

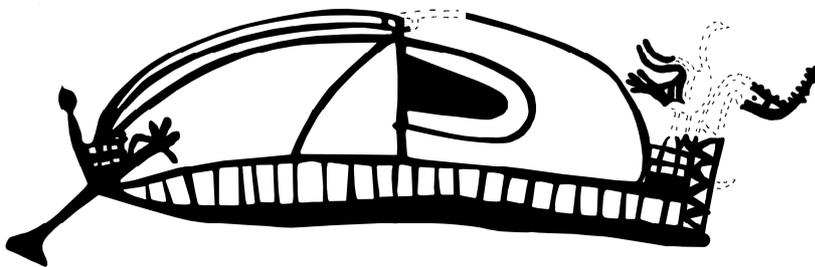
**16th INTERNATIONAL AEGEAN CONFERENCE**

**ΕΣΠΕΡΟΣ / HESPEROS**

**The Aegean Seen From the West**

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**Abstracts**

## **Oral presentations**

Esmeralda AGOLLI

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### **Models of Social Networks of southeast Albania in Late Prehistory**

The paper deals with the nature of interactions that communities in southeast Albania (Korçë basin and Kolonjë plateau) developed during the Late Prehistory. Into account is taken the pottery production and to what extent qualitative attributes of the end product highlight the model of networks and cultural transmissions. The qualitative analysis focuses on three categories: *local* and *non-local product* and *choices similar to the local product shared in the intraregional scale*.

In quantitative terms, the presence of combined attributes strictly associated with local choices is highly significant. The handmade pottery produced by a normal chain of operations comprises the commonest category. On the other hand, the non-local choices associated exclusively with wheel made products is sporadic and isolated. The third category constitutes an example that is cohesively integrated with the local production.

The pattern of local production indicates a network model that is defined by proximity. This phenomenon is dedicated to intense interactions among sites of a region and particularly conditioned from the movement of ideas. The non-local production, at most, represents patterns that are popular in the Aegean which neither becomes popular nor emitted in the local product. The choices similar to the shared in the intraregional scale are traced in a relatively long distance and indicate to what extent an exterior tradition can be synergistically intertwined within the local tradition. This category indicates a high interest towards attributes and models that go hand to hand with the local tradition. However, even at this case the geographic facility and proximity play an important role.

By taking into account this model of interactions, I argue that the pottery production during the Late Prehistory does not transcend the domain of the household and is developed within self-subsistence communities with some degree of social complexity. In terms of intensity and extension the networks are greatly conditioned by the premises of the inner social organization.

Eleonora BALLAN

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## **The Decorated Pottery of the Adriatic and Western Balkan Areas in the Last Quarter of the 3rd millennium BC: Continuity, Discontinuity and Suggestion of Dating**

This paper is a part of my Ph.D. thesis, concerning the distribution of a peculiar decorated and impressed ware during the last quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C. in the central-eastern Mediterranean area. During this period there are considerable changes on material culture in the Greek mainland and significant interaction are documented between the two different shores of the Adriatic sea.

This class of pottery has been found in numerous sites in Greece (in the Early Helladic III Peloponnese context, especially in Olympia and Lerna), in the Western Balkans (in the Cetina culture - Dalmatia area) and in the eastern Adriatic area (sites in southern Italy).

My research followed an organized methodology, divided in three main aspects: the archaeological evidence; the comparison with the data coming from Greece; technical, typological and stylistic developments of the data in the chronological period of interest.

My analysis included the examination of the Early Helladic III impressed and decorated pottery from Olympia and Lerna, stored in Olympia and Argos Archaeological museums, but also the direct study of the pottery of the Cetina culture in Split and Sjni Archaeological museums.

At the beginning the aim of the study was to detect similar features in the pottery from different places, particularly regarding the clay, the decoration and the surface treatment. The research considered also a review of the dating and the resulting considerations proposed by scholars in the past. The direct study of the pottery from different archaeological sites in the considered area was essential to recognize similarities on ceramic materials; in the past years the scholars usually compared the pottery from a single area with the other regions and didn't elaborate a wider approach including all the evidence.

My work tried to be a new reevaluating study of this class of pottery, a full chronological review starting from the ceramic materials in well-dated context. Another main purpose of the research was to set geographical and stylistic relationships between the pottery from Adriatic and Balkan areas and from Greece; the archaeological data were compared to those of the Peloponnese in order to understand the possible presence of foreign elements in the territory or to assess how the local population developed.

The research lead me to exclude any "invasion" in Greece at the end of the 3rd millennium BC. In the light of my study the idea that emerges is an independent character between the studied regions.

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### **Luxury production. Amber and Glass during the Recent and Final Bronze Age in North-eastern Italy**

The research on the prehistoric amber trade in Europe has always been a traditional field of investigation of the modern archaeology (i.e. the debate on the so called “Kakovatos” spacers and the Tiryns type amber beads).

Amber trade topic is frequently considered as part of the phenomenon of the long distance exchanges, which connected, in the II millennium B.C., the Aegean and the Levant Mediterranean to the Northern Europe. Moreover for some scholars the appearance in Europe of vitreous materials beads of Mediterranean origin is traditionally linked to the “commerce” of the Baltic amber.

In Italy, in the last two decades, multidisciplinary research have allowed the first archaeological and archaeometrical characterization of vitreous materials beads of the Bronze Age (Bellintani 2011) and the implementation of the analytical data regarding the provenance of the archaeological amber (Angelini, Bellintani 2005).

At Campestrin di Grignano Polesine (Salzani 2011) – a site chronologically and geographically close to Frattesina – has been recently discovered a workshop dedicated to the amber production which sheds new light in the debate concerning the production of the Tiryns type amber beads and the role of North-eastern Italy as a sort of bridging point from the Mediterranean to central and northern Europe (Bellintani *et al.* in press).

During the Late Bronze Age, in North-eastern Italy, there are three other important questions related to the long-distance trading topic: the presence of Mycenaean and Italo-Mycenaean pottery sherds in several sites of the Lower Adige Plain (Jones *et al.* 2014); the exploitation of the copper resource of the Central-eastern Alpine region (Cierny 2008); the diffusion, north of the Alps, of vitreous materials beads of Aegean or Levantine origin.

The main aims of our speech will concern:

- An updated framework of the research on amber and vitreous materials in the North-eastern Italy between the Late and Final Bronze Age (between the thirteenth and tenth centuries BC), and a more specific relative chronology of the glass beads of Aegean and/or Levantine origin recovered in Northern Italy;
- The cultural interactions observed through the different use of amber and glass ornaments in the central Mediterranean and in the Aegean;
- The role of the Central-eastern Alpine region in the diffusion of Levantine, Aegean and Italian glass ornaments in central and northern Europe.

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Lorenc BEJKO

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### **Interactions of the Albanian prehistoric communities with the Aegean, Revisited: old data and recent fieldwork**

This paper revisits the well-discussed problem of Bronze Age contacts of Albania with the Aegean world, and their impact on the local material culture and social developments. Traditionally, the discussions of this issue have been focused on the identification of the objects of Mycenaean/Aegean inspiration, or imports found in the local tumuli burials and some settlement contexts, and the subsequent establishment of the contacts/influences in the way of trade and exchanges. A limited number of Mycenaean pottery and several examples of swords, daggers, double-axes, spearheads, and other bronze artifacts are repeatedly (Prendi 1982; Korkuti; Andrea 1985; Bejko 1993; 2002) isolated from the Albanian Bronze Age record as imports, or imitations of Aegean forms. These objects have been treated with special care in the Albanian studies, since they provided a good base for cross-reference dating of the local contexts. On the other hand, these objects were used as documents of external contacts for the local groups in the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Little more was discussed, if one considers the debate in late 1980s that seeks to find origins for the matt-painted pottery (very common for the Early Iron Age in southern Albania) in the earlier tradition of imported Mycenaean pottery (Bodinaku 1989). The mainly culture historical approaches that dominated traditional discussions searched for ways of arrival of the imported objects to Albanian sites, and were mainly concerned with the role of population movements in this process.

In this paper I return to review the data again with the goal of contextualising them with the new research done in the last decade. New excavations of settlement sites, tumuli burials and, particularly the regional surveys have provided fresh opportunity to look at the communities of the Bronze Age Albania as social entities interconnected with a network of sites and regions, engaging in active processes of exchange, imitation, emulation, and possibly conflict and competition. The use of imported objects to enhance social status within local communities is suggested based on the social analysis of burial and settlement contexts. A landscape approach is also taken here to understand changes so evident throughout the Bronze Age among the Albanian communities. Data from recent excavations at the burial mound of Kamenica, Apollonia and Lofkënd are included in the discussion, together with data from regional surveys in the regions of Mallakastër (MRAP), Devoll valley (KOBAS), and Shkodër (PASH).

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### **Po Plain, Adriatic and Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age: fact, fancy and plausibility**

For a long time the relationships between the central Mediterranean and the Aegean in the Bronze Age were focused on the coast of southern Italy, Sicily, the lower Tyrrhenian archipelagos and Sardinia. The increasing discoveries of Mycenaean pottery – especially since the late 1970s and the following decades – have moved the traces of such relationships along the Adriatic as far as the eastern Po Plain. Archaeometric analyses have shown that a large amount of Aegean pottery was locally produced in several production centres, especially in the Late Bronze Age. The local production of Mycenaean pottery involved not only sites in south-eastern Italy, but also some important middle-Adriatic settlements and the so-called Valli Grandi Veronesi polity. In this area, in the embanked settlement of Fondo Paviani (Verona) – that has been excavated by Padova University since 2007 – a peculiar black and red painted fine ware has been recently identified, together with Mycenaean-type pottery LH IIIC in date. Bichrome decoration is very uncommon in Mycenaean pottery, but by contrast it is commonly present on fine wares in Cyprus and the Levant during Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. The possible presence of vases in Cypriote or Levantine style at Fondo Paviani during the Late Bronze Age seems to anticipate what happens decades later at the nearby site of Frattesina (Rovigo), stressing the existing “genetic” link between the “Valli Grandi” phenomenon and the “Frattesina” one. At this important settlement – which develops after the fall of the Valli Grandi polity and the abandonment of the main sites in the area at the beginning of the Final Bronze Age – a number of exotic raw materials, such as elephant ivory and ostrich egg shells have been found. These materials witness the inclusion of Frattesina into the Mediterranean long-distance exchange networks at that time, which reached the far shores of the eastern Mediterranean and the Levant. It is important to note that the results of chemical analyses which have been carried out on examples of Mycenaean-type and Bichrome pottery from Fondo Paviani suggest a local production for both.

This paper will also give a reassessment of the controversial issue of the Mycenaean pottery possibly from Venice lagoon. These sherds, already known in the literature and of uncertain provenance, cannot be fully interpreted without their evaluation in the broader picture of the Aegean pottery found in the eastern Po Plain.

Fritz BLAKOLMER

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### **Spirals from Malta and ‘ropes and pulleys’ from the Eurasian steppe? On the origin of some ornaments of the Aegean Bronze Age**

Especially during the first half of the 20th century, interrelations between prehistoric Malta and the Bronze Age Aegean were often assumed in scholarship, among others due to some rough similarities of the spiral decoration in both cultural regions throughout the 3rd and 2nd millennium BCE. Although, nowadays, this assumption cannot be maintained any more and the independence of the ‘language of ornaments’ in both regions is beyond question, this traditional scholarly debate is very instructive for us in order to reduce misinterpretations in future research.

In the second part of this paper, we will explore the origin of ornaments such as interlaced bands, multi-stranded interweaving loops, guilloche and meander-like patterns and similar complex curvilinear design in seal glyptic as well as in other artistic media in the Bronze Age Aegean. A foreign, mainly ‘Eurasian’ character has often been attributed to them, and we can detect similarities with ornament styles of the ‘Celtic’ North from Britain throughout central Europe, the Balkans, the Caucasus, Siberia and Mongolia as well as Anatolia. This paper aims at focusing on three groups of objects in the Aegean showing variants of this ornament style: 1. seal motifs from the EH IIB sealing archive in Lerna in the Argolid; 2. the interlace motifs on seal images from the ‘archivio di cretule’ in MM IIB Phaistos and from other contexts of protopalatial Crete; and 3. the ornaments on some objects of bone and ivory, on gold plaques and diadems as well as on stone relief stelae from the Shaft Grave period on the Greek mainland which are mostly summarized by the term ‘rope-and-pulley style’. In each case, this style or group of artefacts appears to have possessed a random position in the spectrum of ornaments in the Aegean, and thus the problem of their foreign character and origin deserves a closer examination.

Elisabetta BORGNA

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### **The Last Mycenaean and the Adriatic connection: a view from the Trapeza cemetery, Eastern Achaea**

The excavation of some tombs in the rediscovered cemetery of the Trapeza, near Aigion (in the framework of the Greek systematic excavations directed by A. Vordos), have brought to light substantial evidence of interaction between late Mycenaean Greece and Italy at the close of the Late Bronze Age, most probably dating well into the 11<sup>th</sup> c. Such an evidence points in particular to a connection with the Ionian and Adriatic regions including the mid and possibly northern Adriatic especially in the domain of funerary rituals and beliefs.

The complex sequence of use of the tombs in the Post-palatial period, retrieved from both stratigraphy and ceramic evidence, may now help to assess modes and directions of interaction in the long term, including relationships with the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean, with a start earlier in the Post-palatial period.

Starting from the analytical evaluation of change and transformation in the long-distance relationships which involved the Trapeza community during 12<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> c., the present paper has several aims: - establishing a connection between burial phases at the Trapeza site and cycles of both population dynamics and bronze circulation in the Adriatic regions; - evaluating Eastern Achaean agency in travelling and connecting distant social contexts; - analysing patterns of ritual and social practices that may have had an active role in the cultural encounter between Eastern and Western components; - identifying possible markers of mobility along both the Adriatic and the Corinthian sea.

Adem BUNGURI

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### **Relation between Mycenaean world and Albania during Middle and Late Helladic as reflected by imported Mycenaean weapons**

The archaeological researches about the Bronze Age Civilisation in Albania has yielded such interesting data about the close relations between Aegean world and Albania during Middle and Late Bronze Age, which in terms of Aegean chronology corresponds more or less with Middle Helladic II-III-Late Helladic I (Middle Bronze) and Late Helladic II-III (Late Bronze). These relations are confirmed by imports of mycenaean vessels, as well as bronze weapons and tools, beginning from the MH II till LH I, and lasting for different tools till LH III. The subject of the paper would be focused on bronze weapons and tools, which had been discovered in Albania, mainly in tumuli and less in open settlements. The first are represented by spearheads of Middle Helladic and Sesklo type, daggers of Aegean type, Aegean swords and one side knives of Cretan type. All the bronze weapons of this period represent Aegean types and variants and belong to the end of Middle Helladic till the beginning of Late Helladic (MH III-LH I).

The Aegean weapons have been concentrated in South Albania. Most of them appears as imported goods from the different metallurgical centres of Continental Greece and some of them from Crete. As an archaeological proof of their trade relations we can mention the swords of Sandars A type, dated in Crete in Middle Minoan, as well as the spearheads of Cretan type, which arrived in South Albania through the sea or earth routes. Swords, daggers and spearheads in the Illyrian society of Middle and Late Bronze Age, were a privilege of the local military elite, which were formed at this time. During the Late Bronze Age the Mycenaean weapons imports had been more frequent and intense, when besides the bronze double axes, appears in South Albania the horned and the cruciform bronze swords, which recall the tradition of the Aegean swords of Sandars C and D type, as well as daggers and spearheads etc., which provoke later their local imitations.

The Aegean bronze tools are represented by some double bronze axes, which represent the evidence of the close relations with the Aegean world during LH III. In Albania, 21 double axes and two stone moulds for casting them have been discovered, mainly in South Albania. Bronze double-axes are represented by different types, such as Aegean or Mycenaean, Kilinder and Hermones or Kierion types. All these weapons and tools reflect not only an early Aegean acculturation of South Albania during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, but also a high level of social-economic development of its prehistoric communities.

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### **Getting in touch with the eastern world: socio-economic developments in the central Mediterranean during the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC.**

The relationships between the Aegean and the central Mediterranean during the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC have been recently discussed by J. Maran and other scholars, who have focused their attention particularly on Greece and the Balkans yet highlighting the connections between these regions and southern Italy, Sicily and the Maltese archipelago. Nonetheless some issues remain to be examined in more detail. Firstly, the chronological framework of the different areas involved in this phenomenon as well as the time-scale of these connections has yet to be refined. Secondly, relationships between each region probably differed depending on specific cultural, economic and social traits of the various human groups participating in the process. Therefore local socio-economic contexts should be carefully evaluated in order to figure out the impact these connections had on their specific historic trajectories.

On the basis of the advances in researches in the central Mediterranean, we will analyse this phenomenon and its implications from a 'western' perspective.

We will take into consideration in particular the southern Italian regions, Sicily and the small central Mediterranean archipelagos where traces of contacts with the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C. Greece and Balkans occur. When this phenomenon began each of these regions was undergoing specific cultural developments. Then, at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C., they appear to 'have taken the same road', enhancing transmarine exchange. Therefore the question is: to what extent did contacts with the eastern Mediterranean stimulate or influence this historic process?

By comparing and contrasting these areas, we may highlight their peculiarities and single out the different trajectories they followed over the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C. Archaeological evidence of these contacts is mainly constituted by the spread of a distinctive pottery style that marked the Dalmatian Cetina culture and of further singular artefacts, such as the bossed bone plaques. We are inclined to think that small human groups coming from the Balkans and the Peloponnese were responsible for the 'dissemination' of these features and, at the same time, of new ideologies and economic strategies. Nonetheless, differences can be noticed between the involvement of coastal/insular sites and inland centres as well as between settlement and funerary contexts. Furthermore, we can draw a comparison between cultural spheres where Aegean/Balkans traits appear to have become representative and those situations where these traits remained circumscribed.

Finally, it seems now clear that contacts happened at different times. Thus, we will try to assess the chronological framework in which relationships took place. Two distinct phases have been defined as regards the Peloponnese and these appear to apply also to the case of the Maltese archipelago. Conversely, the chronology of Sicily and southern Italy remains less determinable as yet, though these regions too appear to have been reached by small eastern groups at different stages.

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### **Making connections: Westward trade in purple dyed textiles**

This paper will propose a methodological framework that can help research how sites on the Western coast of the Aegean mainland were connected with Southern Italian sites engaged with trade in purple-dyed textiles. Murex middens have been found at various sites throughout the Aegean where since the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C. centres of purple dye production have been identified. In most cases such sites have also been associated with possible trade in purple textiles that may have been derived from there. Exceptional sites such as Aetolian Chalkis provide evidence of purple textile production even *without* the discovery of any middens to date. What is distinctive at this site is the abundance of loom weights found there along with a few fragmentary murex shells in their vicinity. It is the strategic location of this site that lends itself to proposing trade routes to southern Italy for which the purple dye textile trade may possibly have been a primary motive for its existence. This paper will argue that the need to discover a murex midden at a site to conclusively deduce that it was engaged with purple dye production is not always the case and exceptions to the purple dye site “trade rule” need to be made on occasion given similar evidence as that provided at Chalkis.

The proposed research framework therefore considers a number of parameters that need to be carefully taken into account. For example loom weight styles of a certain era are just one way to determine sites that may have worked in collaboration or in competition with each other for the westward bound trade to sites in southern Italy. For instance loom weights at Chalkis were similar to those of Corinth and an assumption can be made that production for southern Italy may have extended to Corinth as well. Hence the proposed framework will also consider a network of production sites that were linked along well recognised sea routes where textiles could have been gathered along the way and distributed to westward trading partners in a more efficient manner than what can exist for individual site trade. The possibility of an alliance of textile purple dye traders along the western coast may be determined if similar pottery styles, architecture and artefacts can be connected with sites engaged in purple dye production and trade. A network of potential purple dye trade sites for any given period can be determined by examining artefacts that are distinctive to those sites and which can then also be linked to sites in southern Italy where these distinctive styles have also been located. The framework will be presented as an efficient mechanism for correlating evidence from purple dye production sites along the west coast of the Aegean mainland with well evidenced links of trade with southern Italy sites.

Massimo CULTRARO

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### **Rock-cut Tombs in Context: Parallels trajectories between Aegean and South Italy in the Fourth millennium B.C.**

Although a criticism by C. Renfrew, for many decades the category of the rock-cut tombs, which largely occurs in South Italy and Sicily since the late Fourth millennium B.C., has been claimed as a local adaptation of a ‘foreign model’ originated in Mainland Greece and Cyprus. New evidence from Sicily, supported by calibrated radiocarbon dates, invites to propose an alternative perspective. This paper aims at reconstructing a contextualized framework on the emergence of the rock-cut tombs in Central Mediterranean, focusing mostly on the evidence in Greece and South-Western Balkans. Recent available data from the EH cemetery at Ancient Elis give important information about the dating of the oldest rock-cut tombs in Peloponnese and the possible connections with Italian/South Adriatic models. This paper investigates the archaeological documentation relating to over 100 EH different sites in Peloponnese and Central Greece, as well as in Cyclades, which needs to be more consciously and comprehensively studied in a wider temporal variation and territorial clusters. As a general result, the rock-cut tombs, with oven-shaped chamber and vertical shaft, documented in Mainland Greece during the EH I-II arguably seem to be later than the examples in South Italy. Therefore, the main questions arises the origin of this funerary model in EH Aegean, its connections with Italian counterparts and the introduction of new burial practices.

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### **Western Sicily before the Greeks: Mycenaeans and Others along the Mediterranean Seaboard**

This paper aims at investigating the available and unpublished archaeological record relating to the Aegean-Mycenaeans evidence in Southern and Western districts in Sicily. Both areas have largely suffered from the exploration of Thapsos in eastern part of Island, which has totally focused the attention of the intercultural contacts between local people and Mycenaean world during the Second millennium B.C. In the last five years new excavations on the Acropolis at Selinous, carried out by the New York University and the collaboration of a Italian CNR team, have identified Late Bronze Age layers under the first Greek colony. Worth noting are some LH III imported pottery which include LH IIIB painted ware, probably from Crete or Dodecanese, and a part of a Canaanite amphora. Moreover, a large part of an Egyptian limestone tempered silt-ware bowl, dated to the New Kingdom period, was found associated with the Aegean pottery.

The discovery at Selinous has invited to re-investigate the archaeological record, mostly coming from old excavations still unpublished, which is related to the circulation of Aegean imports in Western Sicily during the Late Bronze Age. The paper focuses on the burial goods of the chamber tomb at Caldare (Agrigento), where a set of bronze vessels of Cypriot origin was found, and on unpublished LH IIIA-B pottery found along the southern coastline of Sicily. Finally, specific comments are paid on two bronze Naue II-type swords, stored in the Archaeological Museum at Syracuse, which are claimed to be found respectively at Selinous and Gela.

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## **Like Dolmen, Like Dromos:**

### **Contextualizing the Solar Orientations of Some Mycenaean Tholoi**

It has been observed that the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae, the most famous Mycenaean tholos tomb, is oriented to the point on the horizon where the sun rises on the equinoxes (Reijs 2009). This example of the orientation of a Mycenaean tholos towards a significant solar event is now supplemented by the authors' discovery that at least five other well-known Mycenaean tholoi are aligned to significant markers in the solar calendar. Specifically: the Vapheio tholos (LH IIB) is oriented to the summer solstice sunrise (Chapin et al. 2014); the Tomb of the Genii at Mycenae (LH IIB-III A1) is aligned to the summer solstice sunset; Tholos 1 at Tiryns and the tholos tomb at Dendra (both LH IIIA) point to the winter solstice sunset; and the Kato Phournos tholos at Mycenae (LH IIA) is sited toward sunset on the equinoxes. These alignments cannot all be accidental. On the contrary, they suggest that elite Mycenaean patrons and their architects had access to detailed knowledge of the solar calendar and intentionally incorporated this information into the placement of certain funerary monuments within their surrounding landscapes.

Current scholarship, however, tends to explain Mycenaean tomb placement in terms of individual responses to practical considerations, including local topography, the placement of nearby roads, and the locations of palatial monuments (Maravelia 2001, Mason 2013). For many scholars, solar symbolism is not considered to be a significant factor in the situation of Mycenaean tombs within their landscapes (e.g., Mickelson and Mickelson 2014), and indeed, numerous tholoi point in directions that cannot readily be explained as orientations to the sun. However, a review of funerary and religious monuments across the Mediterranean reveals a consistent and persistent interest in aligning important structures to sightlines connected to significant sunrises and sunsets.

On Crete, EM tholoi in the Mesara are oriented toward the summer solstice sunrise (Goodwin 1999; Goodison 2001). The LM III tombs in the cemetery at Armenoi are also oriented toward sunrise, with the largest cluster facing sunrise at or near the equinoxes (Papathanassiou et al. 1992). In addition, several important peak sanctuaries (e.g., Iouktas, Petsofas, Vrysinas) offer views of sunrise or sunset behind especially prominent peaks on the equinoxes or solstices (Davis 2014). Farther afield, at Giza in Egypt, the summer solstice sun when viewed from the Sphinx Temple sets between the pyramids of Khufu and Khafre,

thereby reproducing the hieroglyph akhet (“horizon”), which depicts the sun between two mountains (Lehner 1997).

But this practice of orienting monuments and tombs to solar events extends far beyond the eastern Mediterranean. In northern Sardinia, megalithic dolmen burials and the Nuraghi Tombs of the Giants display orientations toward sunrise, as do dolmen burials in Corsica, Iberia, and southwestern France, while those in southeastern France and the Balearic Islands are oriented toward sunset; thus the sun on the horizon is a common focus in all these regions (Hoskin 2001). This focus on the sun extends even farther afield: in the British Isles, Stonehenge and the passage grave at Newgrange create sightlines to the points of sunrise on the solstices, while other megalithic monuments of northwestern Europe (such as the standing stones of the Orkney Islands and the dolmens of Brittany) are believed to reflect a range of similarly significant solar alignments (Higgenbottom and Clay preprint).

Thus the solar orientations of the six Mycenaean tholoi can be contextualized through comparison with other prehistoric monuments not just in the eastern Mediterranean, but westward across southern and western Europe. While these wide-ranging comparanda need not necessarily indicate direct influence on or from the Aegean, or direct contact with the Aegean, they do indicate that the positioning of the six Mycenaean tholoi within their landscapes is consistent with a widespread areal and cross-cultural pattern of orienting monuments toward important markers in the solar year, a pattern that extends from Egypt and the Aegean westward to Iberia, France and beyond. These findings further suggest that throughout the northern Mediterranean, tombs were commonly situated in the landscape according to factors that venture into the realm of cosmology, in addition to practical considerations of topography and construction. This study concludes that the next step in the investigation should be a systematic, multi-factor review of all Mycenaean tholos tombs for additional solar, lunar, or other astronomical alignments.

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### **Between Italy and the Aegean: Context and Distribution of the Handmade Burnished Ware**

The ceramic class known as Handmade Burnished Ware (HBW) or Barbarian Ware of Italian origin is attested in the Aegean, but also in Cyprus and on the east coast of the Mediterranean, in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. (Bettelli 2009; Jung 2009). Identified by Rutter in 1975, this group has technical characteristics that distinguish it from Minoan/Mycenaean production: it was made by hand, in *impasto*, and was fired in a reducing atmosphere, with burnished surfaces and with applique decoration. The most frequent shapes are jars with ovoid or globular body and carinated cups, which can be related to types in south-east Italy dating from Recent Bronze Age 1-2. Analysis has shown that few were imports; the majority of vases are of local production.

The presence of a ceramic class, locally manufactured but imitating foreign examples has led to a heated debate about production site and use. However, regardless of interpretation, there is total agreement on the technical aspects of production.

In a recent paper on HBW in Crete (D'Agata *et al.* 2012) analyzing the typological and technological aspects of the pottery, with a detailed study of provenience and distribution, it was suggested that there was a diversified system of distribution. These observations provide a Cretan model for the regional character of this imitation ware and local preferences in use.

The application of this model of analysis to sites in Greece with HBW wares should further an understanding of their individual characteristic, providing evidence also for the existence in the Aegean of multiple models of production and distribution of HBW. Observations about the quantity, typology and distribution of HBW in specific sites such as Kalapodi, Tiryns, Korakou and Menelaion/Sparta, indicate the great complexity and strong local preferences and adaptations. This contribution presents the first results of research on typological and contextual analysis of the distribution of HBW wares, which indicate that the phenomenon is not uniform, and that different social and economic dynamics underlie the production and the spread of this ceramic class in the Greek mainland.

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### **Some observations on bronze productions in Nuragic Sardinia: Between Aegean influences and autonomous creations**

The protohistoric phase in Sardinia is noteworthy for the archaeological phenomena called the “Nuragic Civilization”.

Sardinia is historically recognized as an island rich in metal resources, among which stand out above all the mines of copper, lead and silver, and it's from the Final Bronze Age that start one important and organized exploitation of these resources.

Between the end of Final Bronze Age and the beginning of Iron Age it starts a production of work tools for agriculture, carpentry and crafts.

Final Bronze Age is also the moment of the flourishing of contacts and trade between Sardinia and other parts of the Mediterranean sea.

The first contacts between Nuragic and people from other areas date back to the Middle and Recent Bronze age, as show micenaean pottery and Aegean provenience goods found in nuragic settlements in the South of the island.

In the Final Bronze Age there is a clear increase of foreign goods presence, widely overspread all over the island, as a consequence of the enhancement of traffics passing through Sardinia and of the new role of the island in them.

Nuragic people are still involved in relationship with the Aegean area, but especially with Cyprus, as demonstrated by many Cypriot bronze artifacts such as tools and tripod stands.

At the very end of Bronze Age we also see the first tracks of contacts with the Iberian Peninsula: atlantic swords, daggers, axes and tools overspread and imitated all over Sardinia.

Sardinia doesn't just receive foreign goods, but also technology and models, especially in the metallurgy field.

For example, from Cyprus Sardinia learns the lost wax technique for bronze artefacts production, new tools types especially for metal work. The same happens with the Iberian Peninsula, from where Nuragic people take new weapons and tools models.

Nuragic bronze work and production become mature, complex and original, also with a good capability of imitation and elaboration of foreign products.

In the Final Bronze Age there is a change in the approach of Nuragic people to contacts and traffics with external people.

The recent discoveries of nuragic pottery in Cyprus, Crete, Spain, have led to the hypothesis of nuragic groups being actively involved in Mediterranean traffic and routes. These routes, connected to metal traffic, considered Sardinia not only as intermediary base and “customer” for raw metals and artefacts, but as an integral part of trading groups.

Aim of the paper is to make a new reflection on the times, the Aegean areas and the models that could have influenced the metallurgical production of Sardinia in Final Bronze and in Early Iron Age.

Will be also considered the elements that allow to hypothesize about the role of hinge between East and West played by Sardinia in these times.

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### **The Position of Albania in Mediterranean Obsidian Exchange Spheres**

Archaeologists first identified obsidian artifacts in Albania in the early 20th century, but their numbers were small and the contexts insecure. Their source was never determined. Nor was it clear why, given the large numbers of obsidian artifacts recovered in regions to the south and north, in places like Greece and Croatia, more obsidian artifacts were not found in Albania. In an attempt to address these problems in Albanian prehistoric archaeology, we analyzed five obsidian artifacts from five sites – out of a total of only 14 known from the entire country, many of which are now lost – using portable X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (pXRF). One of these, from the Putanja site, is from Lipari, Italy. The other four are from Melos, Greece (the Sta Nychia source, specifically). All five appear to date from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age with a noticeable tilt toward the Middle/Late Neolithic to Bronze Age (5500-1050/25 BC).

In this paper we review the archaeology of obsidian in Albania, present the results of pXRF analysis, and discuss the reasons why Albania was not better integrated into widespread, prehistoric obsidian exchange spheres centered on Greece, Italy, Turkey, and the Carpathians. The absence of obsidian in Albania is not apparently the result of poor archaeological sampling; several, recent intensive surface surveys and excavations in south and north Albania produced no obsidian. Rather, it may be that obsidian was not imported to prehistoric Albania due to the presence there of abundant, accessible, very fine chert sources. Consequently, prehistoric Albanians were out of the loop or otherwise uninterested in obsidian during those periods of Mediterranean prehistory, such as the Late Neolithic to the Bronze Age, when it was traded most intensively. It may also be that Bronze Age Albanians did not use Melian obsidian for body modification or in mortuary rituals, as was done in the Aegean, and therefore did not import it.

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### **Relations between Mycenaean world and Kosova, as reflected from imported vessels**

The archaeological evidence yielded a new picture about the relations between Kosova and the Aegean world during Middle and Late Helladic, as well as during the Early Iron Age. The subject of this paper is the imported pottery in Kosova as well as the local vessels produced after the models of the Aegean world. The archaeological material comes from the systematic and the rescue excavations during the last decade at the multilayers settlements such as Vlashnja, Hisari, Upper Gadime, as well as the tumuli of Ponoshec, Volujak etc.

During the Early Iron Age, the oldest imports from Aegean basin comes from the subgeometric period (700-600 BC), which had arrived in Kosova by two main earth routes: through the Wardar valley in southeast side and through the Drini valley on the southwest side.

The most frequent of this imported pottery is registered at the archaic and classical period, when the quantity of different types of Aegean pottery was increased. The imported pottery provoke later the local imitations produced by the local inhabitants of Kosova, known by the historical sources as “dardanians”.

The increasing of the luxury vessels comes from the Aegean basin in Kosova goes in parallel with the increasing and strengthening of the local elite of aristocracy, who needed to buy and use a large number of the luxury vessels and other objects, which served as prestige objects too.

Though the Kosova territory in the geographical viewpoint looks like isolated one, it had been included into the dynamic of regional development of Aegean basin beginning from the Middle and Late Helladic and especially during the Iron Age.

These close relations between Kosova and Aegean region were confirmed by the archaeological evidence, yielded by the recent excavations.

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### **Teichos Dymaion, Achaia. An acropolis-harbour of the Ionian Sea looking westwards**

The prehistoric citadel of Teichos Dymaion, near cape Araxos in Achaia is the most important fortified prehistoric acropolis in western Greece. The site offers a unique combination of the terrestrial and the marine elements and was inhabited almost continuously from the Final Neolithic period to the medieval era, being the ultimate point of control of the sea routes along the Ionian Sea and the approaches to and from the north-eastern Peloponnese. Excavations in the prehistoric citadel have brought to light finds that give us a clear picture of the constant relation of Teichos Dymaion with regions of the Adriatic and the Italian peninsula.

This paper offers a synopsis of the available data and presents new ones, which suggest that contacts with the regions mentioned above can be dated at least as early as the Early Helladic period. The recognition of a small but representative assemblage of pottery that belongs to the sphere of the Cetina culture indicate that Teichos Dymaion was probably part of a cultural phenomenon that was active in the Aegean world (particularly in the western Peloponnese) and widespread in the central and eastern Mediterranean at the end of the 3rd millennium B.C.

During the Mycenaean period, metal objects of “Italian type” and Handmade Burnished Ware pottery of the Late Helladic IIIB-C (13th – 12th cent. B.C.), combined with “Achaean” pottery in several sites in Puglia and other regions in Italy illustrate the multi-level reciprocal relations of western Achaia with these regions. Teichos Dymaion, as a major harbour, was integrated in the extensive contact network between the Aegean and central Mediterranean.

This outline highlights the diachronic significance of the area of cape Araxos as a key-point for the control of the communication routes, particularly towards the Ionian, the Adriatic and central Mediterranean. The geographical position and the favourable geomorphology of the location make it ideal for this role and seem to have been appreciated already by the end of the Early Bronze Age, if not earlier. It was exactly this role of a gateway to and from the West that led, a thousand years later, to the construction of the cyclopean fortification, which gave Teichos Dymaion its current form and the name by which it is known.

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### **Adriatic and Aegean connections with Southern Italian metallurgy during the Late Prehistory: a technological interaction sphere**

According with recent archaeological theoretical paradigms, one of the most intriguing applications for studies on ancient technologies is the examination of socio-cultural identities and prehistoric boundaries looking to their engagement with material culture.

Intercultural contacts in metallurgical craft specialization could be shown by a shared technological style among South-western Balkans, Aegean and Southern Italy.

Thanks to the peculiar geographical position of Italy, Italian peninsula represents an area of strong interactions with Eastern Adriatic and Aegean regions. The metal finds, mostly from hoards and tombs, underline these contacts, which flourished particularly in the period between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age.

Late Bronze Age Southern Italian bronzes, particularly from Apulia, show connections with the Aegean and the Balkans. Axes, swords, knives and hammers coming from the hoards of Mottola, Manduria, Surbo, Reinzano and Roca Vecchia reveal the existence of strong traffics between the Adriatic and Ionian Seas in the late phases of prehistory. Socketed axes and spearheads of western Balkan influence are spread in Adriatic Southern Italy.

A meaningful evidence is provided by the presence of moulds for the production of artefacts of Aegean typology from the settlement of Roca Vecchia (Lecce). They are evidence for the direct influence of the Mycenaean metallurgy in Apulia.

On the other hand, fibulas and weapons from Greece - but belonging to Italian types - demonstrate that these contacts were complex, but not unilateral. A stone mould for an Italian-style flanged axe found at Mycenae could be regarded as a “pendant” for the Aegean-style stone mould for hammers from Roca Vecchia.

Interaction spheres (“a la Coldwell”) can explain the communication and the contacts in terms of metallurgy between the prehistoric cultures of these regions during the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C.

The diffusion of technological inventions and cultural materials (as artefacts) are an indication of a partially shared metallurgical ideology. The probable existence of such interaction sphere increased significantly the rate of innovation between the societies of the Balkans, Aegean and Southern Italy. The prehistoric metallurgy of these areas is a privileged environment to study these socio-economical mechanisms.

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**Overcoming Old Interpretative Frameworks:  
A Revised Chrono-cultural Sequence for Late Early Bronze Age  
Macedonia**

Although more than two decades have passed since the fall of the communist regimes and new countries were established replacing old ones, the theoretical framework and scientific regionalisms that organised archaeological knowledge in Macedonia during the Cold War remain difficult to overcome. If modern geopolitical borders, states, administrative districts, and the boundaries between them facilitate the organisation of our research work, it is true that such divisions still play powerful and multiple roles in the production and consumption of archaeological knowledge.

Starting from new data of levels 9–8–7 (circa 2500–1900 calBCE) from Sovjan, a lakeside pile dwelling settlement located in the Korçë Basin (Albania), this paper will review the chrono-cultural framework for Macedonia during the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium BCE. In terms of the southwestern Balkans, the site of Sovjan represents a remarkable late Early Bronze Age context as it has been recently excavated using modern stratigraphic techniques and benefits from a radiocarbon dating program and dendrochronological analysis. Data from Sovjan allow for a reassessment of old chronological sequences and definition of archaeological cultures in use in Macedonia. In particular, the idea of Maliq and Armenochori cultures and their chrono-cultural sequences will be questioned. Maliq is undoubtedly the most well-known site in Albania, where phase Maliq III is employed as paradigm sequence to cover the entire Albanian Bronze Age. In this paper it will be shown that Maliq III is a unreliable chrono-cultural horizon and therefore should be abandoned as reference sequence. Likewise, Armenochori group and the so-called “Armenochori type” kantharoi are concepts that need to be revised in the light of archaeological data from Sovjan and other recently excavated sites like e.g. Archontiko.

Based mainly on pottery analysis, this paper aims also at giving new insights into the complex system of cultural and social relations connecting the Aegean and the south-western Balkans at the passage between Early and Middle Bronze Age. Sovjan pottery assemblage, indeed, reveals complex and multi-layered connections. Distribution patterns show micro- and macro-regional networks combining tight connections between Macedonian communities with more long-distance ones, integrating thus the region into the lively networks crossing the Balkan Peninsula and connecting the Carpathian Basin to the Aegean. Although maritime contacts have been largely emphasized, land based networks at the end of the Early Bronze Age seem to have played a comparable role in connecting distant communities.

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### **The exception and the rule. Making sense of the diversity in patterns of Aegean interaction in LBA Central Mediterranean**

Through the last few decades, the study of relations between the Aegean world and Central Mediterranean societies during the Late Bronze Age (as investigated primarily through the analysis of Aegean type pottery) has highlighted an evident overarching pattern: a limited number of sites played an overwhelmingly important role, while other centres produced only limited amounts of material evidence. In other words, much of the LBA Aegean interaction to the west seems to have been extremely nodal in nature.

How are we to interpret this asymmetry recognisable in the evidence? What characterises the ‘normal’ and the ‘exceptional’? Many explanations can be (and have been) adopted to make sense of this situation, ranging from attributing difference to exploration bias, to the placing of emphasis on geographic position to the use of explanatory models like colonies (declined in a variety of ways) and gateway communities. And yet, all these elements capture only part of the processes at work and are not enough to provide a well-rounded assessment of the rationale beyond these macroscopic differences. In this paper I will explore these issues trying to glimpse, at the same time, the possible social and historical dynamics beyond the material record.

A diachronic contextual analysis of some of the main interaction nodes identifiable in the Central Mediterranean, will be followed by an overview of the regional ‘norm’ identifiable. A specific attention will be dedicated to the Adriatic area and the site that represents probably the most significant ‘exception’ to the general pattern of interaction in the overall central and western portion of the middle sea, i.e. the site of Roca that produced about half of the overall Aegean type pottery recovered west of Greece.

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## **Western Greece and Southern Italy 1250–1050 B.C.E.:**

### **Manifold patterns of Interaction**

The economic foundation and the social conditions forming the framework of Aegean-Italian relationships in the 2nd millennium B.C. are the subject of our paper. Recent research on the shores to the west and to the east of the Ionian Sea provided different insights into the historical development of those contacts. In the Aegean, more and more sites show evidence for relations with Italy, based on locally-made Italian-type pottery and bronze weapons, implements and dress accessories of Italian type that are either local products or imports (according to the results of mass spectrometry and chemical analyses). This evidence covers some 200 years including the latest palatial and all post-palatial periods, but clear historical changes can be observed.

In southern Italy, the growing amount of data continuously reveals the diversified and complex character of Aegean-Italian relationships. It has become evident that none of the better-known settlements can be taken as a type site, i.e. as a case study that would be generally representative for all those relationships. To the contrary, models that assume direct economic and political contacts (peaceful and martial) between specific Aegean and Italian (micro-)regions are best suited for interpreting the current archaeological evidence.

With a focus on the later phases of the Bronze Age, we will outline the historical developments, with reference to recent archaeological and archaeometric data from investigations on both sides of the Ionian Sea, e.g. in Calabria and in the western Peloponnese.

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### **Prehistoric Dodona, Epirus:**

#### **Towards the identification of a sacred place**

Ancient Dodona lies in the hinterland of Epirus, just outside the boundaries of the periphery (Aetoloakarnania, Thessaly) of the Mycenaean world. The sanctuary and oracle of Dodonaean Zeus acquires “international lux” already from the early historic period and finds reference to the literature of many authors of the ancient world. Much yet remains the interest for the prehistoric phase of Dodona, when first inhabited probably during the second millennium B.C. Cult activity seems to grow alongside the life of a small unfortified settlement of the prehistoric and protohistoric era. The involvement of Dodona in foundation myths, related to the heroic past of the Greeks, cannot be considered accidental. The relatively large, at least for Epirus, amount of imported Mycenaean pottery and miniature handmade offering vases support the case of cult at least from the 13th century B.C. onwards. Otherwise, the existence and worship of god Zeus throughout the Aegean is established via the Linear B tablets. Moreover, several bronze tools and weapons of Helladic and few of European origin come from the site. The significant interactions between Dodona and Cretomycenaean world of the Aegean are thoroughly investigated. Where did the intercultural communication of the two above specific regions aim to?

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### **Protogeometric Funerary Textiles from Stamna, Aetolia, Greece**

This communication presents an exceptional find from Western Greece, a well-preserved collection of archaeological textiles. The textiles' provenance is the Proto-geometric burial site (approx. 1050-900 B.C.) of Stamna in Aetolia, an extensive cemetery of more than 600 Early Iron Age burials. The site was excavated by the Greek archaeological service as a rescue excavation in 2003 under the direction of Dr. L. Kolonas.

Among the numerous and important finds of the cemetery there are three bronze cauldrons covered with textiles, which are preserved by mineralization. Of the three vessels, one is entirely preserved and is positioned on a tripod, a second is preserved without the legs and from a third only textile fragments are preserved. The fabrics inside the vessels are densely packed around human bones and carbonized fruits.

The textiles are partly tightly packed into the 3 vessels, and partly placed on top of them. They are in a fragile state, but still so well preserved that analyses could be carried out.

A preliminary study revealed several types of weaves and a wide range of qualities, from a net-like structure of thick and coarse threads, to extremely fine fabrics of exceptionally thin threads and very high thread counts.

There seem to be at least 6 types of weave: 2 coarse and 4 fine types. Some fabrics are of a very fine quality, with thread counts of up to 80/cm. Some of them are faced, some are balanced, and they all seem to be tabbies. One uncommon weave is not yet identified. All threads are z-spun. The diversity of the Stamna textiles demonstrate different items of a variety of techniques (i.e. fine clothing or coarse wrapping material), and not one single shroud. Our current analyses include C14 for specified dating, fiber analysis, and HPLC and FTIR analyses to identify dyes and fibers.

One of the fine fabrics still preserves purple coloured stripes. Chemical dye analyses (HPLC) have demonstrated evidence of true murex purple which coloured the broad bands of dyed yarn. The examination by electron microscopy reveals evidence for the use of scaled keratin fibres indicating wool. High amounts of iron and minor amounts of copper and sulfur are found by SEM-EDX analysis. The threads are heavily mineralized and covered by a thick metallic layer.

The Stamna textiles represent one of the largest assemblages of archaeological textiles preserved in the Aegean; it is a substantial addition to the quite meager catalogue of Early Iron Age textiles from Greece and thus a significant contribution to our understanding of the Early Iron Age textile cultures of Europe.

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### **From Central Greece to the North and then Westwards? Tracing Influences in Matt Painted Pottery Styles from MBA to EIA**

Matt painted pottery formed a crucial part of the ceramic assemblages in Central Greece throughout the Middle Bronze Age and the Northwest Aegean from the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age and has generated intensive discussions regarding a wide range of issues: the character of its transmission from South to North, the determination of different local expressions and chronologies (especially in Albania and Epirus), its relation to the Mycenaean and Mycenaeanizing wares, its appearance in Aitolia (Thermon) as late as the Early Iron Age and the striking similarities to pottery styles documented in Early Iron Age Southern Italy (Calabria, Basilicata and Apulia) that have been mentioned by several scholars but still lack a thorough and systematic study.

The well stratified Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age pottery from Sovjan in SE Albania can be of great help in resolving several questions, particularly concerning the chronology of this area of great significance for the understanding of the north- and westward dissemination of matt painted pottery.

This paper aims to summarise the different opinions and research traditions, to integrate recently excavated materials, to offer – for the first time – a broader insight concerning the widely dispersed, in geographical terms, matt painted pottery styles and ultimately shed light through them on the cultural connections and interactions during this period.

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**From the fringes to the center: new perspectives in the Early Prehistory of the Ionian Islands, Greece**

The Early Prehistory of the Ionian Islands (from the first palaeolithic settlers to the end of the Neolithic) was until recently almost exclusively considered in relation to the different models and hypothesis developed in the Aegean sphere. Field researches carried out in the Ionian Islands during the last decades brought to light an important quantity of archaeological material and data which reveals specific features and highlight particularities of the prehistoric cultures developed in this insular environment of Western Greece. Disengaging the Ionian Islands from the Aegean paradigm, this paper propose to consider them into a broader Central Mediterranean context opening by this way new perspectives in the comprehension of the available data.

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**Carnelian and amber beads as evidence of Late Bronze Age contacts between the present territory of Albania and the Aegean**

The exchanges and relations established during the Late Bronze Age between the territory of the present day Albania and the Aegean have been treated by various authors, focusing mainly on the pottery, but also on the metal objects such as elements of weapons and tools. However, the elements of body adornment such as the beads produced of exotic material have not had any specific attention in the studies of late prehistoric periods in Albania. This paper deals with this particular category of body adornment, as an important evidence which supports the contacts and relations established during the Late Bronze Age with the regions further south in the Aegean. The observations are based on the carnelian and amber beads attested in funerary contexts dating to the Late Bronze Age, coming mainly from southern Albania, with a particular concentration in the south-eastern region.

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**The settlement organization and the distribution of tumuli along the Eastern Adriatic and Ionian coasts during the transitional period between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BC**

The inner organisation of settlements and cemeteries is often said to reflect – or distort – the actual social organisation of the communities that created them. Furthermore, many scholars have pointed out that the distribution of cemeteries and graves in the vicinity of a settlement or in its catchment area could also reflect social, economic and ideological factors, that spring from the negotiations of intra-community and intercommunal relations and antagonisms. The present paper is an attempt to approach the inner organisation and the spatial distribution of settlements in relation to the distribution of tumuli in the Eastern Adriatic and Ionian regions during the transitional period between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> millennia B.C. and explore the social and economic frameworks that shaped them regionally and in the course of time.

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### **Stromboli: Gateway for the Mycenaean Early Connections through the Messina’s Strait**

Stromboli is the north-easternmost island of the Aeolian Archipelago in the Tyrrhenian Sea. The island is currently an active volcano (924m asl) in a prominent position for the connections with Eastern and Central Mediterranean through the Strait of Messina.

A new archaeological and multidisciplinary investigation at San Vincenzo, on the north-east of Stromboli, has been reopened in 2009. The Bronze Age San Vincenzo village, which was discovered and partially excavated by Madeleine Cavalier in 1980, belongs to the Capo Graziano *facies* (Early to Middle Bronze Age 1–2; 2300–1400 BC). The site on a steep-sided plateau, a large orographic unit, about 6ha in extent and 40–100m asl, a location that provides a remarkable visual (perhaps also actual) control of the southern Tyrrhenian Sea.

The excavation area (c. 600m<sup>2</sup>) is located on an irregular sloping surface, which influenced the topographical organization of the dwellings on huge, stone-walled terraces. Two main stratigraphic and architectural phases have been distinguished. Radiocarbon estimations derived from 20 stratigraphic contexts across the village have provided a range of dates between 2290–1475 cal BC (95.4% probability), attesting to long occupation.

Late Helladic I–II pottery and beads imported from the Aegean have been found at San Vincenzo: the new data are challenging the traditional occupation model of the Aeolian Archipelago. At San Vincenzo the stratigraphic, radiometric and typological data indicate the extended habitation of the village. This forms a different occupational model compared to the other islands of the Aeolian Archipelago. For example, at Lipari and Filicudi the earliest villages were positioned in coastal and lower locations (Capo Graziano I: Diana and Filo Braccio), subsequently moving to more defensible sites (Capo Graziano II: Acropolis and Montagnola) with the appearance of the Mycenaeans in the central Mediterranean. The San Vincenzo village therefore contributes to a more varied Bronze Age settlement history of the Aeolian Islands.

We present the new data from Stromboli in relationship with Filicudi and Lipari in the frame of an updated interpretation of the chronology and context of the Early Aegean imports -through the Messina's Strait- also in relationship with the local hand-made incised pottery (traditionally associated with the Aegean imports and a marker of Capo Graziano II).

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### **Cannatello, Sicily: the connective history of the LBA Central Mediterranean hub**

The fortified village of Cannatello, close to the central Southern shore of Sicily near Agrigento, is known since the late XIX century, thanks to the pioneering investigations by G.E. Rizzo, P. Orsi and A. Mosso. Its broad relevance was immediately revealed by these early finds, including two metal hoards - comprising an ox-hide ingot fragment- and casting moulds.

However, the full importance of the site started to appear thanks to a new series of researches by E. De Miro and collaborators since 1989. The new season of investigations revealed new aspects clearly demonstrating the peculiar and outstanding character of this site in the Central Mediterranean panorama. We present new data and the updated interpretation based on recent topographical, stratigraphical, typological, chronological and archeometric investigation. Here we can quote:

- the unique topography of the site defined by its perfectly circular enclosing walls;
- the partitioned topography and the coexistence of circular and rectangular dwellings;
- the association of abundant pottery imported from Cyprus (pithoi and White Slip II), Crete (coarse styrrup jars), Peloponnese (LH IIIA and IIIB Mycenaean pottery), Malta (Borg-in-Nadur) and Sardinia (Nuragic pottery).
- the identification of typical Sardinian nuragic pottery shapes, locally produced;
- the finding of new casting mould fragments and metal finds, including lead drops.

Only some of Cannatello's characteristics are shared by other crucial sites of the Sicilian area (e.g. Thapsos, Lipari). This can reflect a different involvement and timing in the Mediterranean LBA interconnections.

Given its character of a Mediterranean hub, Cannatello has been qualified as an *emporium*. We will discuss this definition by evaluating the comprehensive pattern of this multi-layered site, inside its Sicilian milieu. This time-framed perspective allows us to trace a trajectory of the interactions of the hub with the broader Central and Eastern Mediterranean dynamics. For instance, the Sardinian interaction is set inside the wider timing and forms of the evidence in Crete (Kommòs) and Cyprus (Pyla-Kokkinòkremos), and the Cypriote and Mycenaean presence can be similarly approached; the Maltese presence has instead to be analyzed taking into account the Sicilian long-term continuity of contacts with the archipelago.

A central point of the paper is that it is not enough to analyze the hub of Cannatello, and the whole Central Mediterranean context, as a simple reflection, or terminal, of Eastern Mediterranean/Aegean dynamics. It is instead more appropriate to read this web as an interaction system: this attitude can result in a deeper understanding of the patterns of transformation occurring in the whole Mediterranean sea.

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### **The Mycenaean contacts with the Iberian Peninsula during the Late Bronze Age**

The main problem to evaluate the real knowledge of the Mycenaean contacts with Iberian Peninsula is the few excavations with levels of the Late Bronze Age IC and II, 1425-1150 BC, because Atlantic Iberia was the tin producing region closest to the Mediterranean by sea routes. Still the only sure pottery imports came from Llanete de los Moros (Montoro, Córdoba), LH IIIA1, 1390-1360 BC, LBA IC, 1425-1325 BC, but other settlements present storage wheel made pottery. The main sources of information are the warrior stelae of the LBA II-III, which show mirrors, lyres or weight, but the rapid acceptance and extreme abundance of the Mycenaean and Sardinian bronze mirrors is an important step to evaluate these LBA Mycenaean contacts.

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**The position of Corfu in the Adriatic network of contacts in the second half of the third millennium B.C.**

At the beginning it was the failure of integrating the Ionian prehistory into the Aegean topics that formed the diversity of its culture. However, this characteristic is documented by the excavation data –oldest and recent- mainly for the north Ionian area.

As it is evidenced by the findings of Aphiona, Ermones and Almyros, the research of similarities among ceramic categories of the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age of the broader Adriatic area creates the base for the description of the local nature of the Early Bronze Age culture in the island.

It is the incised and impressed pottery that points out to Adriatic contacts and prescribes its diversity, posing the island to the periphery of the Aegean and to the cross linking of the new exchange networks across the Adriatic.

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### **The tholos tombs in Sicily: A landscape approach**

Mycenaean relationships with Sicily have been analyzed until now from the point of view of Mycenaean imports and of Mycenaean “influence” in the field of pottery shapes and decoration, and of architecture. In the field of funerary architecture, a Mycenaean model, of probable Mainland origin, has been seen in the so called tholoi shaped rock cut tombs, but the interest has been focused mainly on the formal analysis and planning procedures while little attention has been paid to the wider meaning and the landscape context. From this point of view, only some of the tholos tombs can be compared with their Mainland counterpart, while others seems to acquire a complete different meaning, allowing also a better insight into the diachronic process of cultural interrelation between Western communities and Aegean traders.

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### **Mixed-alkali glass beads from Elateia-Alonaki: tracing the routes of an alien glass technology in the periphery of post-palatial Mycenaean Greece**

This paper deals with glasses of the mixed-alkali compositional type that were found in the periphery of post palatial Mycenaean Greece. The discussion focuses on glass beads from burials in the cemetery of Elateia-Alonaki dating to the post palatial Mycenaean period and towards the transition to the Early Iron Age. Electron microprobe analysis in combination with trace element characterisation by Laser Ablation Inductively Plasma Mass Spectrometry have revealed a great wealth of information about the raw materials employed in their making, more specifically on the alkali source as well as on the copper and cobalt blue mineral sources that were used as colorants. Despite the restricted and uneven distribution of this category of glass beads within Elateia-Alonaki this is a considerable and unique occurrence in the broader Aegean of the Late Bronze Age and the transition towards the Early Iron Age.

Mixed-alkali compositional glasses have been characteristic of Bronze Age Central Europe and Italy whilst their farther eastern occurrences on the basis of solid analytical evidence has been only in mainland Greece so far, namely those in Elateia-Alonaki and on the island of Thasos in the northern Aegean. Compositional affinities with Italian and Central European mixed-alkali glasses in conjunction with archaeological evidence for the mobility of amber, bronzes and pottery allow us to hypothesise about their importation to Greece as well as about tracing the likely routes that they followed through the Ionian Islands and North-western Peloponnese, or through the Adriatic and Epirus towards North-eastern Phokis. Ultimately, the paper aims to interpret the introduction of mixed-alkali glass in post-palatial Mycenaean Greece after the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial glass industry.

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**The Aegean itself or its reflection?  
Absence and presence of Aegean cultural elements in the Bronze Age  
Balearic Islands and the Iberian Peninsula**

The supposed heroic past of Roman *oppida* in the western extremities of the Mediterranean and the legendary colonization of the Iberian Peninsula by the Achaeans and their descendants (both manifestations of late Greco-Roman political propaganda), in the late 19th century, as archaeological research was replacing the mere study of literary sources, were transformed to theories about supposed contacts or colonization activities, deriving from the Aegean in the Early and Late Bronze Age.

In the 2nd half of the 20th century, those theories were discarded by various scholars and finally by Colin Renfrew, although they have never been totally eradicated. Meanwhile, archaeological evidence contributed to the appearance of new approaches, focusing on the “pre-colonial” contacts of the Iberian Peninsula with the Aegean during the 2nd millennium B.C.

While in the Balearic Islands any kind of early contacts, not only with the Aegean but the Eastern Mediterranean in general, cannot be detected, such contacts, prior to the first Phoenician establishment in the Iberian Peninsula, are not denied at present by the academic community.

It is true that Bronze Age Aegean and Western Mediterranean elements documented respectively in the Iberian Peninsula and the Aegean are scarce, limited in ship imagery and a few metal artifacts or their representations. On the other hand, Eastern Mediterranean elements on the Peninsula indicate that contacts derive mainly from the cultural sphere of LBA Cyprus and the opposite Near Eastern coast. Nevertheless, amongst the traces of such contacts (direct or indirect), Aegean elements are easily recognizable, as a reflection of Mycenaean influence and even presence on these eastern lands.

In the SE and SW Iberian Peninsula, the presence of such eastern elements may indicate not only exchanges but also the probable development of small nuclei of human installations in the Iberian territory. These nuclei, not necessarily connected with Sardinia, could be the forerunners of the extended installation of foreign groups on the Iberian land later in time.

Thus, it is probable that certain legends as those mentioned above, might not be pure literature and imagination, but could reflect real facts, and even an “Aegean spirit” via other eastern Mediterranean influences. Among numerous late *Nostoi* which implicate a range of Homeric heroes, at least one seems to have its roots in a much earlier context than the Athenian or Roman needs for propaganda allow, and unites all the prerequisites that point to a proto-historical nucleus.

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**Adriatic and Ionian: geographic landmarks and cultural crossroads  
between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> Millennia BCE**

The natural channel of the Adriatic Sea, with *Caput Adriae* to the far north and with the Straits of Otranto to its southern end, is the decisive landmark, both geographic and cultural, which brings peoples and identities closer already in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C.

The Italian peninsula, Sicily, the Western and SW Balkans are the major areas which meet along the border – line of the two seas and it is here that a diachronically stabilized interaction takes place, having as principal protagonists different ethnicities who have as major prerogative to maintain a precious intercourse of commercial network of exchanges. But is only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium that such a rich activity characterizes this vast region? What happens during the crucial turn of millennium? Are the previous contacts kept alive? Is any continuity of cultural identities and of exchange of products after the collapse of the Mycenaean Palaces? Are the central authorities the same as before during the early 1<sup>st</sup> millennium, along the Adriatic and the Ionian? Are the protagonists of the still vivid interactions the same? Which is the role of the newly founded clans of Southern Albania, appearing ever more influential to the neighboring geographic areas in the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.?

These are the main questions of research put on the table of the research in this paper. In the new millennium a new “Metallurgic Koine” is promoted all over the Balkans, a mountainous area connected not only via land routes but with the most significant sea routes of the Adriatic and of the Ionian. Searching for metallic ores, in long – distance travels introduce a new era with the most important centers now not in the Helladic World but in Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

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### **Funeral custom in Albania and Greece: differences and similarities**

The aim of my PhD (2011) has been the study of all funerary evidence, with the exception of tholoi and chamber tombs, that have been recorded in the territories overlooking the low Adriatic and Ionian coast during the 2nd Millennium B.C., which correspond, according to Aegean chronology, to the Middle Helladic and to the Late Helladic period.

In particular the analysis has considered Albania and modern Greece, as Epirus, Ionian Islands and Western Peloponnese (Achaia, Elis and Messinia). These territories are more documented about this topic, with the exception of Acarnania and Etolia, less studied until now.

Therefore tholoi and chamber tombs, typical Mycenaean funerary structures, have not been taken into consideration with this research, because there is no comparison with the northernmost areas. On the other hand, this study has included burial mound contexts, funerary circles, built chamber tombs, cist, pit and pithos burials.

Specific attention has been paid to the burial mound contexts. This funerary structure is peculiar of the Albanian territory from the Bronze Age, whereas it is also found in Epirus, Ionian island and western Greece, but not with continuity, especially from a chronological viewpoint.

Migration theory has focused particular attention to the Aegean tumuli, because it is completely foreign to the local funerary custom.

Works elaborated until now have considered areas one by one, with specific study of Albanian or Greek areas. However on these studies scant attention has been given to the structural peculiarities and tomb typology and, especially for Albania, as well as diachronic developments of the contexts. This is why the approach of my study tackles all funeral information known until now of each territory, analysing them together with homogeneous perusal.

In addition, grave good's functional association, when known, has also been taken into consideration. With foreign artefacts (especially Aegean objects in Albanian or Epirote contexts) different ways to achieve foreign elements and their possible changes during the Bronze Age have been tried to be understood.

Therefore the aim of this paper is to underline similarities and differences in the burial mound custom of each territory, in order to understand what connection could have been between these areas and if the funeral mound phenomenon could have been truly uniform.

A comparison with the other types of graves permitted to put the data in a wider picture in order to have a complete frame of tumuli and to understand the different kind of social structure of their communities, probably expressed partially by funeral custom.

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### **Facing west but looking east? Place references in the Linear B data from the Pylos archives**

The call in the circular for the HESPEROS 16th International Aegean Conference to engage in a critical reading of the data and extracted conclusions for the relations between the Aegean civilizations of the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. and the cultures of the Ionian and the Adriatic, the Tyrrhenian and the Balearic Sea is timely concerning the evidence in the Linear B tablets for cross-cultural connections in the late stages of the Mycenaean palatial period.

Here we analyze the data of the Linear B tablets, mainly, but not exclusively, from Pylos, the paramount center of the well-documented (through excavation, survey, iconography and textual study) palatial territory that uniquely faces westward and preserves full evidence for contacts with areas outside of its own territory, later known as Messenia.

Evidence for foreign contacts in the Linear B tablets is ample. 70 to 80% of the lexical items in the Linear B tablets are personal names, place names or adjectives derived from place names. The last are sometimes generically called ‘ethnics’, but we have shown that this is misleading and in most cases the term ‘toponymic adjectives’ is preferable.

In this paper we discuss textual references to western contacts within the framework of the evidence for contacts with outside regions and cultures generally. (See Palaima 2011 for a full and cautious critical treatment of the evidence for foreign contacts and relations and general spheres of contact and control within the Linear B tablets from Thebes.)

The Pylos texts are ideal, both for what we now think they tell us and because our current *opinioniones communes* need to be re-examined. Many interpretations of individual lexemes are based on choices made in the 1950’s and 60’s that persist in controlling how we interpret the texts (see Palaima 2014 for a prime example). The Pylos texts should reflect the geographical situation of its territory.

The extensive western coast of Mycenaean Messenia with many points of access for ship traffic lies along the trade routes from Crete, the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean to the Ionian and Adriatic Seas, Italy, Sicily and points west.

A regular system of ‘coastal guarding’ is documented in the *o-ka* tablets at Pylos (see Palaima 2015 with extensive on-line annotated bibliography). The major cache of tablets (Aa, Ab, Ad) pertaining to ration allotments to women workers brought to Pylos as *ra-wi-ja-ja* (women taken as plunder) attests to contacts with the Anatolian coast and Aegean islands. References to an individual at Pylos known as *Kuprios* and at Knossos known as *Aiguptios* offer further evidence of eastern contacts. An early Knossos chariot text may balance this out. It records a man identified as *Zagklios* (cf. *Zagklē* in Sicily, Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.*).

But this is not the entire story. Ships traveled (north)west to (south)east along the Messenian coast, too. One firm textual indication is reference (twice) at Pylos to 32 pairs

of chariot wheels described as Zakunthian. It has been argued that this toponymic adjective designates a special type of wheels, rather than the source of these specific wheels. But either way a close cultural contact with the forested island of Zakunthos to the north is proved. We do have good evidence in the Pylos tablets for the shipment of raw wood and wood products.

Among references in the Pylos tablets to be discussed in this paper are the references (1) to five contingents of rowers (totaling 30) going to Pleurōn, and (2) to a ‘mobilizer’ (*e-qeta*) in the *oka* tablets either named *Pleurōnios* or designated as the Pleurōnian *e-qeta*. The toponym and toponymic adjective used, possibly, as a personal name have consistently been associated by Linear B scholars with the well-documented historical site of Pleurōn in Aetolia. This bears the further examination we will give it here.

Other groups of men, potential outsiders or ‘mercenaries’ rewarded for their service by land grants, are identified as *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* and *ko-ro-ku-ra-jo* in the *o-ka* texts. These groups may reasonably connect Pylos with Elis, Illyria and the island of *Kerkura* (in early inscriptions and local coins *Korkura* and *Korkuraioi*).

Given the so far illiterate state of cultures to the north and west of late Bronze Age Messenia and the limited nature of references to trade or extra-regional interests *per se* in the Linear B texts, we argue that the evidence we have is consistent with what we would expect: Pylian Messenia faces west, generally looks east, but looks west and north as well.

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**Mycenaean citadels of Western Greece: Nature, purpose and their intricate role in the local communities and their relations with the West.**

The aim of this paper is multiple, i.e. to show and explain **first** the nature of these particular citadels (selection of site, architecture, building material, tools), **second** the purpose of their constructing (control and protect the local population from attacks, display of power and grandeur) and **third** their intricate role concerning the intercommunications between this part of Mycenaean Greece with the West.

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**Animal husbandry in Albania, Epirus and Southern Greece during the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age: Questions of quantity, seasonality and integration to the economy and social structure**

Animal husbandry and its associated products is one of the two main aspects of food production, and a major element of primary production. The aim of this paper is to draw a sketch of animal husbandry, its practices and its economic and social role in Albania, Epirus and the Helladic Sphere, three areas seemingly far away - but sometimes potentially not quite so – and the changes it underwent through the Bronze and the Early Iron Ages (approximately 3rd mil. BC - 800 B.C.).

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### **A society of merchants and warriors to the east of the West. The case of the Mycenaean settlement on Mygdalia hill, near Patras, in Achaea**

The excavation on Mygdalia hill provides a unique opportunity to investigate the life of a local Mycenaean society in the Patras region, the settlement, the cemeteries, the resources available. Mygdalia was founded and rose to local prominence in the Early Mycenaean period. Substantial architectural remains, floor deposits and a tholos tomb furnished with pottery, which now finds parallels in settlement strata, help understand this important period in Western Achaea. In LH IIIC the spacious mansion on top of Mygdalia hill denotes a public sector where communal feasting may have taken place. Later on, it is the designated place for the erection of an early Greek temple. An array of densely built houses on the terraces below, a large storeroom full of storage jars and cooking pots and a possible workshop space gives us the frame of an actual settlement pattern. Moreover it provides solid evidence for the social organization in the Postpalatial period.

The numerous finds from nearby chamber tomb cemeteries, associated with the Mygdalia settlement, have already given Achaea a prominent place in the ongoing discussion on the last Mycenaean and their ventures to the west. It is a time of renewed relations with the Central Mediterranean, attested in bronze weapons and items of personal use that originated in Italy and accompanied to the grave their male owners, merchants or warriors. A comprehensive study of both settlement and cemetery adds significantly to our picture of an area to the east of the West, thriving in the Age of Heroes, known in historic times as Achaea.

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### **From Shardania to L estrygonia... Eastern origin prestige goods and technical transfers in Corsica through Middle and Final Bronze Age**

This communication aims to present the information concerning the identification of furniture and know-how originally from eastern Mediterranean in Corsica through Middle Bronze Age (1600-1200 B.C.) and Late Bronze Age (1200-800 BC).

In this island, the question of the presence of Aegean elements was, for a long time, associated to a theory involving a foreign-born population, the Sherden, a group mentioned within the famous Sea Peoples. After the abandonment of these historic-factual constructions, the insular archaeological research attached itself to the analysis of the sociocultural character of insular groups from the Bronze Age, without trying to connect them to the cultural dynamics from eastern Mediterranean.

After three decades of scientific introspection, it seems important to propose a postponed inventory on this specific issue. The issue of relations between the Aegean and Near-Eastern areas is documented today by several discoveries, revisions on objects and specific analysis made for fifteen years. In the early 2000s, the first formal testimony of the eastern importation recognized in Corsica is a copper ingot of ox-hide typology and Cypriot origin, found out of context in Sant'Anastasia, in the northeast area of the island. This object, published by F. Lo Schiavo, illustrates the integration at least marginal of Corsica into the Mediterranean networks of metal distribution in the late second millennium. This discovery thereby came to partially fulfill an important gap in research, particularly illustrated by the strong contrast expressed by the number of remains of this type between Corsica and Sardinia. At the same time, the realization of analysis (laser ablation coupled to mass spectrometry) on vitreous furniture unearthed during ancient excavations of the sites of Foce, Tiresa and Filitosa permitted to set the context of production, revealing the near-eastern origin of the materials.

More recently, the discovery of a set of ornaments in connection in a sepulchral context of the late Middle Bronze at the site of Campu Stefanu (southwest) allowed obtaining of one of the largest repositories for this type of production throughout the western Mediterranean. This necklace is composed by 25 blue-glass beads of Near-Eastern origin, even Egyptian, and of 29 Baltic amber beads of Aegean typology, which show, in addition, a perfect physical, chemical and morphological superposition with

isolated beads from contemporary sepulchral contexts of Sardinia. In this context, the formal non-recognition of Helladic crockery in Corsica, while several cases are known and published in Nuragic area, seems to be explained by a delay in research.

Besides these direct testimonies betraying the importation of exotic prestige goods in Corsica between the fourteenth and the twelfth centuries, recent achievements illustrate the existence of technical transfers between the island and the Mycenaean world around the middle and late second millennium. These phenomena are notably materialized by the strong technical and iconographic analogies observed during repoussé work in metal foils. The matrices recognized in Corsica present indeed profound occurrences with those individualized in Greece, as well as the finished objects to which they are attached. Unlike importing exotica and bullion, repoussé metalwork is not known in Sardinia and peninsular Italy during those times, thereby introducing a direct transfer of know-how between these two territories.

Through these few examples, of which we sense a short-term enrichment, we'll try to measure and explain the integration of different types of remains within the native society, in order to draw the position of the island amongst the networks between the two basins of the Mediterranean.

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### **From Shepherds to heroes: Mediterranean iconography of power in the far West**

From Late Second Millennium BC onwards, we can attest the arrival to Iberia of some few examples of wheel made Mycenaean and Cypriot sherds, Cypriot metalwork, iron objects, new dressing ways - as knee fibulae and belt buckles -, new male aesthetics - as combs and tweezers connected with beard-caring - and also Mediterranean weight systems, time before the Phoenicians set foot on the Iberian shores. Less visible but perhaps more important is the arrival of intangible know how, probably related to new cultivation techniques, which is behind settlement changes archaeologically recorded, as a gradual stability of population in the more suitable areas for the control of both land and mineral resources, at the same time that strong territorial claims are emerging in its pastoral periphery.

Another intangible know how relates to ideology. Warrior stele are one of the most conspicuous cultural elements in the pastoral western regions of Iberia during the local Late Bronze Age, period that ranges from 1300 to 825 B.C., this last at the time of the Phoenician arrival. Elements depicted in the most typical monuments are mainly weapons, a tradition connected in Western Iberia to Earlier Bronze Age anthropomorphic and non anthropomorphic stele. However, new elements of undoubted Mediterranean origin are now engraved, as prestige items like two-wheeled chariots, musical instruments and personal care set. Long time viewed as the only testimony of the contemporary funerary world, nowadays they are interpreted in a broader context as markers of a changing society with stronger territorial claims to which the language encoded on the stele is related.

From an ideological perspective we can detect also the transfer of an old Mediterranean power image: that of the King as his People's Shepherd, a semite symbolic figure that began to spread in the Mediterranean after the palatial collapse, and that is behind the Iliad's main characters, the Etruscan and Latial iconography of gods and ancestors and also, as we try to prove in the following pages, in the language hidden behind the SW stele's iconography.

For that we'll analyse at a micro level every individual depiction recorded in the warrior stele, tracking its origin, to move later to a macro level addressed to decoding their message, devoted to the transformation of a warrior ancestor into a heroic one, and the decisive importance of this change in the increasing acceptance of new political and prestige tools, that drives finally to the historical colonisations. Eventually, we suggest a model, to understanding the way all these Mediterranean innovations arrived and were incorporated into the local elites.

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### **The Handmade Burnished Ware – a Reflection of Immanent Change in the Late Bronze Age Argolid?**

Handmade burnished pottery was wide-spread in the Eastern Mediterranean during the later part of the Late Bronze Age. This specific pottery fabric has been linked with Italy and current research is engaged in finding explanations for the obvious similarities between the Handmade Burnished pottery and contemporary local Italian wares. The fact that the earliest finds of Handmade Burnished Ware was found in archaeological contexts, which were associated with the destruction horizon signalling the end of the Mycenaean palace organization makes us to realize that it may be one of the components, which could supply further insight into this process or event.

The present paper aims at an overview of the presence of Handmade Burnished pottery in the Argolid with a special emphasis on its presence on the citadel site of Midea.

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**Living at the edge. SW Kefhalonia: an island region in the western Aegean world. Old and new evidence for the period between the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces and the Early Iron Age**

Kefhalonia, the largest of the Ionian islands, forms a substantial landmass at the north-western fringes of mainland Greece. The modern administrative region of Krane-Livatho, on the SW of the island was first investigated archaeologically at an early date (1912-1930s), and offered fertile ground for theories about the island's role at the periphery of the Mycenaean world, particularly with respect to the post-palatial period. V.R. d'A. Desborough's study of the Aegean region, *The last Mycenaean and their Successors* (1964), identified the idiosyncratic characteristics of the island's culture based exclusively on the evidence of the excavated tombs. The main topics debated ever since have been his suggestion that there existed on the island (as well as on neighbouring Ithaca) a non-Mycenaean population along with the Mycenaean inhabitants of the island and that a substantial number of the latter would have arrived as 'refugees' after the destruction of the Mycenaean centres at the end of the Late Helladic IIIB period. Based on the same evidence, more recent studies have attempted to refine the dating and stylistic connections of the pottery, trace the origins of allogenous artefacts or contextualize the data within the large body of contemporary evidence that has come to light in the meantime from neighbouring and other areas of the Mycenaean world.

In revisiting this area this paper takes into consideration the evidence that has come to light in the last ten year as a result of landscape and excavation projects and new artefact studies by the authors of this paper. These projects include (a) the systematic survey, Livatho Valley Survey (LVS), conducted by the Irish Institute of Hellenic Studies at Athens (IIHSA) in collaboration with the 35<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of PCA (now Ephorate of Antiquities of Kefhalonia) (b) the recent and ongoing excavation of the same Ephorate of part of a new settlement (Palaiia Stane, Prospheleika) by two of the authors of this paper, and the preliminary study of ceramic material carried out by the third author, and (c) the study by the same author of the pottery from the only settlement site excavated my Sp. Marinatos in the early 1930s, after the re-discovery of the finds from that excavation and the survey of the site.

For the first time in the study of this region, the tombs and their contents are examined in parallel with settlement remains and the material from them. Despite the various and significant limitations of the evidence, and the preliminary nature of some of the studies, the analysis nonetheless allows the authors to use the aspects of cultural conformity and diversion which can be identified in the material evidence to

debate social practices and identity, changes in social dynamics, interaction between groups and their possible material engagement with object categories. In this way it may be possible to begin to understand the conditions and parameters which defined life at this particular geographical 'edge' between the Adriatic and the Aegean worlds at the time of the last *floruit* of the Mycenaean civilization.

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### **Documents of the Late Neolithic and Early Helladic period from the island of Kefallinia**

This paper concerns the elements of Late Neolithic and Early Helladic period which come from Mousata and Sami of the island of Kefallinia.

The Mousata site lies to the west coast of the island while Sami on the east coast. On both sites, settlement remains were uncovered which attested open air sites in contrast to the well-known cave of Drakaina and the less known cave of Gerokompos which lies south and north-west respectively.

At the Mousata (LN) site, pits came to light in a large number and in a big concentration, the diameter and the depth of which is approximately less than one meter. The pits contained stones and sherds in large quantity while in smaller quantity animal bones, mass of clay and flints. The existence of the pits is a phenomenon dominating the whole Balkan Peninsula. The problem of their exact use is complicated and many different opinions and theories have been suggested.

The incised ceramics and the ceramics with plastic decoration which have been uncovered from the pits are impressive because of their quantity and the decorative motives. These categories of pottery exist in many difference regions.

At Sami (EH II period) the remains of a settlement are being researched although the remains are preserved in fragments. In addition, in the houses or next to them burial pots were found where infants or children had been buried. This is a burial custom which is found in various places. This custom and the pottery which is typical of the period constitute the main reasons connecting Sami with the other Early Helladic centers.

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**Epirus and the Mycenaean World: Versions and dimensions of  
“immanentia”**

Are versions of the “Mycenaean phenomenon” and the “Mycenaean presence” recognizable in the archaeological record of old and new evidence from Epirus? Does “immanentia”, i.e. the long lasting impact, prevail in the tangible and intangible testimonies, which resulted from the contacts and relations between Epirus and the Mycenaean World? What are the qualitative characteristics and the significance of the Mycenaean impulse in Epirus?

Konstantina SOURA

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**Mycenaean Achaea towards the West: imported artefacts or technological know-how? The case of a casting mould from Stavros, Chalandritsa**

At the end of the Aegean Bronze Age Achaea appears to be part of the so-called “metallurgical koinè”, having yielded a significant quantity of bronze artefacts of Italian-related origin or typology. The recent discovery of a mould meant for the casting of spearheads with solid-cast socket at the LBA settlement of Stavros, Chalandritsa is in any case a rare find in the Mycenaean world. In fact, the large amount of Mycenaean bronze weapons that have been discovered so far is incompatible with the almost total lack of moulds, although many moulds for the casting of other artefacts, such as tools, implements and jewellery have been found. This is usually interpreted as merely random or as an evidence of the practice of other manufacturing methods. This paper aims at shedding light on whether the discovery of the Chalandritsa mould is adequate to confirm the practice of such casting techniques by the Mycenaean bronzesmiths or on the contrary bears witness to the transfer of metallurgical technology from the North - West.

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### **The site of Valcorrente at Belpasso (Catania) and the links between the Aetnean area and the Aegean world between the end of the III and the first half of the II millennium BC**

The site of Valcorrente, first identified in 2005, has been regularly and systematically excavated by a team of the University of Catania in collaboration with the local Archaeological service since 2012. The site, first frequented at the end of the Neolithic period, was mainly used between the end of the III and the first half of the II millennium B.C. for artisanal activities linked to the production of pottery and textiles. So far, several large circular and unroofed structures have been uncovered which enclosed areas where activities linked either to the artisanal sphere or the ritual-symbolic sphere were performed. Preliminary study of the materials associated with these structures has highlighted that the locally made pottery was not only formed according to a technological tradition documented in the Aegean, but was also associated with a large concentration of tokens, i.e. circular re-worked sherds that are also very common in the Aegean, and with non locally made pottery that displays many similarities with the Aegean materials found at Monte Grande (a site where artisanal and ritual activities were similarly contextually documented) and from Mursia (on the island of Pantelleria). In this paper, it will be argued that this evidence most probably depends on indirect contacts with the Aegean world, contacts that for the Aetnean area had been documented until now only at the end of the period.

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### **Early Bronze Age sailors of the Eastern Adriatic**

During Late Bronze Age it was not unusual to find an object of Mycenaean origin at any part of eastern and central Mediterranean. The only area that seems to have been (deliberately) omitted from Mycenaean naval routes was the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland. However, during earlier times that coast was not as marginal to the Aegean world. The period in question was Early Bronze Age when Cetina Culture saw its birth in the valley of the eponymous river in the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic coast (present day Croatia). The pottery typical of the Cetina Culture subsequently spread to the Italian and northern Adriatic coasts, central Balkan Peninsula, Albania, and the Aegean. It is fairly safe to suggest that such a wide radius of pottery dissemination was a product of an economic exchange. Bronze objects discovered in the Cetina tumuli, and the fact that the initial area of the Cetina Culture contained no metal sources, leads us to conclude that metal was obtained through trade, and that the Cetina people obviously traded their pottery (or its contents) for metal. The distribution of the Aegean sites with imported Cetina pottery suggests that they lay along a route by which the Cetina people travelled towards Aegean sources of raw materials, perhaps even towards the Laurion mine itself.

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### **Albania meets the Aegean: The West Mainland *Koine* Revisited**

Some of the most interesting aspects of recent research on the prehistoric Aegean concern the formation, the limits and the special features of the *koines*, which are developed in many regions of the Aegean cultural horizon, especially during the LH IIIC, due to the decline and fall of the centralized, palatial, productive social model and the consequent emergence of the peripheral centers with their own spheres of influence.

The *West Mainland* (or *Ionian*) *Koine*, the epicenter of this contribution, has been fully described by Prof. Th. Papadopoulos, whereas P. Mountjoy has given a special emphasis on its ceramic character. Achaea, Elis and the island of Cephalonia are considered to be the core of this *koine*, with Aetoloakarnania (and possibly the western part of Phocis) and the other Ionian islands being part of its wider geographical zone of influence.

This paper deals with the geographical re-definition of the northern limits of the *West Mainland Koine*, its chronological extension beyond the mycenaean period, its enrichment with “non-mycenaean” products of material culture and the further specialization of the factors that shaped this *koine*. The re-examination of older and recent finds from NW Greece and especially from Albania unfolds a common cultural language between the populations of the abovementioned adjacent regions, already since the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C., a language expressed by the reciprocal spreading of local, imported and imitated ceramic techniques (pseudo-minyan pottery, matt-painted pottery, mycenaean and mycenaenised locally imitated pottery, handmade late helladic undecorated pottery etc) and metallic products (swords, daggers, jewelry, double-axes etc) as well as by the diffusion of the burial custom of tumulus. In other words, the *West Mainland Koine* is the cultural meeting point between the West and the Aegean. This presentation examines specifically the role of Albania as the northernmost limit of the West Mainland Koine, since, through this *koine*, Albania meets the Aegean. On the other hand, its “de-mycenaeanisation” allows the convergence to other Aegean and non-Aegean *koines* providing it with a new, international character.

Another aspect to be examined concerns the discrimination of the new common cultural features of the *West Mainland Koine* as well as the clarification of local differentiations, which, although not encompassed to this *koine*, contribute to the formation of different social structures.

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### **The ancient and long history of East, Central and West Mediterranean sea routes**

A perspective of long durée was always my approach to study the interesting historical phenomenon concerning the connections between the different regions of the Mediterranean. Of course a wide and deep knowledge of each region in which we can identify the evidence of allogenous materials and objects is at the base of any attempt to synthesize any connection between various parts of the Mediterranean. Nowadays we can have the opportunity to try a synthesis due to a wide and suitable amount of local as well as regional studies and some very interesting suggestions coming from underwater archaeology. Beside a wide variety of specialized bibliography, we cannot have a good and up to date idea of such Mediterranean relationships, as we are dealing with the earlier periods, if we do not take into consideration the well known theoretical milestones produced by Pirenne (Mahomet et Charlemagne, 1937), Braudel (La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II), Matvejevic (Breviario mediterraneo), Abulafia (The Great Sea) and Broodbank (The Making of the Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World).

In the frame of such theoretical background we have to deal with a phenomenon that was starting since the Neolithic period and is still going on. Certainly, we shall deal only with the earlier periods trying to make clear that it is necessary to understand the nature of such contacts and the different dynamics that they had in the various regions of the Mediterranean. We have to make clear that on one side we have general contacts which are based on generic cultural as well as physical affinities. On the other side we have the real presence of allogenous objects which imply the real evidence of exchange or trade. But also in the frame of physical contacts we have to understand which kinds of relationship there were between different regions of the Mediterranean taking into consideration the chronological dynamics. We can have a trade that was so intense as to let arise real acculturation phenomena which some scholars define also as colonization. In other words, we can say that before the era of the historical colonization the Mediterranean was intensely crossed by a wide variety of ethnic groups moved by economic interests as well as by the search of minerals and special kinds of products, but also through real migrations.

Obsidian, during the Neolithic period, was the first attractive material to be sought after giving rise to the first real sea routes network which led to the first colonization of the small Mediterranean islands. During the Copper and Early Bronze Ages (until the first half of the second millennium B.C.) the search for metals, especially copper and tin, was the main reason of the outbreak of a wide and intense sea routes network which was expanding its links little by little from the East towards the West. Southern

Italy, Southern Sicily and the Aeolian archipelago were the first regions to be intensely connected with the Aegean as well with Mainland Greece, coastal Anatolia, Cyprus and the Levant through an intense network of sea routes along the Ionian Sea. At the same time a southern sea route was active and was connecting the Levant, Egypt (the Nile Delta), Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and Byzacena with Sicily through Pantelleria. Different varieties of materials and objects were traded on both networks giving rise to local acculturation phenomena. We are not sure if there were direct sea routes connecting with the same vessels different ports in the Eastern and Central Mediterranean. Actually the discovery of the Ulu Burun wreck gave us the idea that there were different systems of sea routes which were confined to the Eastern Mediterranean and that were coming into contact with the Central Mediterranean sea routes in some exchange-ports such as Kommos in Southern Crete.

The second half of the second millennium B.C. was characterized by the predominant role of the Mycenaeans who established several “ports of trade” along the coastal belts of Southern Italy, Eastern and Southern Sicily and the Aeolian archipelago. At some sites, such as Thapsos in Eastern Sicily we have a real phenomenon of acculturation with a deep change in the urban planning and ritual behaviour due to the intense and deep presence of the Mycenaean culture.

It was in that period that the frontier of this wide “globalized” world, due to the above mentioned trade system, was moving towards the West absorbing Sardinia and South Iberia. Those regions became very important landing points for the Mycenaean trade due to the presence of tin.

At the end of the second millennium B.C. the Mediterranean trade system came into a crisis due to the fall of the Mycenaean citadels in connection with the rise of a different phenomenon that gave a different shape to the sea routes of the Mediterranean. The expansion of the Assyrian Empire towards the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean provoked the necessity of western expansions of the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos and other Phoenician towns. It was a real migration that led to the foundation of Cadiz, Ustica, Carthage and other Phoenician colonies in Sicily (Motya) and Sardinia a few centuries before the other great migration that provoked the Greek colonization of a wide part of the Mediterranean.

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### **Sardinia and the Aegean world: advances in understanding**

Sardinia is perhaps the farthest land directly reached by the Aegean seafarers of the Bronze Age. Here they found an evolved and complex world, an island which was not isolated but expressed a solid cultural identity and specific evolutionary processes, which we can consider at the same time as centre and periphery simply changing point of view.

During the Bronze and Iron Ages the Nuragic civilization was developing. Its name comes from the nuraghi, the cyclopean simple and complex towers with tholos chambers; it was at its top during the period of the contacts with the Aegean world (LH-LM IIIA = MBA<sub>3</sub> in Italian terms; IIIB-C early = LBA), then went through a phase of crisis and transformation (IIIC middle-late = FBA).

During the '80s, the discovery of potteries and other elements of Aegean provenance or local imitation brought Nuragic Sardinia into the foreground of the studies on the contacts among the western and eastern Mediterranean civilizations and the role of islands as places for meeting and exchange of objects, technologies and cultural behaviours. In the last decades there were no relevant discoveries; yet studies on the Nuragic civilization and the import and imitation materials made great advances. Today we can better understand how the Nuragic societies were organized before and after the contact with the Aegean world and better interpret the legacy of that contact.

The Aegean type potteries are found mostly on the eastern and southern coasts. Finds from some Phoenician centres suggest continuity in sailing routes through the changes of ethnic and cultural identity of the traders. The most important site is nuraghe Antigori, where petrographic and chemical analyses document imports from Peloponnese, central and western Crete and Cyprus; local imitations are also present, showing manufacture techniques, shapes and decorative styles of Mycenaean and Minoan origin. Other sites as well have imports from Peloponnese and Central Crete and local imitations. According to some scholars, the low quality of the imitation products suggests that the potters were local and the contact with the Aegean ceramic technology was indirect.

Yet the existence of direct contact is pointed out by the nuragic vases and similar local products found on Sicily (Cannatello), Crete (Kommos) and Cyprus (Kokkinokremos). One can hypothesize that Nuragic sailors took part in the trades on Nuragic ships or as members of mixed crews on eastern ships which were connecting Mediterranean coasts and islands. Yet until now no Nuragic potteries have been found on Peloponnese and western Crete, unlike the handmade burnished and grey potteries of Italian origin. The role of Cyprus seems marginal at the beginning, but becomes huge in LC II-III A with the exportation of the copper oxide ingots (lead

isotopes) and the transmission of tools and technologies for bronze metallurgy; this also suggests a direct and long-lasting contact.

The Aegean type potteries, true prestige goods, are found inside the Nuraghi, but we don't know the emporia or the relationships between exchange, specialized production and local power.

The reasons of the Aegean trades in Sardinia remain obscure. It seems difficult that they were looking for metals, because copper was actually arriving from Cyprus. Perhaps they were looking for other unknown local resources, or maybe a market for exporting their products, or even a connection with the western Iberian and Atlantic trades, which touched Sardinia as well (mostly FBA).

The Aegean technological influence can be seen perhaps in the LBA in the wheel use for the painted pottery and in the controlled high-temperature cooking of the Nuragic grey pottery. In the FBA the Aegean legacy emerges perhaps in the clear thin wheel-made impasto pottery and in the diffusion of the horizontal handles previously unknown. More generally, pottery production became specialized, like metallurgy. But painted pottery disappeared very soon; as prestige good it was replaced by amber, glass and bronze. There is a debate about selection and domestication of the local wild grapevine, then about wine production and adoption of the related ceremonial customs. No building, not even the so-called "megaron temples", can be attributed to a Mycenaean or Minoan tradition. In wider terms, no Aegean influence can be proposed on the Nuragic social organization, which until the Iron Age was certainly hierarchical, rural and polycentric, not of city-state type.

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### **Between the Aegean and Adriatic. Zakynthos and the Ionian Islands in the Bronze Age**

The Ionian Islands are usually considered to be part of the Aegean Bronze Age. Monumental Mycenaean remains have been identified on several of the islands and, of course, Ithaca has a prominent role in Homeric epic. Geographically, the Ionian Islands are situated at the western periphery of Greece and they can be considered as natural stepping stones to the Adriatic and the central Mediterranean. Not much scholarly attention has been devoted to the non-Aegean elements in the archaeological record of the islands.

In this paper, we will explore the degree to which interactions among the Ionian Islands and with areas elsewhere to the east, north and west have affected the material culture of the islands. A long-term perspective will be adopted from the Early Bronze Age to the beginning of the Iron Age.

The starting point for the paper will be the island of Zakynthos. Archaeological research on the island since 2005 has resulted in a sound understanding of its prehistoric archaeological record. Petrographic and typo-morphologic research of Bronze Age pottery show imports from areas elsewhere, as well as influences in local pottery production. These influences in the material culture testify of connections with the Aegean, with the Balkan region and the wider Adriatic world. The study of the variability in these connections over time and comparisons with other Ionian Islands enables us to assess diachronically the Bronze Age networks of connections of which the Ionian Islands were part.

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### **The Oinotrian side of the LBA Mediterranean network**

The central/southern Gulf of Taranto, and its extension up to Crotone, largely corresponding to the territory traditionally referred to as Oinotrian, is one of the most relevant central Mediterranean areas involved in the LBA network.

From Taranto to Crotone, a peculiar interaction zone can be defined, where the local production of the Italo-Mycenaean ware, of the fine paste *pithoi* of the Aegean-derivative class and of the wheel-thrown grey ware is particularly well established.

The ongoing research at the renowned hilltop site of Broglio di Trebisacce has been further revealing the complexity of the interactions between the Oinotrian and the Mycenaean world. In fact, the renewed study of the stratigraphy of the so-called “central hut”, the main context with Aegean-derivative materials, has revealed an older construction phase, and a transformation in the degree and modalities of Aegean interaction. By comparing this and other contexts at Broglio between LH IIIB and IIIC, it is possible to outline a varied pattern of involvement of different households in the Mediterranean network.

This new evidence will be integrated in the wider perspective of the area between Taranto and Crotone. Some points will be highlighted:

- pottery typology suggests that the Oinotrian area is one of the possible origins of the HMBW tradition found in the Aegean area;
- the analytical data of provenance of the imported Aegean pots and the typological connections of the Italo-Mycenaean shapes and decorations suggest that the Oinotrian centers have different referent terminals in the Aegean world;
- in some sites and contexts of the Oinotrian area do appear elements and material associations hinting at a consistent presence of Aegean individuals or of Aegean-behaving subjects;
- in the Aegean, the presence of Italian- and possibly Oinotrian-derivative pottery and, moreover, the association of multiple peculiar products, such as HMBW and grey ware in higher abundance, both suggest the presence of individuals of Italian (Oinotrian?) provenance.

All these new and former (newly interpreted) data suggest that the LBA Mediterranean network including the Aegean and the Oinotrian area saw a development involving some reciprocal mobility between the areas. This mobility was probably sustained by directional contacts, where specific sites in Oinotria and in the

Aegean were respective preferential terminals. This is consistent with a pattern of interaction where local Oinotrian leaders (chiefs?) maintained an apparently level relation with the Aegean counterparts.

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**Meganissi Lefkas. A new site of the end of the Mycenaean era at the crossroads of the maritime routes of the Ionian Sea**

Meganissi is a small island of the Inner Ionian Sea Archipelago, lying to the east of Lefkas, with which has shared common cultural ties already since the Paleolithic period. Archaeological research on the island has recently revealed a tumuli cemetery dating to the end of the Mycenaean era. The 16 tumuli that have been investigated to date are structures similar in shape and construction to cairns, formed by rough stones and enclosing a sole warrior tomb. The tumuli are located on the ridge and the steep slopes of a rough mountain at the SE peninsula of the island, forming an extensive necropolis of a peculiar type, without exact parallel, at least in Greek field. The close proximity of Meganissi to Lefkas, where lie the earliest burial tumuli in Greece, the R-tumuli at Steno by Nydri, which are however much earlier in date, allows the assumption that the rough made tumuli of Meganissi possibly reflect common choices in burial architecture. The grave offerings from the tombs suggest the island is a member of the “Western Koine” displaying at the same affinities with neighboring regions in the context of a smaller geographical and cultural subsection.

The present paper will focus on the examination of the excavation data in relation to the direct and wider geographical and cultural environment of Western Greece at the end of the Mycenaean era and the Dark Ages, assessing the cultural and geographical status of Meganissi in the periphery of the Mycenaean world.

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### **Kos, Italy, and Europe during the Late Mycenaean Period: Evidence for a Special Connection and Its Possible Significance**

In a recent review of the data from the Dodecanese during the Mycenaean period, only ten bronze objects of possible Italian and/or European origin were listed by M. Benzi. As a result, the evidence for contacts between these regions within the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium B.C. remains comparatively limited. The distribution of the finds, however, reveals an interesting pattern, as seven of these objects come from the island of Kos, including a Naue II sword, two spearheads with short socket, a knife of the so-called *Scoglio del Tonno* type, a razor with an incised handle, a leaf-shaped fibula, and a violin-bow fibula. A similar trend emerges when amber items are taken into account. Of the 26 beads known from the Dodecanese, 19 come from Kos, while only seven were recovered on Rhodes.

The abovementioned evidence raises the possibility that, within the southeast Aegean area, Kos may have had a special role in terms of Italian and European connections. The aim of this paper is to analyze the relevant Koan finds and to offer an interpretation of their wider significance.

The data presented here result from the work carried out since 2009 within the Serraglio, Eleona, and Langada Archaeological Project (SELAP), a research endeavor of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens based on a multidisciplinary re-study of the materials recovered by L. Morricone between 1935 and 1946. SELAP's investigations provide for the first time a detailed chronological and contextual framework for the comprehension of Mycenaean Kos, including the evidence for Italian and European contacts.

As far as this last aspect is concerned, three main elements emerge. First, the majority of the objects can be assigned to the phases between LH III B and LH III C Middle. This is true of all of the bronzes and 11 of the amber beads. Second, all of the finds were found at the cemeteries of Eleona and Langada, with only two exceptions: the *Scoglio del Tonno* type knife and one of the spearheads with short socket, both coming from the settlement of the "Serraglio". Third, all of the items may have had a personal value for their owners, as they include either weapons or adornments.

An emotional connotation is particularly evident in the case of the finds from Langada Tomb 21, where the only deceased was accompanied by a Naue II sword located on a bench at his right side and a spearhead with short socket laying along his right shoulder. The combined presence of these two weapons led R. Jung to hypothesize that the warrior buried in Tomb 21 had an Italian origin. While it is not possible to verify this idea, because of the loss of the relevant skeletal remains, one wonders why Italian and/or European type objects occur on Kos almost exclusively in the relatively short time span between LH III B and LH III C Middle.

A possible explanation may be provided by the relevant contextual evidence from the “Serraglio”. Here, Morricone’s City III was destroyed by fire at the very end of LH IIIB, contemporary to the warrior burial from Langada Tomb 21. Slightly later, between LH IIIC Early and Middle, Sea Peoples characters began to appear on locally produced amphoroid and ring-based pictorial kraters.

Jung and Mehofer suggested that the appearance of Italian type weapons in the eastern Mediterranean may have been connected to pirate activities. This interpretation may apply not only to the finds from Langada Tomb 21, but also to a large part, if not all, of the previously mentioned Italian and/or European type objects from Kos. These items may have been brought to the southeast Aegean by Italian and/or European warriors in the contexts of the Sea Peoples raids in the region between LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early and may have been eventually incorporated in the burials at Eleona and Langada either because their original Italian/European owners died on Kos or because they were acquired by local Koan inhabitants.

If this suggestion is correct, the evidence from Kos indicates that in the troubled phases immediately preceding and following the destructions of the Mycenaean palaces, the Aegean area may have been viewed by Italian and European adventurers as a land of opportunities. In this context, possibly for its strategic position in the trade routes between the Greek mainland, the Cyclades, and western Anatolia, Kos may have acted as a special point of attraction and interest, resulting in a relatively small, but yet significant collection of “exotic” personal objects of bronze and amber at the settlement of the “Serraglio” and the cemeteries of Eleona and Langada.

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### **Production and consumption of kylikes in Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age mainland Epirus (Prefecture of Ioannina)**

During the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age the ceramic production in mainland Epirus is dominated by handmade containers fulfilling a wide range of needs related to the storage, preparation, serving and consumption of food and drink. Wheel-made pottery is extremely limited, epitomized by the stems of kylikes, representing the Mycenaean influence in this region. Hand-made imitations are also present, although in limited numbers, in several sites (Dodona, Krya, Kastritsa, Rodotopi). The present work represents the first archaeometric study of Epirotic material and examines the organization of production and consumption of these rare vases and their relation to other fine-textured containers. It is based on the macroscopic examination of the material and petrographic analysis of selected samples.

## Poster Presentations

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### **Balkan Bronze Age Borderland: Along Ancient Routes from the Aegean to Albania, F.Y.R.O.M., Kosovo and SW Bulgaria.**

The Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in the Northern Aegean were not only characterised by the interaction with the South (and especially with the Mycenaean world), but equally by mutual cultural exchange among the local traditions, which is more difficult to explore. Although local communities kept their distinct cultural expressions, there are many widespread phenomena that can be discerned and that provide proof of constant interaction.

The “Balkan Bronze Age Borderland” workshop (28.6. – 11.7.2015) brought together eleven young archaeologists, all working on Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age material evidence in Northern Greece, Albania, Kosovo, F.Y.R.O.M. and SW Bulgaria, with the aim to intensify international collaboration and foster a reinvigorated interregional approach. The field trip, which covered two weeks, involved the visit and examination of the finds studied by each of the participants as well as the most important sites and museums of the region. It allowed, therefore, a thorough comparative view on the different local cultural traditions, their differentiations and similarities. The publication of the acts of the workshop will produce a useful handbook on the late prehistoric southern Balkans. On this basis, the much discussed Southern contacts and the transmission of influences can be explored anew. Epirus (Liatovouni, Vitsa, Dodona and Ioannina) was one of the key areas visited during the workshop, thanks to its important and unique finds, its geographic position between Macedonia and Illyria and the different habitation models proposed on this evidence.

This poster aims at presenting on the one hand the preliminary results of the workshop and on the other at promoting this new international network of scholars.

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### **Intercultural Contacts in the ancient Far West: New and old evidence from the Bronze Age cemetery at Plemmyrion, Syracuse (Sicily, Italy)**

This study aims at giving a general re-assess of the archaeological material found during the excavations carried out by Paolo Orsi in the Middle Bronze Age cemetery at Plemmyrion, South to Syracuse, Sicily, in 1891-1899. Many of this informative record is still unpublished and the re-identification of the material stored in the Archaeological Museum at Syracuse has contributed to reconstruct the funerary goods assemblage for each chamber tomb, where about 50 funerary structures are recorded. Among the material many imported Aegean items seem to be of relevant interest in investigating the long-distance contacts between Aegean, Maltese Islands and Sicily during the Second millennium BC. The burial assemblage includes glass paste beads and an elegant bone comb which can compare with similar examples from Mainland Greece. Among the metal-working it is possible to reconstruct some bronze long rapiers, represented by examples up to 90cm, which could be loosely inspired by Mycenaean or Levantine counterparts. The other objects, as bronze mirrors and personal ornaments, can be considered as imported items from Mycenaean Greece or Cyprus. Moreover, a White on Dark Painted Cypriot small jug, attributed to the BR II Ware, has been identified among the unpublished material.

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### **Hesperos and Phosphoros: How Research on Aegean-Eastern Interactions Can Inform Studies of the West**

The extent of Aegean influence on its neighbors and of neighboring regions on it remains a contentious area of investigation that continues to generate enthusiastic scholarly interest and lively debate. This poster elaborates on the importance of current theoretical perspectives on Aegean interaction with the east because they may be conceptually useful to those studying similar interactions with central and western Europe.

Aegean seafarers, traders, and crafters were engaged and entangled in cultural exchanges with the east and west on many scales, and artistic and cultural influence among these regions was multi-directional. Although the authors' expertise lies in interactions and interconnections between the Aegean and the East (particularly Philistia and Cyprus) it is suggested that their theoretical and anthropological approaches to gift exchange, entanglement, transculturalism, transnationalism, and piracy may offer useful insights to those viewing the Aegean from a western perspective.

The Aegean was drawn within the eastern sphere of influence in the late Early Bronze Age (ca. 2200 BCE) with the importation of raw materials from the Near East including copper, tin, gold, and ivory. Gold and ivory were used in the Aegean to manufacture items of elite regalia such as diadems and mace-heads, and other luxury items, particularly ivories (e.g. Maeir et al. 2015), that went on to assume transnational significance in the repertoire of the international style (e.g. Crowley 1989). Once the Minoans acquired the technology for deep-hulled ships with masts as noted by Broodbank (2002), Crete became a key player in Mediterranean trade interactions, which involved gift exchange and trade with the east, the dissemination of ceramic styles and motifs, and the transmittal of Aegean style consumption and feasting practices (Hitchcock et al. 2015). The results of such activities lay in cultural entanglements in the liminal zones of coastal and island regions of the Mediterranean.

Our understanding of destruction and collapse that took place in the Aegean (ca. 1177 BCE, e.g. Cline 2014) has gone from simplistic models of migration v. mercantilism, to more sophisticated models of entanglement, transculturalism, transnational identity, limited migration, and piratical activity following the break down secure maritime routes (Hitchcock and Maeir 2014). As Aegean peoples and others from throughout the Mediterranean became entangled in the piratical cultures that resulted in the Sea Peoples phenomenon, a phenomenon that perhaps over emphasizes the biblically well-known Philistines, similar

implications may exist for understanding cultural entanglements in the West. Likewise, as we prefer non-simplistic explanatory frameworks for the transformation processes which occurred in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze/Iron Age transition and beyond (with Aegean originating cultural influences playing a definite role in these mechanisms), so we believe similarly complex scenarios should be seen in the western Mediterranean as well.

Finally, the comparison with Iron Age east-to-west (Phoenicians and Greeks going west) - and west to east (Greeks going eastward) - connections, may also provide interesting insights for understanding the Bronze Age westward connections of the Aegean cultures. The mixed character of these Iron Age connections – mercantile ventures, colonies, mercenaries and other aspects – led to very complex cultural connections and interactions (Maeir and Hitchcock in press). While there are substantial socio-cultural differences between the Bronze and Iron Age Aegean (and Mediterranean in general), the many aspects of continuity and the *longue durée* seen throughout Mediterranean history (e.g. Broodbank 2013), indicates that similarities and parallels – and for sure insights – can be gleaned from this.

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### **Kerynia, Achaia. A Recently Excavated Bronze Age Site in Northern Peloponnese. Aspects of Cultural Connections to the West**

The Early Bronze Age settlement in Keryneia - Achaia (Northern Peloponnese), covers the Early Helladic II and early Early Helladic III periods (mid 3<sup>rd</sup> mill. B.C.).

The excavated area covers a relatively small part of a very extensive settlement that covers a wide area of approximately 10 acres. The site lies at the foot of a hill, at an altitude of 65m above sea level and is traversed by a small stream. The settlement faces the Northeast, towards the nearby Corinthian Gulf.

The importance of the site lies in its great size, the complex picture of successive building phases, the continuous habitation in the same place and the abundance of finds (all the known types of pottery of the period including table serving, as well as big storage pots, decorated clay hearths, clay anchors, braziers, bronze tools, flaked and knapped stone tools including obsidian and flint, etc.). The majority of the buildings are of non-monumental, domestic character but there are indications of monumental architecture too (buildings with external corridors, an impressive storage building, paved roads, courtyards).

Of special interest is the understanding of the role of the site in the exchange network between the Aegean and the Western Mediterranean. Although the Cycladic contacts are confirmed by the large number of objects made from obsidian as well as certain types of pottery, there is also a number of objects that indicate connections to the Adriatic. We are referring to the Cetina-pottery which is represented by a sufficiently large number of sherds and pots. Conclusively, we believe that Keryneia was a key-site in the distribution of the Cetina phenomenon from the Ionian coast towards the Aegean.

### **Mycenaean Culture in Bronze Age Kosova**

Kosova's favorable geographic position in the central Balkans has enabled its connection with neighboring and farther territories, thus making the influence of various cultures possible from the earliest periods. The development of early prehistoric cultures in Kosova has been sufficiently explored through systematic work. Nonetheless, there is insufficient knowledge on the development of the Bronze Age in Kosova. With the finding and excavation of the necropolis in Gllareve, important new steps have been made to complete this gap. Excavations in Gllareve have provided the most precise data for solving important problems of the Bronze Age in Kosova, as well as for the development of period as a whole. Two necropolises have been identified marked as Gllareve I and II. Both can be dated to the XV and XIV centuries BCE. So far, 48 grave constructions have been found, consisting of two types of burial practices: inhumation and cremation. Regarding the analogies and chronological determinations of the bi-ritual burial practices it is possible to conclude that inhumation, with or without stone constructions, is the older type of burial. The task of dating the graves with cremation was conducted through reference to urn fragments, specifically their handles, which can be placed in a broader time frame. Dating the graves with inhumation can be done through reference to the other numerous finds, some of which have analogies in the larger geographical region, such as jewelry, weapons, and ceramics. The cultural material also, which is quite exclusive and in particular the weaponry, attests to the high degree of knowledge of metal manufacture, production techniques, as well as decoration. The Gllareve necropolis shows that the Middle Bronze Age in Kosova had a developed culture with significant influences from, and ties to, Mycenae, as an important social, economic, and political center. Swords, axes, and various types of knives point to the connections with production centers in Epirus and Albania from where the Mycenaean influence expanded through the Drin valley and Vardar depression. Excavations in Gllareve have also given evidence to the beginnings of a stratified society in the area, the formation of a ruling class, and the formation of the Illyrian Dardan "tribe" in the Central Balkans. Thusly, the Bronze Age in Kosova becomes an important stage in the formation and development of Paleo-Balkan peoples, their culture and ethnogenesis. Their further development can be observed in the course of the following periods, specifically the Early and Late Iron Age in the first millennium BCE.

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### **The Elephant in the Room: Migration, Trade and Diffusion. Some Thoughts on Post-Palatial Achaea**

Achaea and its flourishing post-palatial communities have attracted the interest of several studies, attempting to approach the socio-political transformations that took place in the region and the factors that could have encouraged its successful response to the collapse. In particular, Achaea has many times been argued to have functioned as a safe haven for immigrant populations in the aftermath of the demise of the palatial centres in the Peloponnese. Although the idea of large scale immigration as the primary trigger for the developments in 12th century Achaea is convincingly refuted, population movement is a recurrent concept in bibliography.

Moreover, other aspects of the Achaean material culture at the end of the Late Bronze Age raise the issue of the nature of the contacts with the Central Mediterranean. These include the well discussed cases of bronze types of ultimate European inspiration, introduced to the Aegean via the Adriatic route, and the examples of Handmade Burnished Ware pottery, documented at Aigeira and Teichos Dymaion, whose links to the Italian Bronze Age tradition have been clearly demonstrated. Especially the discussion of the latter ware falls into the wider conversation regarding the origin and occupation of its makers, with the balance favouring its association with foreign elements. Finally, on the other side of the Adriatic, the Mycenaean-style ceramic material from the Salento area (Roca Vecchia, Punta Meliso) is considered to display close stylistic links to the NW Peloponnesian ceramic tradition.

Even the brief reference to the above matters is sufficient to point out the thin line between population movements and trade or other mechanisms of interregional and long distance interaction. Migration, however, has long been the “elephant in the room”. Especially in the Anglophone scholarship, ever since the rise of New Archaeology in the 1960’s, an overall “retreat from migrationism” has dominated the archaeological discourse, despite the fundamental input of several scholars to restore it in Western archaeological thought.

The scepticism towards migration as archaeological explanation is of course not to be overlooked: the low visibility of spatial mobility in the archaeological record and the inadequate methodological grounds for the identification of social/ethnic groups with specific aspects of material culture are two indeed valid arguments. But one is left to wonder to what extent the shifts in the popularity of migration are interlinked with the historical and socio-political circumstances within which the diverge archaeological approaches are conceived and developed.

My paper intends a) to present the evolution of theoretical archaeological thought concerning migration, b) to explore proposed models dealing with regularities of migration processes and c) to assess the applicability of theoretical considerations for identifying population movements in the archaeological record as opposed to other forms of interaction. The aim is to employ the conclusions drawn from this background in order to offer a reinvigorated insight into post-palatial Achaea and the character of its contacts with the West and at the same time to indicate the methodological limitations imposed by the Achaean material.

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### **The Korce Area (SE Albania): Local Cultures and External Influences from the West, the Balkans and the Aegean World during Prehistory**

Since 1993, excavations and surveys carried out in the Korçë basin (Albania) by a French-Albanian team, have produced a rich set of new data in several fields: material cultures from Neolithic to Early Iron Age (ceramics, lithics, bone and clay artefacts, wooden constructions...), palaeoenvironmental data (climate, vegetation, fauna...), and absolute chronology with whole sequences of radiocarbon dates. Combining these new data with old archaeological evidence already existing for this area made it possible to reinterpret and to define more precisely local cultures in the Korçë area. It also allowed us to better understand the origins of the various influences observed in this area, which appears as a crossroad between Balkan, Adriatic and Aegean cultures throughout the Prehistoric period, from the beginning of the Neolithic (ca 7000 B.C.) to the Early Iron Age (ca 800/700 B.C.).

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**The disturbed contexts of the Bronze Age Acheron valley.  
Assemblages and implications.**

Half a century of intensive archaeological activity in the Acheron valley has established this area as the best documented Bronze Age landscape in southern Epirus. The pioneer work of Sotirios Dakaris in Parga and Ephyra brought to light the first Late Bronze Age funerary and settlement assemblages that stood apart from local Epirote material, since they presented strong southern Helladic characteristics. The subsequent excavation at Ephyra produced evidence for the identification of the fortified settlement with a Mycenaean colony, according to Professor Thanasis Papadopoulos, which has been further considered as the seat of an organized territorial unit of Mycenaean type by Dr. Kostas Soueref. The Acheron valley in general and Ephyra in specific have been afterwards intensively surveyed by the Nikopolis project. The latter identified numerous Bronze Age sites that have been classified in a four level hierarchy with Ephyra on the top as a Mycenaean port of trade, according to Dr. Thomas Tartaron.

This poster presents two pottery assemblages that have been recently recovered by rescue excavations of the 33rd Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in the southwest and southeast part of the Acheron valley. In the first case, a newly identified site near Tsouknida produced a washed down pottery deposit that has been preliminary dated to the Middle Bronze Age and has thus implications for the pre-Mycenaean background of the area. In the second case, a redeposited Late Bronze Age assemblage from Pounta Kanalakiou, one of the sites identified by the Nikopolis project and discussed by Tartaron, is now questioning the hierarchical scheme applied to the Bronze Age Acheron valley.

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### **Prehistoric Naupaktos: A missing link on the northern shore of the Corinthian Gulf**

Prehistoric habitation in Naupaktos has begun to be documented through sparse excavations that have taken place in a period of twenty years. According to the available evidence the earliest habitation dates to the EH II period and its life duration lasts until LH III. The EH and MH phases are the best represented, while the Mycenaean period is poorly documented. The finds indicate the existence of mainly one small settlement placed at the northeastern part of the modern city. In the EH period it lacks urban characteristics or extraordinary finds, in striking contrast with the nearest settlements of the opposite shore of the Corinthian Gulf at the region of Aigion.

The recent discovery of a large, well – built burial mound in this particular part of Western Greece, where monuments of this type are so far extremely rare, is within this context a particularly valuable find concerning the overall distribution of tumuli in Greece and the preservation of a distinct stratigraphic sequence over, as well as under the monument. The original construction probably dates to the EH III period, while it was used for burials until the end of MH. The choice of this type of funerary monument in relation to its location on the Corinthian Gulf sea route, as well as its construction over an apsidal EH II building and the change of use of a former residential ground to burial are other points of interest, offering new evidence for comparison to other known sites. Several affinities in pottery and burial customs with the Ionian Sea and the rest of Western Greece are noticed, while comparable data provided for the first time from this part of western Locris can help considerably in reconstructing the prehistory of this under – explored region.