activity is lacking, and ritual feasting may very well

¹⁰⁷² Basedow 2009, 135.

¹⁰⁷³ Basedow 2009, 135; see also Aslan 2002, 86.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Blegen *et al.* 1953, 370-396; Blegen *et al.* 1958, 299.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Aslan 2011, 383-406.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 299.

¹⁰⁷⁷ See Aslan 2011 (particularly 406-409).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Aslan 2011, 387-406.

have accompanied *in situ* complete cremations. If such cremations did indeed take place, their number is unknown.

Sanctuary: the West Sanctuary: The clearest evidence for cult activity in Early Iron Age and early Archaic Troy comes from the so-called West Sanctuary area, near the southwestern citadel wall of Troy VI: there, the excavators have uncovered indications of near-continuous cult activity, from the mid 11th century until the Archaic period and beyond.

During the Protogeometric period, several large deposit pits were opened in the area in and around the large rectangular LBA ‘Terrace House’ [Figure 199]. They contained (among locally produced Protogeometric and handmade pottery) remains of burnt animal bones and vessels of evident ritual function: clay fenestrated stands with painted decoration and two trident-like pronged objects (which could be interpreted as early figurines) are particularly noteworthy [Figure 200, Figure 201]. The finds from the building include early pottery such as Catling’s Group I amphorae and Grey Ware vessels. Several arrow tips and iron blades were also discovered inside the building; however, it is possible that they date to a later phase, and that their presence in early layers is due to a partial stratigraphic disturbance.¹⁰⁷⁹

During the 9th century and no later than the mid 8th century, the first buildings that can be linked with certainty to ritual activity were erected. A small square building (‘House 850’), containing a large circular pit, was brought to light in sector A7, between the Terrace House and the Troy VI fortifications. It has yielded little datable material, but can be safely

¹⁰⁷⁹ Basedow 2009, 135-139; Aslan & Günata 2014, 89 and 92-93.

dated thanks to the *termini post-* and *ante-quos* provided by the area stratigraphy and thanks to the large corpus of pottery recovered from subsequent layers.¹⁰⁸⁰

A new rectangular building was erected on the foundations of the old Terrace House, following the earlier ground plan to a great extent [Figure 202]. Stone benches were constructed along the interior and exterior of the southern wall of the building. The interior bench was interrupted near its northeastern end by a transverse wall, which divided the building in two rooms: a smaller, north-eastern and a larger, south-western one. Near the south-eastern corner of the building, the interior bench covered a number of fragmentary skeletal remains: Basedow attributes them to a secondary burial of a teenage woman (see above), while Aslan refers to them as the bones of a goat (possibly a foundation sacrifice). No study of the relevant osteoarchaeological data has been published; given the currently available information, Aslan's account seems to be more convincing, as there would be no known NEA parallels for a secondary human burial in a cult building.¹⁰⁸¹

An asymmetrical apsidal structure was brought to light in the western room; its interior was filled with ash and a great amount of burnt animal bones. It had been, in all likelihood, an *eschara* or an early ash altar.

In the eastern room, three post holes, clustered together, have been discovered. They may originally have held supports for an offering table or the frame of a tent meant to receive worshippers. A mortised stone base, built against the eastern wall, may have supported a (now lost) cult statue: a deposit rich in metal finds (mainly fibulae) was discovered in front of it. Basedow suggests an interpretation of those fibulae either as votive offerings (in which

¹⁰⁸⁰ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 273-279; Basedow 2009, 135; Aslan & Günata 2014, 89-90

¹⁰⁸¹ Basedow 2009, 135; Aslan & Günata 2014, 89-90.

case they were probably discarded as a whole at some point) or as originally fastening the peplos worn by the cult statue (in which case they were ritually discarded two at a time, after replacing the garment).¹⁰⁸²

In the mid 8th-century, this cult building was rebuilt, with a third, non-weight-bearing ‘*anta*’ wall in its interior, parallel to its central axis and near its northern exterior wall [Figure 203]. This resulted in the narrowing of both pre-existing rooms, especially if one factors in the construction of an additional bench (similar to those of the southern wall) along the new wall.

During this phase, the statue base was covered by a low, bench-like apsidal structure at the eastern end of the building. A column base discovered in front of this structure indicates that the superstructure and roof of the building might have followed apsidal building designs: a single column at its eastern end would suffice to support a semi-conical roof over the apse.¹⁰⁸³

On the terrace near the fortification wall, House 850 was replaced by a series of stone-built circular structures (at least 28 and possibly more). The area stratigraphy shows that these stone circles were in use for a considerable stretch of time, and that they were repeatedly repaired: some were built directly on top of earlier circles, with a thin layer of ash and sand covering the early structure before the construction of the new one. Near the citadel wall, fragments of fine pottery, *dinoi* and *kraters*, drinking vessels and jugs (probably discarded after ritual feasting) were discovered in successive layers. Blegen originally interpreted the stone structures as threshing circles or as surfaces used for the sun-drying of

¹⁰⁸² Basedow 2009, 135-139; Aslan & Günata 2014, 89.

¹⁰⁸³ Basedow 2009, 135; Aslan & Günata 2014, 92.

fruits and other foodstuff. However, if one factors in the large amount of drinking vessels recovered from the area, the traces of fire on the stone circles, and their repeated re-use, an interpretation of the circles as tables or food preparation facilities for ritual feasts appears to be more likely.¹⁰⁸⁴

Activity in both the cult building and the stone circle terrace continued until the mid 7th century, at which point the area appears to have been abandoned, along with the entirety of the settlement, for ca. 25 years.¹⁰⁸⁵ The cult was re-established around ca. 625 BCE, with the construction of the Upper- and Lower Sanctuary enclosures to the south of the EIA cult building and of the Archaic Cult Building to its north [Figure 204].

The Upper- and Lower Sanctuary area shows some indication of human activity that might go as far back as the early 7th century (e.g. many fragments of G2-3 type pottery, Grey Ware and Tan Ware vessels), yet the first architectural remains in the area that are linked to ritual activity date after the 7th-century abandonment phase. Enclosure walls surround two altar-like structures (Altar A and B); the area has yielded fine orientalising and Archaic pottery (including Rhodian, Corinthian, Chian, and Attic vessels) that date from the final years of the 7th to well within the 6th century. It has also yielded figurines, a number of deer antlers and animal bones (possibly sacrificial remains), and other finds that can be identified as votive offerings [Figure 206]. Determining the exact date of construction for the enclosures and altars is problematic, but ritual activity seems to peak after the turn of the 7th century.¹⁰⁸⁶

¹⁰⁸⁴ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 274-275; Basedow 2009, 135; Aslan & Günata 2014, 92-93.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Aslan 2009, 38-39; Aslan & Günata 2014, 92-93.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 259-273; Rose 1993, 104; 1995, 88-89; 1997, 86; Aslan & Günata 2014, 97.

Finally, the remains of a large rectangular building were discovered a short distance to the north of the EIA cult building remains. The exact measurements and date of this early so-called ‘Archaic Cult Building’ phase are unclear, as its interior stratigraphy has been heavily disturbed; however, the earliest pottery found on its marl floor (primarily Corinthian and East Aegean / Ionian cups) dates to the end of the 7th century and the early years of the 6th. This area has also yielded deer antlers and bones, accompanied by a small number of early figurines. As is the case for the Upper– and Lower Sanctuary, evidence for ritual activity seems to peak primarily in the mid 6th century [Figure 205].¹⁰⁸⁷

Sanctuary: the Pillar House Area: The so-called ‘Pillar House’, a large building northwest of the gate in the south-eastern wall of the Phase VI fortification, dates to the Late Bronze Age, after Phase VI. It remained, however, only partly covered by subsequent fill layers (and maybe even in use) at least until the Early Iron Age and possibly until later periods as well [Figure 207].¹⁰⁸⁸

Near the southwestern corner of the Pillar House, structures that might have been linked to ritual activity have been brought to light: Houses 814, 768, and 769 (sectors E8-9 and F8-9). Blegen had dated the above buildings to the Phases VIIb1 and VIIb2; that is to the end of the Late Bronze Age. Blegen had based this date on the pottery types discovered within the buildings and, specifically, on pottery fragments of Knobbed Ware (or *Buckelkeramik*), which he considered characteristic of Phase VIIb2. However, it has been shown that such pottery is often encountered in Early Iron Age layers as well. As such,

¹⁰⁸⁷ Rose 1995, 85-88; 1997, 78-82; Aslan & Günata 2014, 96-100.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Basedow 2009, 132.

Basedow's suggestion that Houses 814, 768, and 769 might have been in use during the Early Iron Age (specifically during the 9th-8th centuries) cannot be ruled out.¹⁰⁸⁹

House 814 bears some similarity to House 850 of the West Sanctuary: it is almost perfectly square, with orthostats supporting its walls and a circular stone structure / altar in its interior. Immediately to its south lay House 768; House 769 was located a bit further to the east. The floors of the latter two buildings are noticeably inclined from the north (where they are level with the floor of House 814) towards the south. Basedow interpreted the two buildings as part of a terrace, reaching perhaps as far as the road leading to the south-eastern gate and serving as a courtyard of sorts in front of House 814. The scholar considers the high ratio of fine pottery to coarse, hand-made wares, as well as the discovery of ivory and thin gold sheets inside the buildings as indications of ritual activity.¹⁰⁹⁰

Several deposit pits that were opened around the two pillars (P1 and P2) marking the central axis of Pillar House yielded great amounts of Early Iron Age pottery. East of the two pillars, a low apsidal structure (similar to the ash-retaining eschara / altar in the West Sanctuary) was brought to light; many loom weights and needles were also discovered both inside the building and in the surrounding area.¹⁰⁹¹

Sanctuary: the Place of Burning: An oval building dating to the early 7th century was discovered in the Place of Burning to the north-west of the citadel, over earlier LBA contexts [Figure 208]. The building itself is relatively small, measuring ca. 10 m x 5 m, with quite thin walls of ca. 30-50 cm thickness. No distinct floor stratum was identified. The

¹⁰⁸⁹ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 85-87 and 203-217; Basedow 2009, 138.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 217-218 and 292; Basedow 2009, 136-138.

¹⁰⁹¹ Blegen *et al.* 1958, 86-87 and 294; Basedow 2009, 138-140.

surrounding area has yielded traces of posthole structures and (possibly) terrace wall, while the interior of the building has yielded ash, fragments of human and animal bones, as well as early Archaic Grey Ware and G2-3 Ware pottery (primarily jars and cups). All evidence of human activity in the area ceases in the mid 7th-century; the Place of Burning was not revisited after the abandonment of the site.¹⁰⁹²

¹⁰⁹² Blegen *et al.* 1953, 394-396; Blegen *et al.* 1958, 299; Aslan 2011, 382-412.

The North-Eastern Aegean

1050-600 BC

VOLUME 2

MAPS AND FIGURES

Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Classical Archaeology

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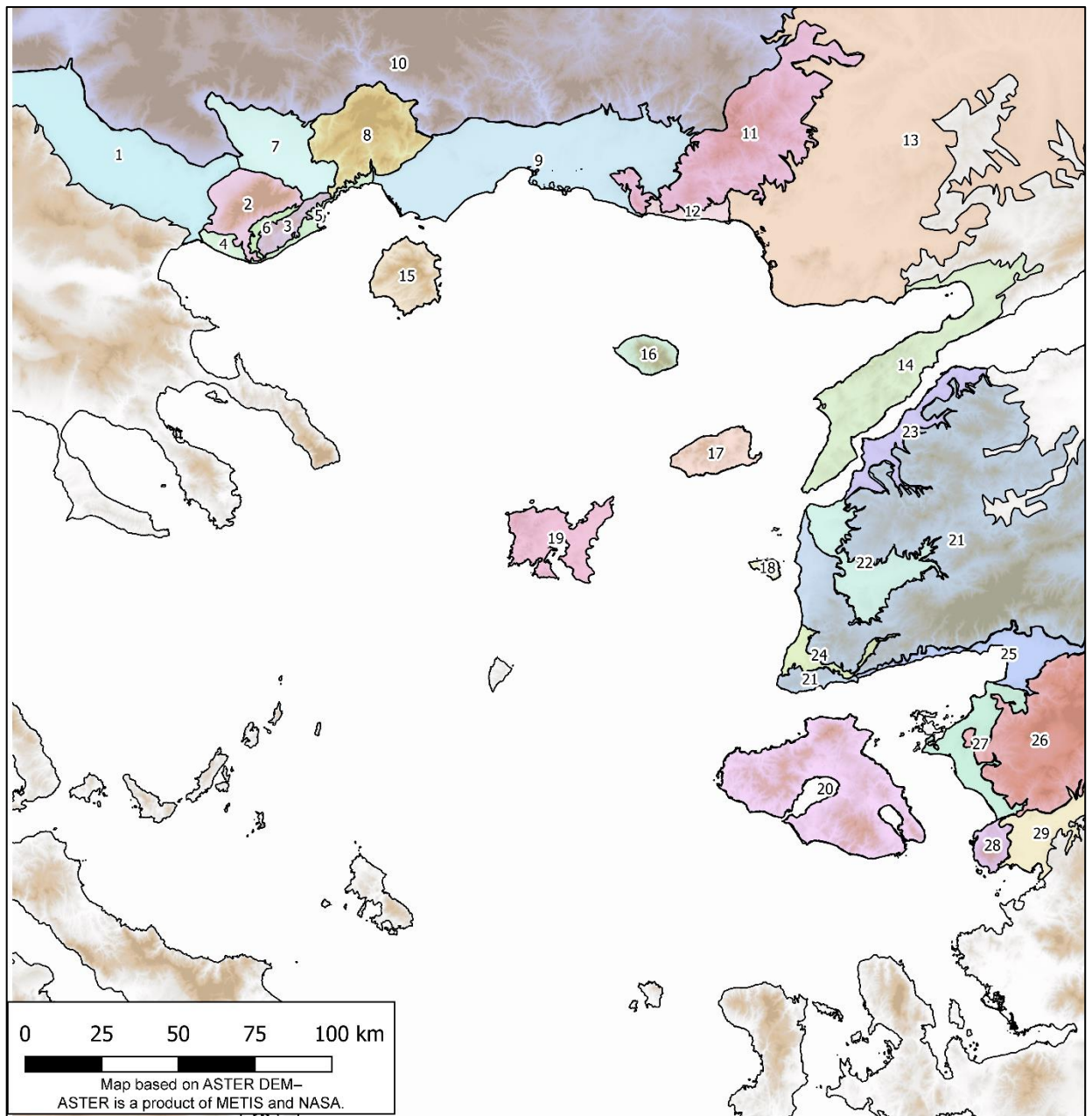


Figure 1: The geographical sub-regions of the NEA.

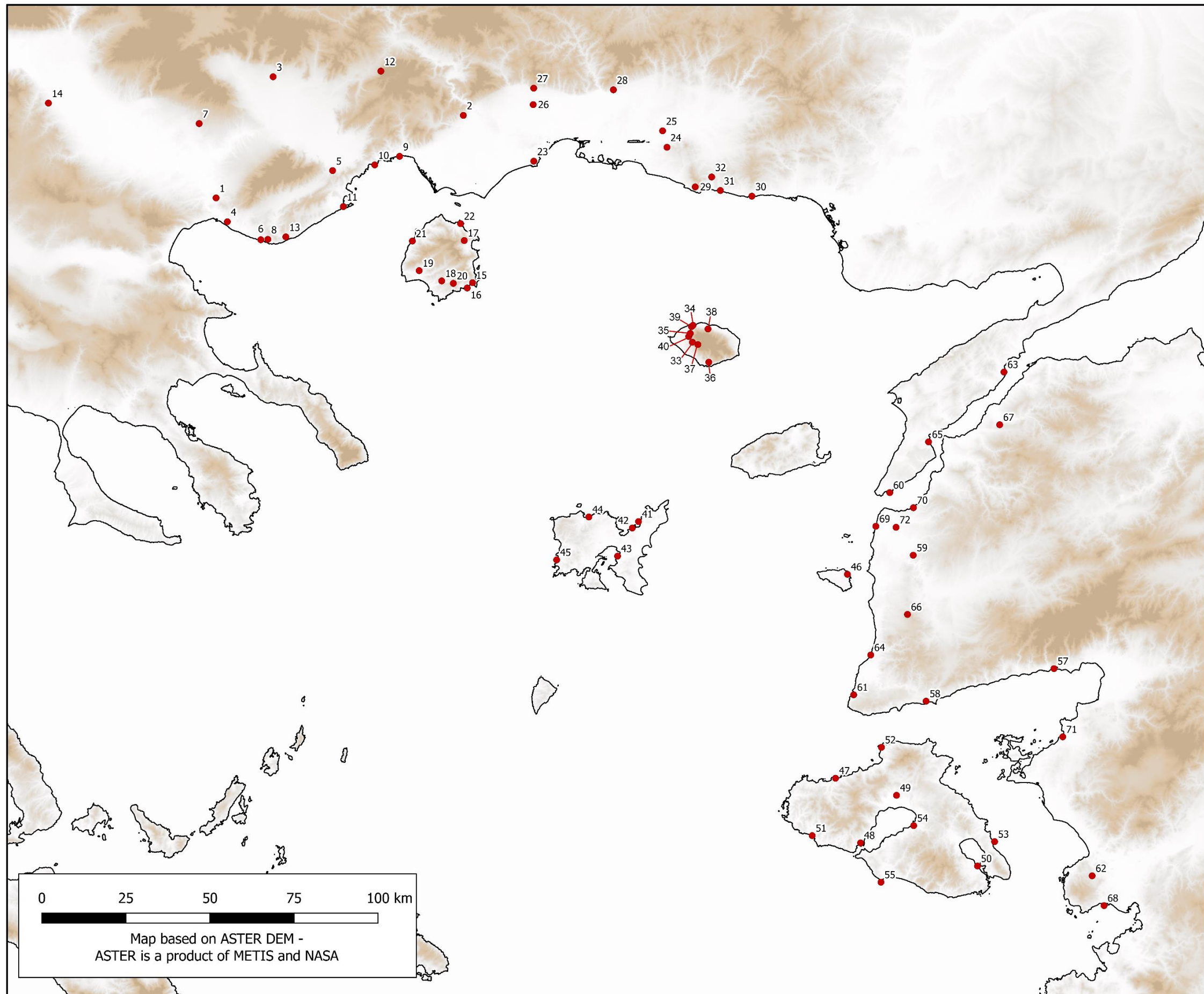


Figure 2: The catalogued NEA sites. Numbers correspond to catalogue index.

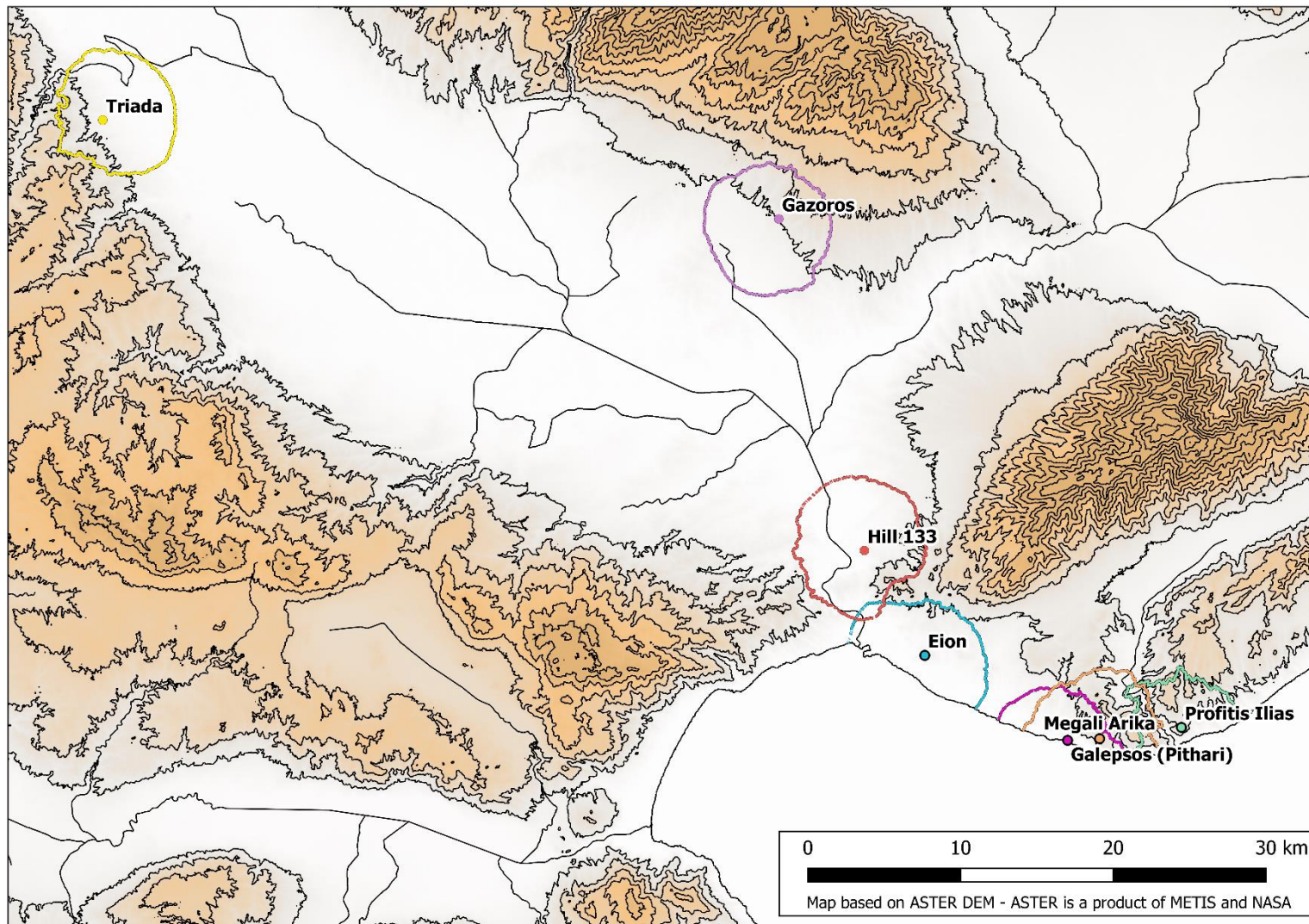


Figure 3: The settlement sites of the Strymon river plain. Coloured circles indicate a distance equal to an hour's walk from the sites.

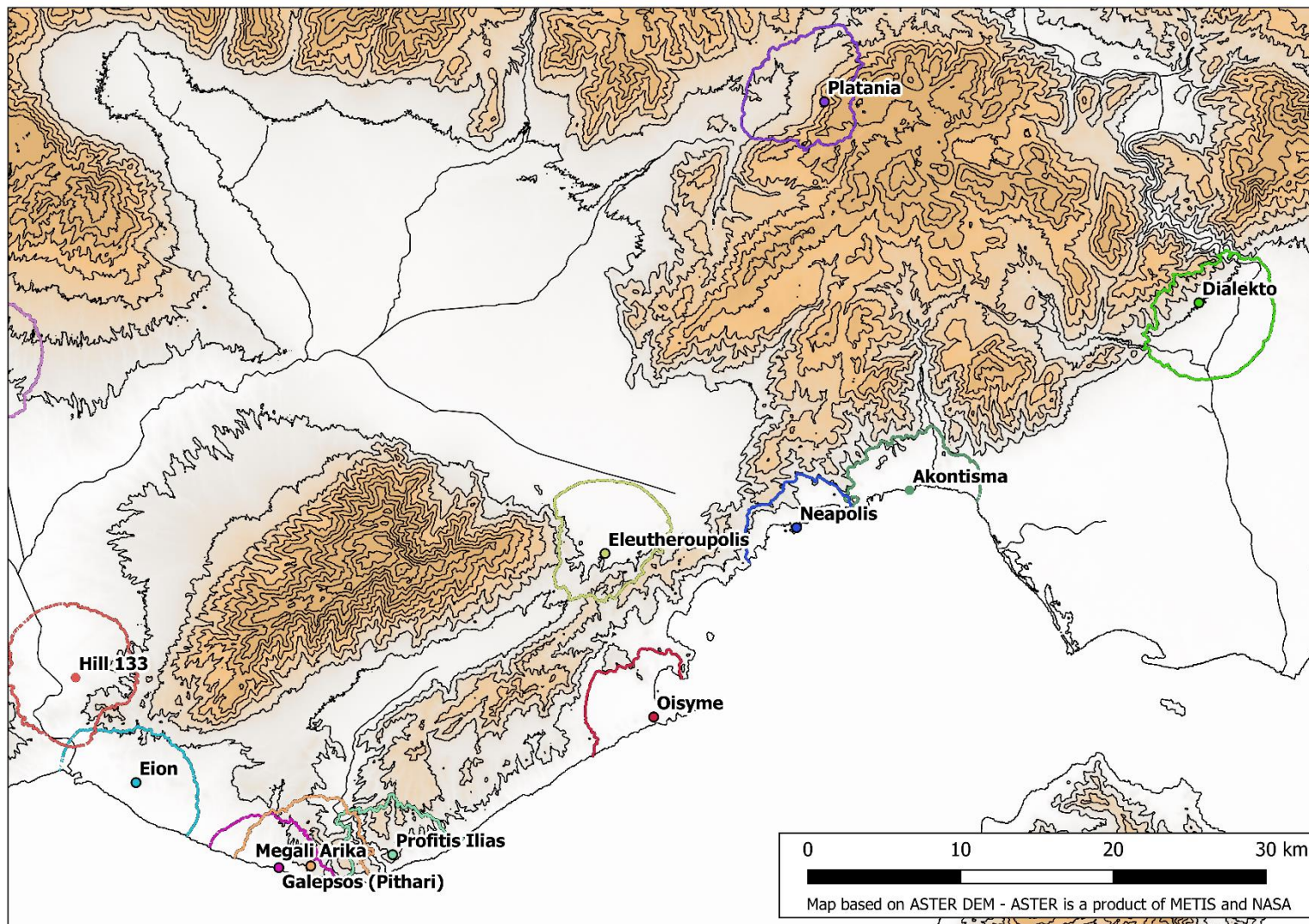


Figure 4: The settlement sites of the Thasian peraea. Coloured circles indicate a distance equal to an hour's walk from the sites.

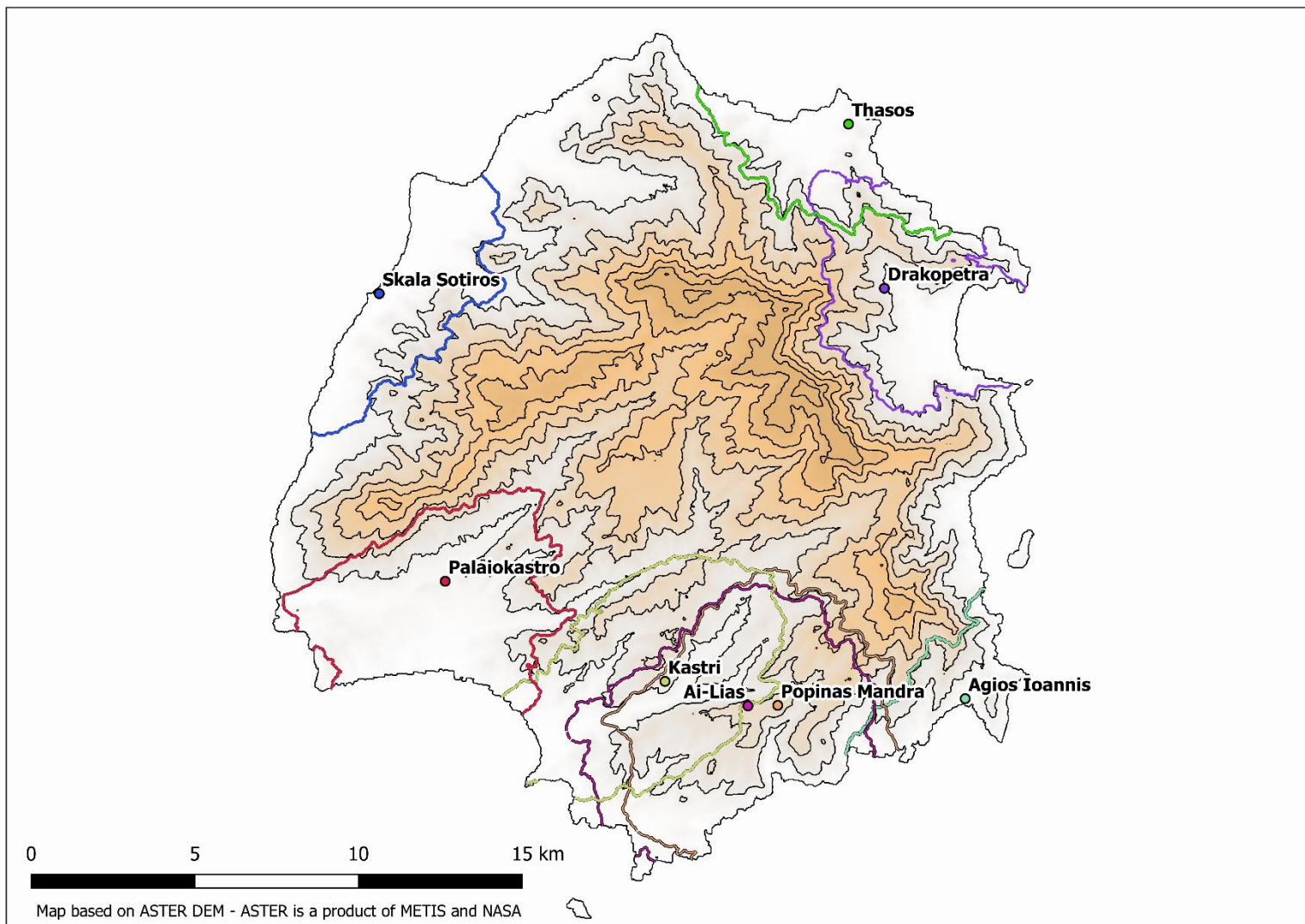


Figure 5: The settlement sites of Thasos. Coloured circles indicate a distance equal to an hour's walk from the sites.

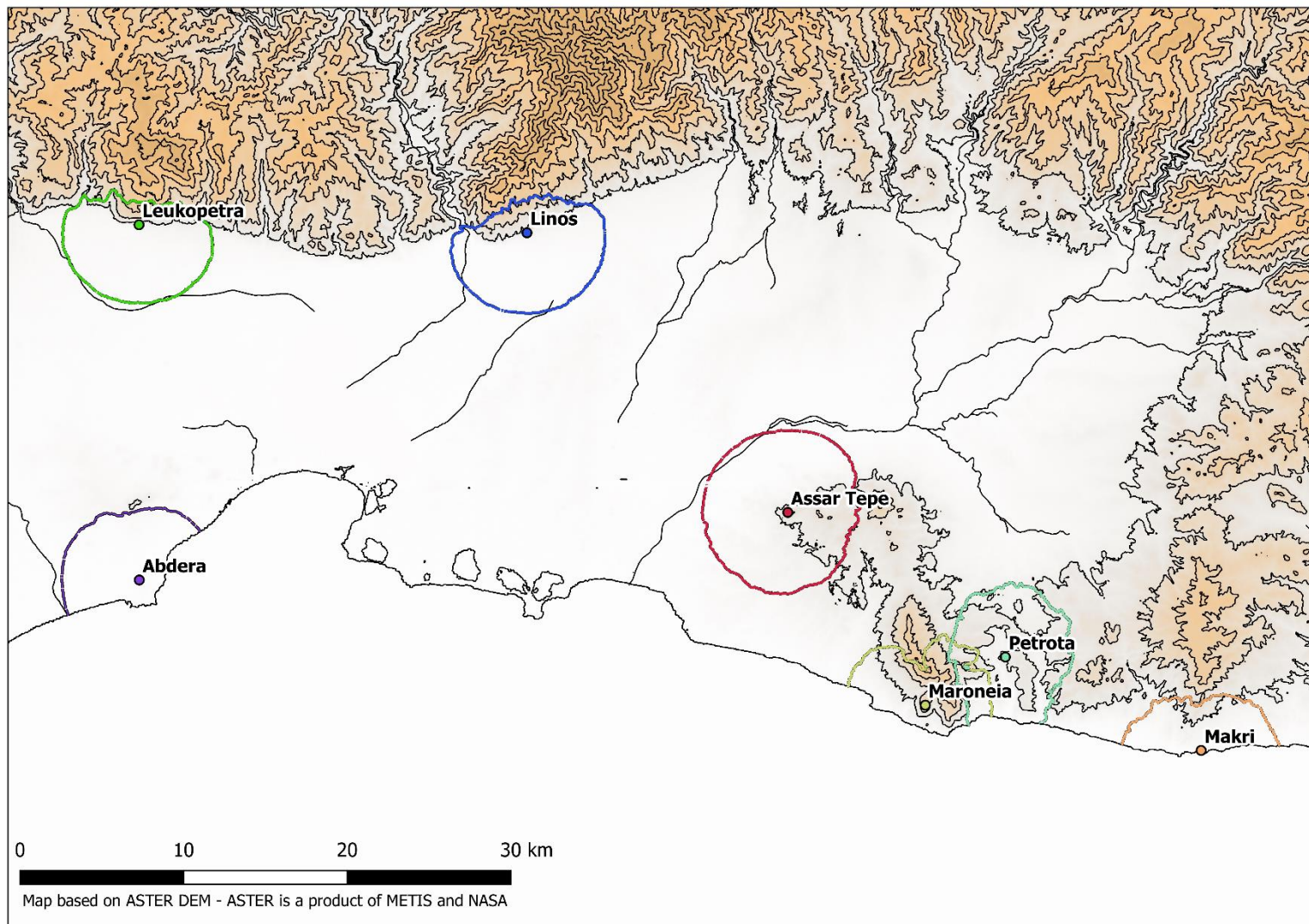


Figure 6: The settlement sites of coastal Thrace. Coloured circles indicate a distance equal to an hour's walk from the sites.

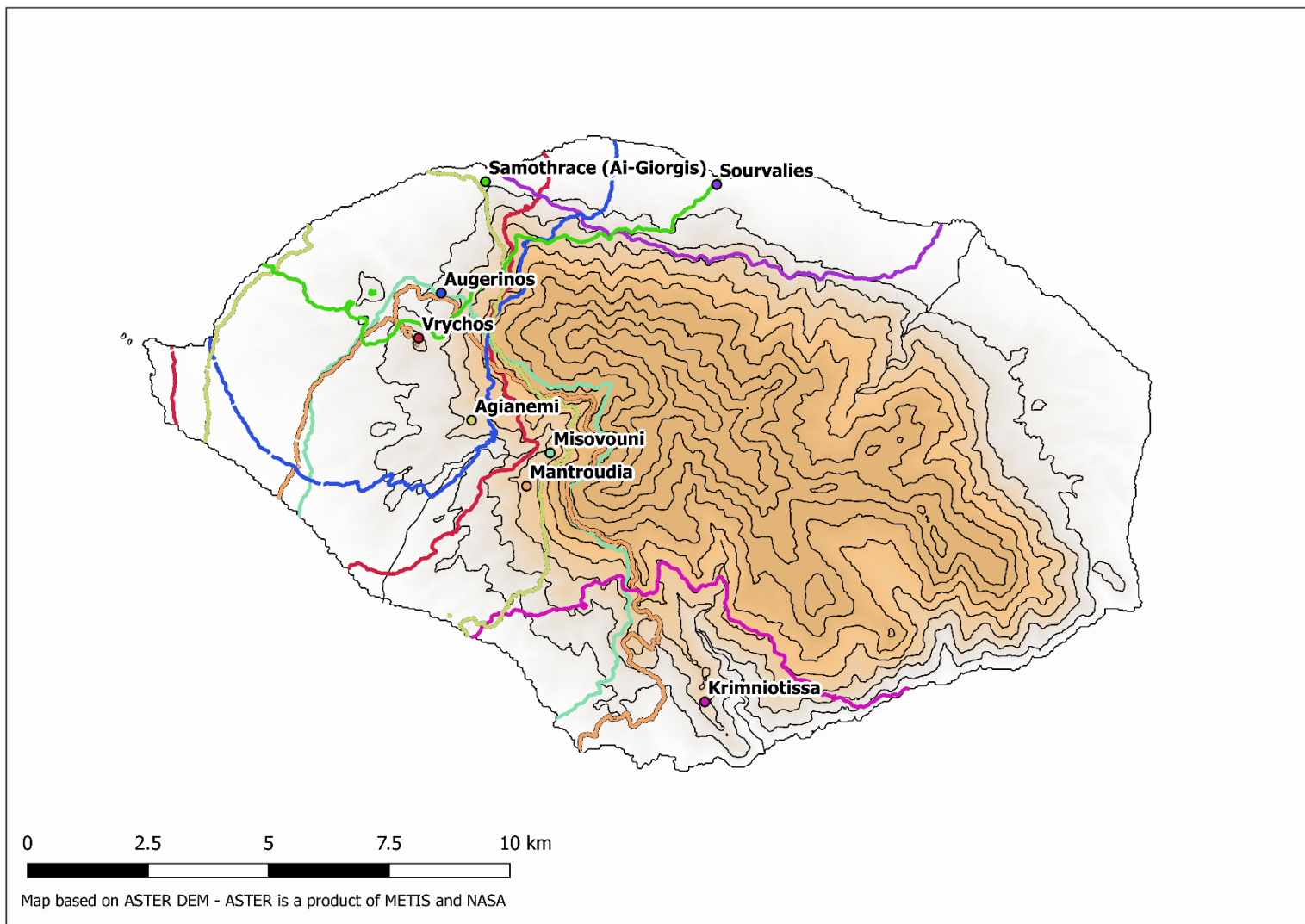


Figure 7: The settlement sites of Samothrace. Coloured circles indicate a distance equal to an hour's walk from the sites.

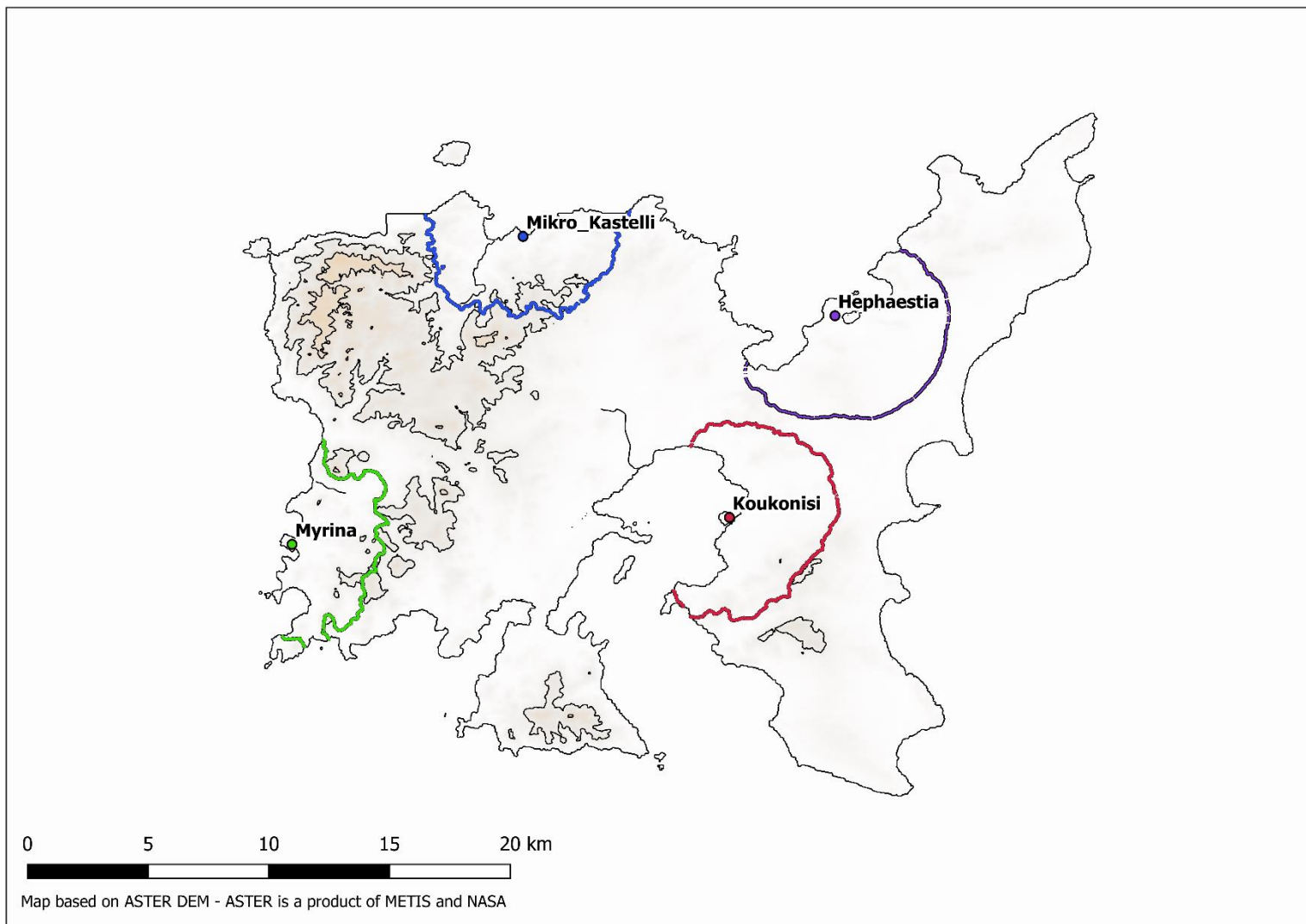


Figure 8: The settlement sites of Lemnos. Coloured circles indicate a distance equal to an hour's walk from the sites.

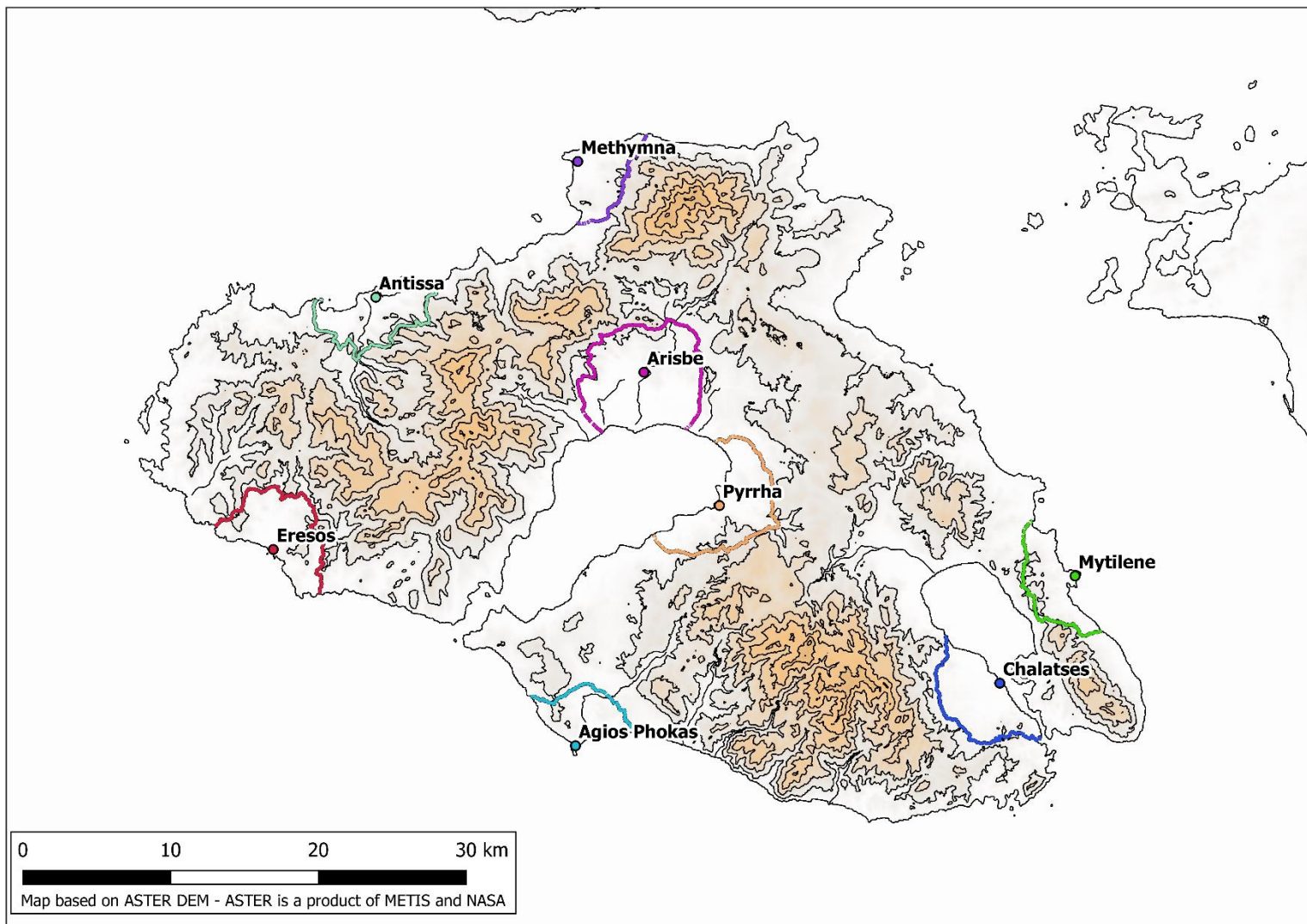


Figure 9: The settlement sites of Lesbos. Coloured circles indicate a distance equal to an hour's walk from the sites.

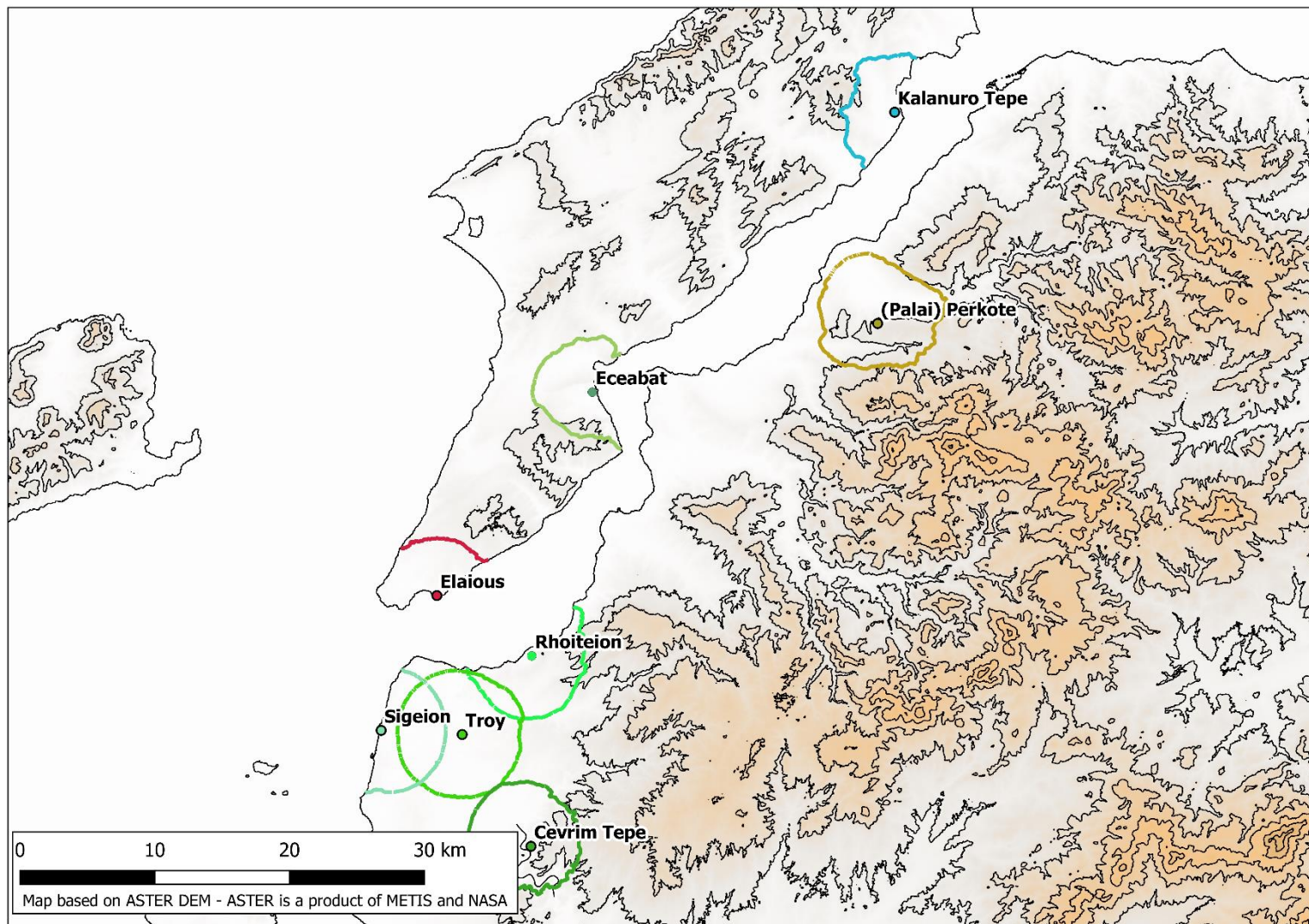


Figure 10: The settlement sites of the Hellespont, the Chersonese, and the northern Troad. Coloured circles indicate a distance equal to an hour's walk from the sites.

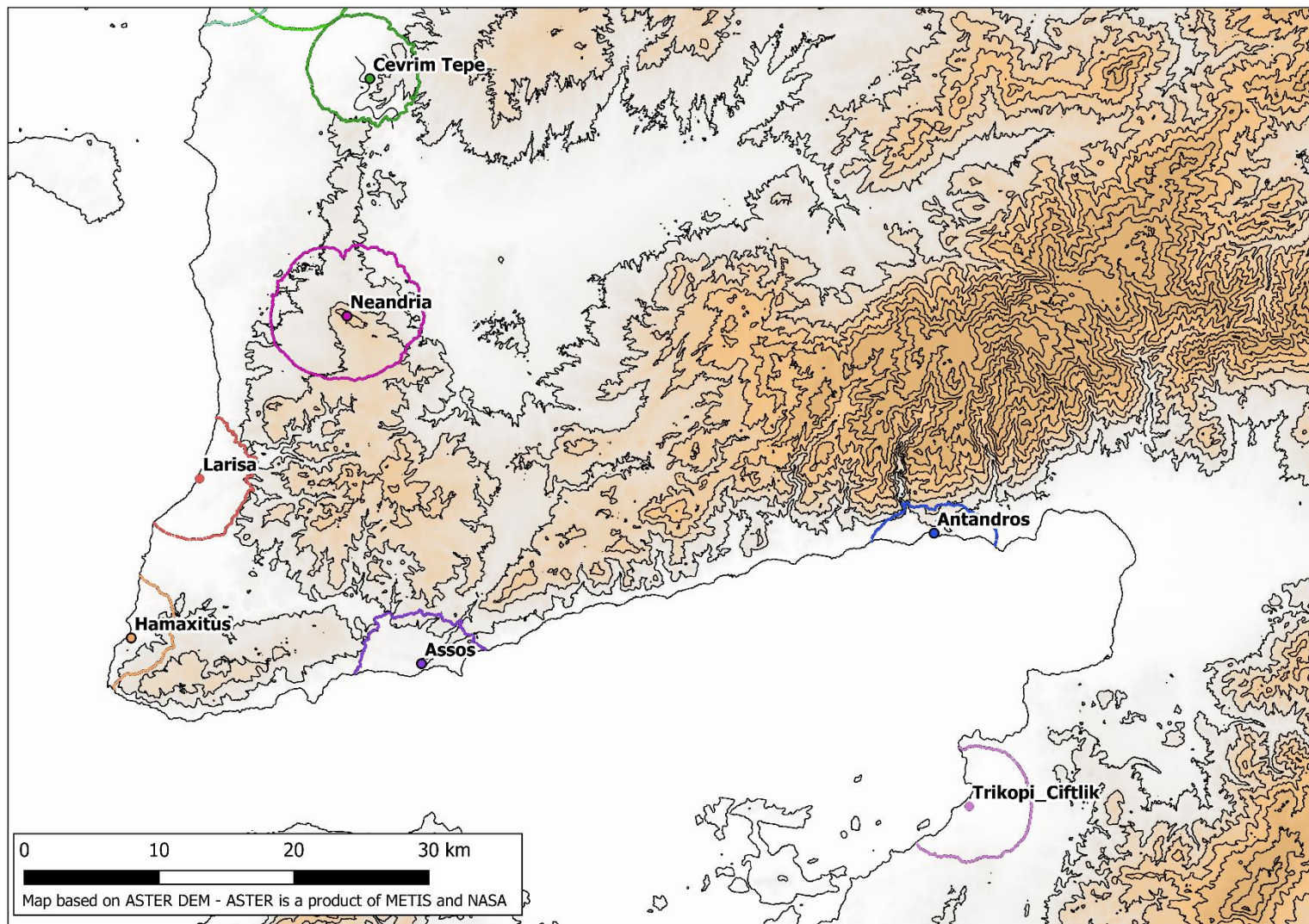


Figure 11: The settlement sites of the southern Troad and northern Aeolis. Coloured circles indicate a distance equal to an hour's walk from the sites.

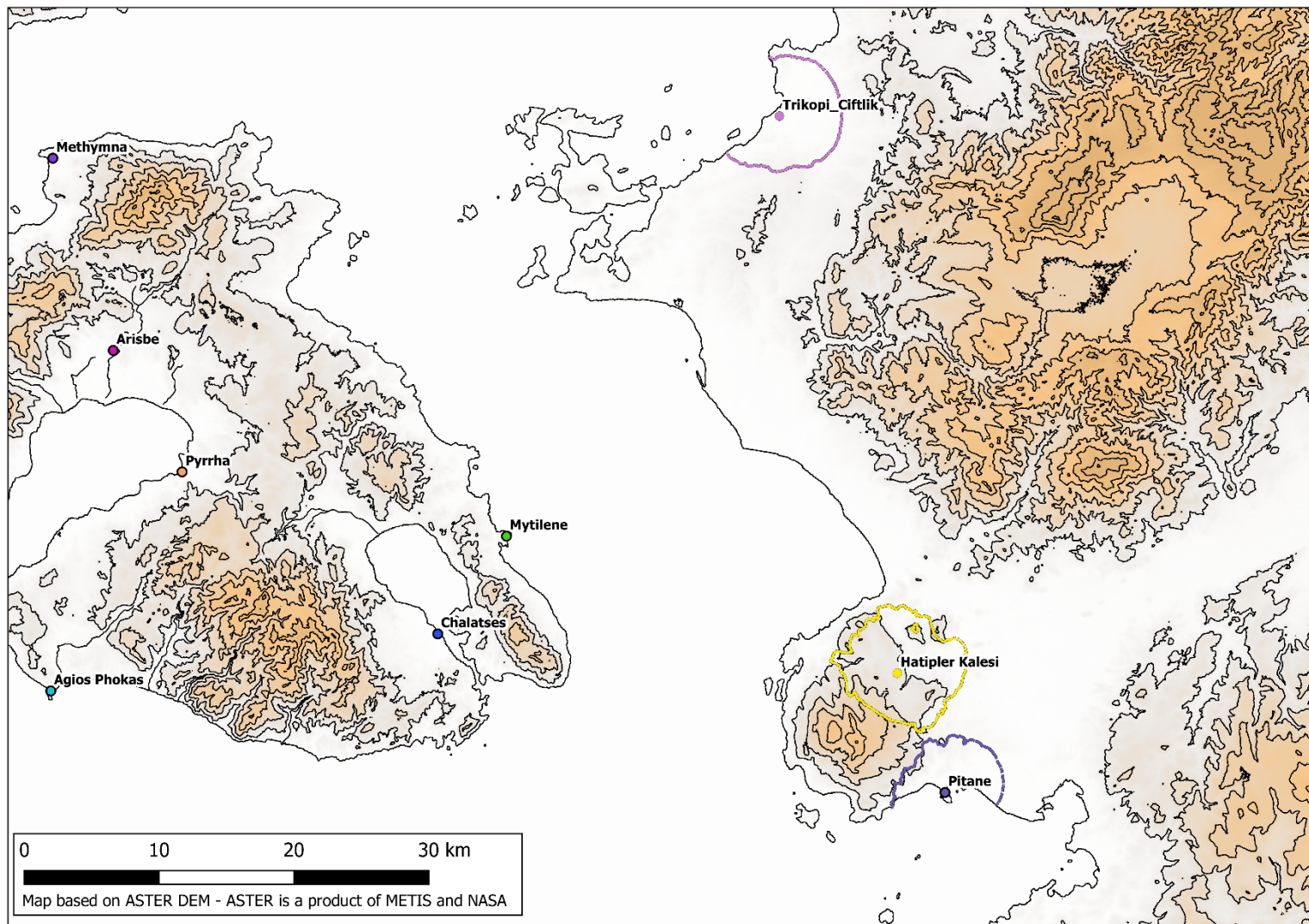


Figure 12: The settlement sites of northern Aeolis and the Caicus river plain.
Coloured circles indicate a distance equal to an hour's walk from the sites.

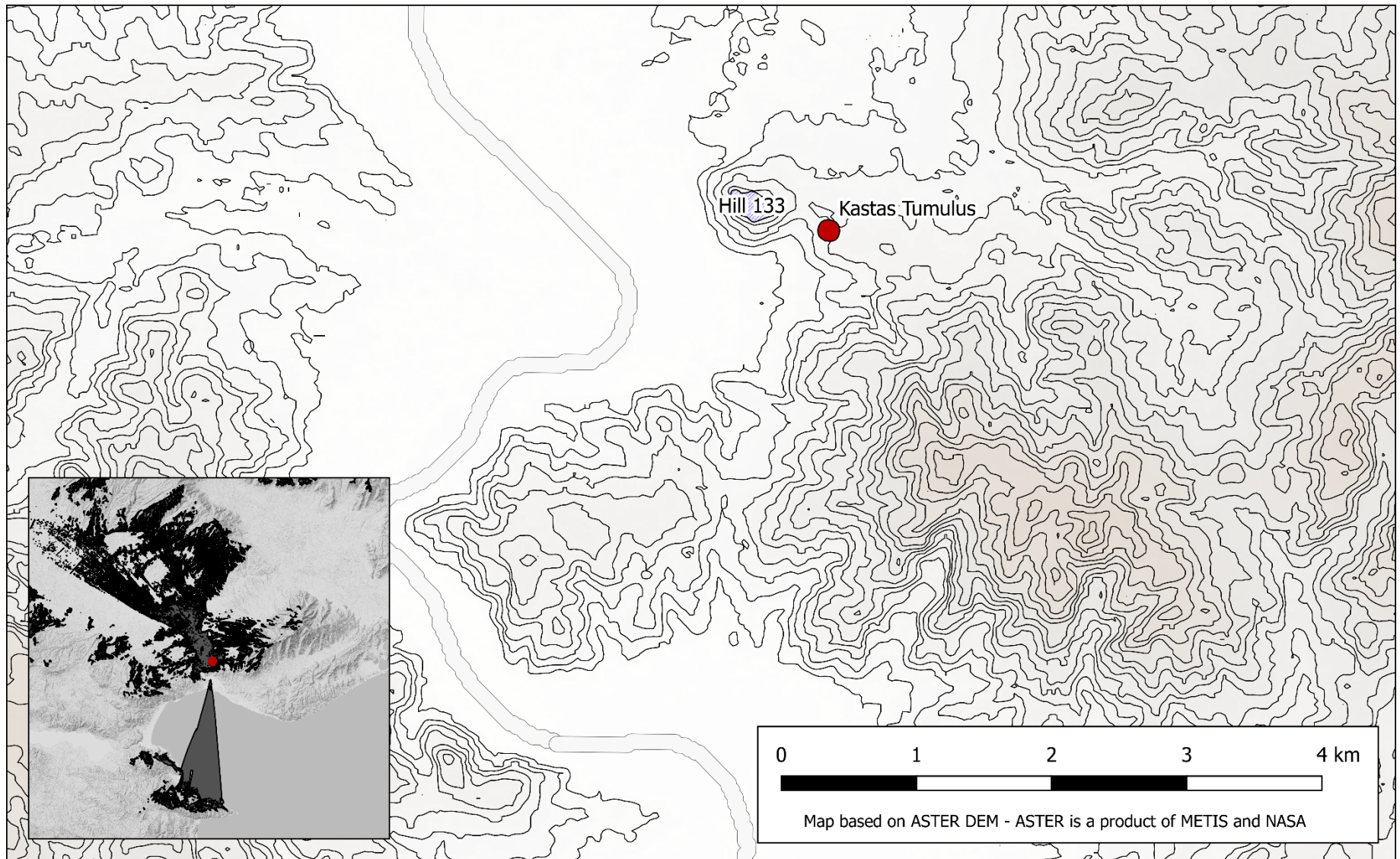


Figure 13: Hill 133 and Kastas, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

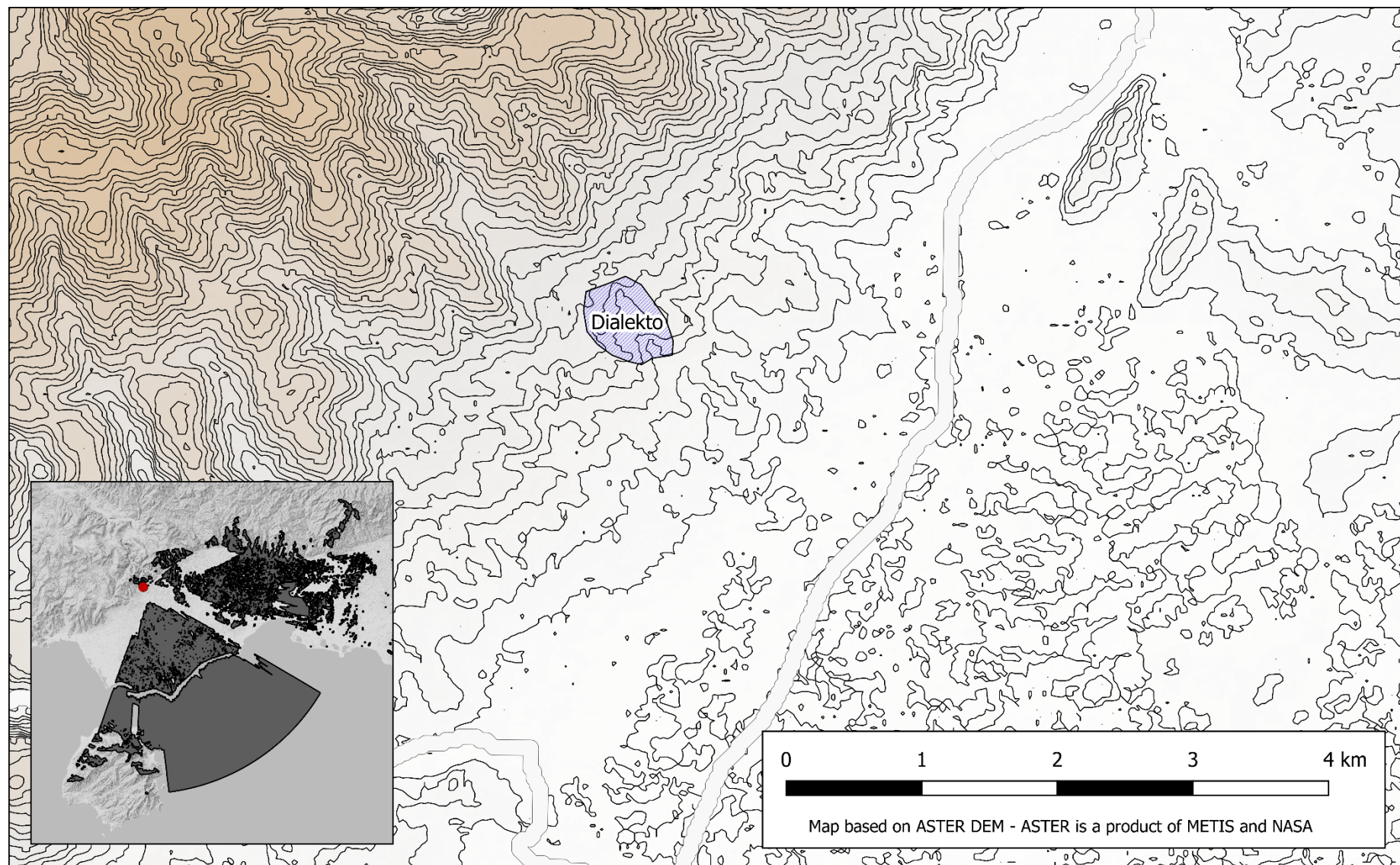


Figure 14: The Dialekto surface scatter, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

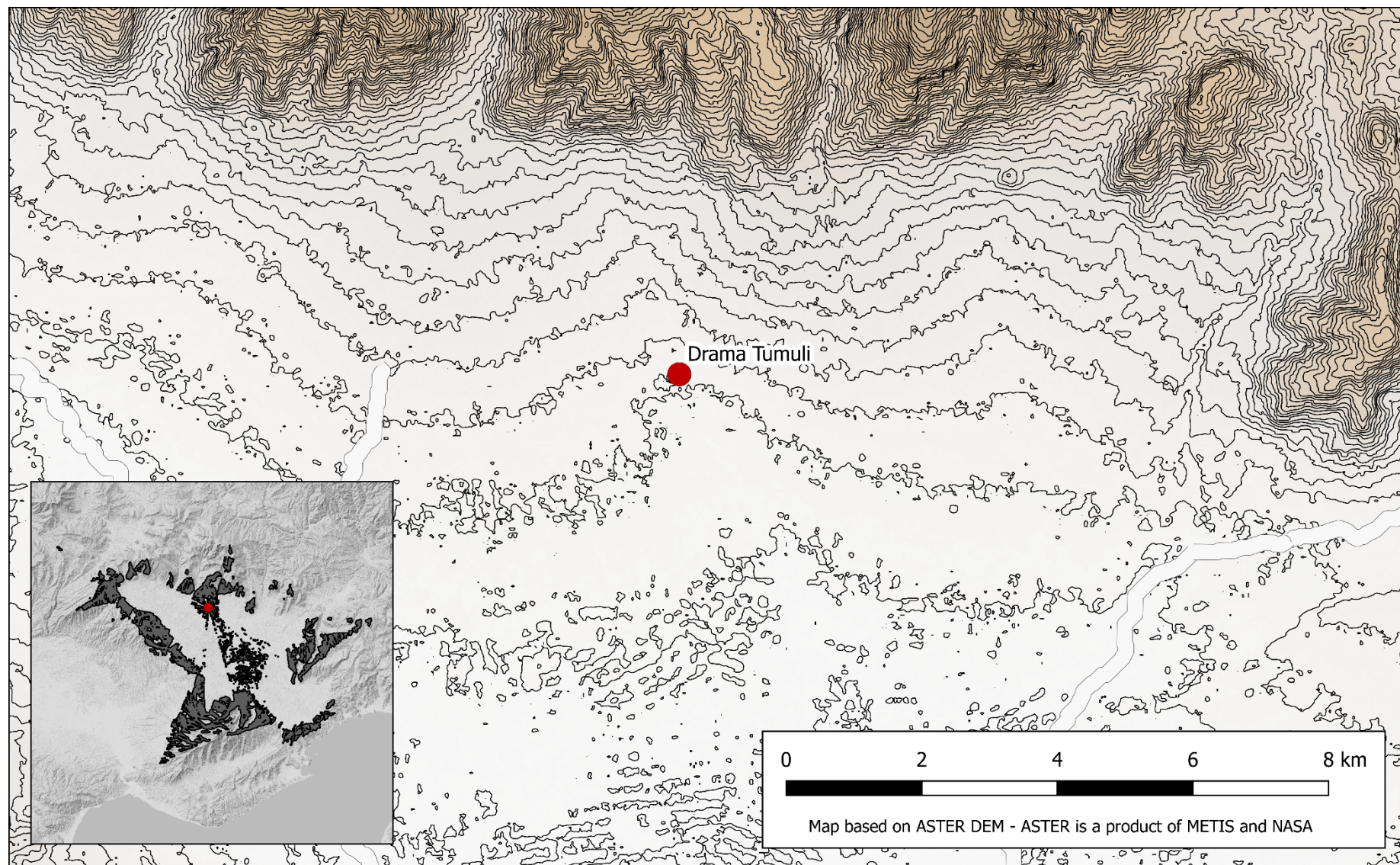


Figure 15: The Drama Industrial Zone tumuli, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

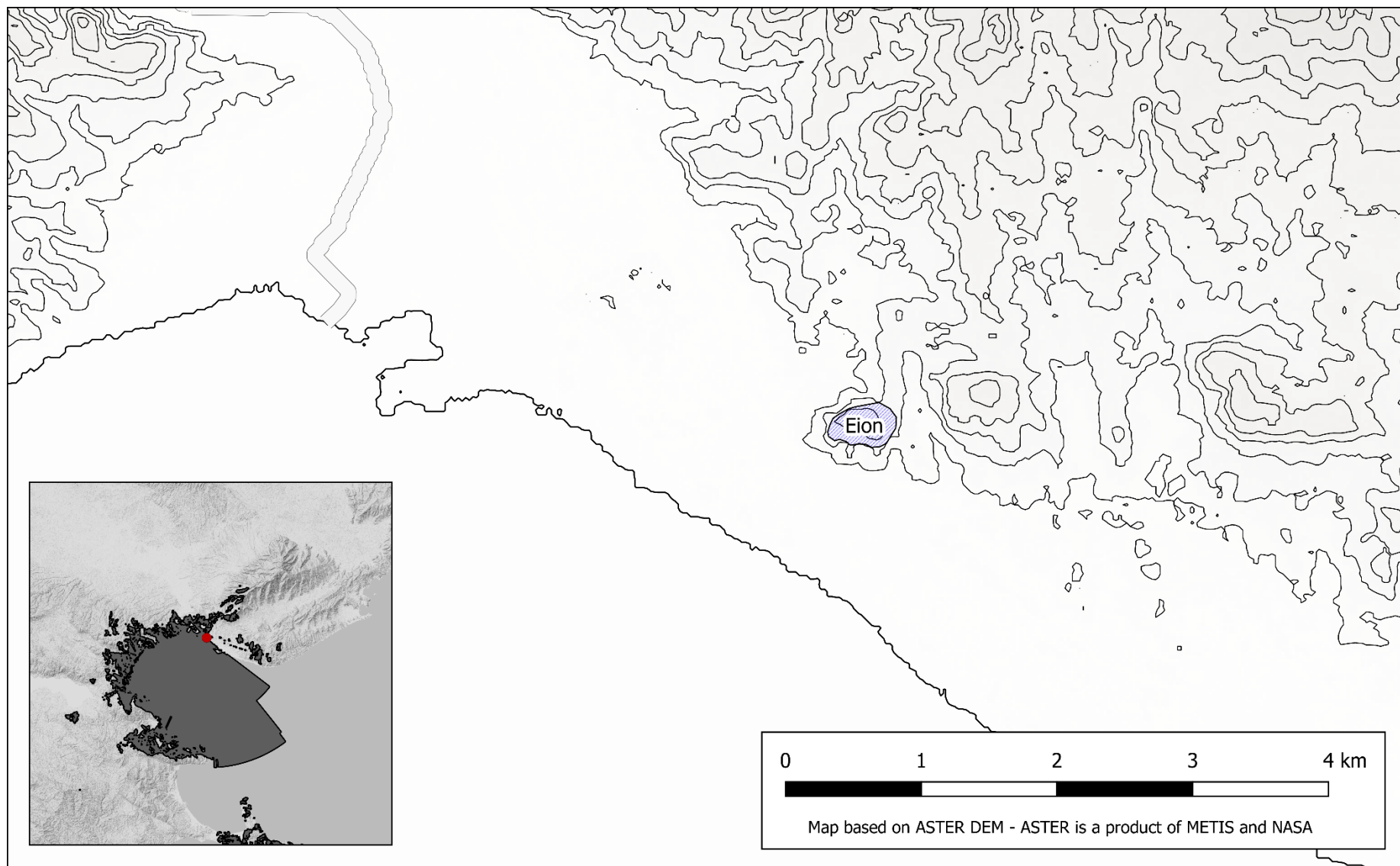


Figure 16: The Eion acropolis, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

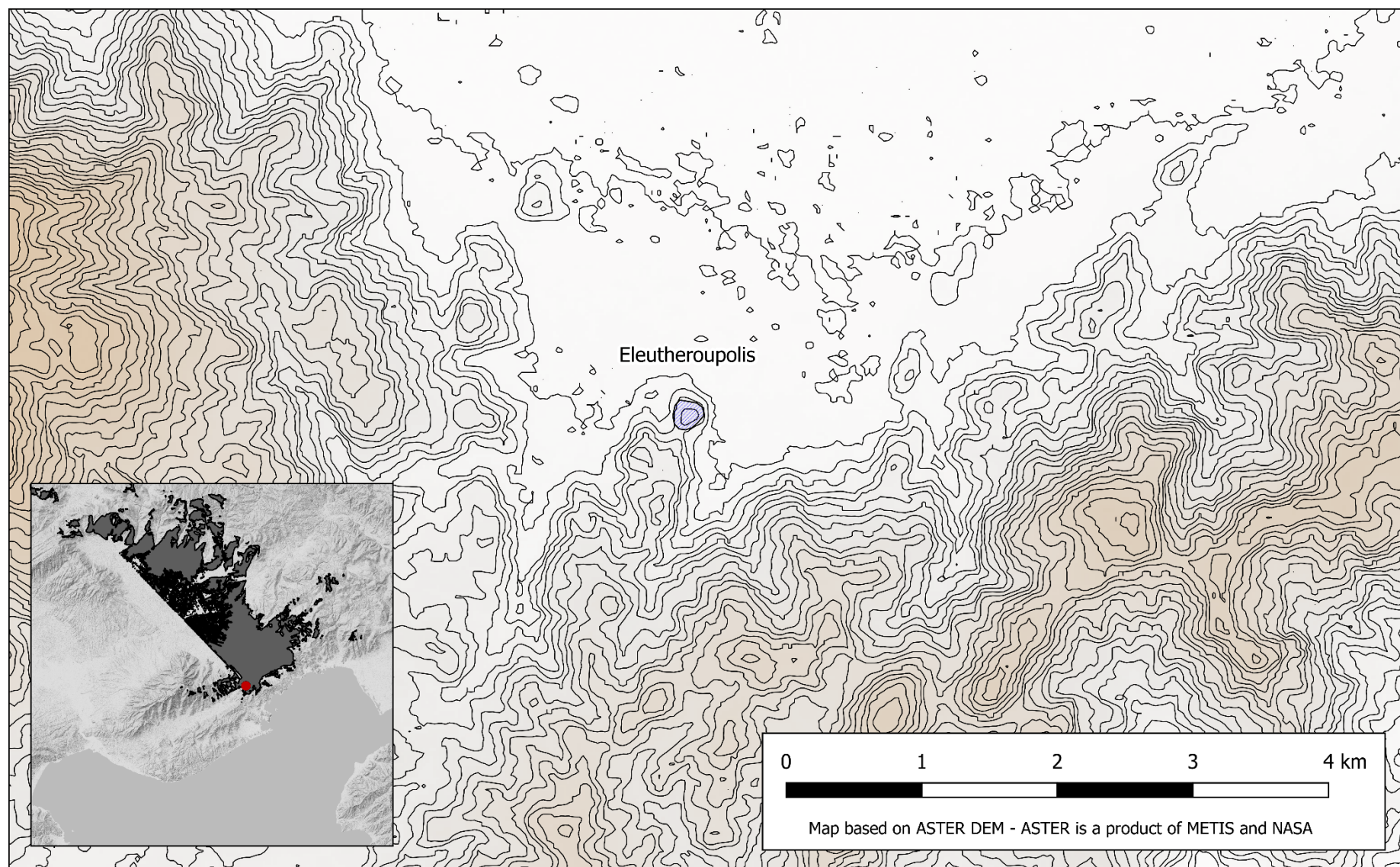


Figure 17: The Eleutheroupolis acropolis, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

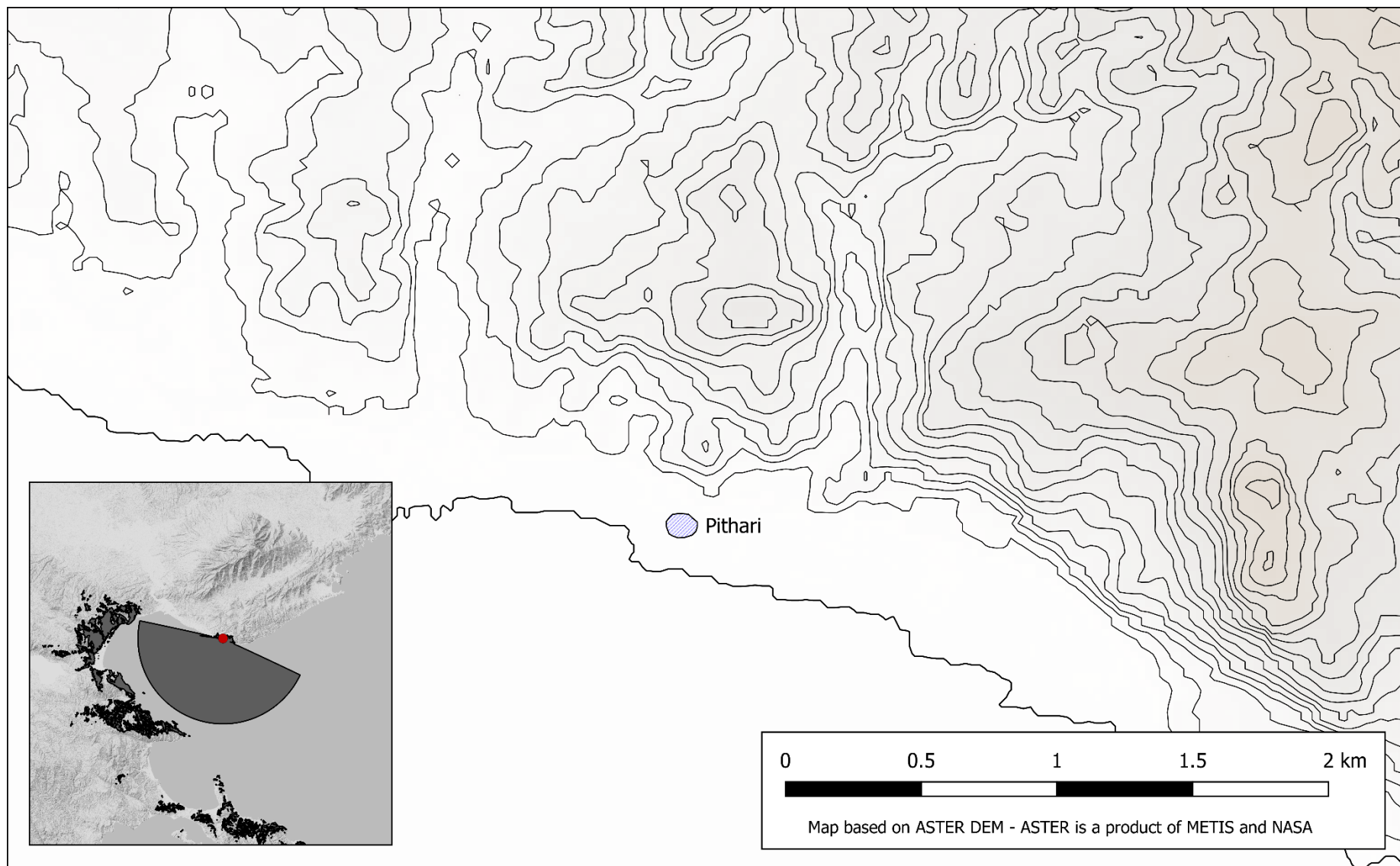


Figure 18: The Galepsos / Pithari area, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

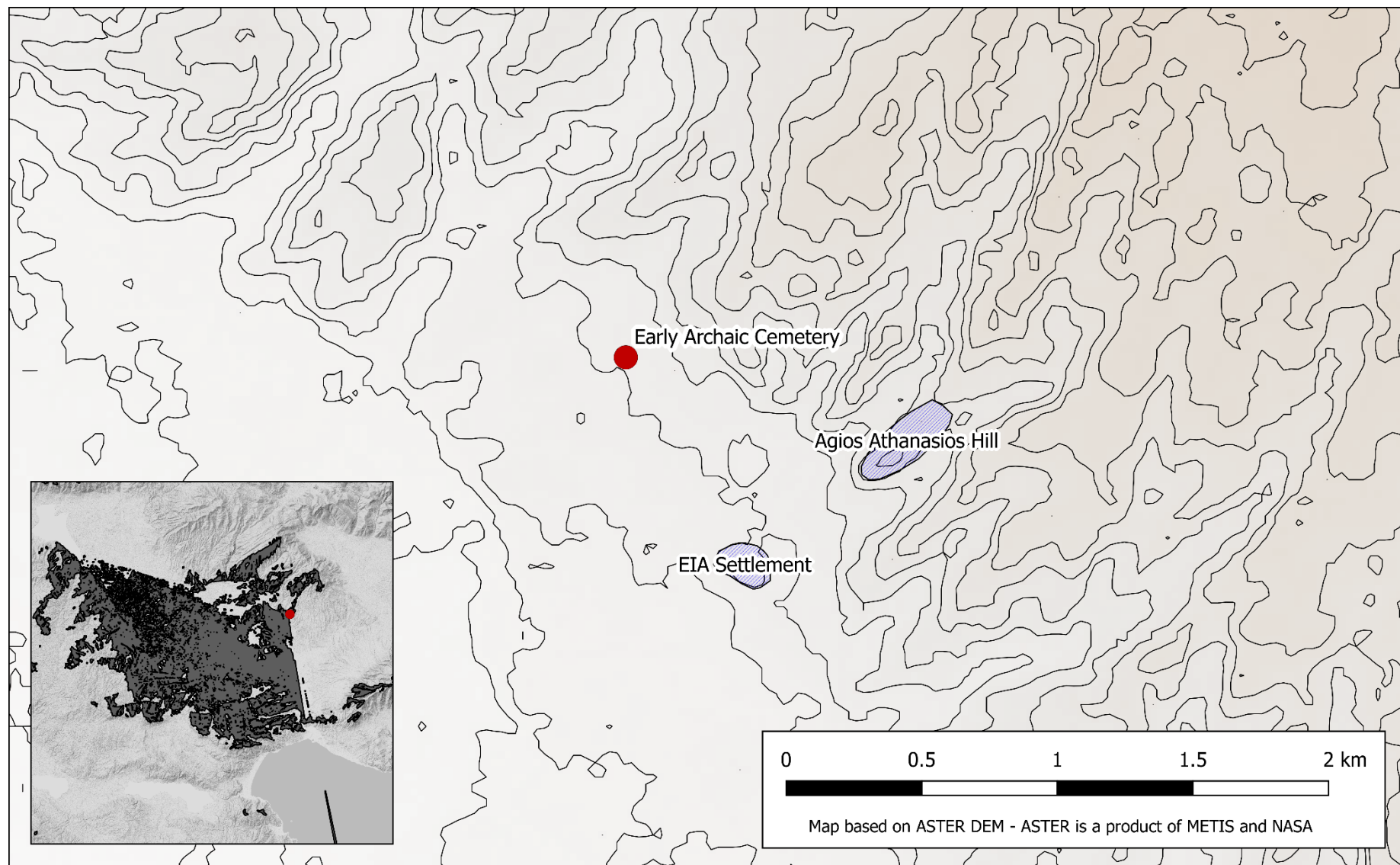


Figure 19: The Gazoros area, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

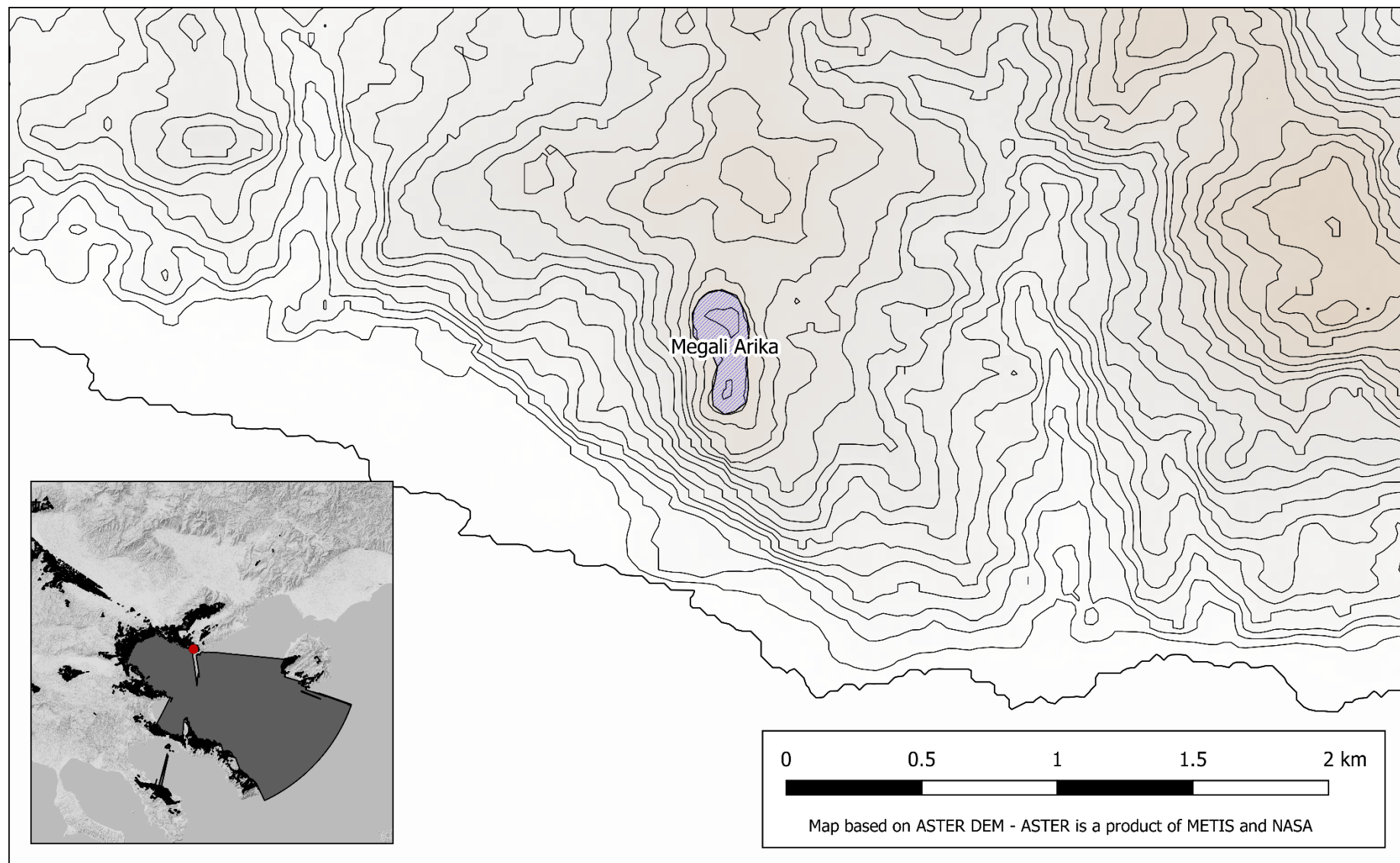


Figure 20: The Megali Arika hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

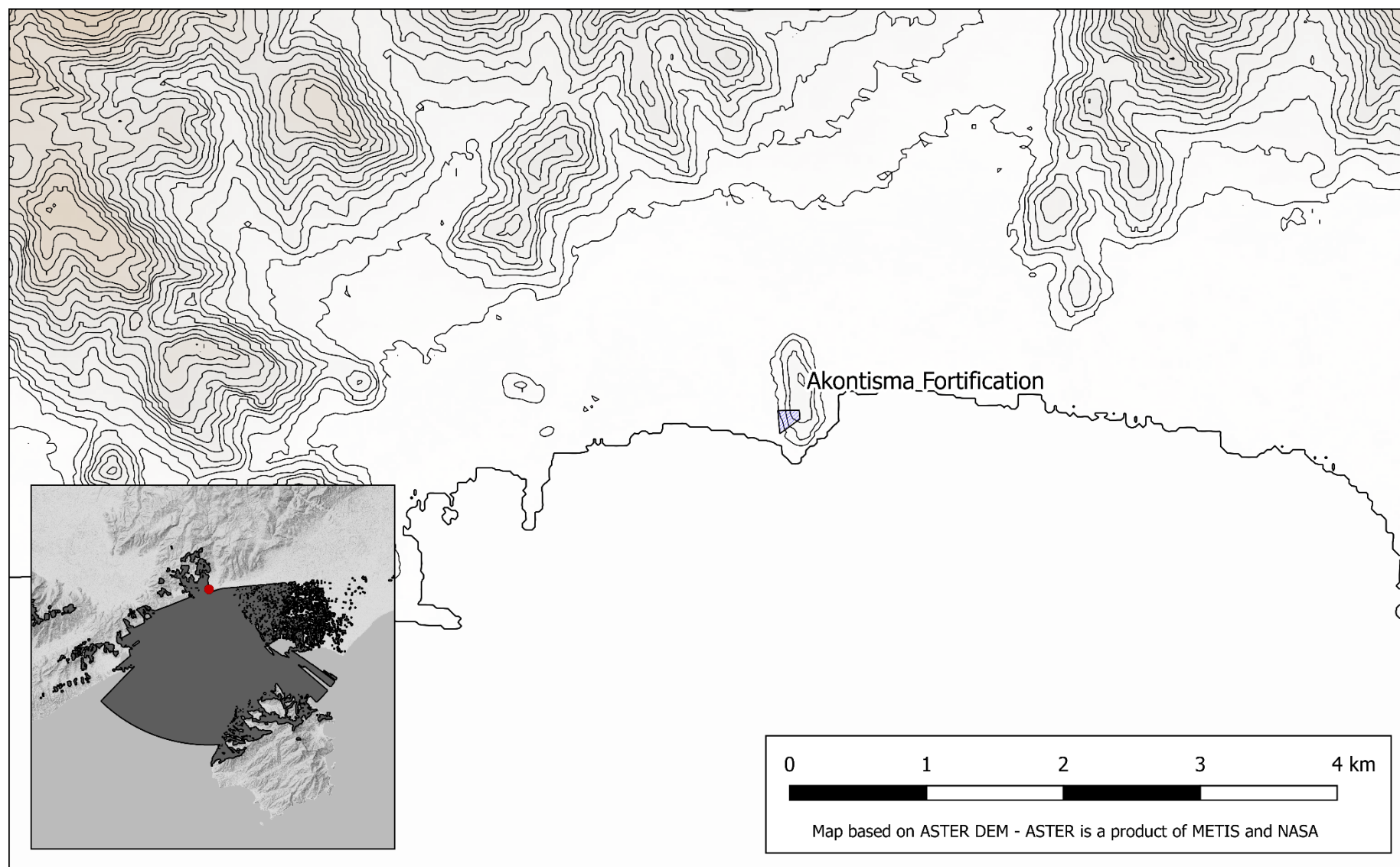


Figure 21: The Akontisma hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

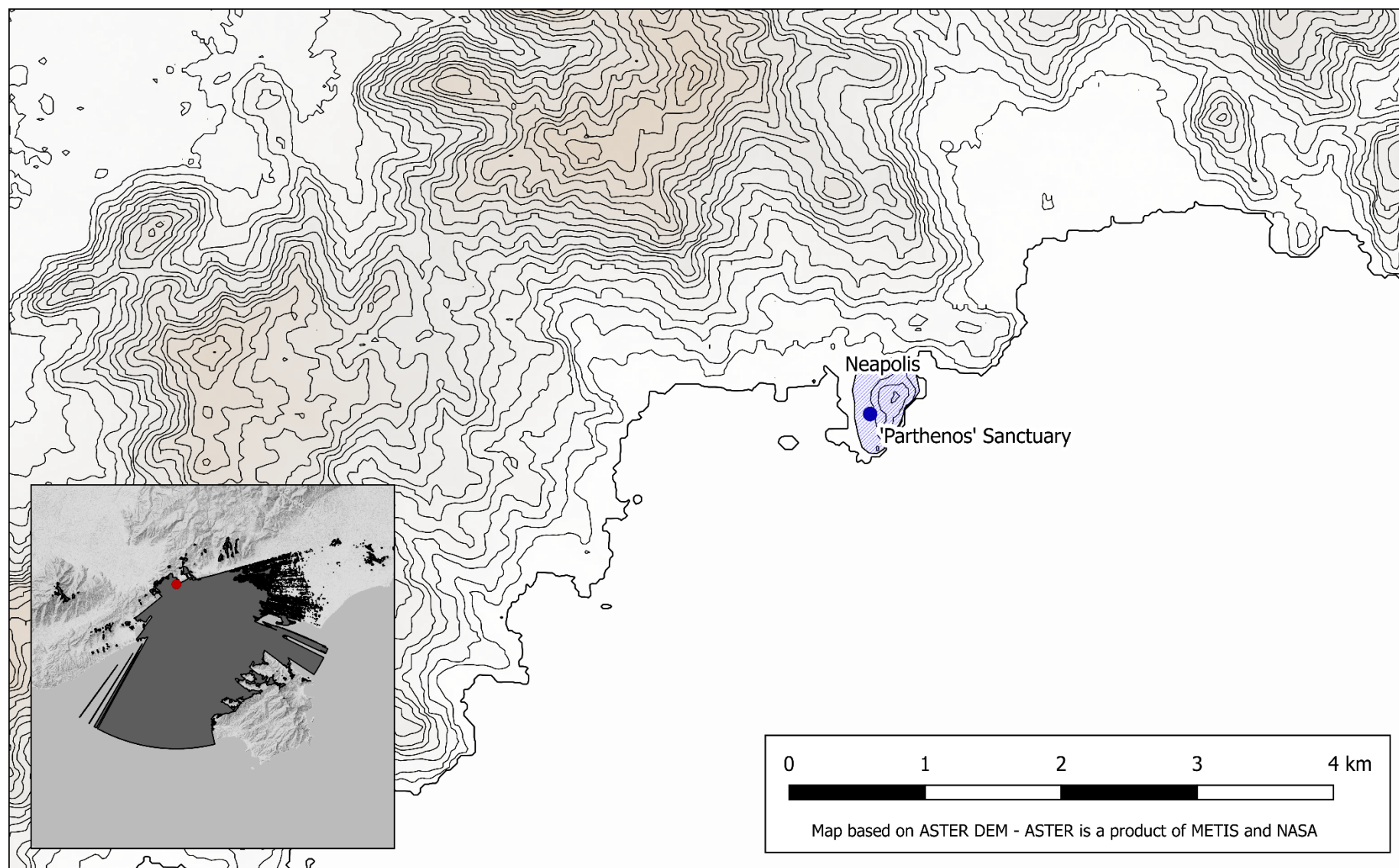


Figure 22: The Neapolis acropolis, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

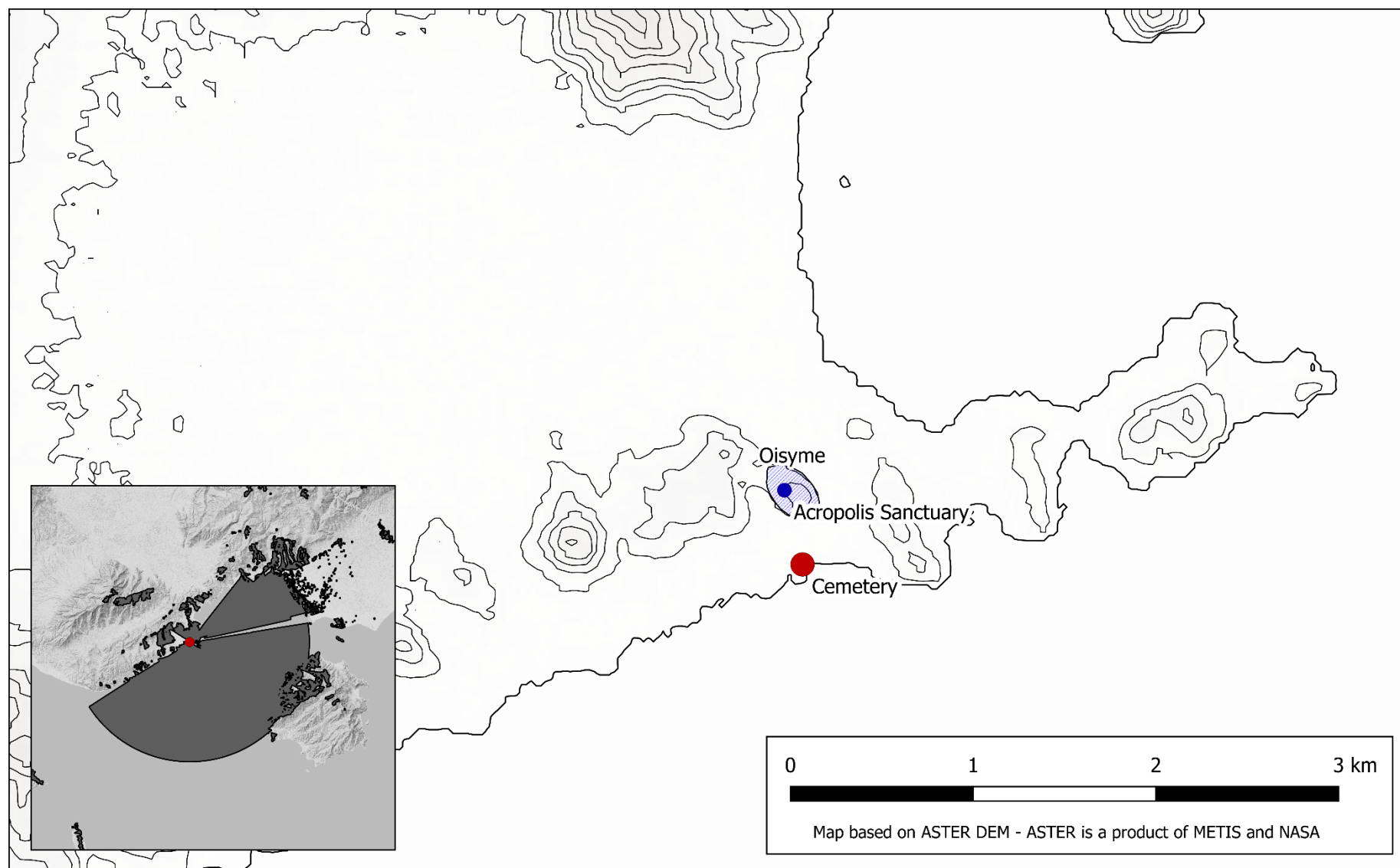


Figure 23: The Oisyme acropolis, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

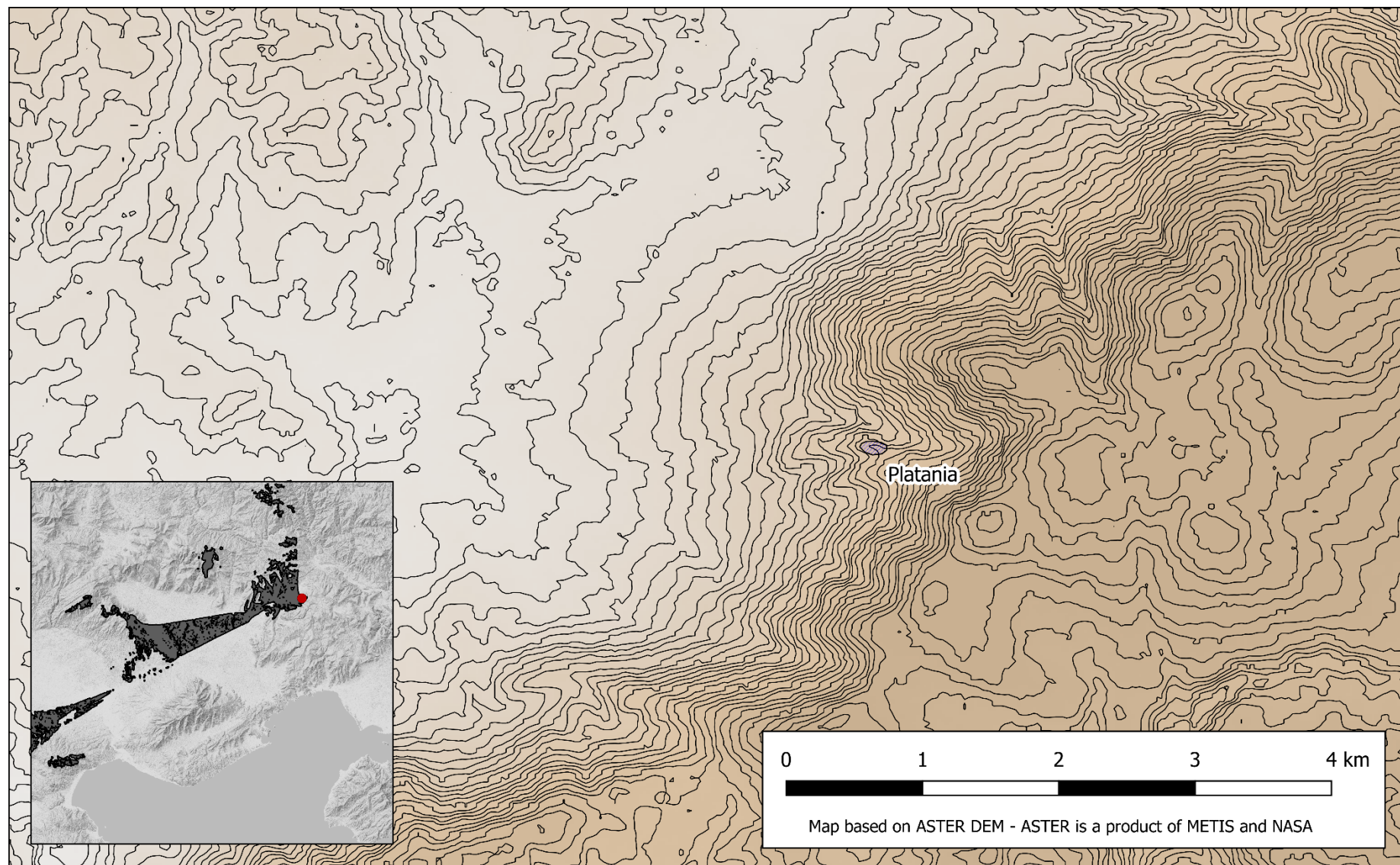


Figure 24: The Platania acropolis, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

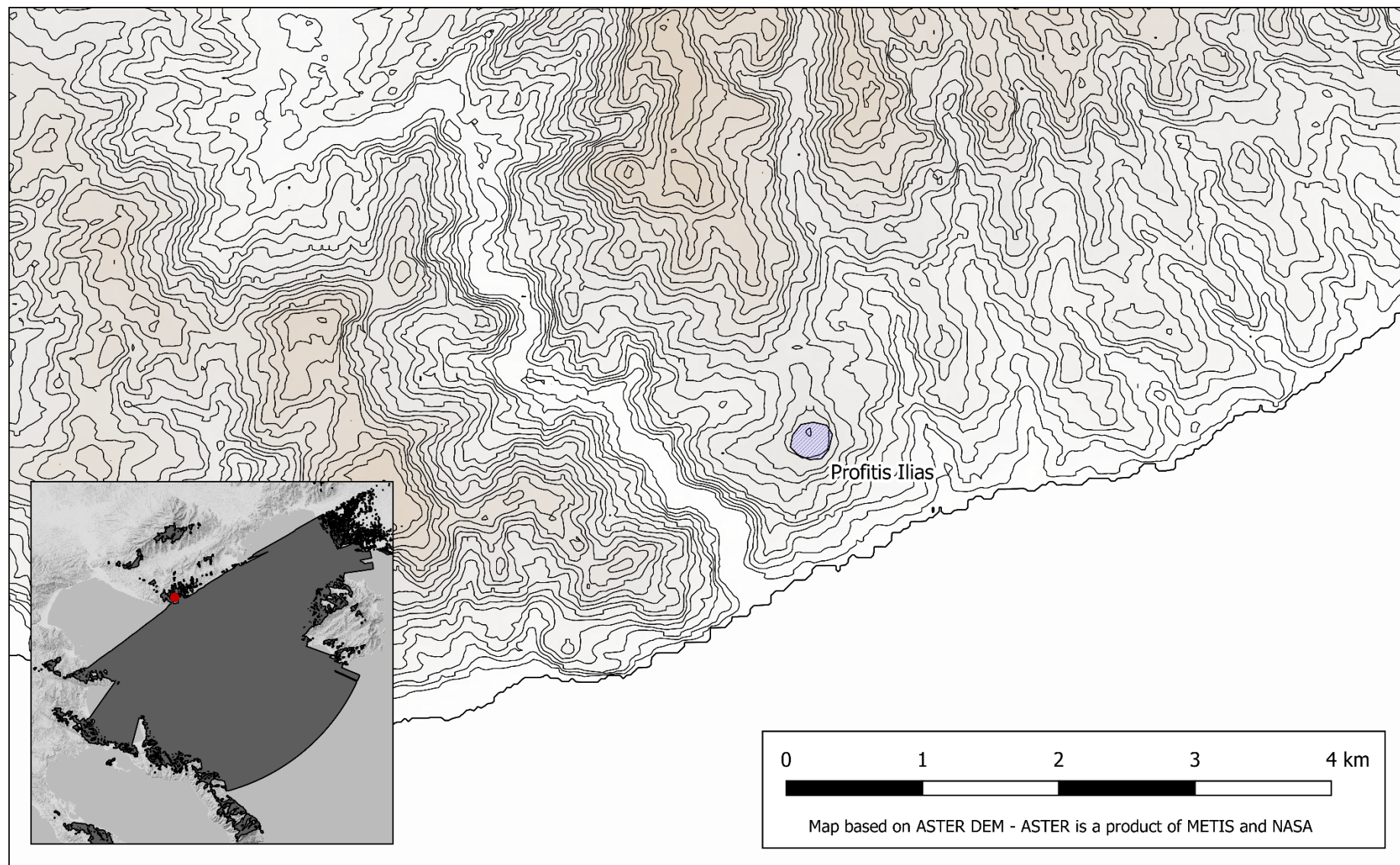


Figure 25: The Profitis Ilias hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

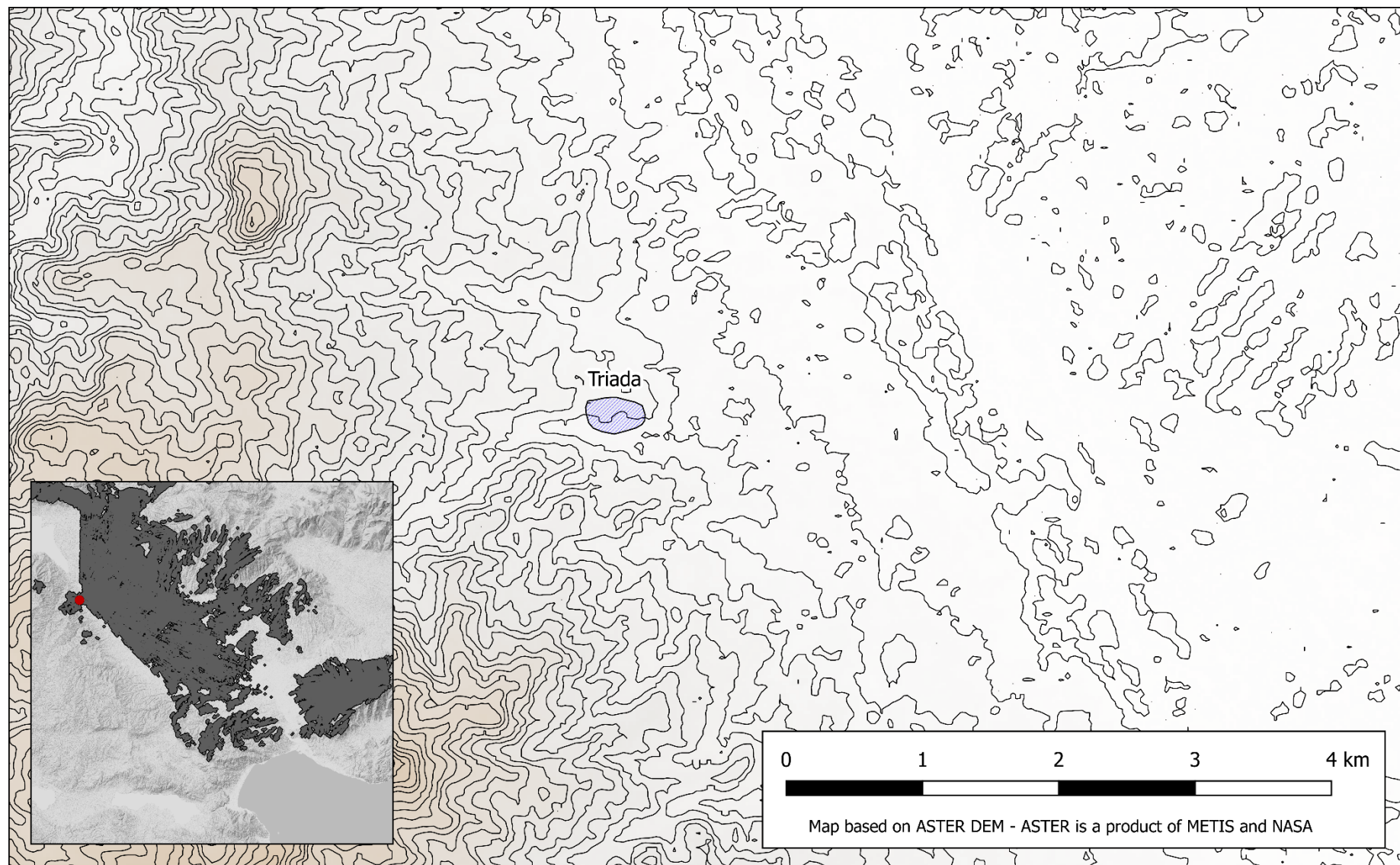


Figure 26: The Triada surface scatter, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

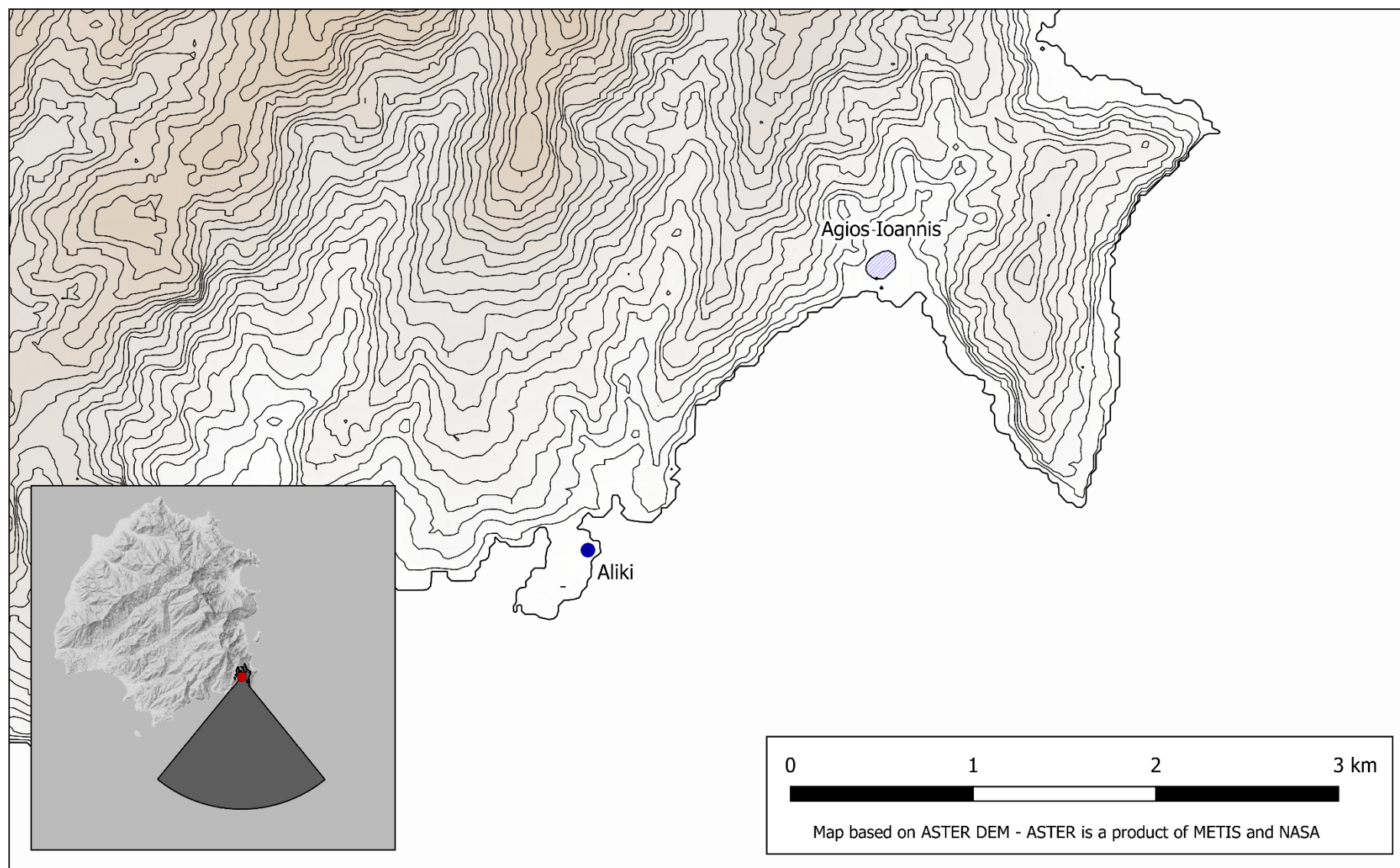


Figure 27: The Agios Ioannis settlement and Alikí sanctuary, with settlement viewshed inset (bottom left).

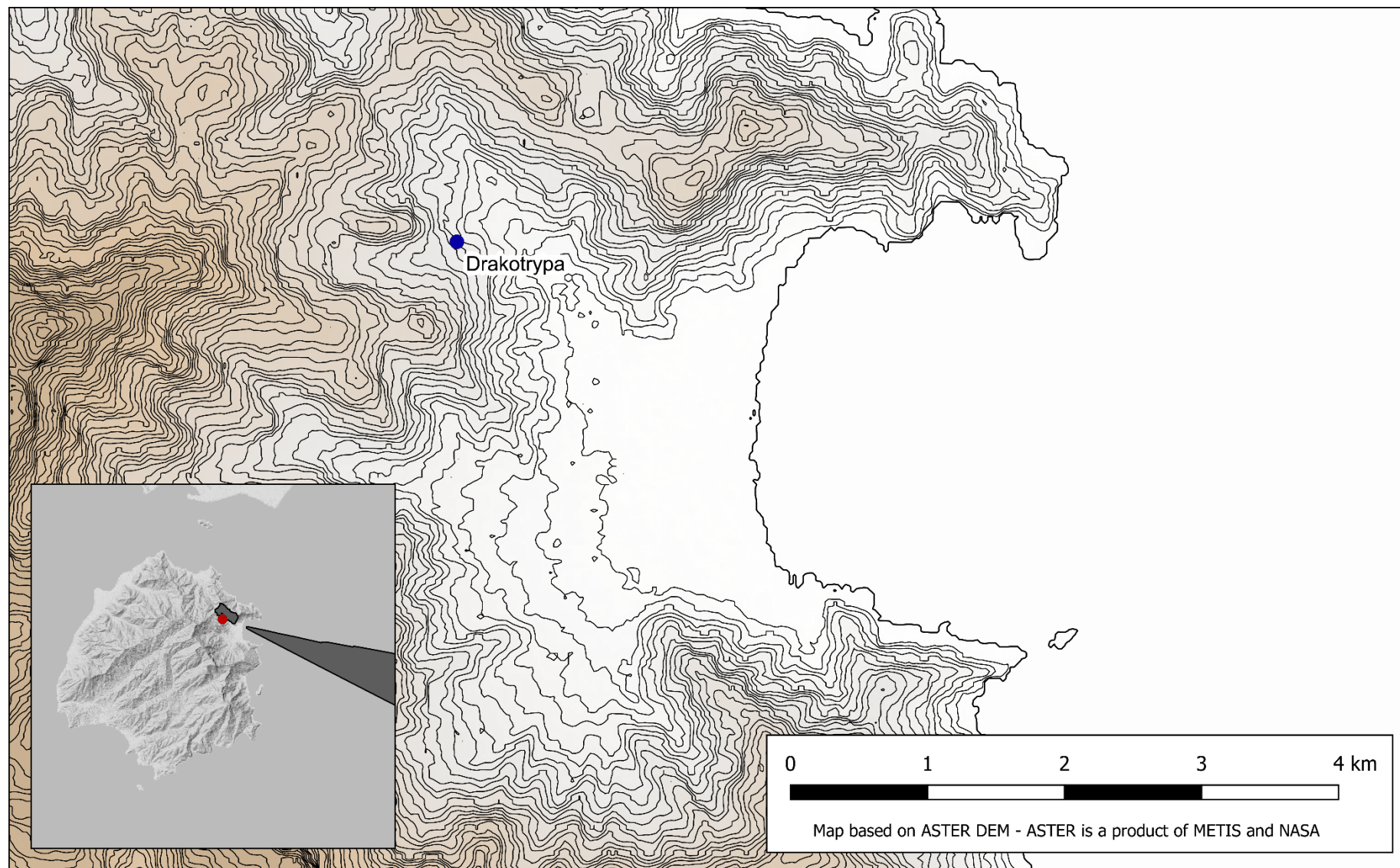


Figure 28: The Drakotrypa cave, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

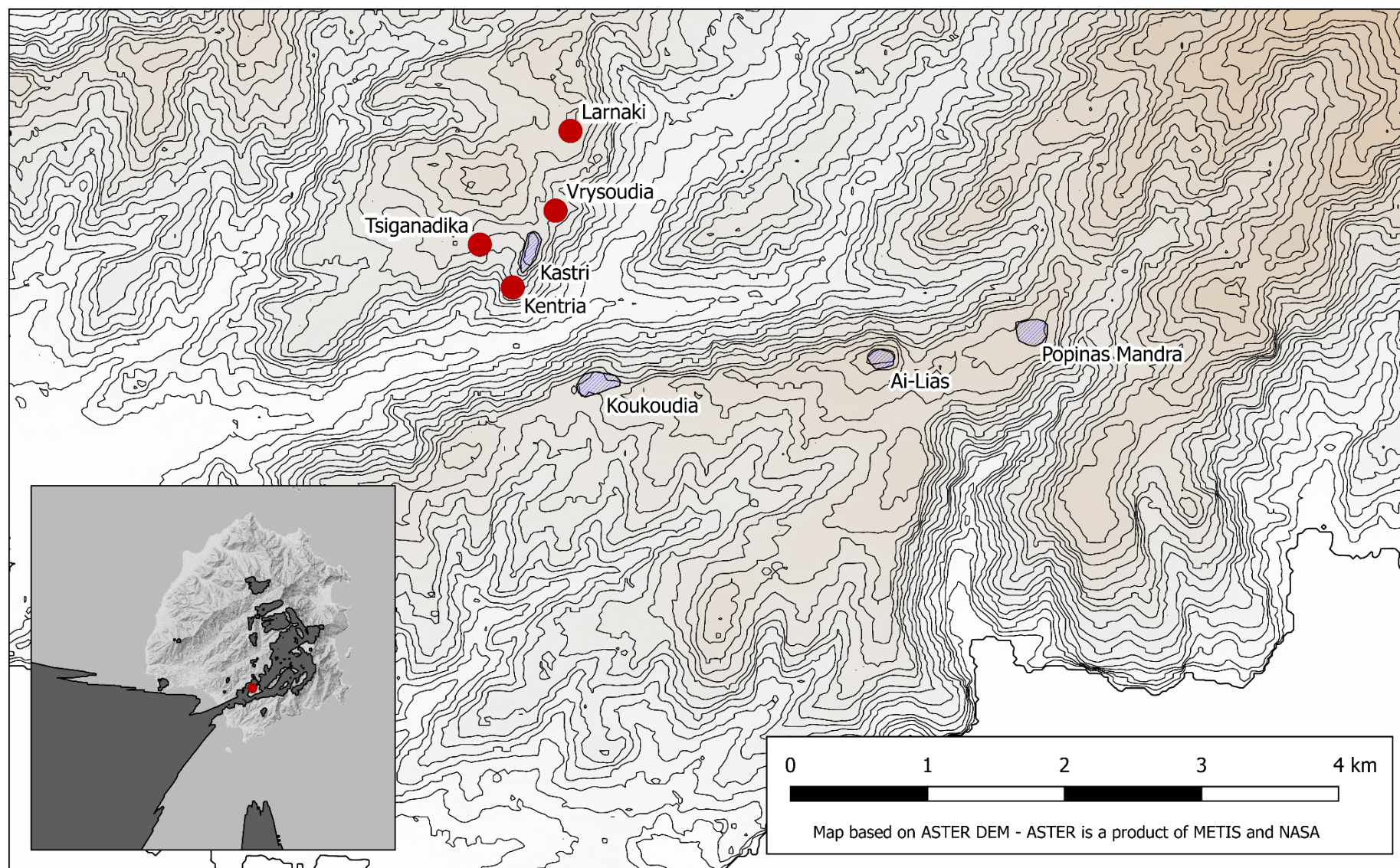


Figure 29: The Kastri acropolis, satellite settlements (blue), and cemeteries (red), with viewshed inset (bottom left).

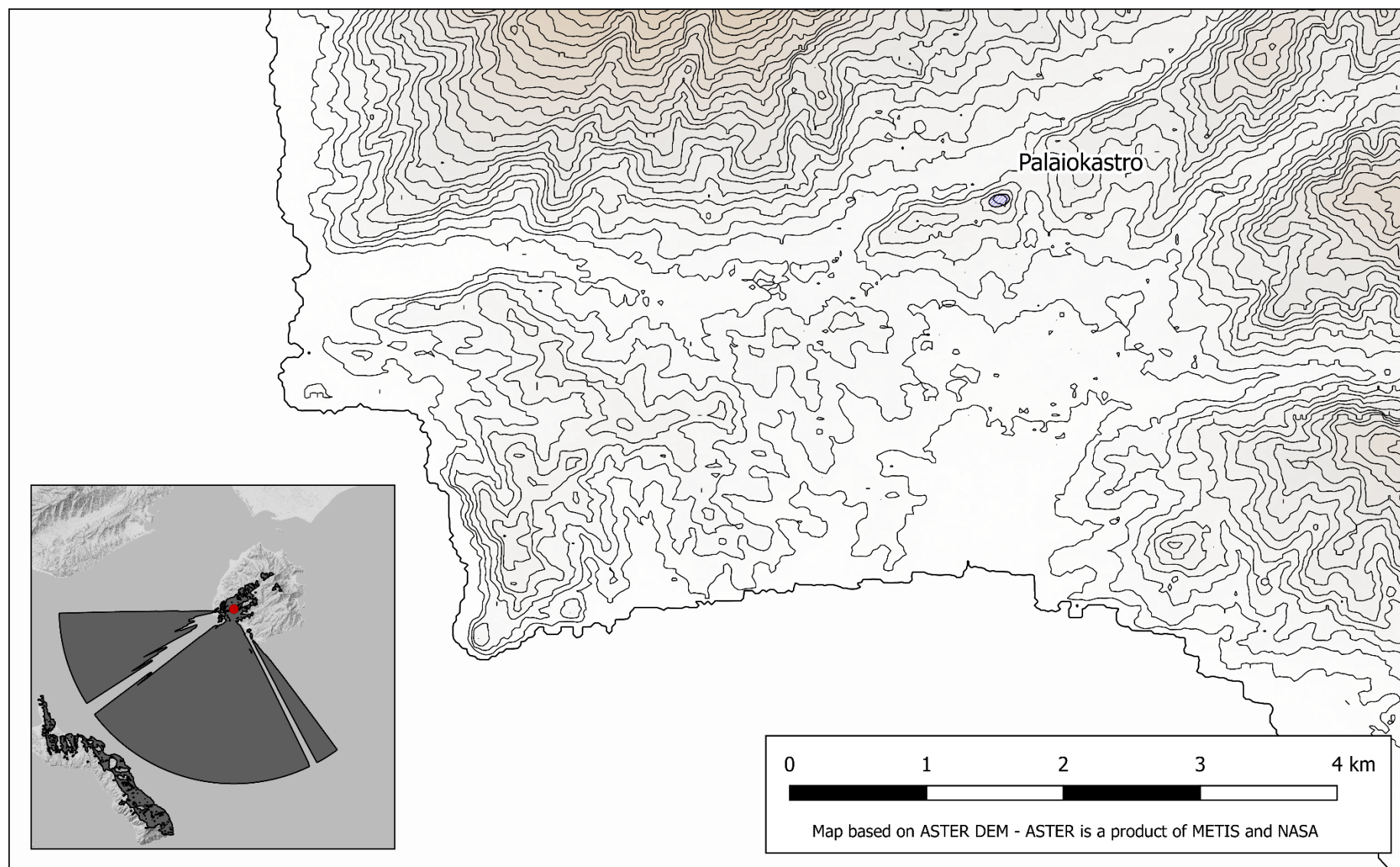


Figure 30: The Palaiokastro hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

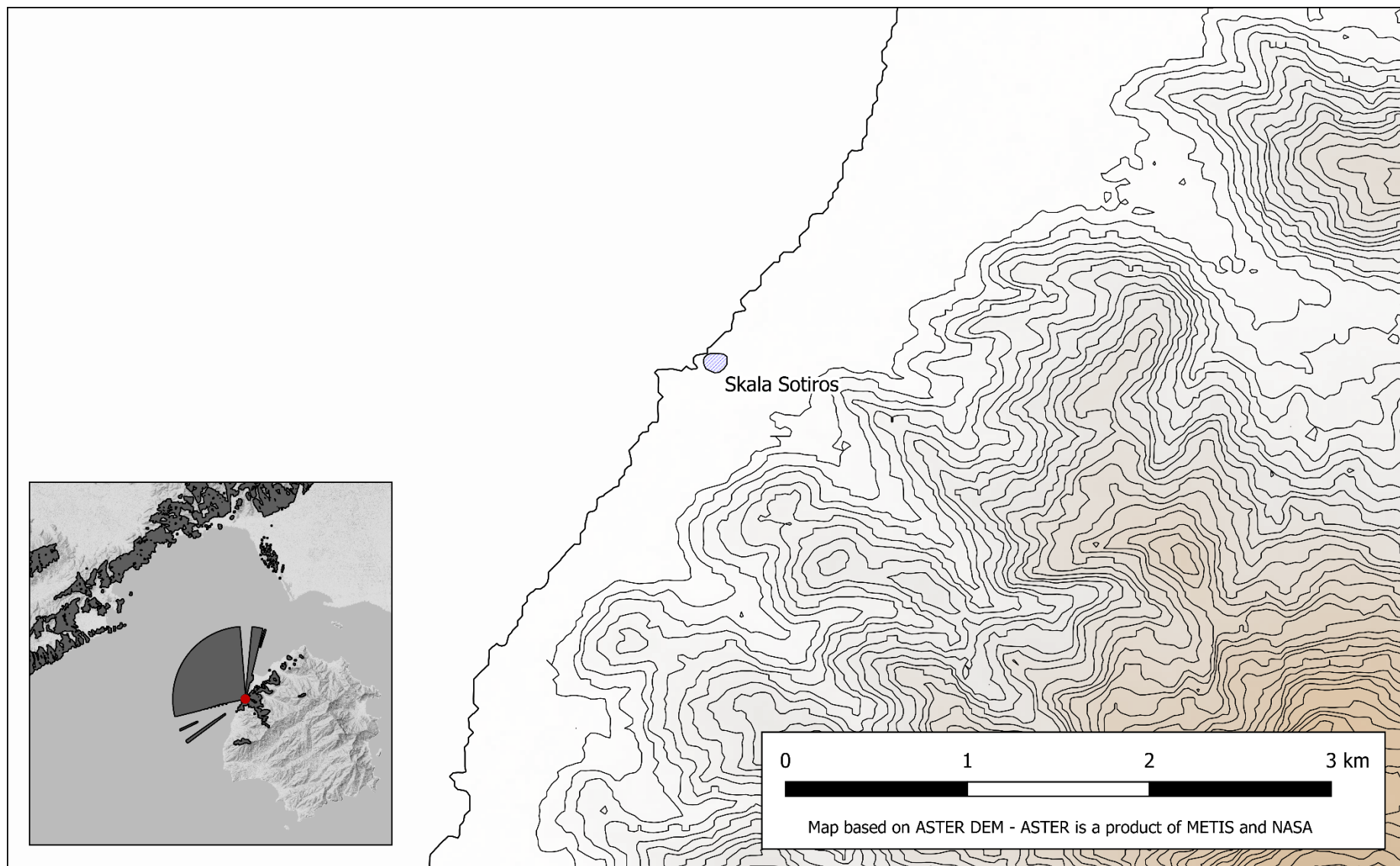


Figure 31: The Skala Sotiros coastal settlement, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

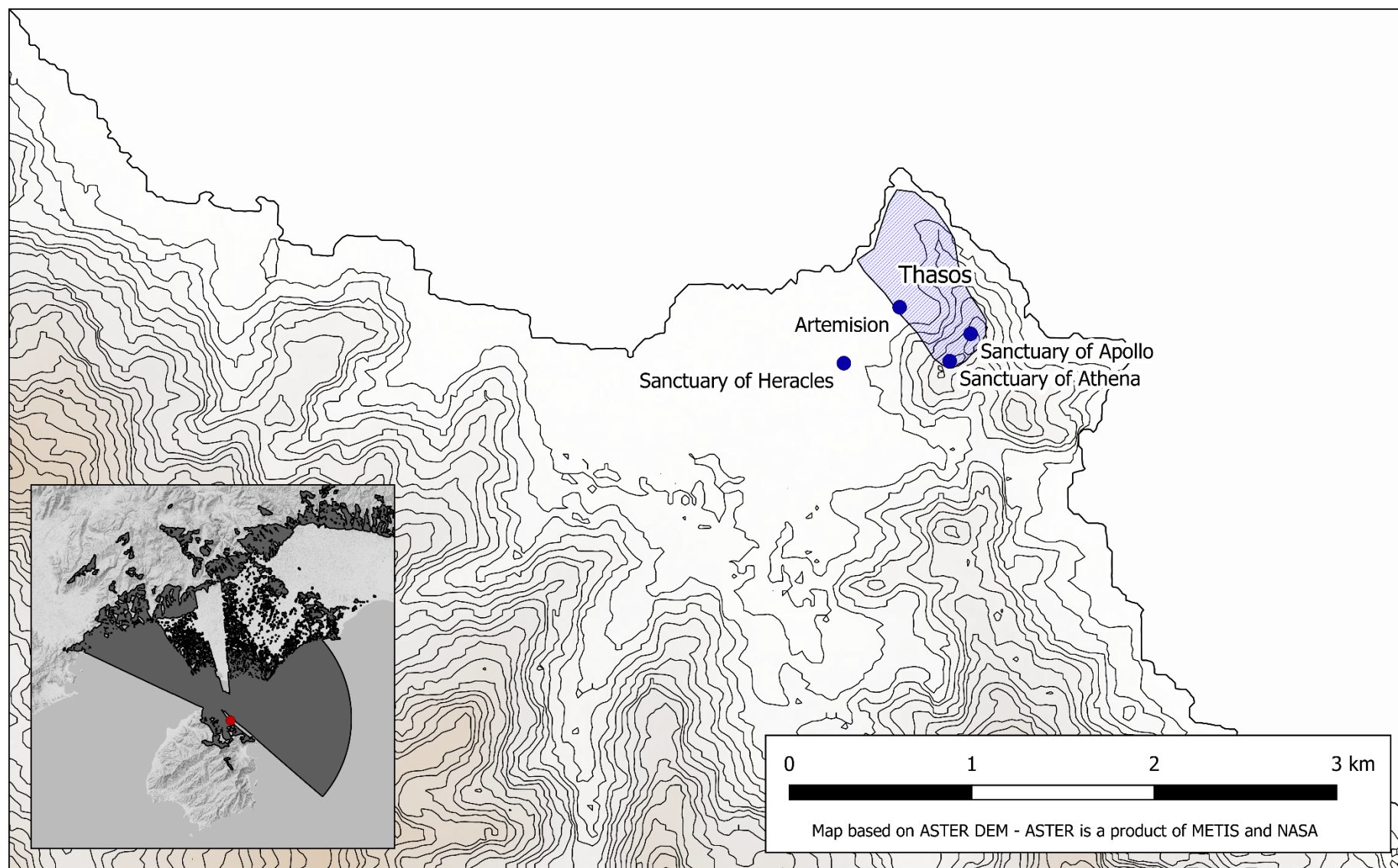


Figure 32: The settlement of Thasos (extents based on 6th-century fortification) with 7th-century sanctuaries and viewshed inset (bottom left).

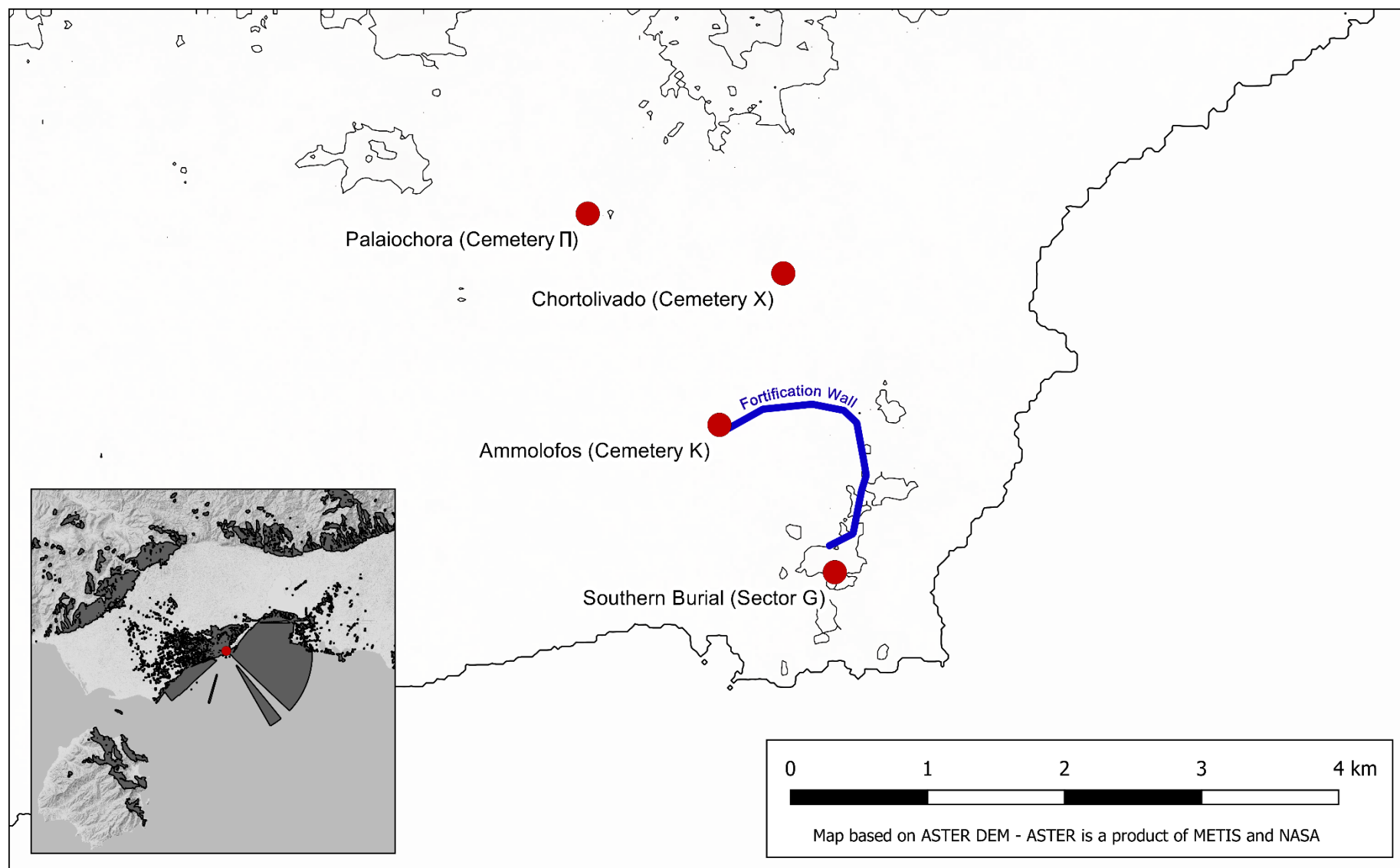


Figure 33: The Abdera fortification wall and cemeteries, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

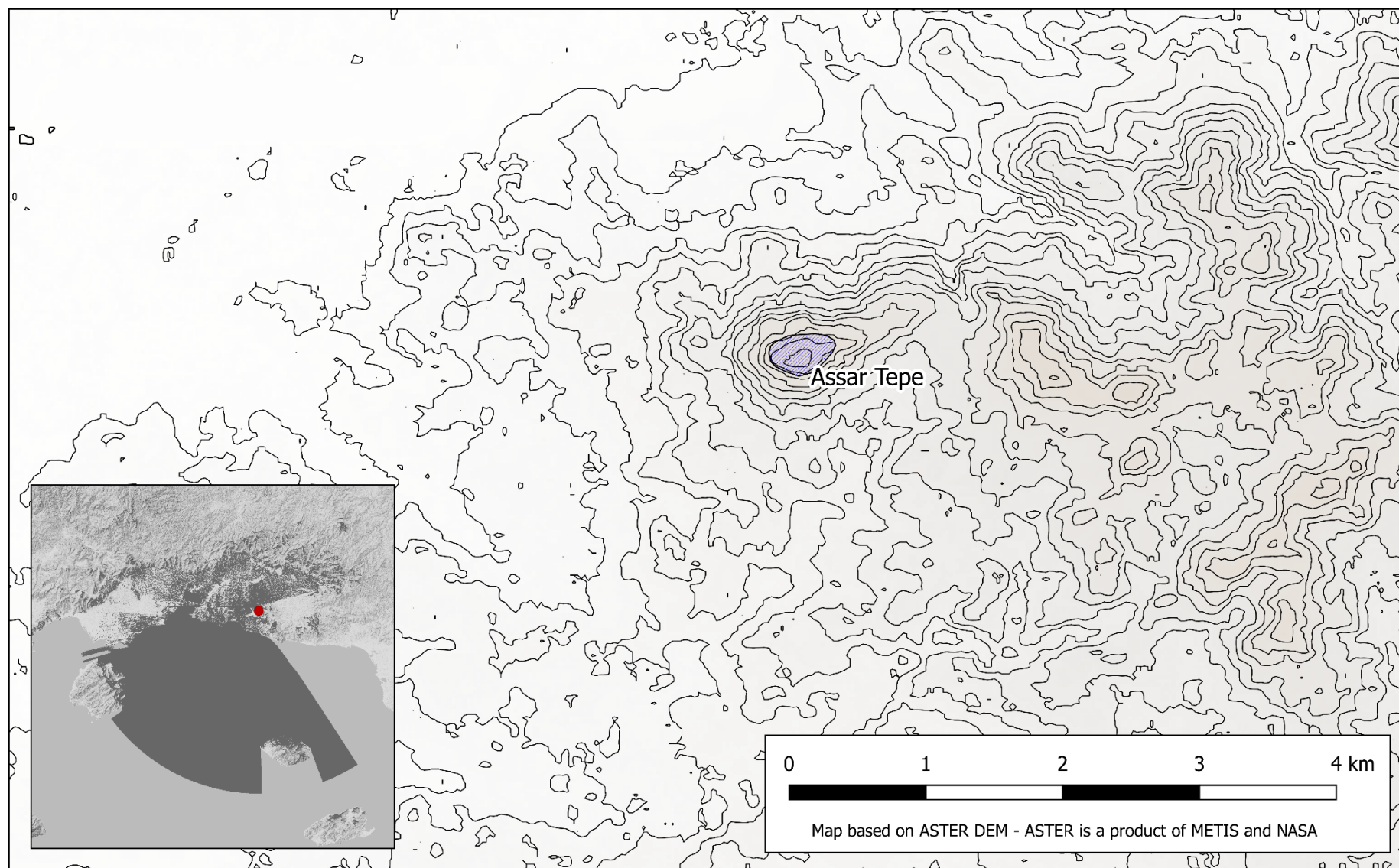


Figure 34: The Assar Tepe acropolis with viewshed inset (bottom left).

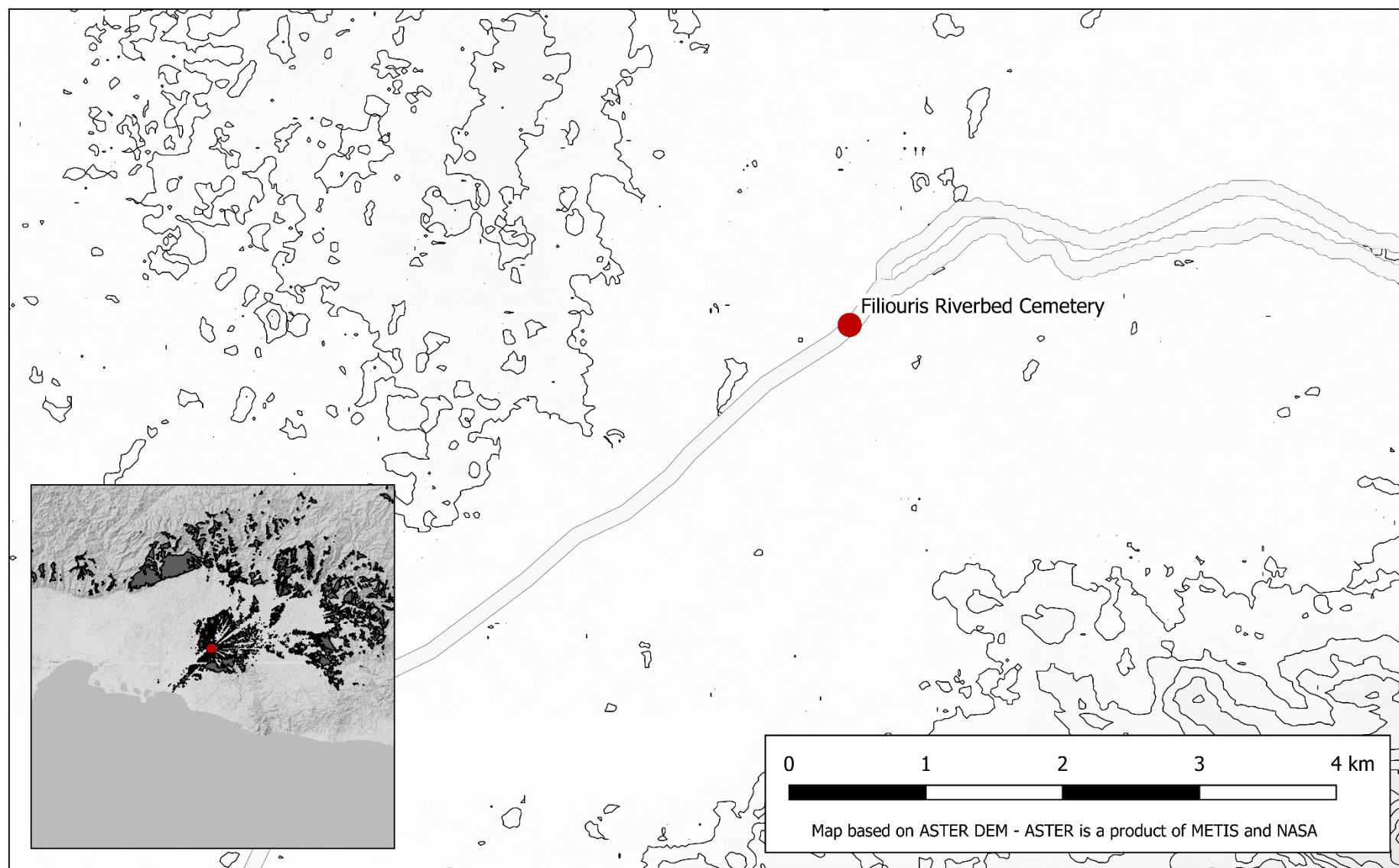


Figure 35: The Filiouris cemetery, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

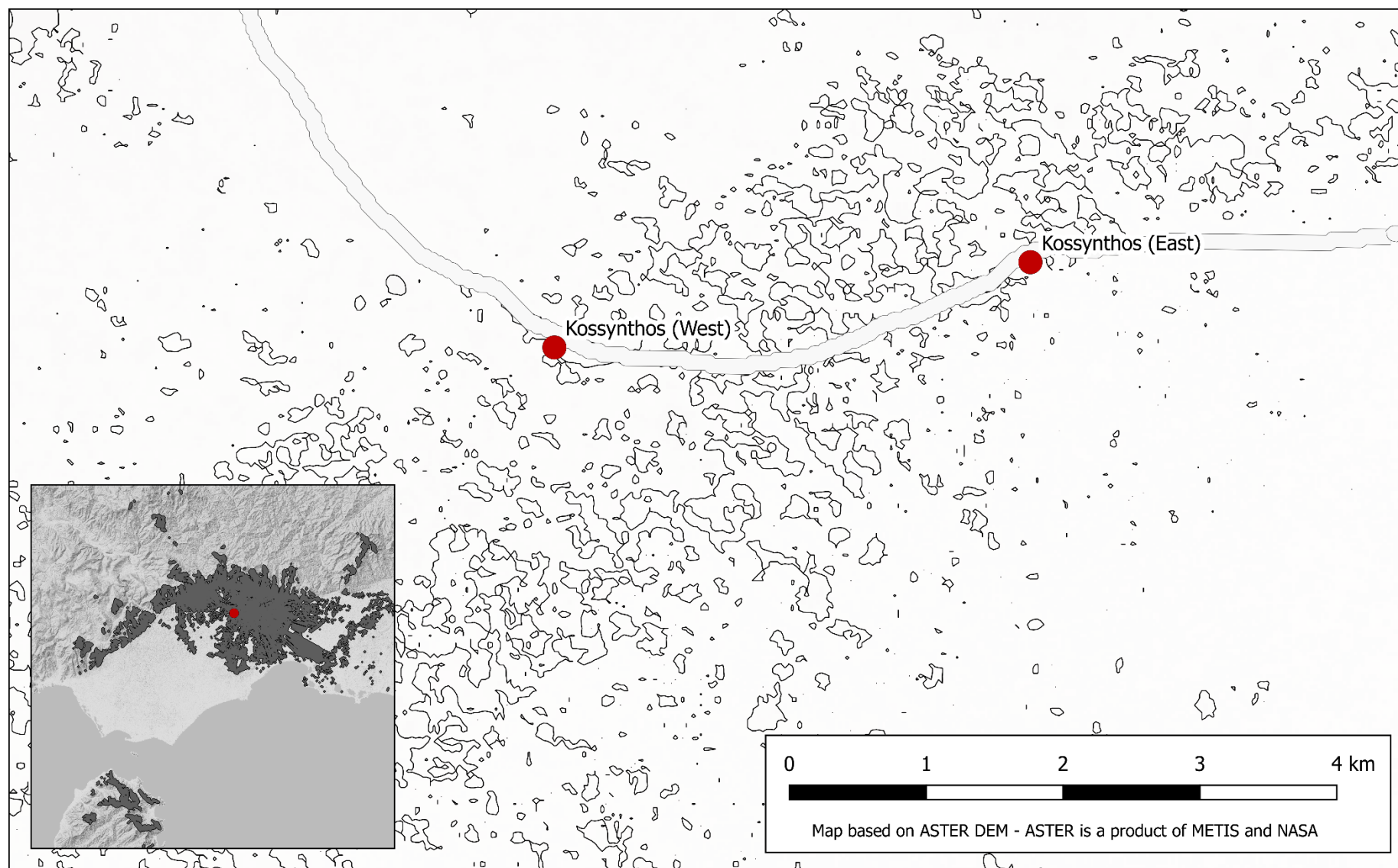


Figure 36: The Kossynthos grave clusters, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

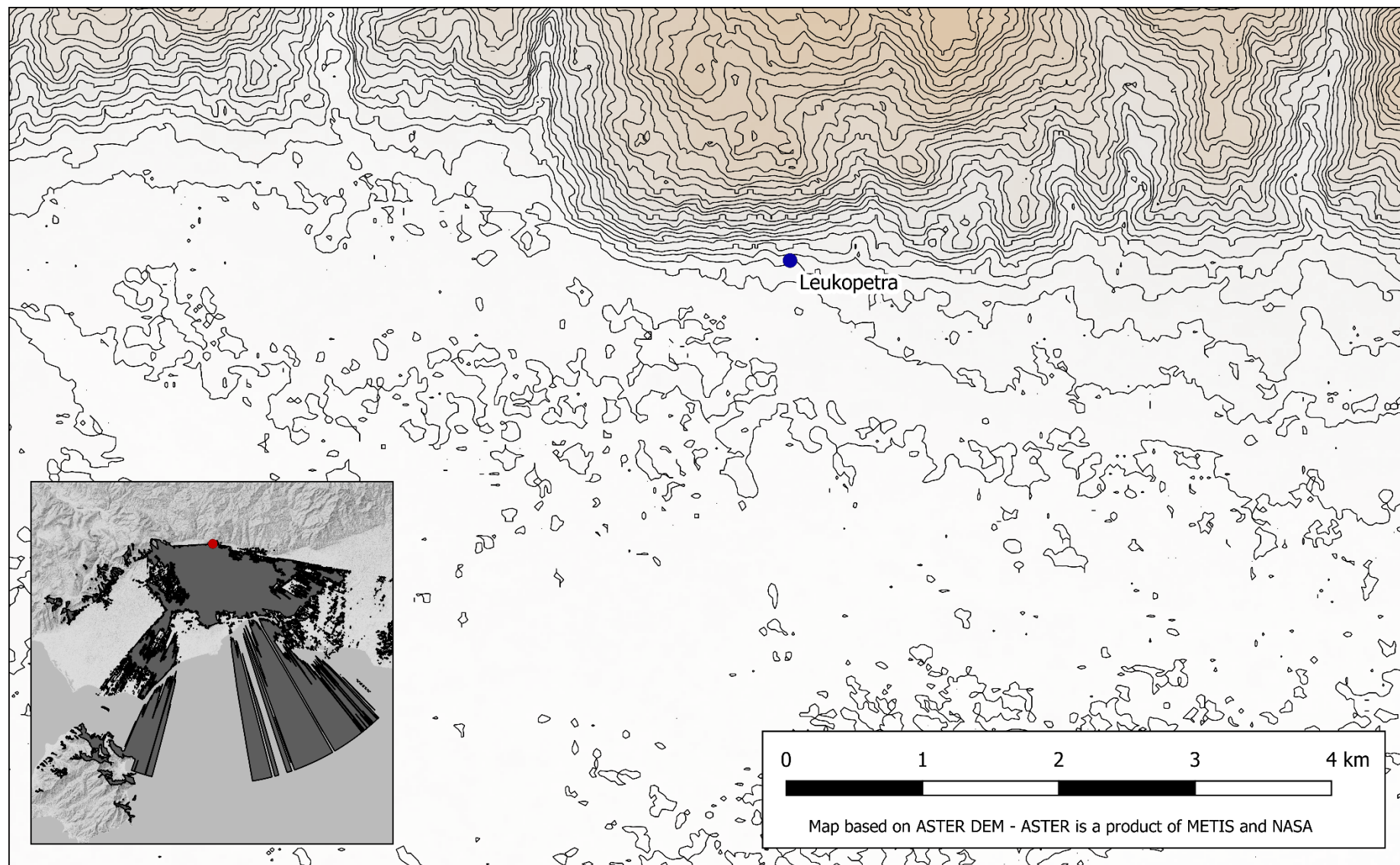


Figure 37: The Leukopetra site, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

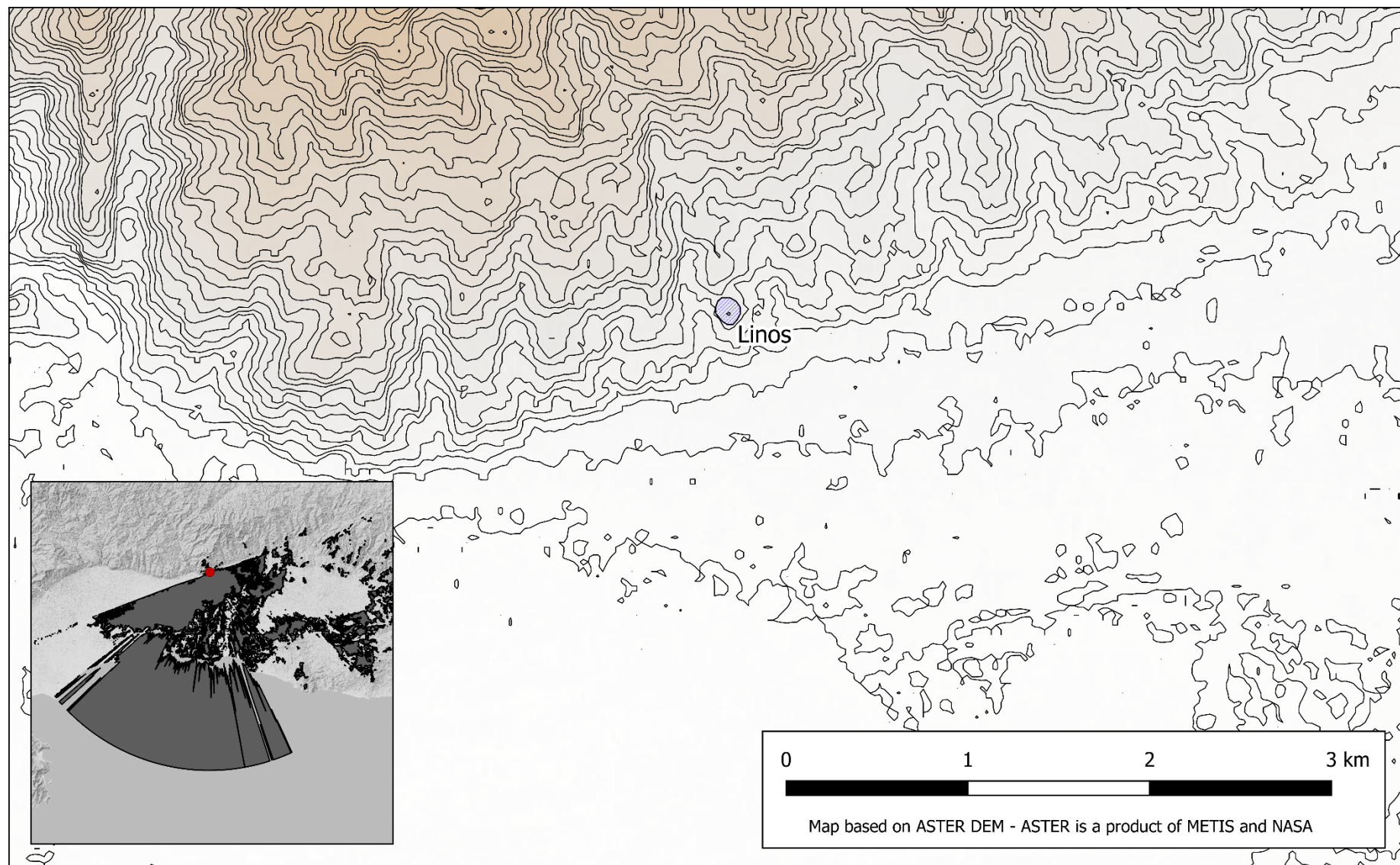


Figure 38: The Linos acropolis, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

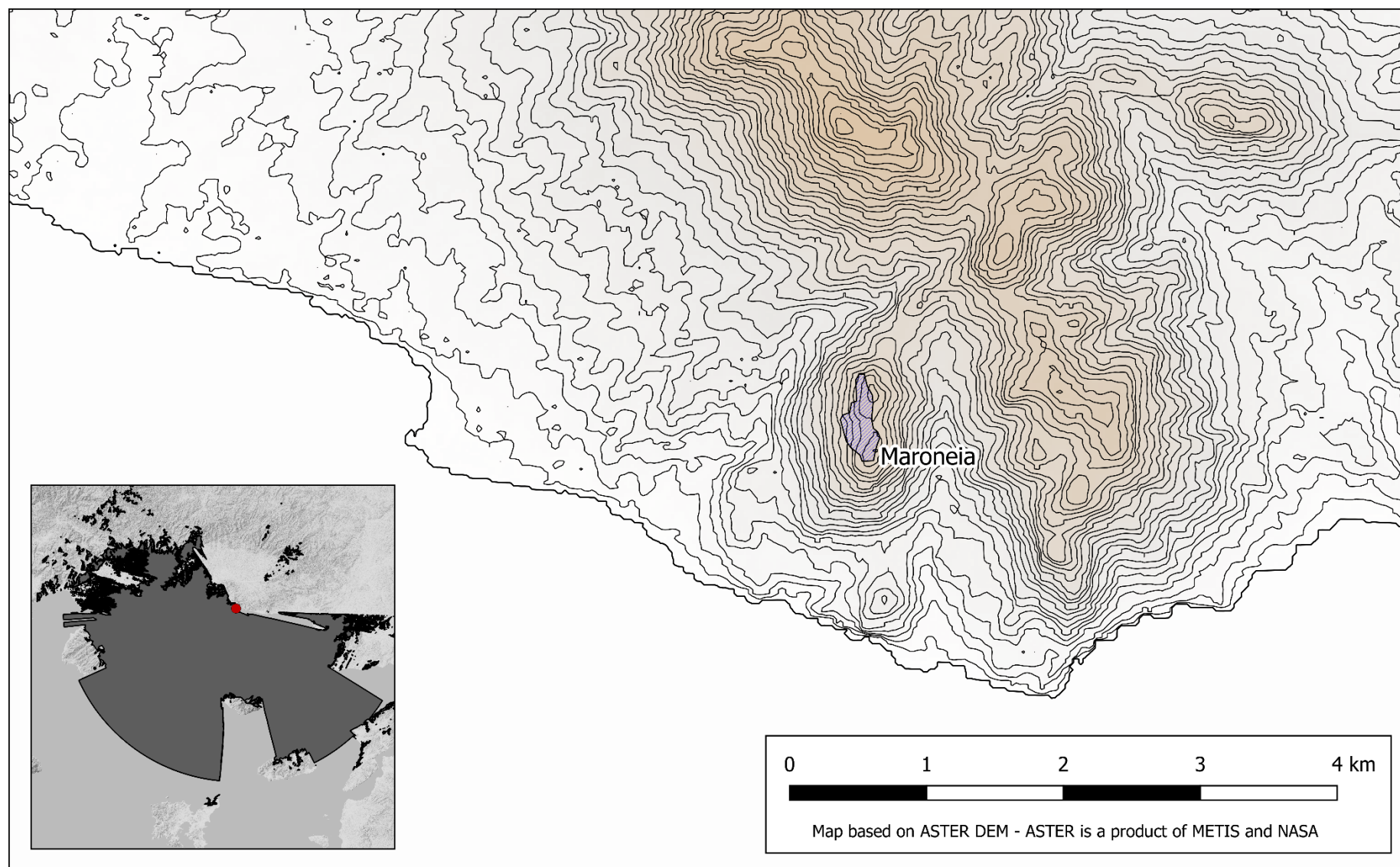


Figure 39: The Maroneia acropolis, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

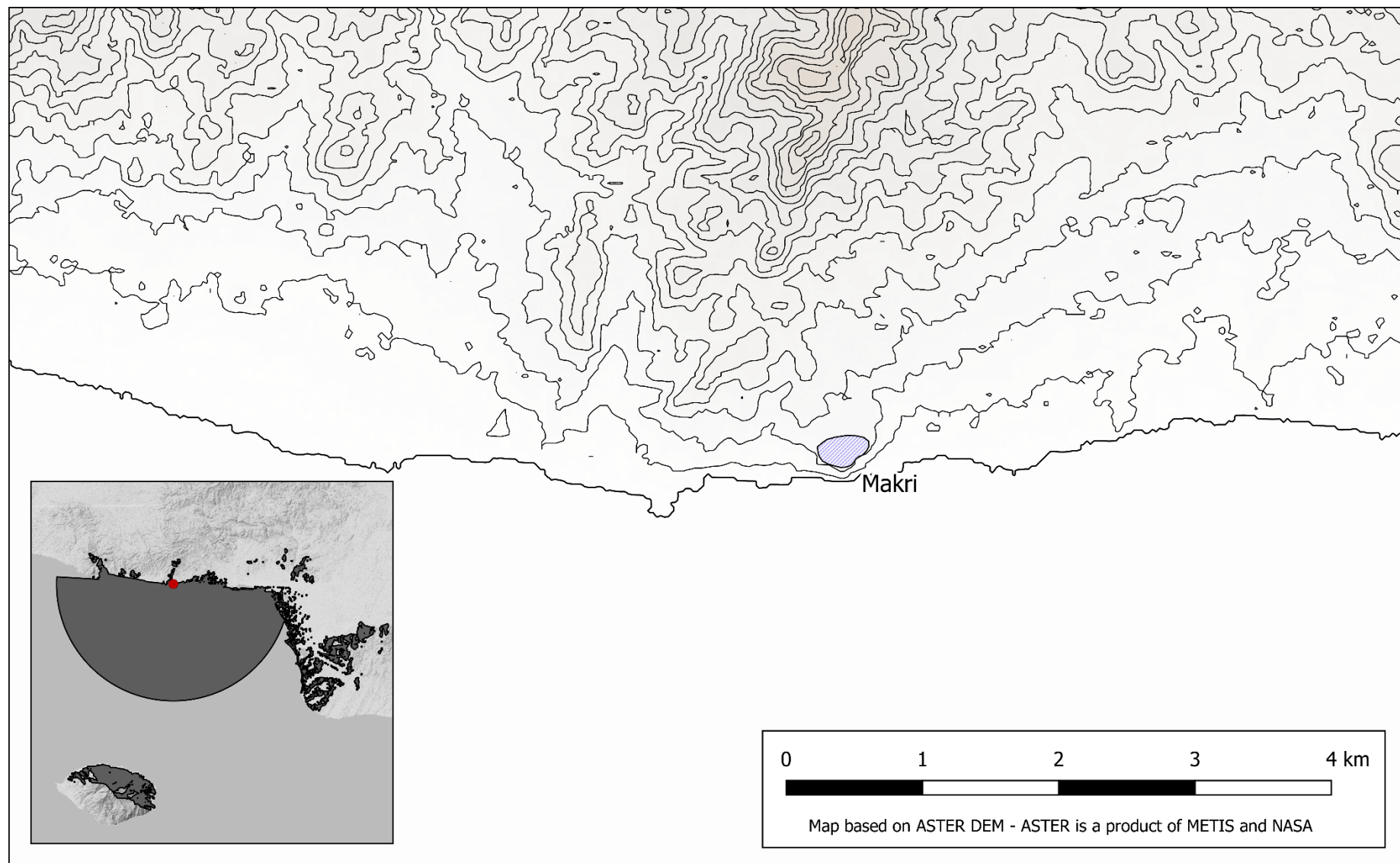


Figure 40: The Makri coastal settlement, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

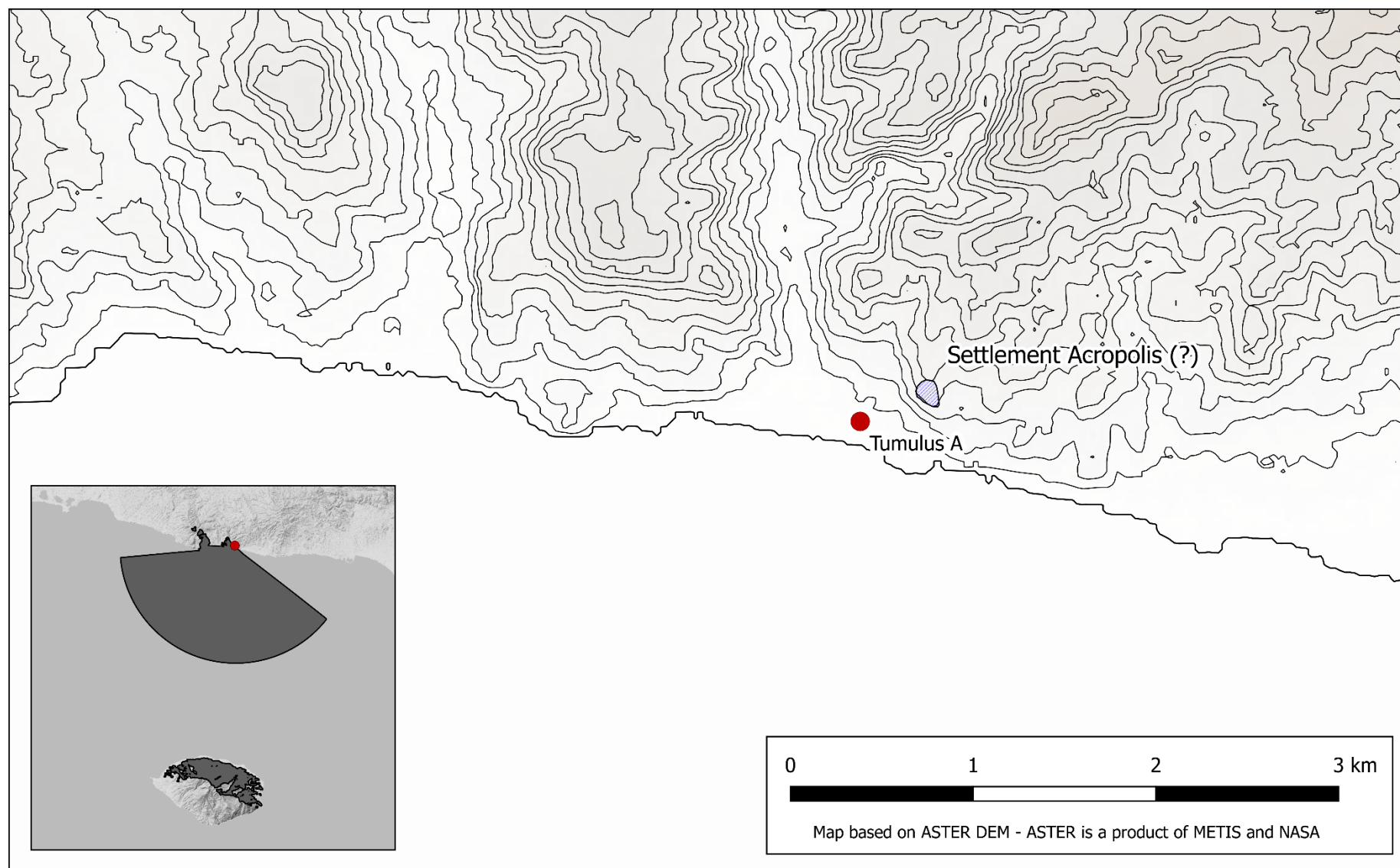


Figure 41: The Mesembria / Zone tumulus, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

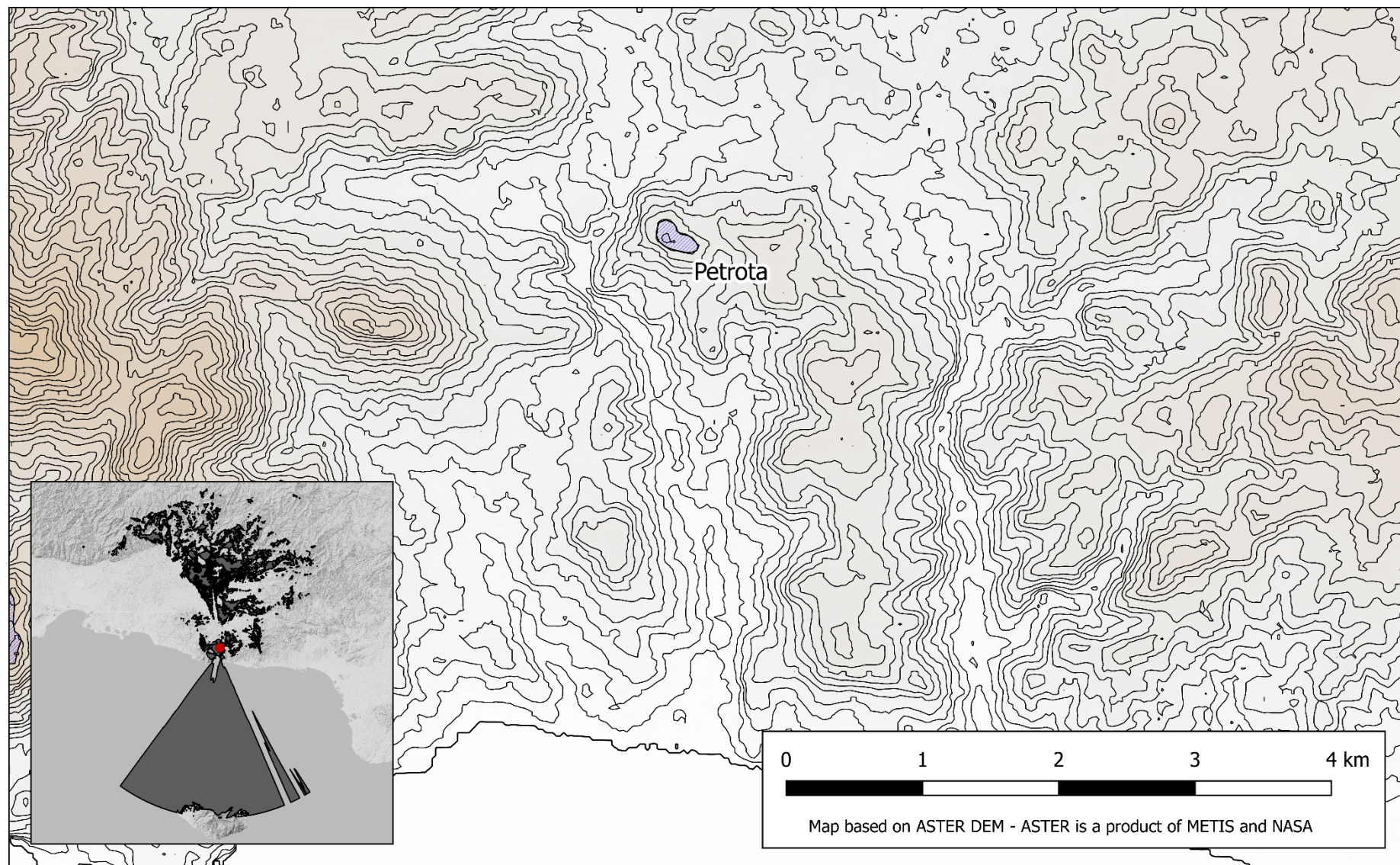


Figure 42: The Petrota hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

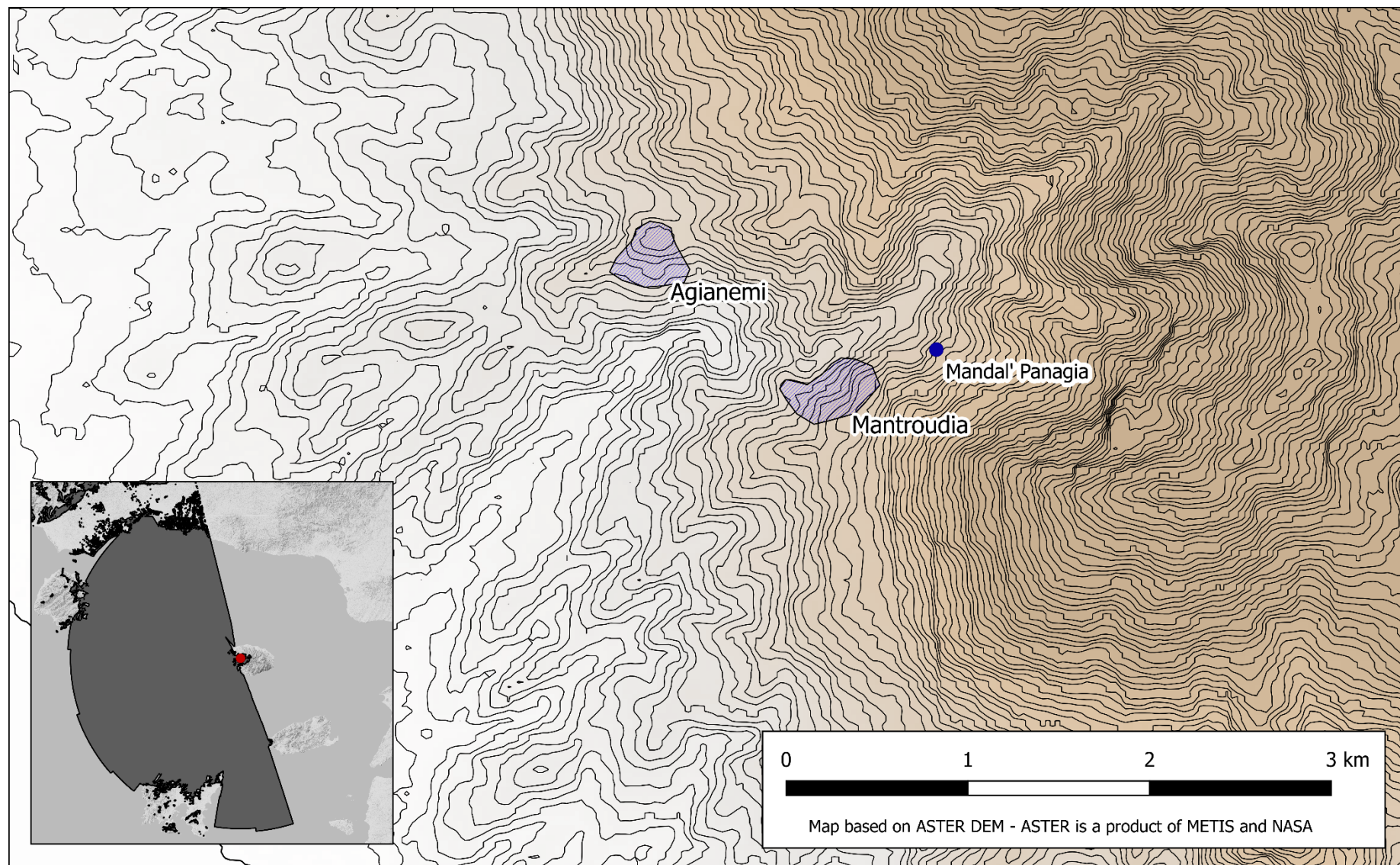


Figure 43: The Agianemi enclosure, Mantroudia settlement, and Mandal' Panagia sanctuary, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

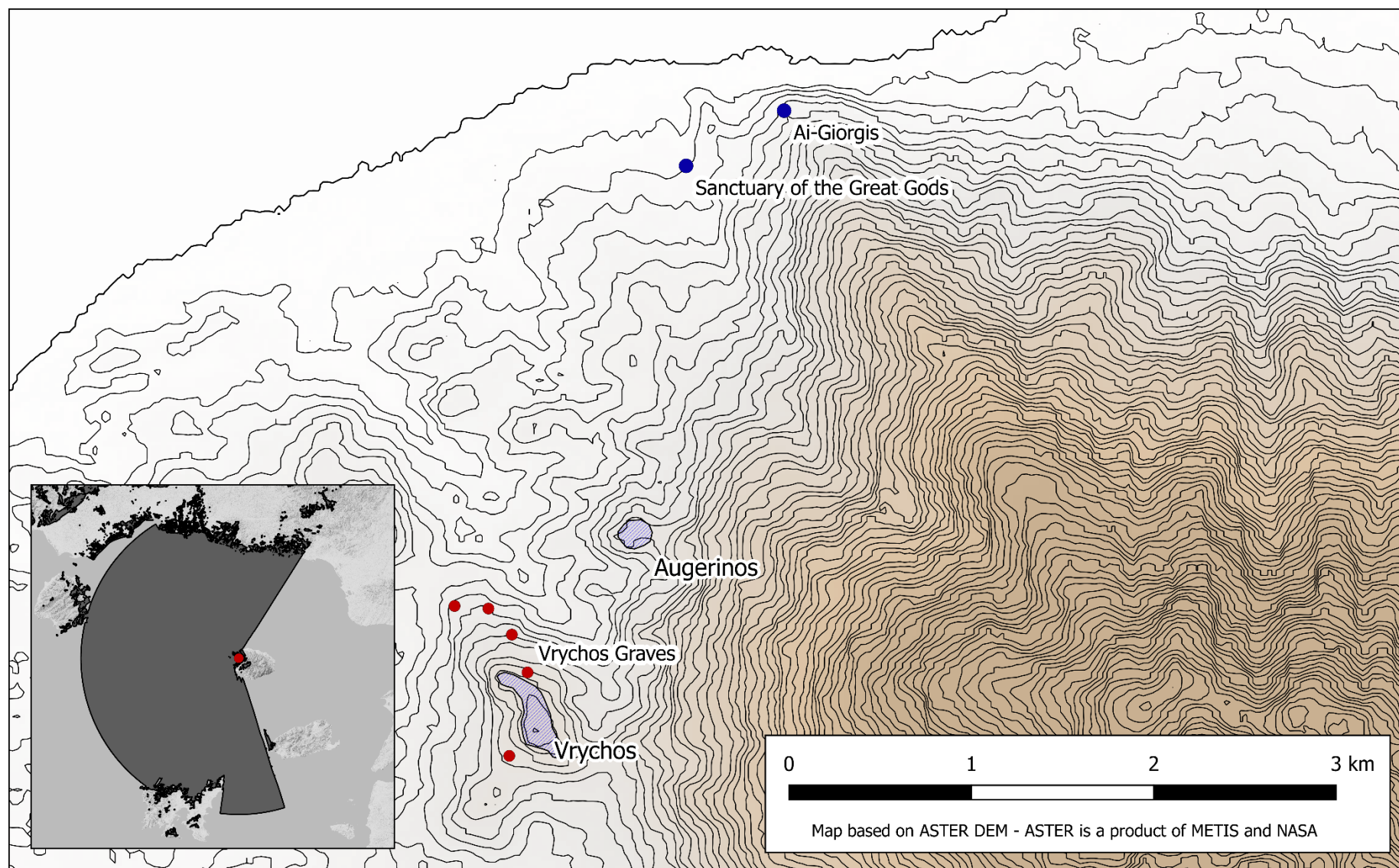


Figure 44: The Vrychos and Augerinos acropoleis and the sanctuary of the Great Gods, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

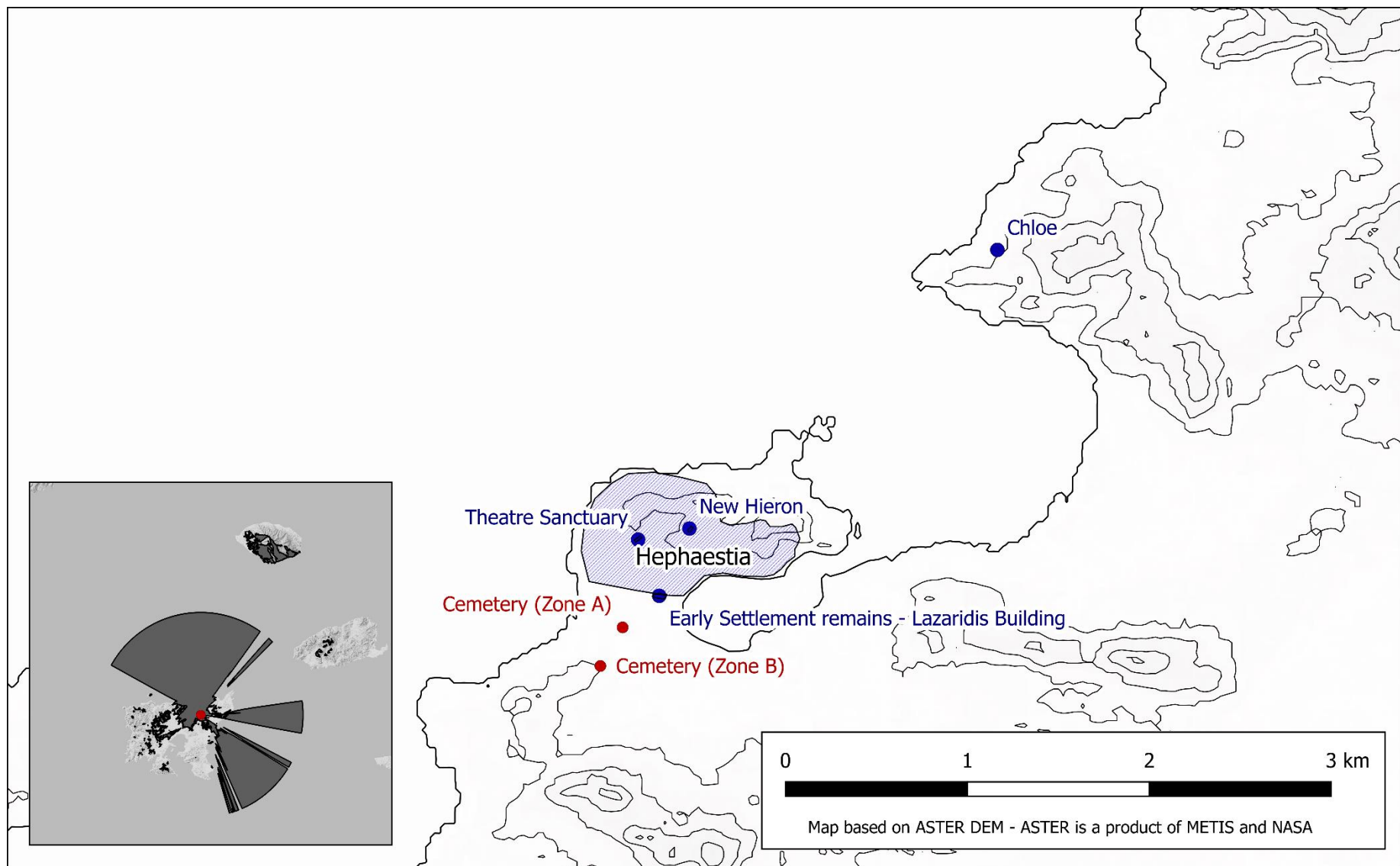


Figure 45: The Hephaestia peninsula with sanctuaries, cemeteries, and viewshed inset (bottom left).

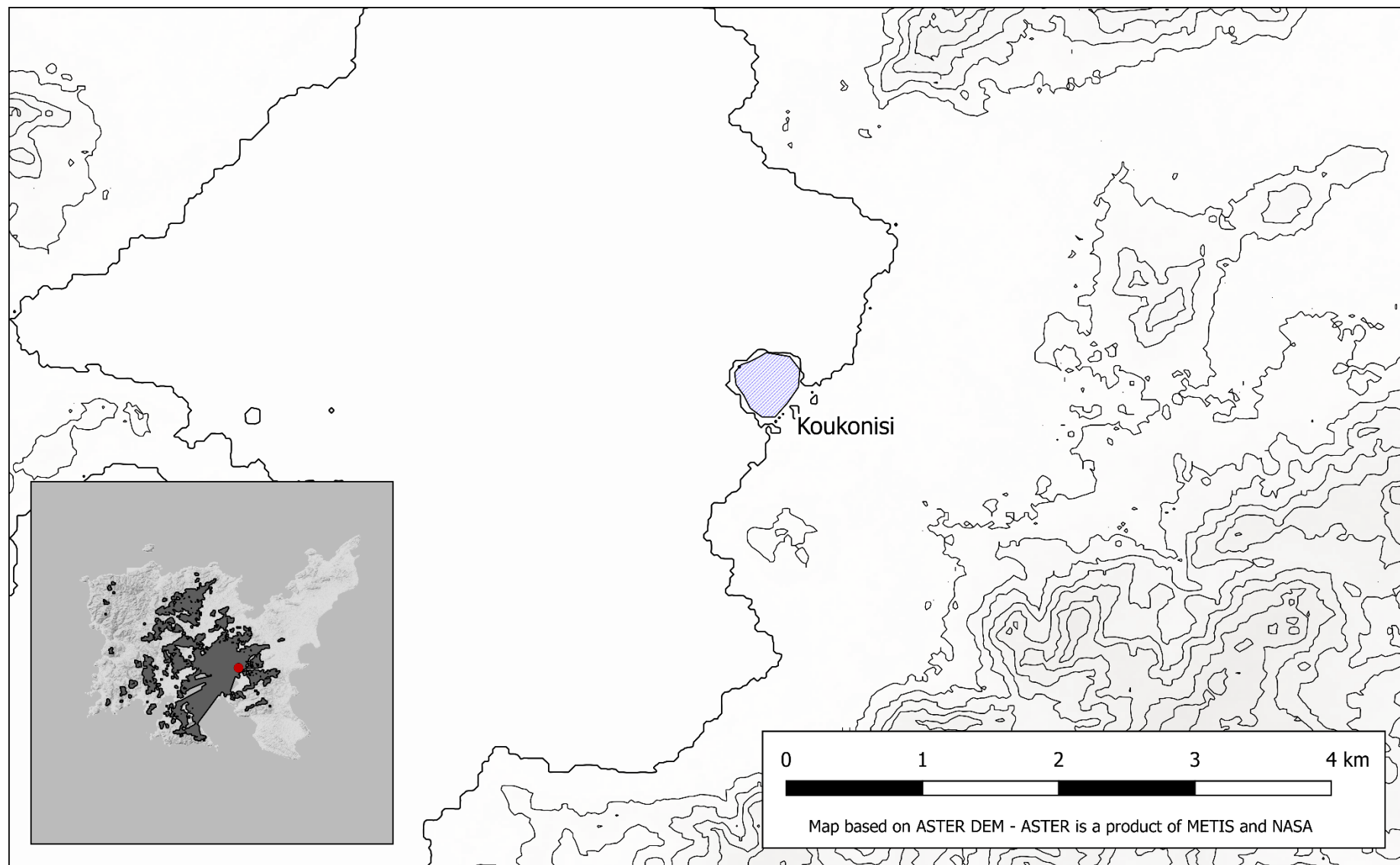


Figure 46: The Koukonisi islet, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

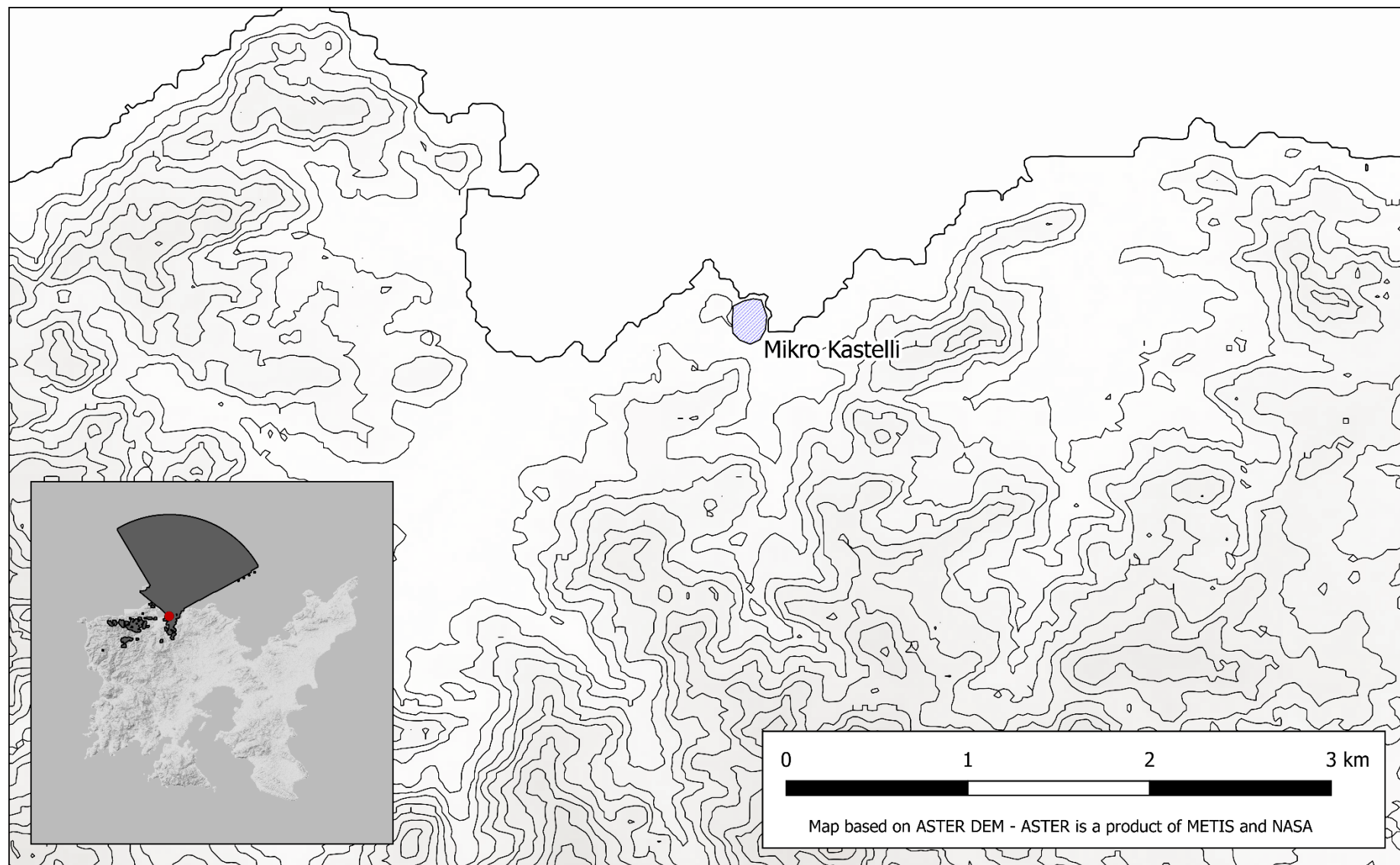


Figure 47: The Mikro Kastelli hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

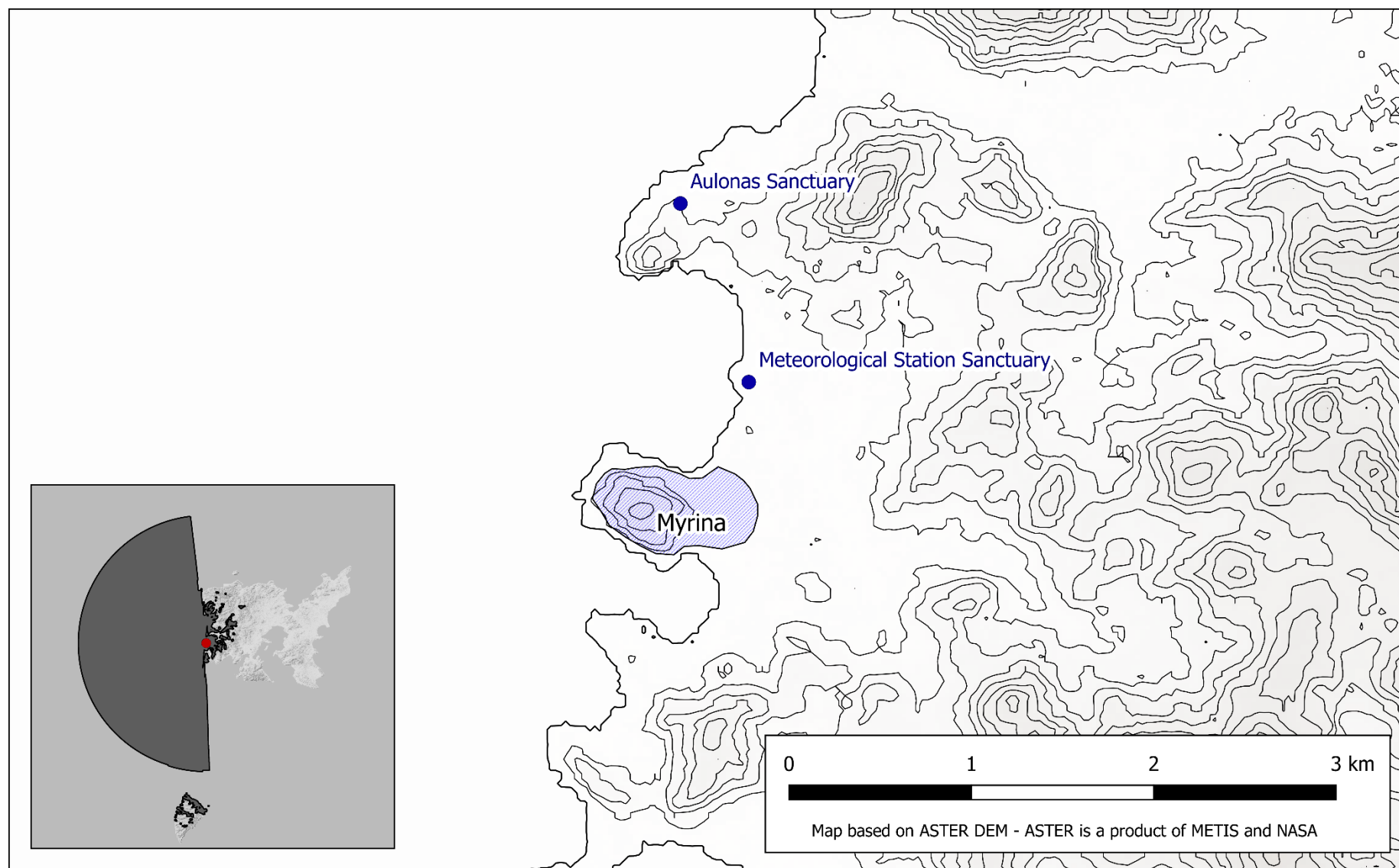


Figure 48: The Myrina settlement and sanctuaries, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

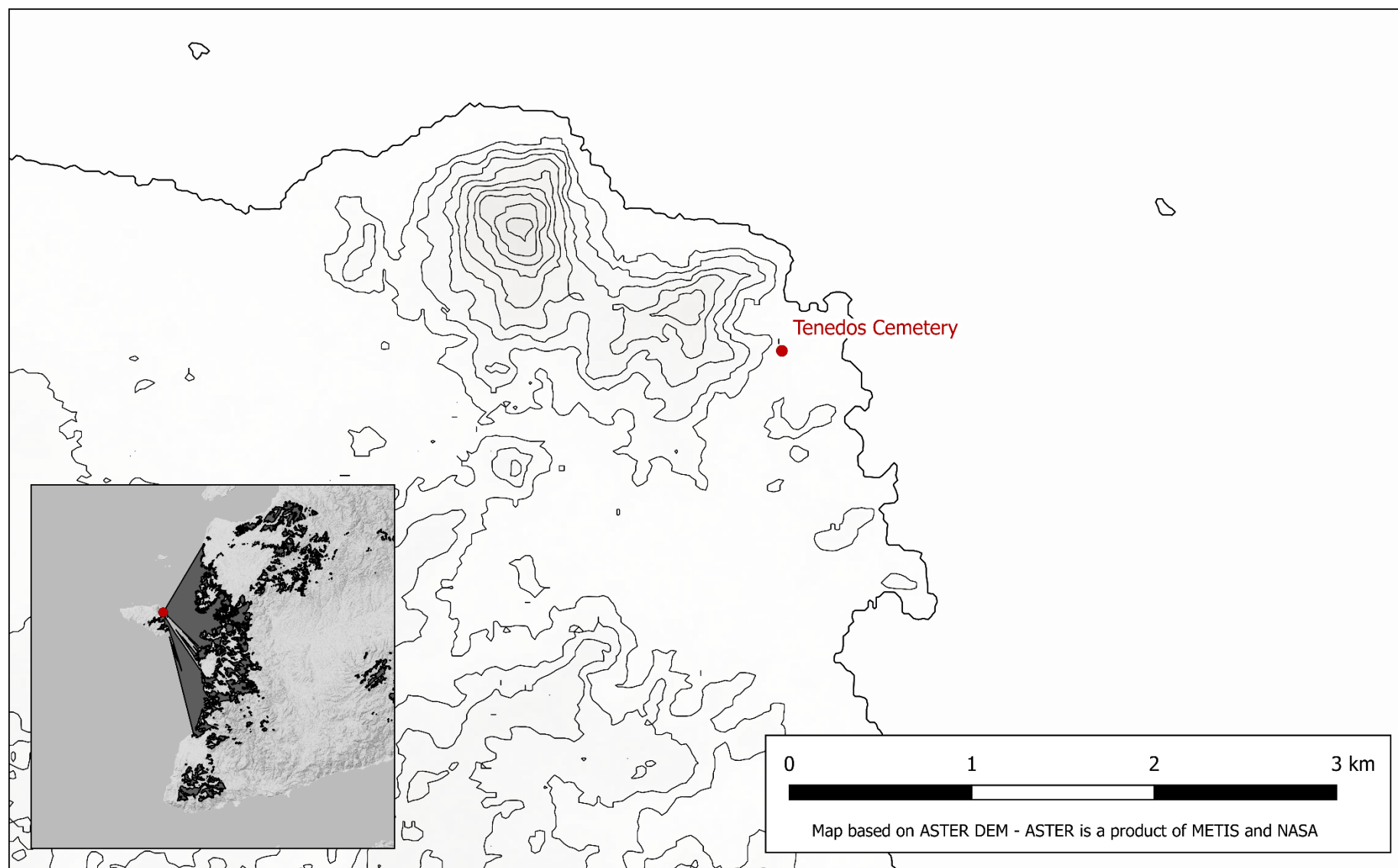


Figure 49: The Tenedos cemetery, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

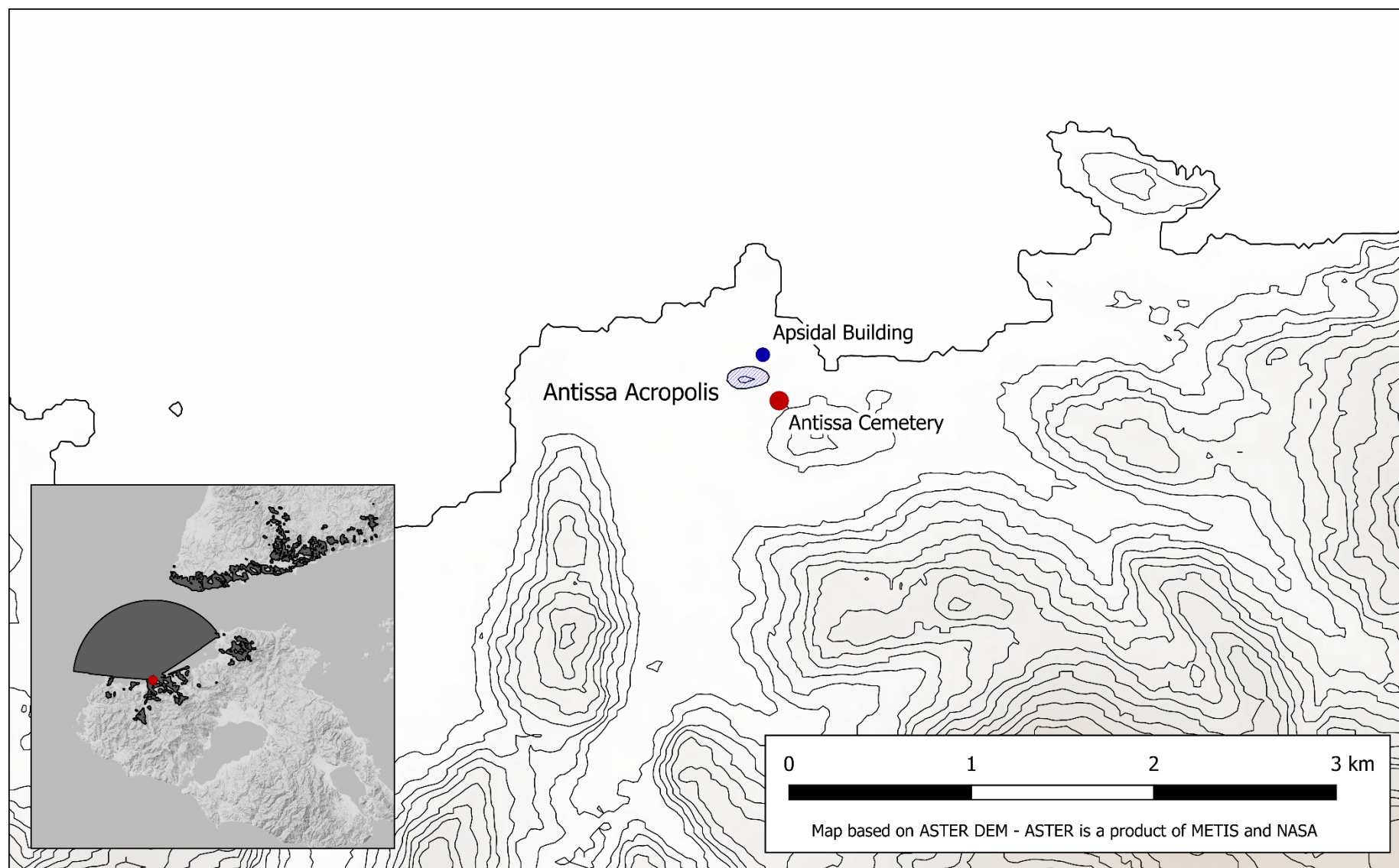


Figure 50: The Antissa acropolis, apsidal building, and cemetery, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

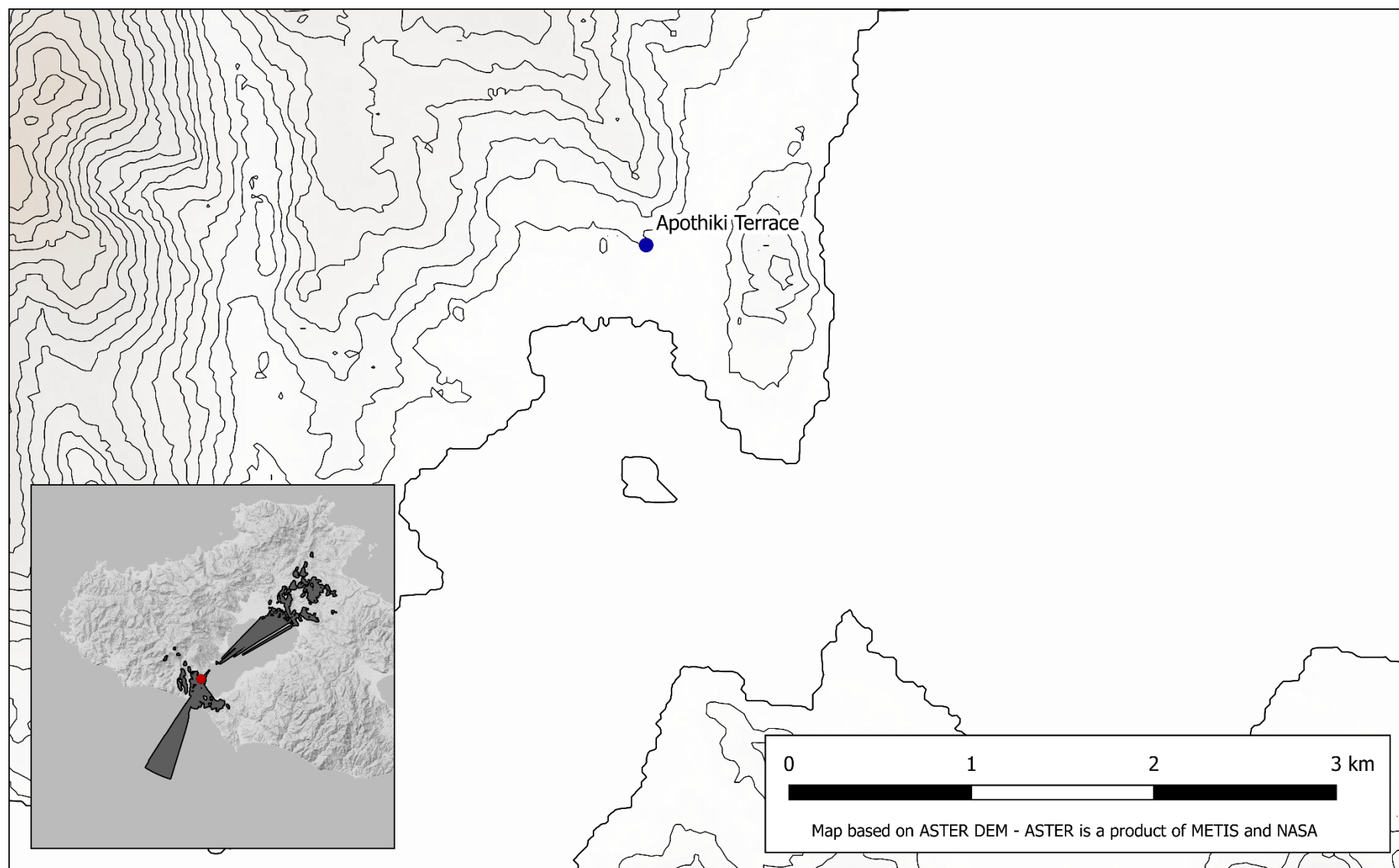


Figure 51: The Apothiki terrace, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

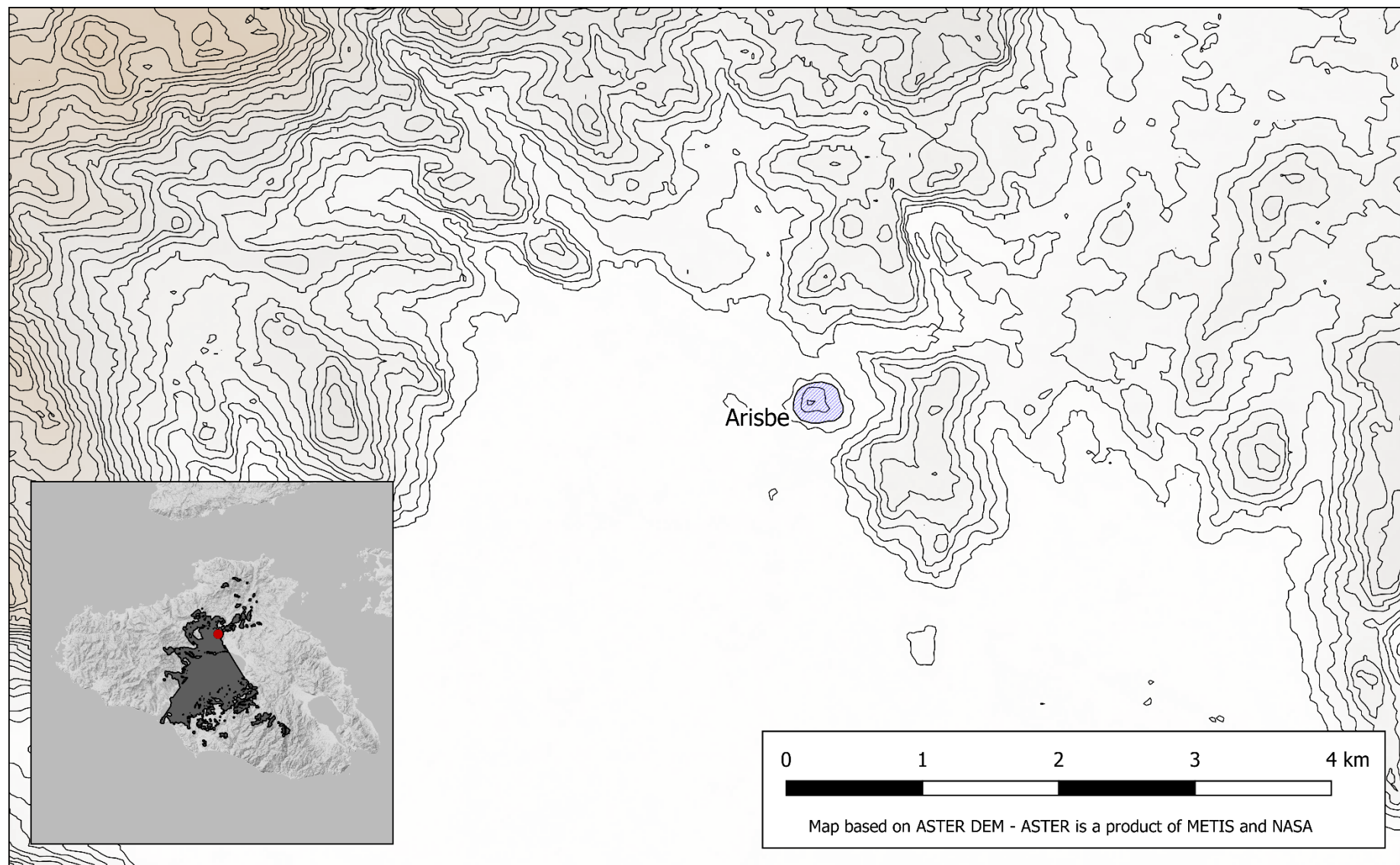


Figure 52: The Arisbe acropolis, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

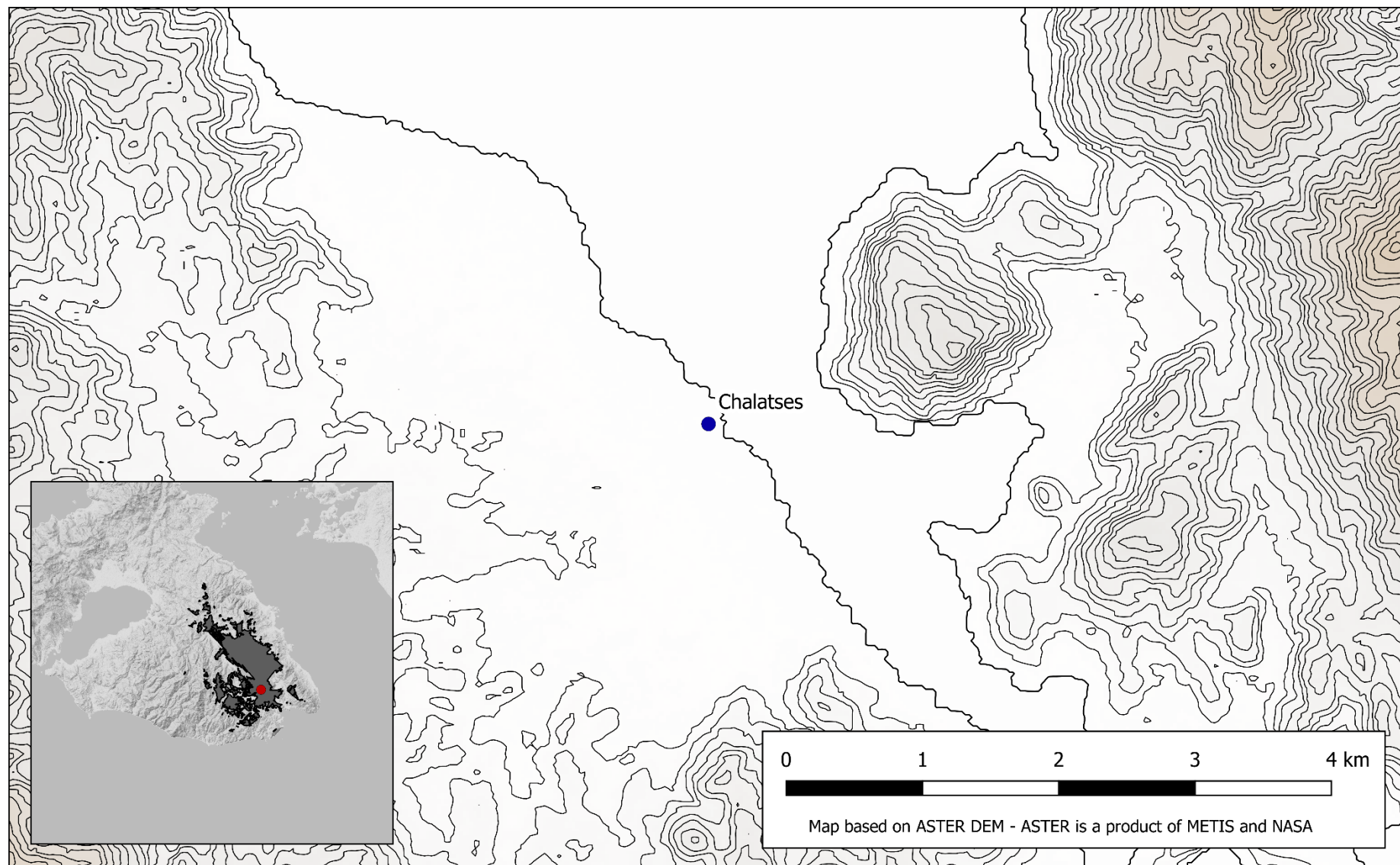


Figure 53: The Chalatses site, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

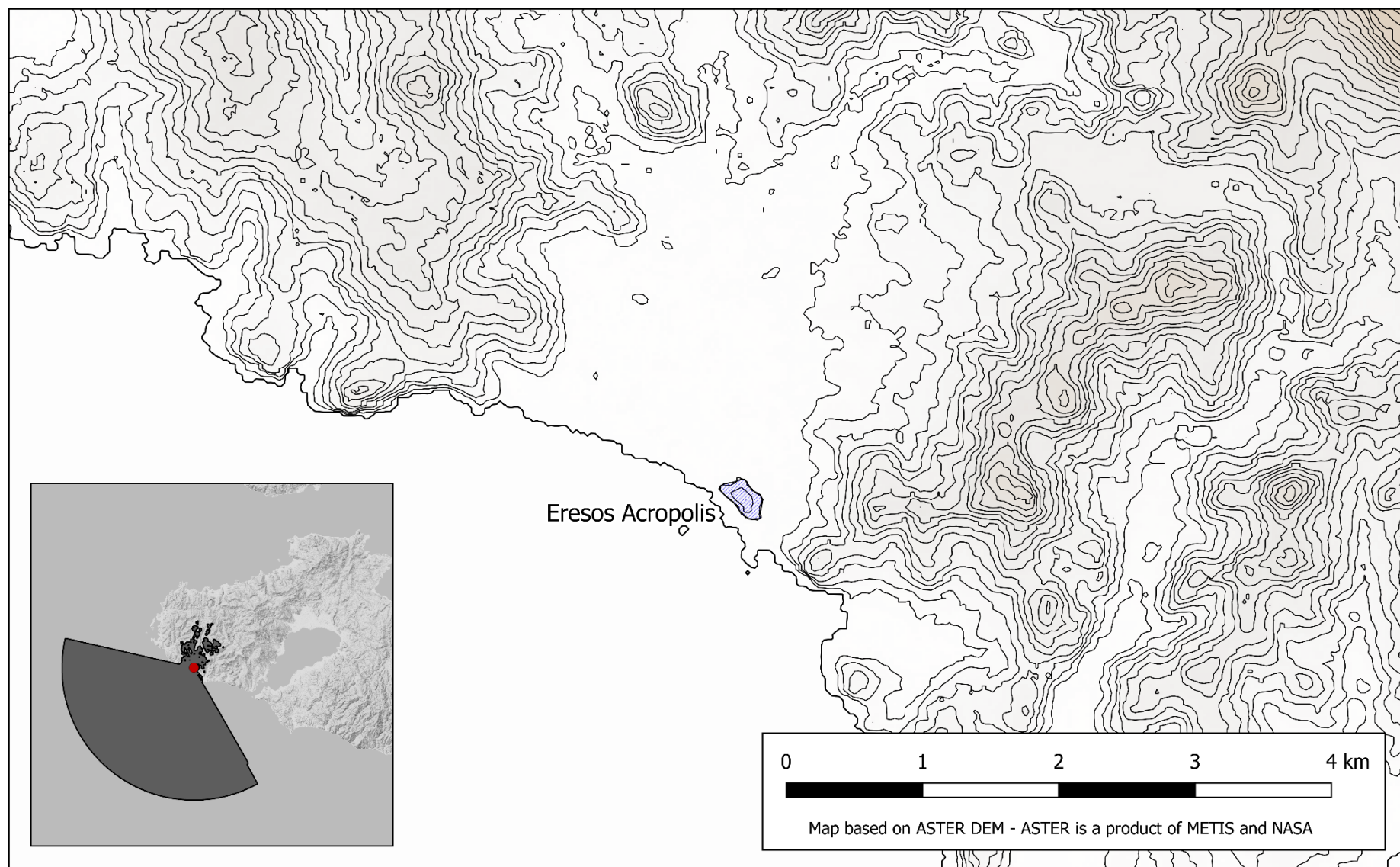


Figure 54: The Eresos acropolis, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

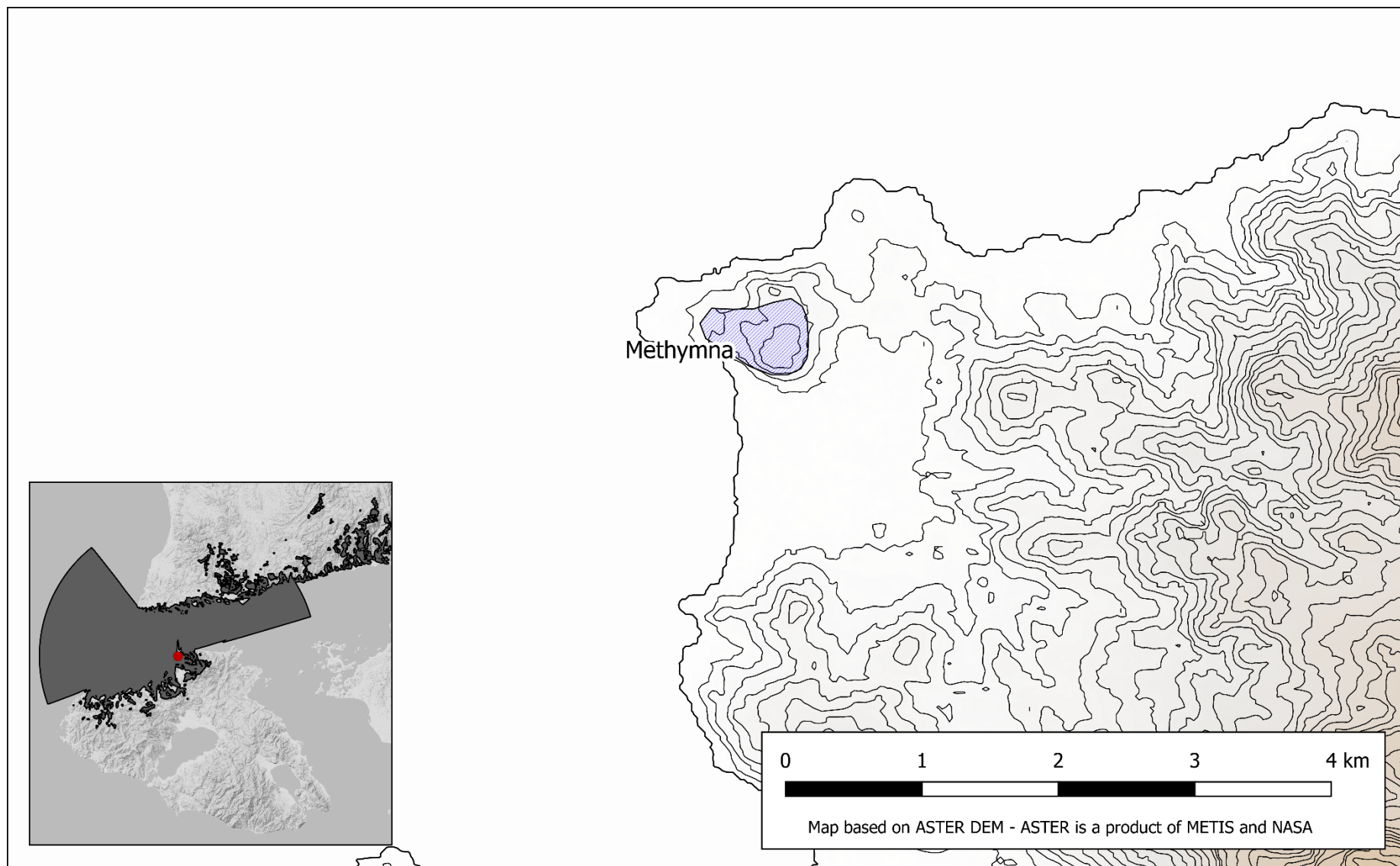


Figure 55: The Methymna acropolis, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

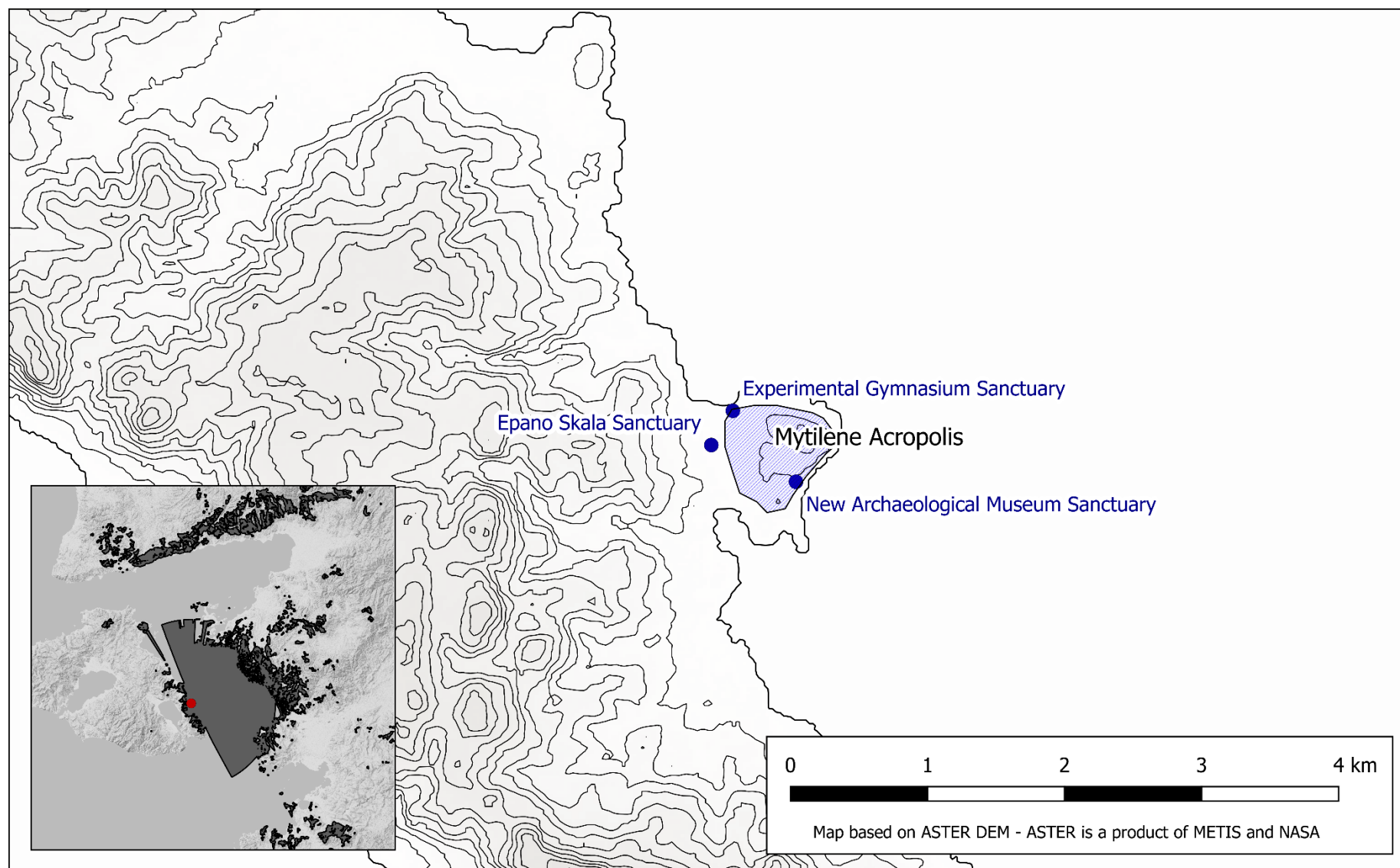


Figure 56: The Mytilene acropolis, with sanctuaries and viewshed inset (bottom left).

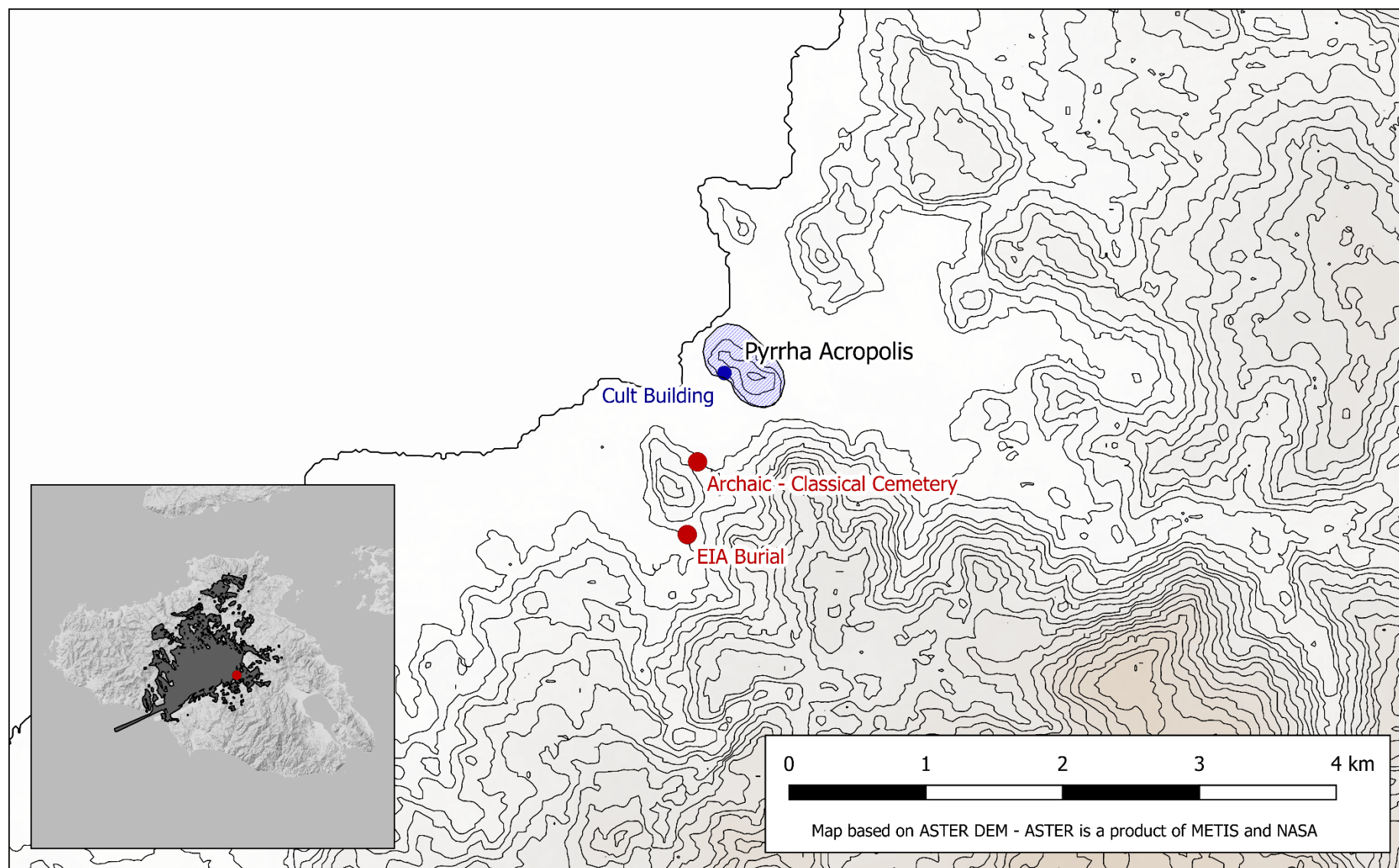


Figure 57: The Pyrrha acropolis, with cult building, funerary contexts, and viewshed inset (bottom left).

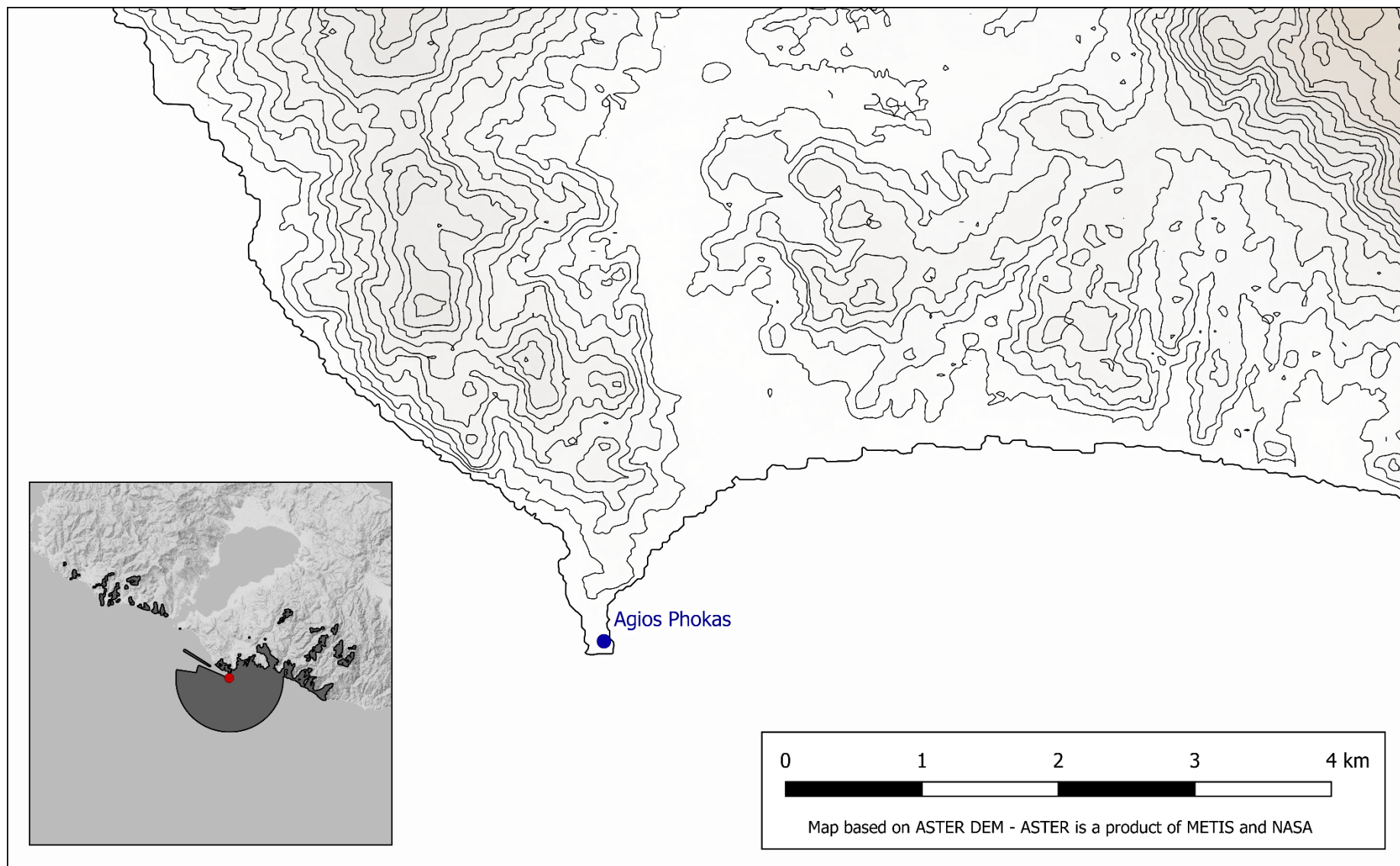


Figure 58: The Agios Phokas site, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

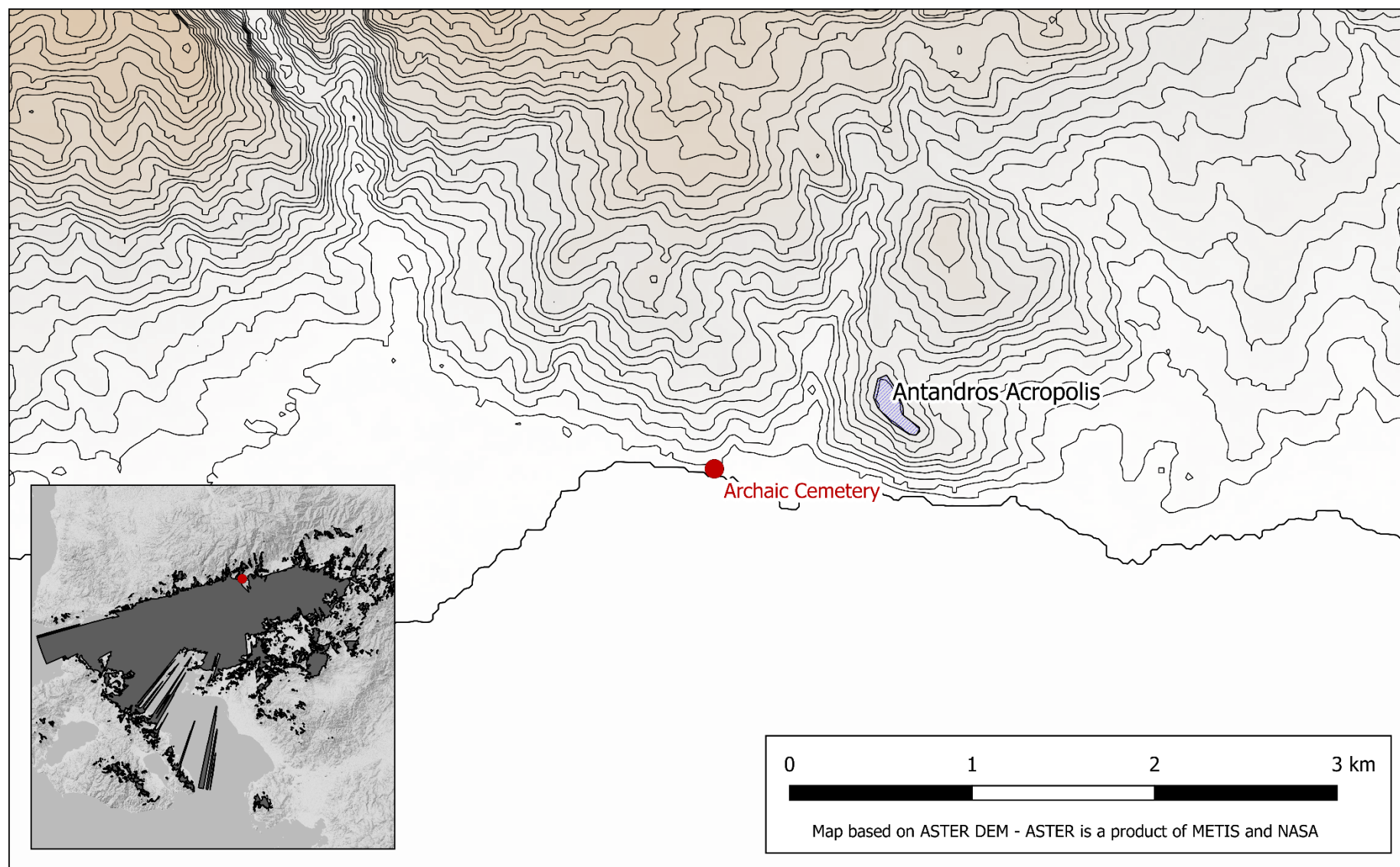


Figure 59: The Antandros acropolis and cemetery, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

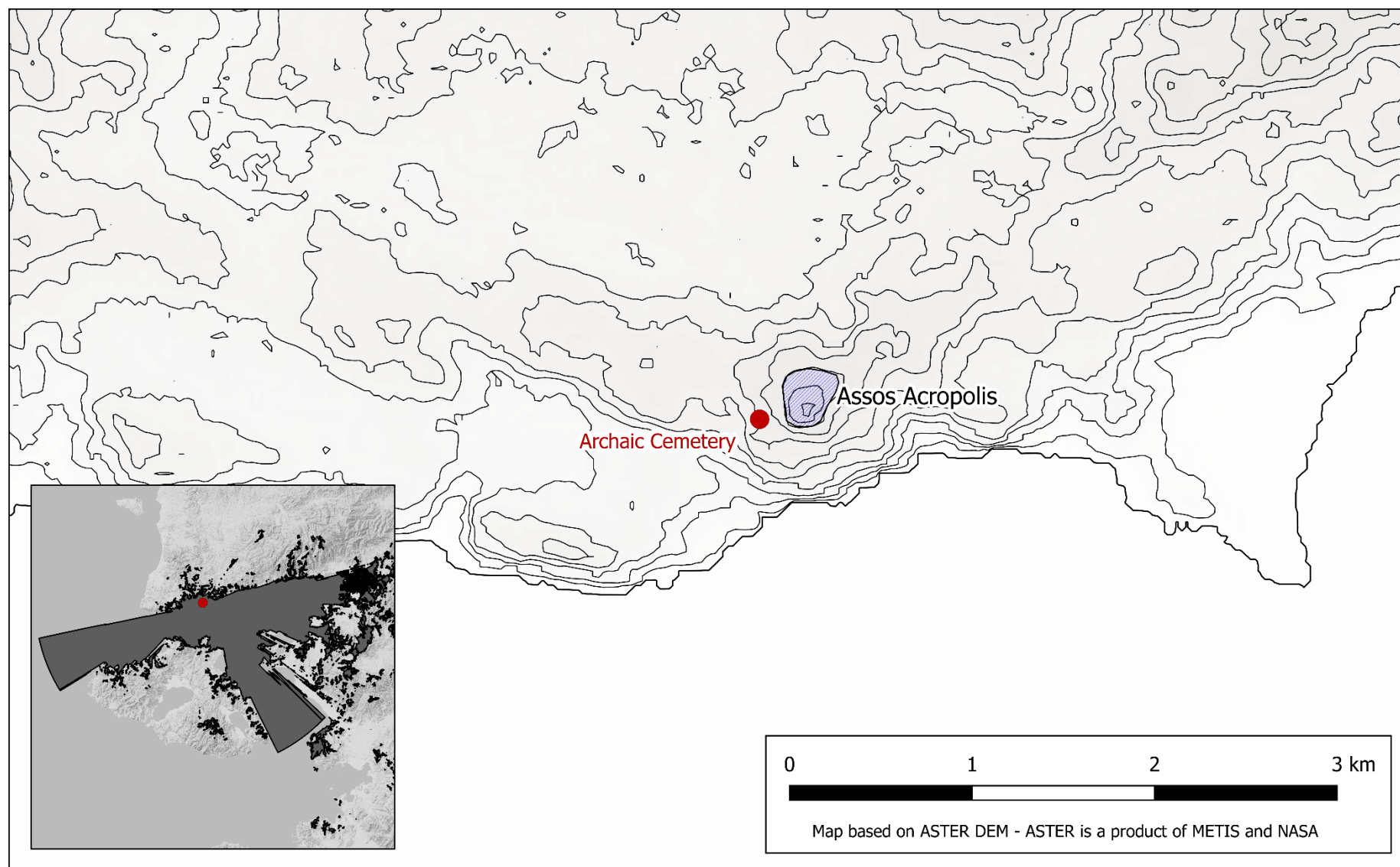


Figure 60: The Assos acropolis and cemetery, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

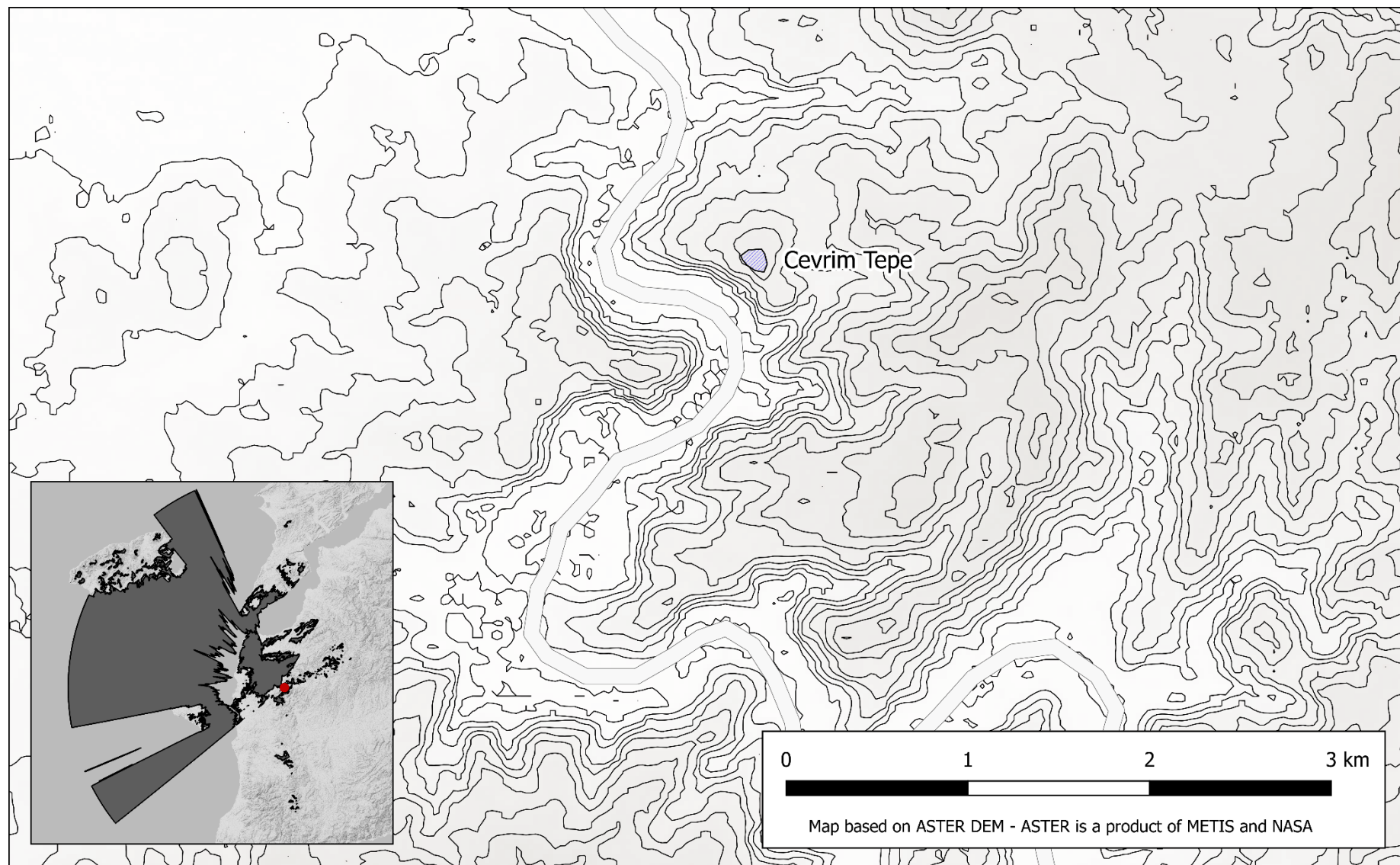


Figure 61: The Çevrim Tepe fortification, with viewshed inset (bottom left).



Figure 62: The Elaious hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

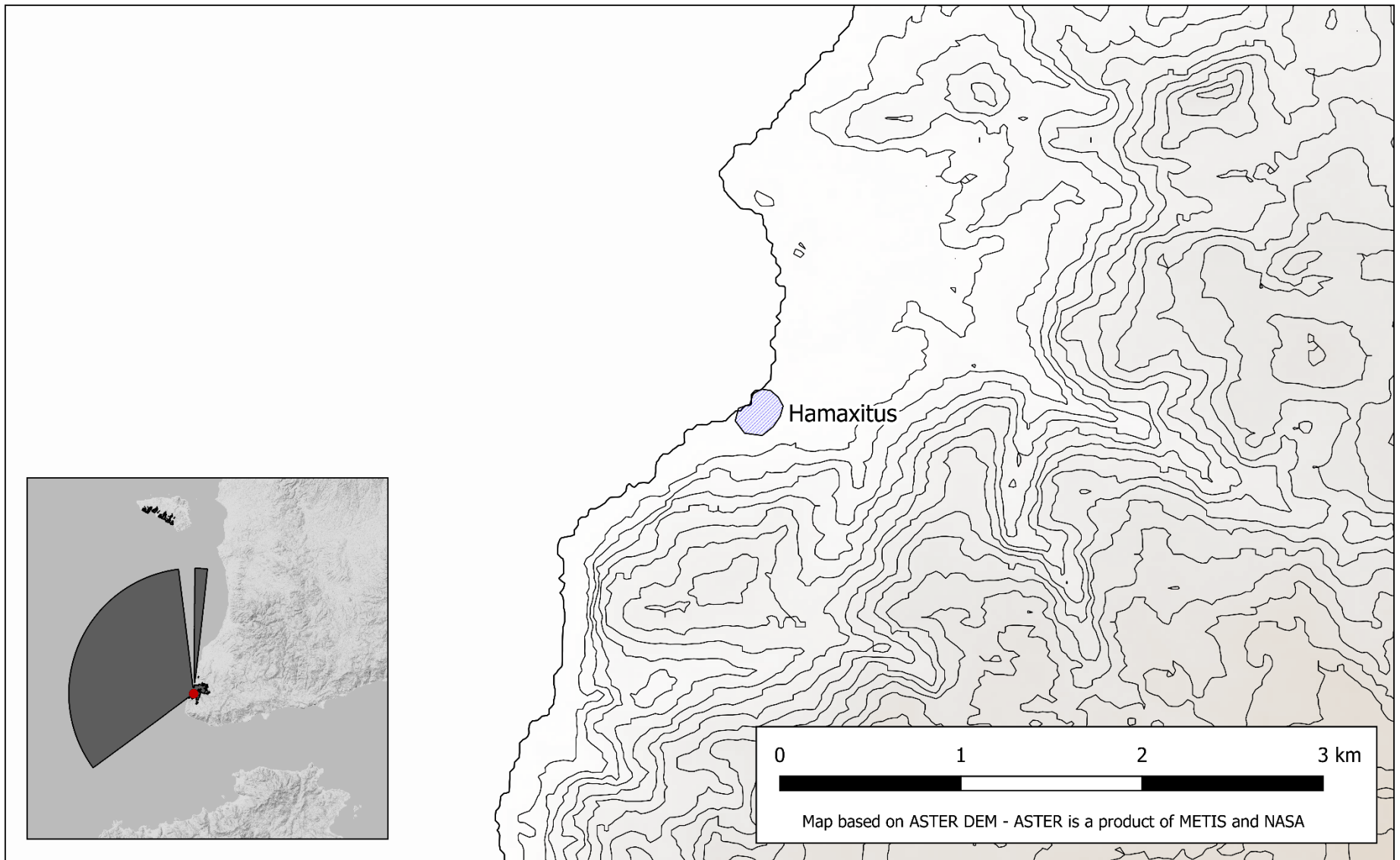


Figure 63: The Hamaxitus coastal hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

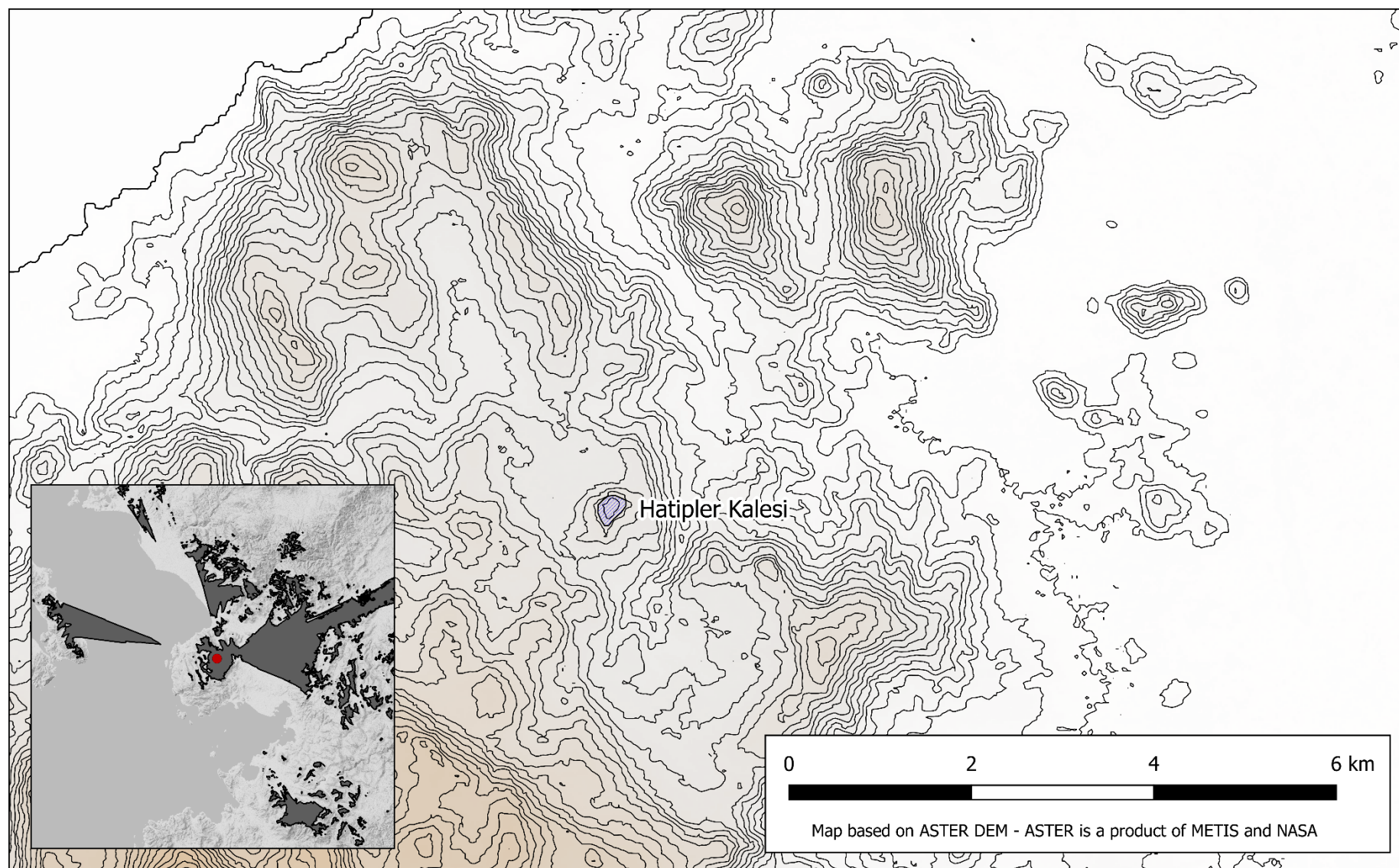


Figure 64: The Hatipler Kalesi fortification, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

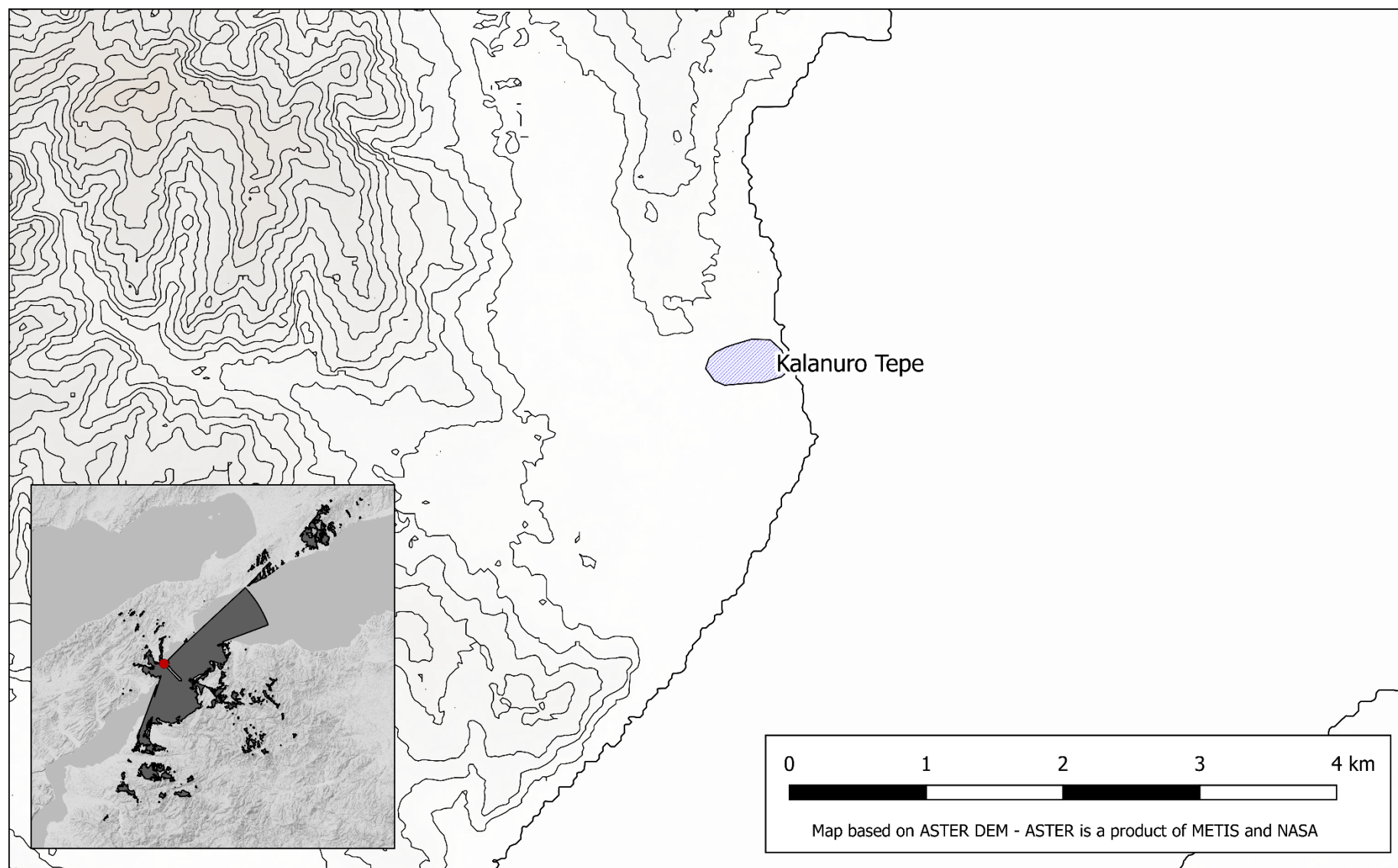


Figure 65: The Kalanuro Tepe coastal hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

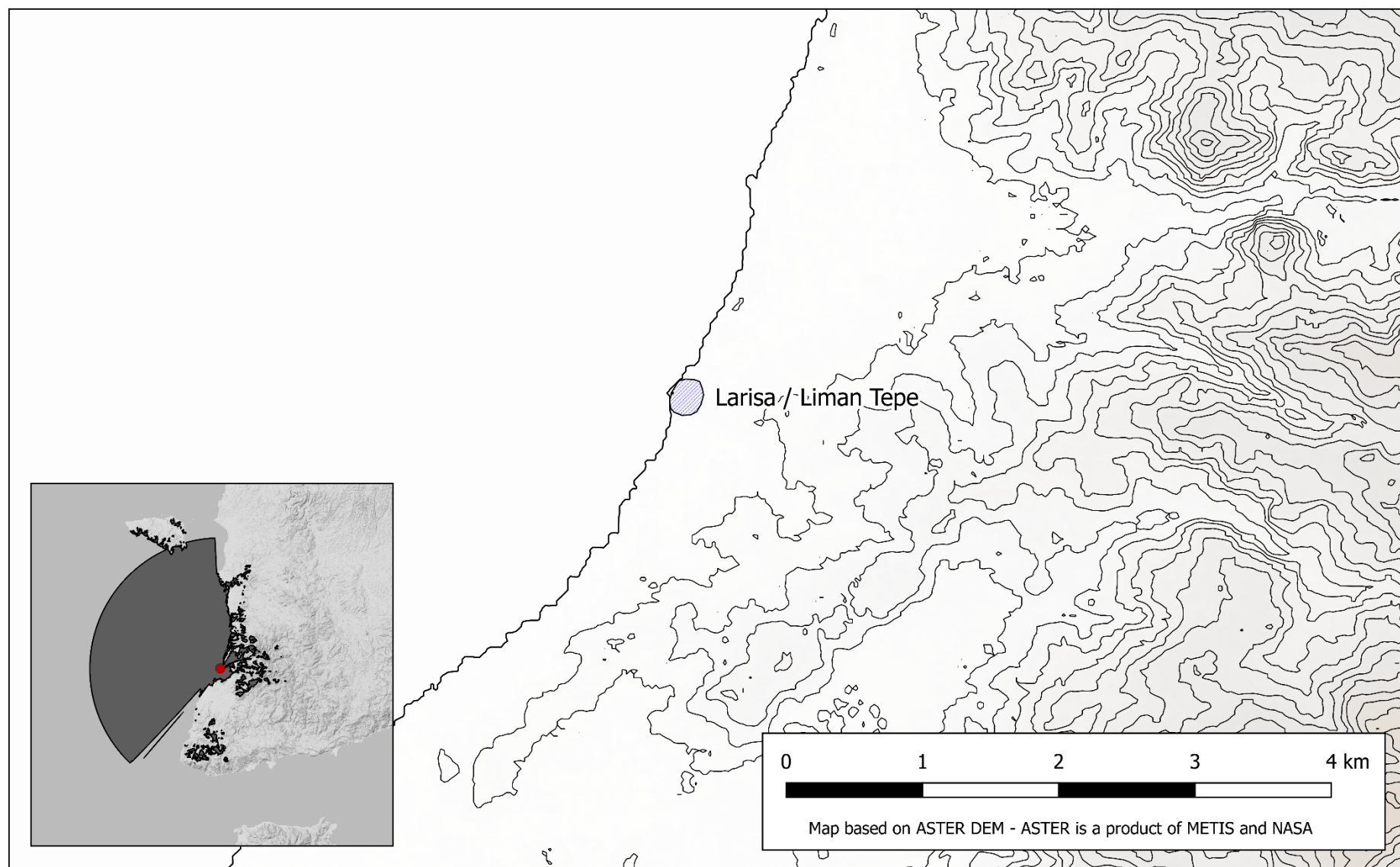


Figure 66: The Larisa / Liman Tepe coastal hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

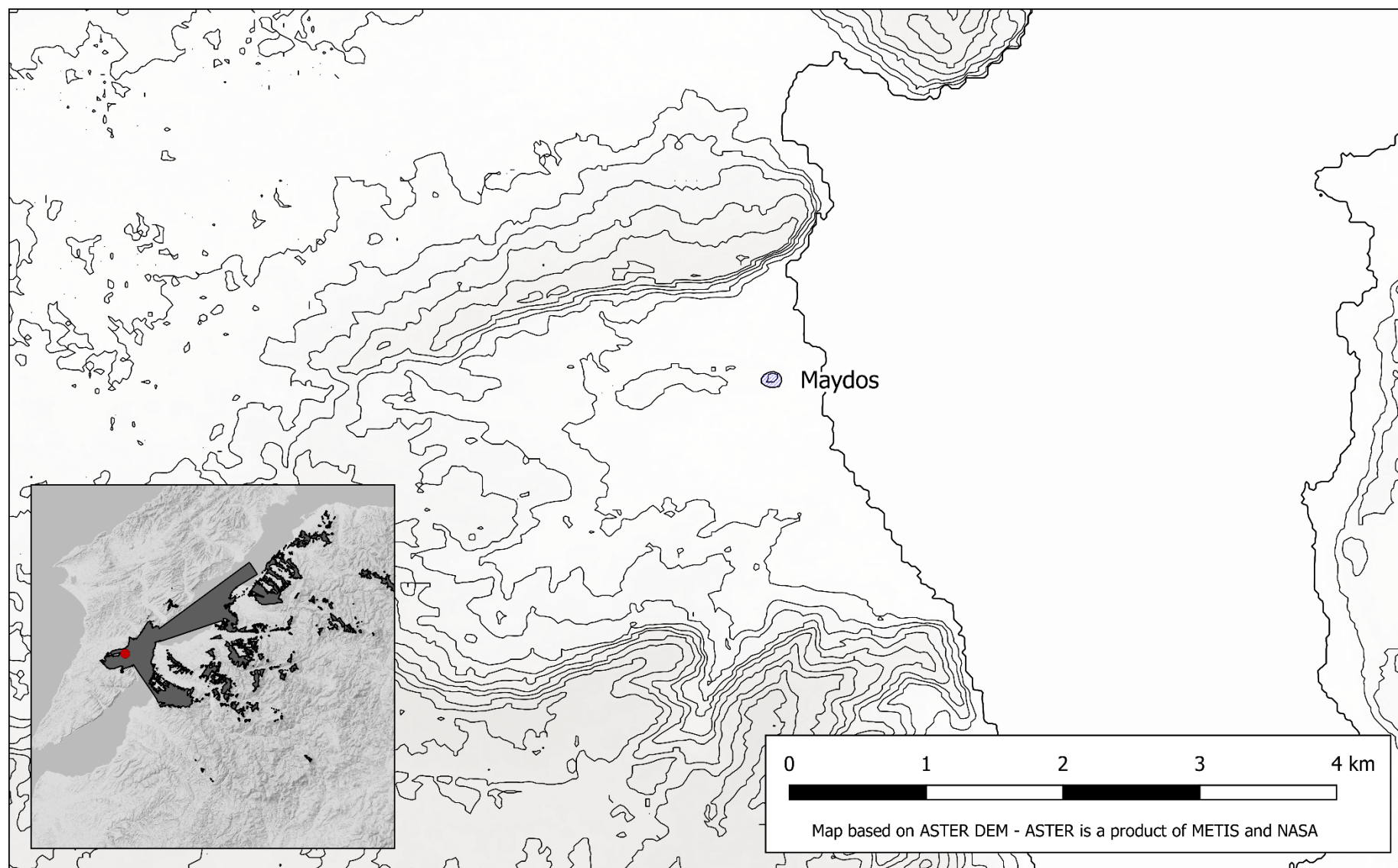


Figure 67: The Maydos / Eceabat settlement hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

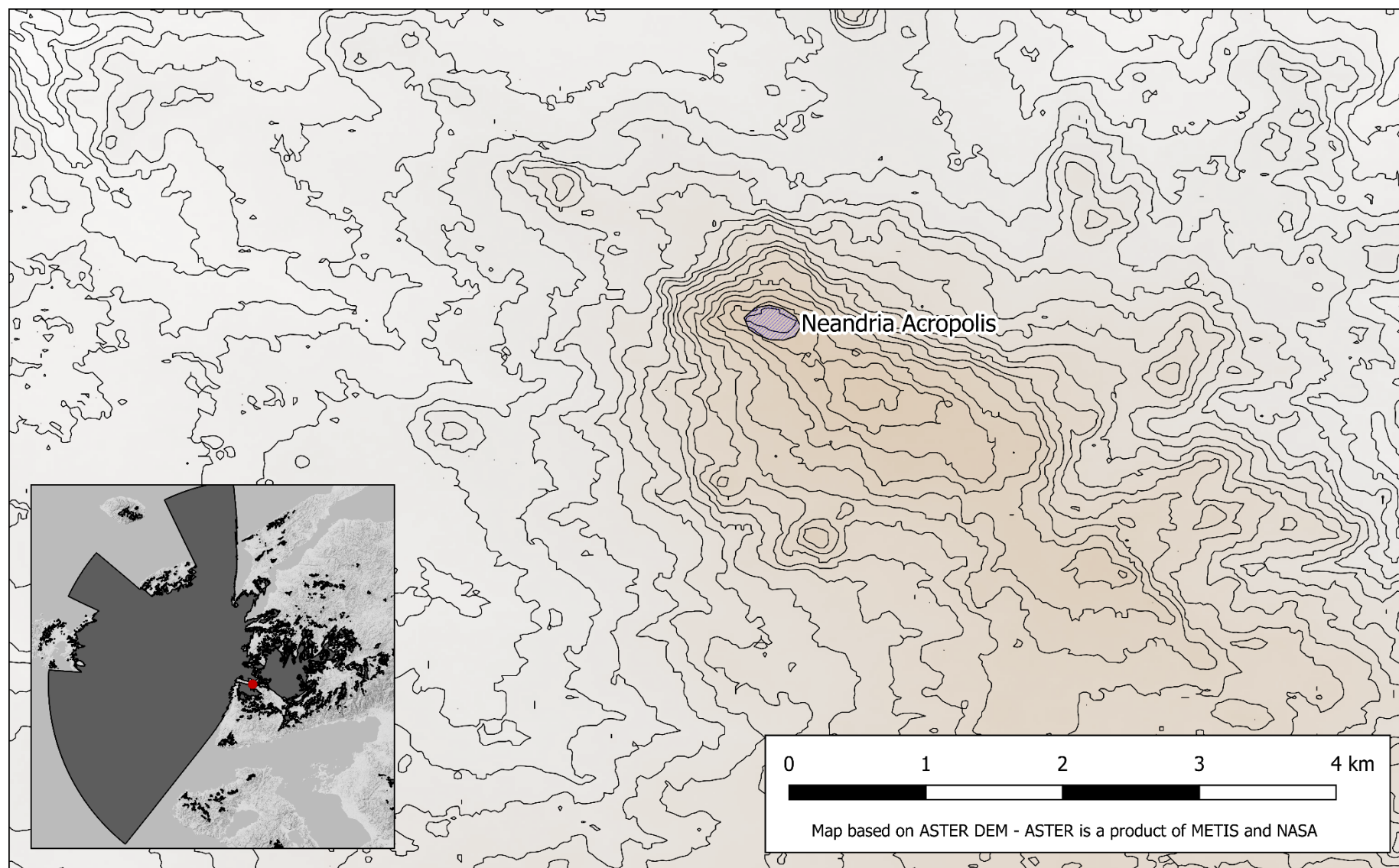


Figure 68: The Neandria early Archaic acropolis, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

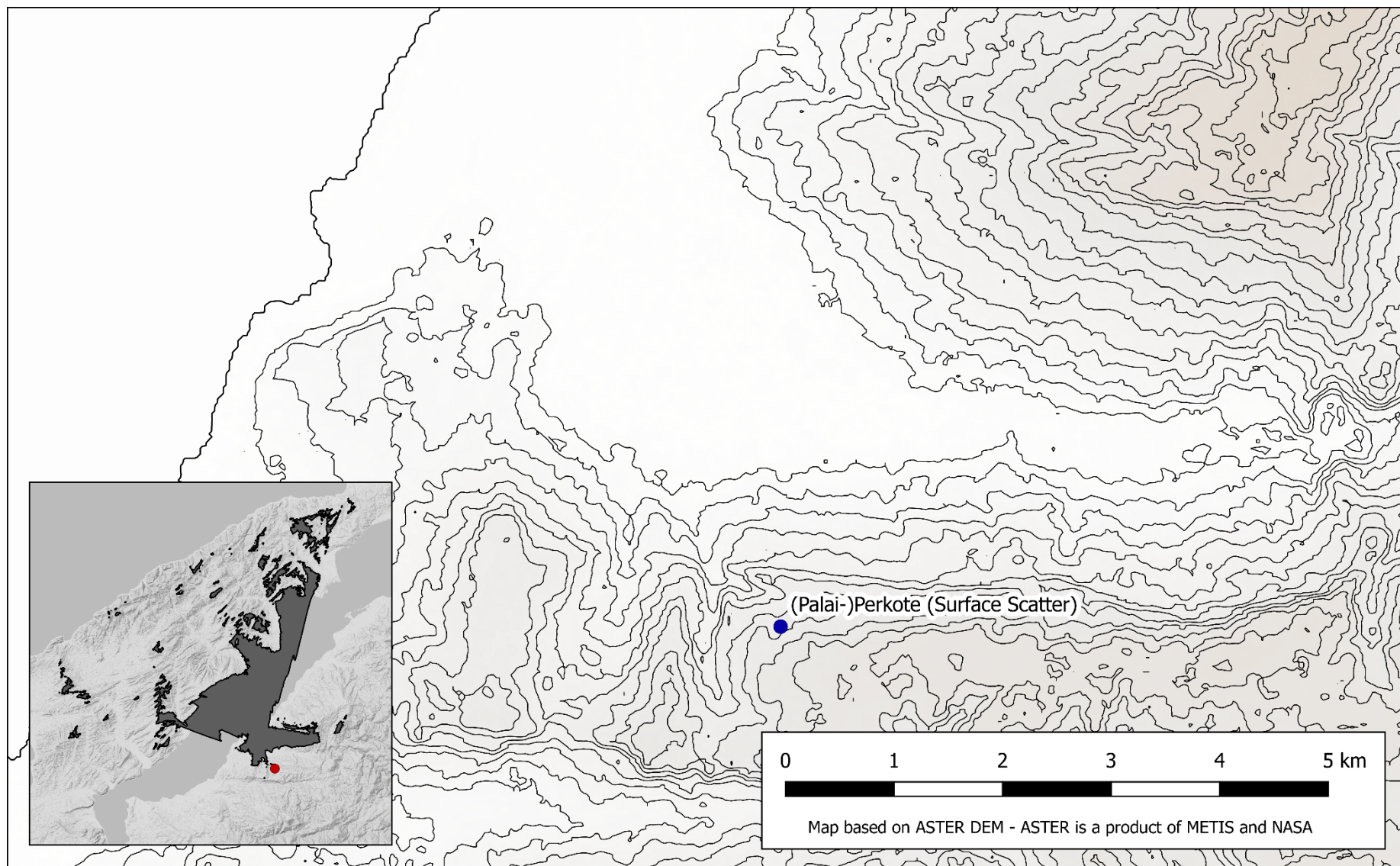


Figure 69: The (Palai-)Perkote area, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

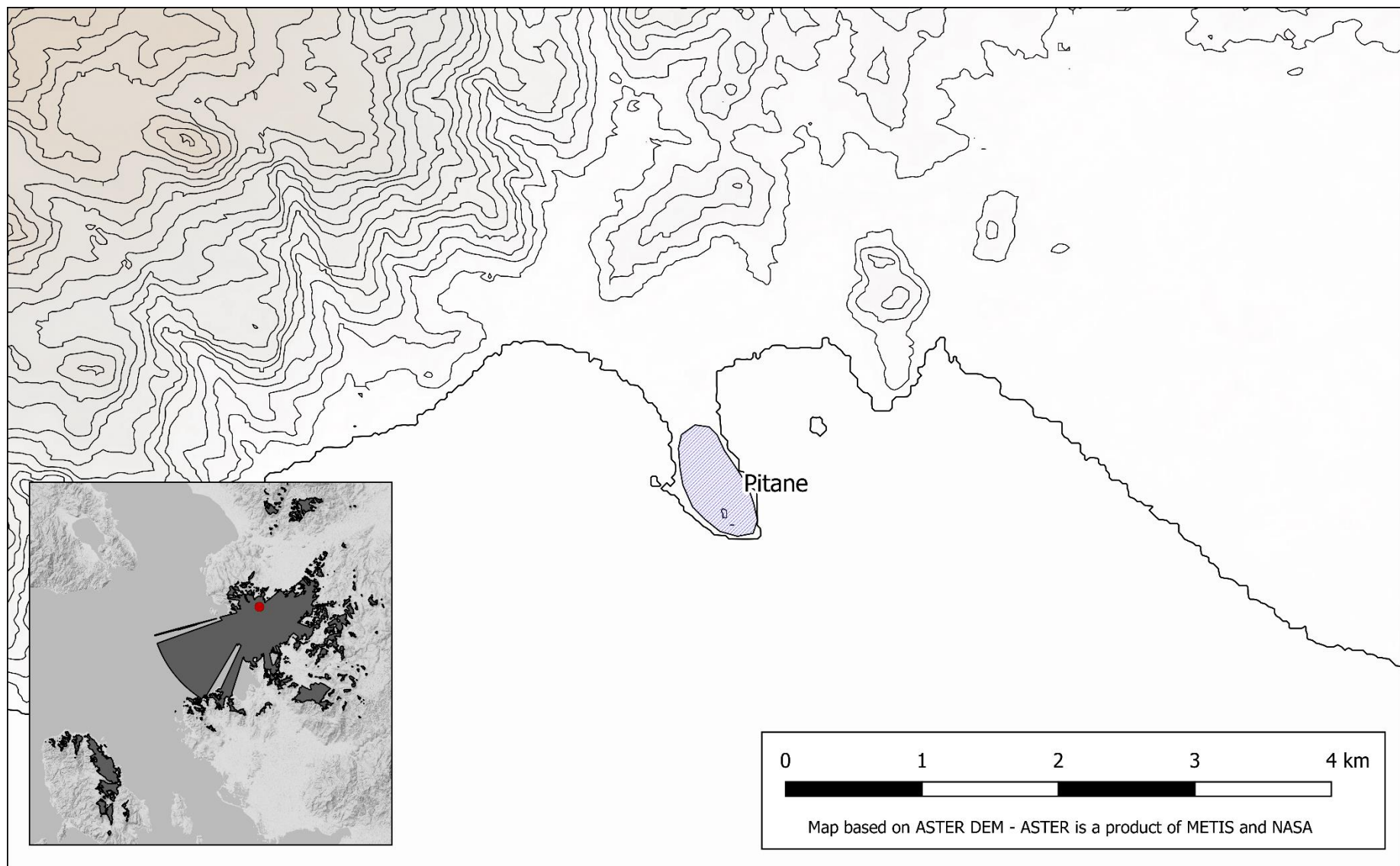


Figure 70: The Pitane peninsula, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

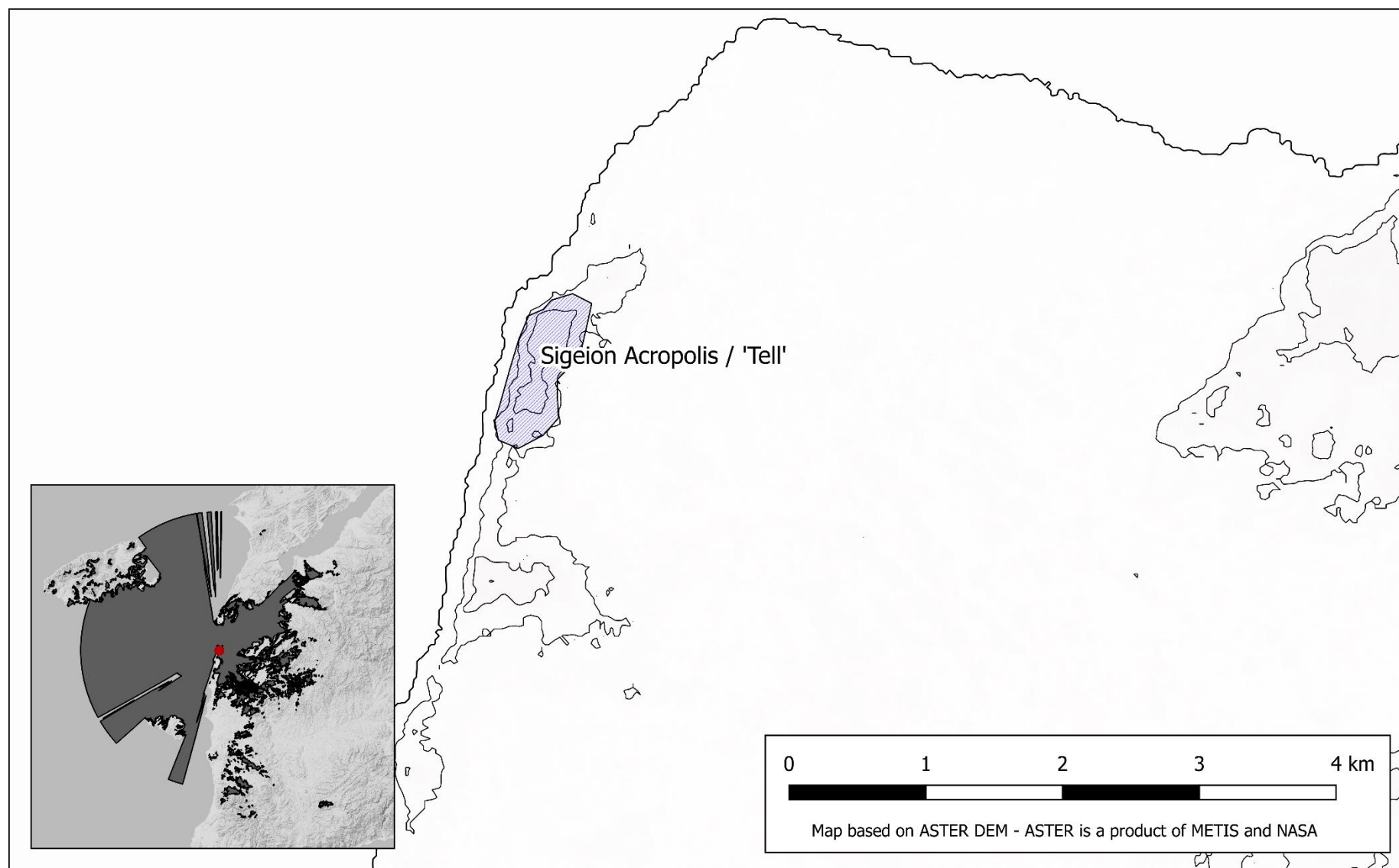


Figure 71: The Sigeion coastal hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

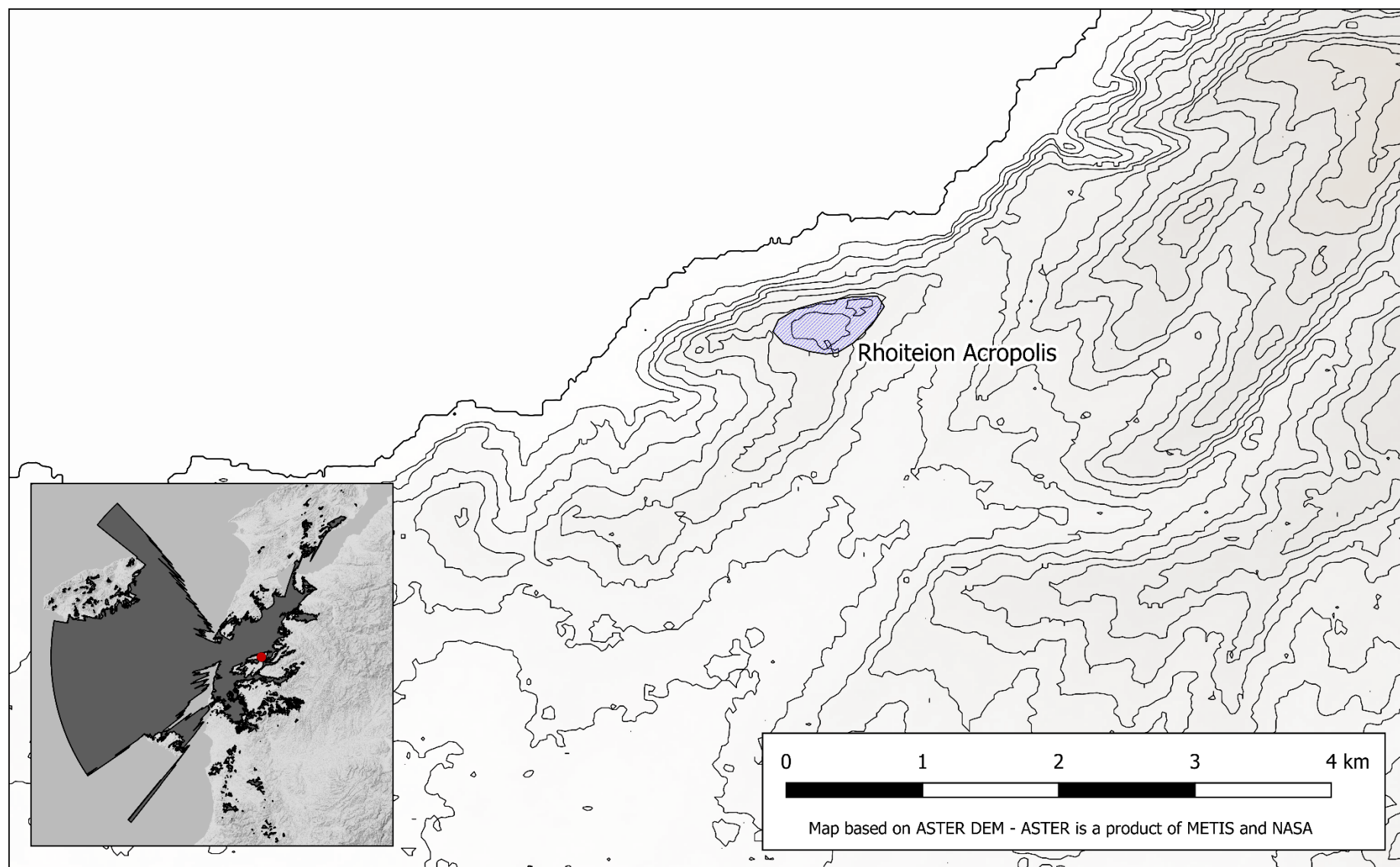


Figure 72: The Rhoiteion acropolis / coastal hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

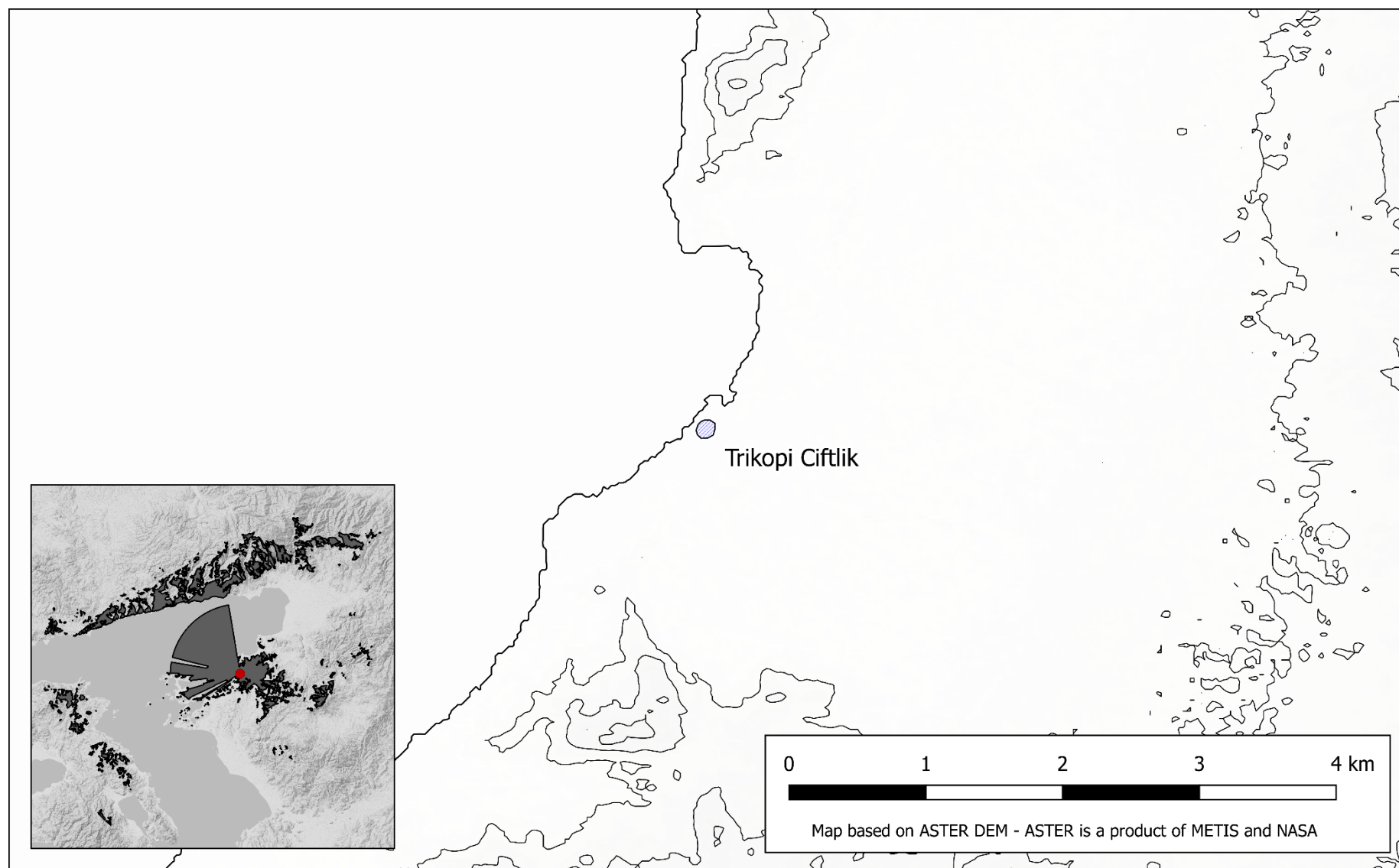


Figure 73: The Trikopi Çiftlik coastal hill, with viewshed inset (bottom left).

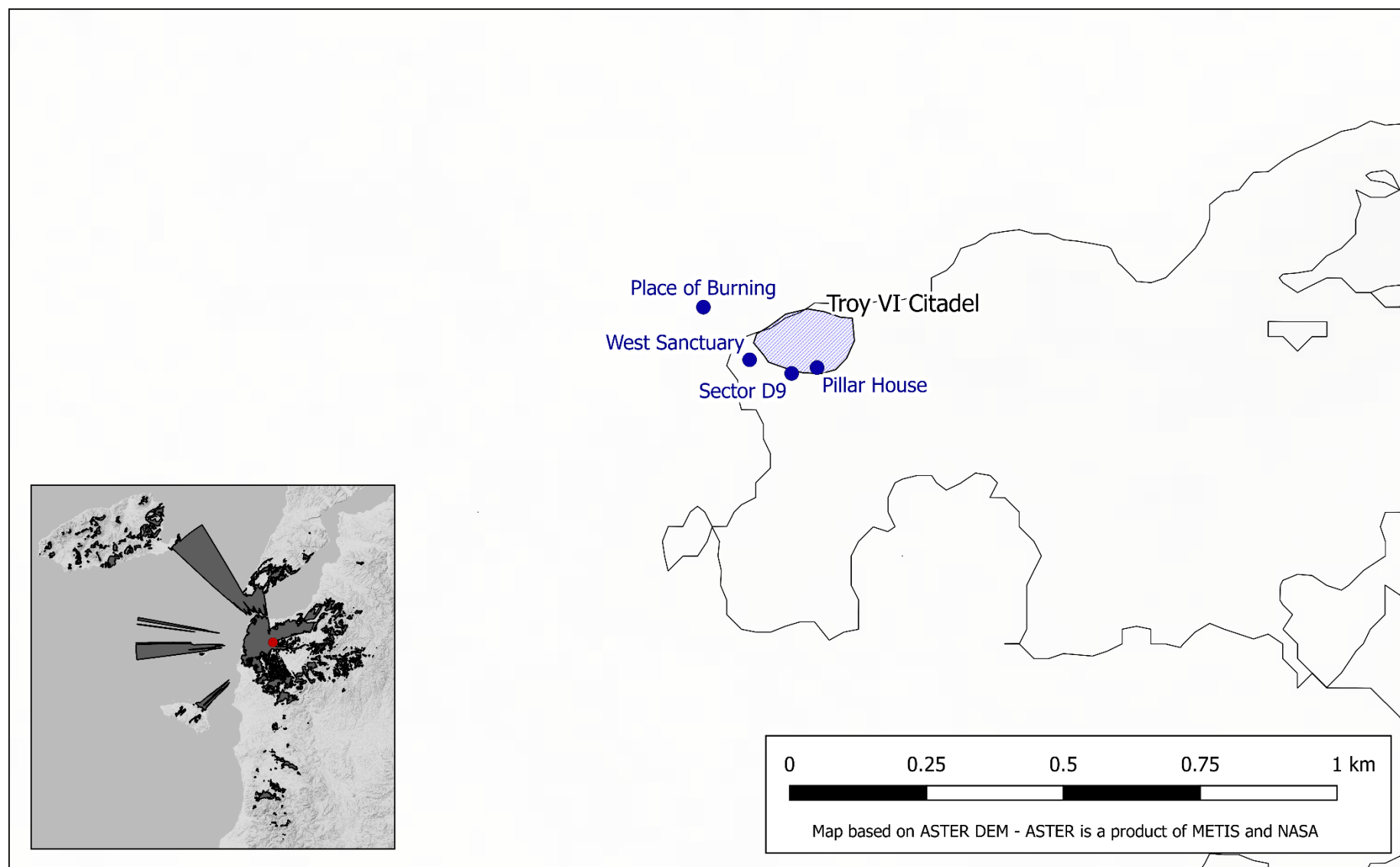


Figure 74: The Troy citadel, with EIA / 7th-century sanctuaries and viewshed inset (bottom left).



Figure 75: View of the Rhodope mountain range and the Nestos plain from Dialekto [Source: Author's photograph]



Figure 76: The acropolis of Platania (foreground, right), the Rhodope mountain range, and part of the Aggites river plain [Source: Author's photograph]



Figure 77: The Kastro acropolis [Source: Author's photograph]



Figure 78: Panorama from the Kastro acropolis [Source: Author's photograph]



Figure 79: View from the Palaiokastro hill towards the south-west [Source: Author's photograph]



Figure 80: View from the Assar Tepe hill towards the south [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 81: The Assar Tepe acropolis, as seen from the south [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 82: The Petrota acropolis as seen from the south [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 83: The western Samothrace coast and the Vrychos acropolis (far right) as seen from Agianemi [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 84: View from the Mantroudia settlement towards the north, with the Agianemi acropolis (A) [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 85: View from the Augerinos acropolis towards the north-west (top) and the south-west (bottom) with the Vrychos acropolis (A)
[Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 86: View from the Hephaestia peninsula towards the south [Source: Author's photograph]



Figure 87: View of the Koukonisi islet from the north [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 88: View of the Meteorological Station sanctuary area (A) and the Aulon hill (B) from the Myrina acropolis
[Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 89: View of Antissa and its hinterland from the north [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 90: View of the north-western coast of Lesbos from Methymna [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 91: View of the Pyrrha acropolis from the south-west [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 92: View of the Agios Phokas cape from the east [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 93: View of the Antandros acropolis from the south-west [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 94: View from the Assos acropolis towards the east (top) and west (bottom) [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 95: The ‘Araplar Strait’ and the Scamander as seen from Çevrim Tepe [Source: Author’s photograph].



Figure 96: The northern coastline of the Troad as seen from the Elaious acropolis [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 97: View of the Hatipler Kalesi enclosure walls from the north-east (with Mt Merdivenli on the background) [Source: Author's photograph].



Figure 98: View from Neandria towards the west (top) and east (bottom) [Source: Author's photograph].

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Figure 99: Kastasi Tumulus 1 [Source: Lazaridis 1977, pl. 29b].

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Figure 100: Kastasi Tumulus 2 [Source: Lazaridis 1977, pl. 30a].

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Figure 101: Kastan EIA pot burials [Source: Lazaridis 1977, pl. 29].

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Figure 103: Drama Industrial Zone Tumulus C (concentric krepis rings)
[Source: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979, pl. 146b].

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(a)

(b)

Figure 104: Drama child pot burial (a) and dog burial (b)
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Figure 105: Sword blade from Drama Tumulus C
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Figure 106: Graves from the ancient Gazoros cemetery
[Source: Valla 2001-2004, pl. 193; Valla 2005, 117].

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Figure 107: Pottery and pendant from the ancient Gazoros cemetery
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Figure 108: Parthenos sanctuary excavation [Source: Lazaridis 1961/2, fig. 3].

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Figure 110: Oisyme acropolis sanctuary. Archaic cult building marked in red by the author
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Figure 113: Handmade pottery from the Kastri cemeteries
[Source: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, pl. 343].

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Figure 114: Spindle whorls and metal grave goods from the Kastri cemeteries
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Figure 116: Monumental reliefs from the Thasos Python
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Figure 117: The Thasos Artemision [Source: Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, pl. 3].

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Figure 118: Cycladic (Parian?) plate from the Thasos Artemision
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Figure 120: Golden diadem from the Thasos Artemision
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Figure 121: The Thasos sanctuary of Heracles [Source: Launey 1944, pl. XVIII].

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Figure 122: The Thasos Heracleion Polygonal Masonry Edifice (Eschara Building) [Source:
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Figure 123: Geomorphological changes in the Abdera region from the early 7th century BCE (I) to the modern day (IV) [Source: Syrides & Psilovikos 2004, fig. 7].

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Figure 124: The Abdera Cemetery K, flooded after seasonal rains [Source: Author's photograph].

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(a)

(b)

(c)

Figure 125: Overview of the cemetery K of Abdera
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Figure 126: Pit burial from the Abdera cemetery K
[Source: Skarlatidou 2004, fig. 8].

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Figure 127: Pot burials from the Abdera cemeteries
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(b)

Figure 128: Child pot burial (a) and cist grave (b) from the Abdera cemeteries
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Figure 129: Imported East Aegean pottery from the Abdera cemeteries

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Figure 134: Pithos burial in the Filiouris riverbed cemetery
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Figure 135: Pottery from the Filiouris cemetery
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Figure 137: Pithos burials in the Kossynthos cemetery
[Source: Triandafyllos & Kallintzi 1998, 17]

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Figure 138: Pithos burial and enclosure in the Kossynthos cemetery
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Figure 139: Iron blades and bronze fibula from the Kossynthos cemetery
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Figure 141: Mesembria – Zone Tumulus A [Source: Vavritsas 1967, fig. 3].

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Figure 142: Mesembria – Zone Tumulus B [Source: Vavritsas 1970, fig. 3].

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Figure 144: EIA handmade burial vessels from Mesembria – Zone Tumulus B
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Figure 146: Subgeometric (G2-3) pottery from the Ai-Giorgis terrace
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Figure 148: Topographical plan of the sanctuary of the Great Gods
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Figure 149: Common urn shapes from the Hephaestia cemetery
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Figure 150: Inurned cremation burial cluster in the Hephaestia cemetery
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Figure 151: Early 7th-century finds from the Hephaestia cemetery
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Figure 152: Metal grave goods found in Hephaestia Grave BX
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Figure 156: Peritmeton figurines found in Hephaestia Graves XLVI and XLVII
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Figure 157: Clay model of a fountain found in Hephaestia Grave BXLVI
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Figure 158: Door-like stele from Hephaestia [Source: Caputo 1932-33, fig. 2].

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Figure 159: The Chloe Cabirion; the Archaic cult building is shown in red
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Figure 161: Tripod cauldron found near the eschara / bema of the Chloe cult building
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Figure 162: The Archaic Chloe cult building, with its apsidal eschara / bema in the
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Figure 163: Archaic carchesia, kantharoi, and oinochoe / olpe from the Chloe Cabirion
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Figure 164: The New Hieron area (Archaic buildings highlighted in red by the author) (a)
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[Source: Beschi 2005 (ii), fig. 1 (a) and pl. 11 (b)].

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Figure 165: The New Hieron with its interior altar/hearth in the foreground
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Figure 166: Clay fountain models from the New Hieron
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Figure 167: Siren figurines from the New Hieron [Source: Ficuciello 2008, fig. 8].

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Figure 168: Pithos, pipe-like libation vessel, carchesion,
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Figure 169: The Hephaestia Theatre (Archaic buildings highlighted in red by the author)
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Figure 171: Wheel-made (left) and peritmeton cut-out (right) figurines from the Hephaestia Theatre Sanctuary [Source: Archontidou 2004, 85 and 88].

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Figure 173: Figurines from the Meteorological Station sanctuary
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Figure 174: Sacrificed calf from the Aulonass sanctuary
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Figure 176: Tenedos cemetery
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Figure 177: Pottery and metal finds from the EIA Tenedos burials
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Figure 178: Pot graves and inurned cremations in Antissa
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Figure 179: Pottery finds from the Antissa cemetery
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Figure 181: Local and imported pottery from the Antissa apsidal buildings
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Figure 182: The Antissa ‘heroon’ enclosure [Source: Spencer 1995 (ii), fig. 2].

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Figure 186: Epano Skala excavation [Source: Archontidou 1993, fig. 2].

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Figure 189: a) Buildings A and B (Altartempel) of the Pyrrha acropolis; b) Building A
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Figure 190: ‘Fish-bone’ masonry in the Megalos Lakkos enclosure in Lesbos [Source: Author’s photograph].

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Figure 192: Finds from Grave 171 of the Antandros cemetery
[Source: Antandros excavation website (<http://www.antandros.org/kronoloji.html>),
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Figure 193: The eastern section of the Assos necropolis.
Seventh-century graves are marked in red.
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Figure 194: Seventh-century urn typology from the Assos necropolis
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Figure 195: East Aegean cups (urn lids) from the Assos cemetery
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Figure 197: Seventh-century grave goods from the Assos cemetery
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Figure 199: West Sanctuary – Protogeometric phase
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Figure 202: West Sanctuary – Geometric phase [Source: Aslan & Günata 2014, fig. 6].

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Figure 205: Relief pottery and figurines from the Archaic cult building area (left)
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Figure 207: Pillar House area in Troy [Source: Blegen *et al.* 1953, pl. 448].

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Figure 208: The Place of Burning oval building [Source: Aslan 2011, fig. 3].

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Figure 209: G2-3 Ware (top) and Grey Ware (bottom) from the Place of Burning area
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